

Women's Movement

**A Comparative Study of Nigerian and South African
Women in the Liberation Movement, 1914 – 1994**

by

KABIR OLARONGBE ABDULKAREEM
(215082516)

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban**

March 2023

Supervisor
Professor Kalpana Hiralal

DECLARATION

I, Kabir Abdulkareem (Student Number 215082516), declare that:

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original work.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs, or other information unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from such persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing unless specifically acknowledged As being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - a. Their words have been rewritten, but the general information attributed to them has been referenced.
 - b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks and referenced.
5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

Kabir Abdulkareem

Student Name



DEDICATION

The thesis is dedicated to the memories of three special women: my mother, who endured the trials and difficulties to ensure I attain the height of my educational pursuit; my paternal and maternal grandmothers, who supported me after the demise of my mother, despite their unlettered qualities, but appreciated the value of education. In addition, it is dedicated to women of all races who struggle against oppression or restriction in pursuing their socio-economic and political emancipation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

It is with great appreciation that I acknowledge Professor Kalpana Hiralal, whose constructive feedback and commitments were consistent from the start of this project to its successful completion. I am indeed eternally grateful to her.

It is with unreserved gratitude that I thank my parents, Mrs AB Abdulkareem and Mr AS Abdulkareem, for their unwavering support and commitment to ensuring that my education was supported both financially and emotionally. They made me realise the importance of education in one's life. You have contributed to all my achievements, and I will forever be indebted to you for that. Your thoughtful parenting style, guidance, and teaching will remain with me for the rest of my life, and I shall pass it on to my children as well.

My family's constant support of my financial, moral, and spiritual needs cannot be overstated. At every stage of my academic journey up to this point, I have been blessed by the support of Dr Folasade Rotimi; Engineer Abimbola Gbede; Dr Dupe Loye, Mrs Olajumoke Atanda & family and the Ayaras and the Kareems. All of you have always been there for me, and I thank you.

I appreciate the academics and staff of the School of Social Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal; I extend my thanks. Special thanks to the Department of Historical Studies- Professor Goolam Vahed and Dr Vanessa Noble. I am also grateful for the advice and support of Prof Ncoza Dlova (Dean of the Medical School) for involving me in the UKZN Medical School History Project, 2018/2020.

I thank the staff of the Department of History and Strategic Studies at the University of Lagos: Professor Ademola Adeleke, Michael Ogbeidi, Olufunke Adeboye, David Aworawo, Paul Osifodunrin, Obi Iwuagwu, Henry Ogunjowo, and Alhaja Adeyemo, its former secretary, among others.

I have a deep sense of gratitude to friends and colleagues who read the manuscripts and offered suggestions to improve the thesis. This includes Folami Ola-Oluwa, Olayemi Bakre, Mustapha Kadiri, and Aleia Bucci among others. Without the assistance of fieldworkers, Mr Goodman Mzolo from South Africa and Mr Ridwan Aderibigbe from Nigeria, this would not

have been possible. I thank the families of Dr Saheed Akinsola and Mr Rasheed Adeyemi for their hospitality during my archival research visits to Ibadan and Enugu respectively.

The research support received from the staff and management of the repositories in Nigeria and South Africa are vehemently acknowledged: The Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre, Alan Paton Centre Struggle Archives, Killie Campbel Africana Library and Collections; University of Ibadan's Kenneth Dike Library, National Archives Ibadan, National Archives Enugu, and National Archives Abeokuta. Your supports are well-recognised and appreciated.

I would like to convey my gratitude to the Council for Development in Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) for the award of a Small Grant for Thesis writing and induction into its College of Mentors in 2016 and 2019. The Association of African Universities (AAU) also provided me with a grant for thesis completion in 2017. The helpful comments and encouragement I received from my mentors, Prof. Abena Asare, University of Stonybrook New York City, USA, and Prof. Leila Bijos, University of Paraoba, Saopolo, Brazil, are much appreciated.

Thank you to the leadership and members of the Nigerian Muslim Community in Durban for their support and spiritual guidance during my stay and research in Durban. All glory, thanks, and worship are given to Allah, the Almighty, Who is above all faults, the Supremely knowing and gives to whomever He pleases regardless of race, colour, age, creed, sex, ethnicity, or nationality.

ABSTRACT

The subject of women's liberation movements has undoubtedly evoked intense debates among scholars, researchers, politicians, women political activists, feminists, and proponents of women's liberation across the globe from the colonial to the post-colonial era. Though women's role in the struggle for liberation in Africa no doubt occupies considerable time and space in history, there is little historical documentation as compared to the menfolk. Nigeria and South Africa share similar trajectories of colonial oppression and resistance. In both countries, women played pivotal roles in the liberation movement. The key aim of this study is to compare the roles of Nigerian and South African women in the liberation movements as there is a paucity of comparative study in the existing literature. This study focuses on three issues: the *motives* for women's participation; *nature of women's' protests* and the *experiences of women as political prisoners*. The study adopts a qualitative research methodology using a historical approach that combines oral interviews and archival sources. It is framed within post-colonial, intersectionality, and resistance theories seeking to shift women's voices from the margins to the centre in liberation narratives. The thesis contributes a deeper insight into the trials and tribulations of women's participation in the liberation movements. A comparative study of South Africa and Nigeria highlights commonalities and differences into factors that shaped and defined women's resistance on the African continent.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xi
LIST OF MAPS.....	xv
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF PICTURES.....	xv
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
Background and outline of the research problem.....	1
Statement of the Problem: Broader issues to be investigated.....	8
Research problems and objectives: Key questions to be asked.	9
Research problems and objectives: Broader issues to be investigated:	10
Justification of the Study.....	11
Limitation of the Study.....	12
Scope of the Study.....	12
Research methodology and methods:.....	17
Research Design	18
Sources of Data Collection	18
Details of Participants:	20
Other Repositories/sources	28
Nigeria:.....	29
South Africa:	30
Ethical Consideration	31
Mode of Analysis.....	32
Structure of the dissertation:	32

CHAPTER TWO	35
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	35
Introduction	35
Literature Review	35
European and American: Feminist movement	35
Asia and Latin America: Colonialism and Liberation Movement	39
Africa: Colonialism and Liberation Movement	40
South Africa: Colonialism/Apartheid, Women Liberation Movement	47
Nigeria: Colonialism, Women Liberation Movement	53
Prison and Imprisonment	57
Significance of Study	59
Theoretical Framework	60
Conclusion	66
CHAPTER THREE	67
SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN	67
SOUTH AFRICA AND NIGERIA	67
Introduction	67
Socio-Economic and Political Condition in South Africa 1900 – 1990s	67
1900 – 1910	67
Migrant Labour System and Urbanisation 1920 – 1930s	68
The 1940s	72
1950s: The Defiance and Anti-pass Campaigns and FEDSAW	77
The 1960s -The Political lull	79
The 1970s – Youth Movement	81
The 1980s: The United Democratic Front and Women’s Organisations	84
Socio–Economic and Political Condition in Nigeria 1900 – the 1990s	86
1900 – 1914	86
1914 – 1940s- The Inter-War Years	88

The 1940s - Youth Movement	91
1945 – 1960- The Status of Nigerian Women	93
The 1960 – 1990s, Post-Colonial Women in Politics	100
Conclusion	101
CHAPTER FOUR.....	102
MOTIVES FOR WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION	102
IN THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT.....	102
Introduction.....	102
Familial Influence	102
Socio-Economic Factors	111
The Effects of the Group Areas Act	116
The Role of Trade Union.....	121
Role of Political Organisations.....	124
Colonial/Apartheid Education.....	128
Conclusion	132
CHAPTER FIVE	133
MODES OF PROTEST.....	133
Introduction.....	133
Collective Organisation	133
Non-violent modes of protest	139
Passive Resistance	139
Strike/Boycotts	143
Songs and Dances.....	145
Petitions and Letter Writing and Dialogue.....	151
Conclusion	155

CHAPTER SIX	156
WOMEN’S EXPERIENCES IN THE PRISONS	156
Introduction	156
Social-Economic and Political Circumstances that led to Women’s Imprisonment	156
Prison Experiences of Women	162
Treatment of Women Prisoners	163
Sexual Harassment, Assault, and Abuse	165
Impact on Health	170
Access to Education	171
Solitary Confinement and House Arrest	173
Prison Resistance	176
The Impact of Imprisonment on Women	178
a. Mental Illness	178
b. The Effect of Imprisonment on Activists’ Families	181
Conclusion	187
CHAPTER SEVEN	188
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	188
Introduction	188
Key findings	189
Significance	194
Recommendations	195
Appendixes	196
Bibliography	209

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACE	Aba Commission of Enquiry
AMWA	Aba Market Women Association
ATWA	Aba Township Women's Association
AWA	Aba Women Association
ALC	Abeokuta Ladies Club
AWU	Abeokuta Women's Union
AG	Action Group
ACW	African Council of Women
AFCWU	African Food and Canning Worker's Union
AGI	African Gender Institute
ANC	African National Congress
ANCWL	African National Congress Women's League
APO	African Political Organization
APC	Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives
ACDWF	All China Democratic Women's Federation
BE	Bantu Education
BWA	Bantu Women Association
BWL	Bantu Women's League
BCP	Black Community Programmes
BPC	Black People's Convention
BS	Black Sash
BSS	Black Students' Society
BWF	Black Women's Federation
BYM	Borno Youth Movement
BCA	British Colonial Authority
BWLM	British Women's Liberation Movement
CMAPC	Cato Manor Anti-Pass Campaign
CP	Communist Party
CPSA	Communist Party of South Africa
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSAW	Congress of South African Women
DO	District Officer

DL	Doctor of Laws
DWP	Durban Westville Prison
EDCs	Economically Developed Countries
ENN	Emirs in Northern Nigeria
EWA	Enugu Women Association
FNWO	Federation of Nigerian Women Organisations
FNWS	Federation of Nigerian Women's Societies
FEDSAW	Federation of South African Women
FEDTRAW	Federation of Transvaal Women
FA	Feminist Africa
FCWU	Food and Canning Workers Union
FRK	Fumilayo Ransome-Kuti
GLDC	Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre
GWU	Garment Workers Union
GWC	Gompo Women's Congress
IWMS	Ikomi Women Majeobaje Society
ICWU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IWB	Inkatha Women's Brigade
JCC	Johannesburg City Council
KDL	Kenneth Dike Library
KANU	Kenyan African National Union
KCALC	Killie Campbel Africana Library and Collection
LMWA	Lagos Market Women Association,
LWO	Lagos Women Organisation
LYM	Lagos Youth Movement
LPP	Lenin Peace Prize
MWO	Moroccan Women Organization,
MYM	Muslim Youth Movement
NPCP	Nairobi People's Convention Party
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
NIC	Natal Indian Congress
NOW	Natal Organisation of Women
NAA	National Archives Abeokuta

NAE	National Archives Enugu
NAI	National Archives Ibadan
NCBWA	National Congress of British West Africa
NCAW	National Council of African Women
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon
NCWS	National Council of Women Societies
NWC	National Women Conference
NP	Nationalist party
NAPCDA	Native Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act
NAA	Native Administration Act
NAP	Native Administration Police
NLAA	Native Laws Amendment Act
NP	Nigeria Police
NWP	Nigeria's Women Party
NNDP	Nigerian National Democratic Party
NWL	Nigerian Women Leader
NWU	Nigerian Women Union
NWO	Nigerian Women's Organization
NYM	Nigerian Youth Movement
NEPU	Northern Elements Progressive Union
NPC	Northern People Congress
OFS	Orange Free State
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PRC	Peoples Republic of China
PASCA	Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Awareness
PRA	Population Registration Act
PAWO	Port Alfred Women's Organisation
PEWO	Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation
PCP	Pretoria Central Prison
PL	Privilege Letters
QC	Queens College
SWM	Socialist Women Movement
SNA	Sole Native Authority
SAHA	South Africa History Archives

SAHO	South African History Online
SASO	South Africa Student Organization
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
SAP	South African Police
SWAPO	South-West Africa People's Organization
SWANU	South-West African National Union SUW Soviet Union Women
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
GAA	The Group Area Act
WF	Women's Front
TGWA	Trader's Guild Women Association
TAWU	Transvaal All Women's Union
TIC	Transvaal Indian Congress
TRC	Truth Reconciliation Commission
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe
UDF	United Democratic Front
UMBC	United Middle Belt Congress
UEA	University Education Act
UCT	University of Cape Town
UI	University of Ibadan
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
WASU	West African Students' Union
WC	Women Charter
WPCN	Women for Peaceful Change Now
WLM	Women Liberation Movement
WMN	Women Movement of Nigeria
WDM	Women's Dance Movement
WIS	Women's Improvement Society
WLG	Women's Liberal Group
WNC	Women's National Coalition
UWO	Women's Organisation
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZAWU	Zimbabwe African Women's Union

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: Map of Nigeria before amalgamation in 1914, showing the Northern and Southern protectorates and Lagos Colony.....	14
Map 2: Map of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914.	15
Map 3: Shows the boundaries of the Union of South Africa at the time it entered the First World War in 1914.	17

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: List of some unknown Colonial Nigerian Women Political Activists	95
---	----

LIST OF PICTURES

Picture 1: The Indian women resisters of the 1913 Satyagraha campaign	71
Picture 2: Anti-Pass Women Protesters at the Germiston Magistrate’s Court in 1956.	141
Picture 3: Market women in demonstration in front of the Native authority ruler of Egba in Abeokuta otherwise known as Alake of Egbaland, 1947.	147
Picture 4: Women’s anti-pass demonstration at the Durban City Hall 1956.	150

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Background and outline of the research problem

In pre-colonial African societies, women's responsibilities and duties were largely shrouded in patriarchal domination.¹ In spite of the men's domination and exploitation in the pre-colonial patriarchal societies, African women challenged the inhibitory socio-political structure of their societies and contributed to the well-being and protection of their roles and cultures.² Thus, African women held some political and economic power. Medicines and rituals were used by the Omu people among the Igbo community in pre-colonial Nigeria to ensure their trading items' safety and success.³

The status of pre-colonial Nigerian women was often the same as that of men. They had considerable freedom of action and were less dependent on their male counterparts. Consequently, Nigerian women participated in mainstream political activities with relatively few restrictions.⁴ As Queens and Queen mothers wielded enormous power in most pre-colonial West African states, women formed an important part of the body politic.⁵ The majority of African societies are patrilineal, but women often hold some political positions.⁶ Also, the position of Queen Mother had significant currency in pre-colonial African societies such as Asante, Buganda, and Zulu Kingdoms wherein women asserted some authorities in male-dominated councils. For example, in Ghana, the Queen mother known as Ewe of Ghana, appointed women as advisers and spokespersons to speak for her in the council of

¹ Cindy Courville, "Re-Examination Patriarchy as A Mode of Production; the Case of Zimbabwe," in *Theorizing Black Feminisms, the Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women*, ed. Stanlie James and Abena Busia (New York: Routledge, 1993), 36.

² *Ibid.*, 35 – 36; In the mid fifteenth century Zaazzau in modern day Katsina/Kaduna, Nigeria, the woman legendary Queen Amina fortified her place with walls against enemies, conquered towns and cities into her fold and extracted taxes from her subject states. Precolonial Nigerian women such as Yon Magara of Borgu, Edeleyo of Benin Empire, Madam Tinubu and Efunsetan Aniwura of Oyo Empire were known to be involved in dynastic politics where they became important figures of Kingship and War conqueror in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See also, Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Nigeria* (New York: Longman, 1983), 190 – 198.

³ Jane Parpart, 'Women and The State in Africa' Working paper presented at the Department of History, Halifax: Dalhousie University, 1986, 2 – 4.

⁴ T.O. Kolawale, M. B. Abubakar, E. Owonibi, and A. Adebayo, 'Gender and Party Politics in Africa with Reference to Nigeria,' *Journal of Education Research* 1, 7(2012):132 – 144. Also see, Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, 190 – 192

⁵ Kathleen Sheldon, *African Women: Early History to the 21st Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 154 – 155.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 154 – 155.

male elders.⁷ However, in colonial African states, Nigerian women faced oppression and violence.⁸ Women were able to confront the government and force them to reverse their decisions.⁹ Subsequently, the social system cum-political economy of African societies began to reshape as women experienced a more oppressive and exploitative system of foreign monopoly capitalist social structure.¹⁰

In due course of time, African economic modes began to integrate into the world's capitalist economic system.¹¹ The colonial policy subsequently reshaped the class and gender structures of the African societies which was also in favour of male folks. The system also ensured the domination of women in the areas of socio-economic and labour relations by men. While African women were struggling to escape from patriarchal oppression, colonial administrative policies of the sexual division of labour, racial discrimination, class, and gender exploitation subjected them to harsher oppression.¹² Thus, African women who used to be productive in their traditional roles as mothers, wives, healers, and brewers became elements of ridicule as they were stereotyped as moody, lazy, immoral, indolent, uncivilized as well as feather-headed sex.¹³ At a point, African women were undermined by both state and church as they were neither recognized nor protected by traditional or colonial laws to the extent that they were deprived of land ownership and goods that they produced by themselves.

Similarly, despite the 'Purity League' that was formed in 1911 to prevent illegal sexual intercourse between white males and African females,¹⁴ some African women became

⁷ Parpart, *Women and The State in Africa*, 2.

⁸ O. Fayomi, and L. Ajayi, 'An Exploratory Study of Women in Political Leadership in Nigeria,' *Journal of Women and Social Sciences* 4, 4 (2009): 4.

⁹ Fayomi, 'An Exploratory Study of Women in Political Leadership in Nigeria,' 4. Further readings that show how women were active in the pre-colonial African societies is: Peggy Sanday, *Female Power and Male Dominance on the Origins of Sexual Inequality* (Cambridge: University Press, 1981); Also, on how gender affected women activist in the anti-apartheid movement, see Emma Mashinini, *Strikes Have Followed Me All My Life: A South African Autobiography* (London: Routledge, 1991).

¹⁰ Courville, "Re-Examination Patriarchy as A Mode of Production, 35 – 36.

¹¹ Ake Claude, *A Political Economy of Africa* (New York: Essex: Longman, 1981), 22.

¹² Courville, "Re-Examination Patriarchy as A Mode of Production, 39.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 22. See also, Paul La Hausse, *Brewers Beerhalls and Boycotts: A History of Liquor in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1988).

¹⁴ The 19th century Purity League was a moral standard designed to protect interest of American women and girls against the sexual assaults, temperance movement and other immoral activities. In the early 20th century Southern African countries set up a Purity League Organization (Bantu Purity League) in order to improve the moral standard of African girls and to put them in a right manner of morality, especially against premarital sex. For details see, Shula Marks, "Patriotism, Patriarchy and Purity: Natal and the Politics of Zulu Ethnic Consciousness," in *The Creation of Tribalism in South Africa*, ed. Leroy Vail (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982 – 2004).

victims of rape.¹⁵ In a bid to survive the harsh policies of colonial authority, African rural women flooded the urban centre to search for opportunities which later threatened the economic stability of colonial administration as women consequently challenged as well as confronted both the African patriarchal authority and the colonial state in order to gain freedom and equality.¹⁶ The crisis of political activism of African women can be traced back to the early 1912 in a bid to reposition and change the popular notion that women are docile.¹⁷ Rather, they were more active in most protest actions just like their male counterparts; they even played leadership a role. The motive for their uncompromising protest action was characterized by the perpetual roles in the domestic and public affairs.¹⁸

In South Africa, agitation to end the *pass laws* in the Orange Free State necessitated mass movement and active political roles played by women.¹⁹ According to Cheryl Walker, the desire of women to participate in the protest action as a motivation was the desire to combat the cankerworm of racism, injustice, and inequality and intolerance pressure of their duties as women.²⁰ Hence, there was no passiveness in the campaign against all these odds in their society. By 1913 women had developed a unique and collectively organized measure of political action towards fighting for their rights. The infringement of the rights of the Natal Indians led to a resistance in 1913.²¹ The court ruling that declared all marriages not conducted in Christian rites null and void made women and their progeny to lose their marital rights of inheritance.²²

In Nigeria, 1913 was the prelude to the eventual incidence that necessitated the collective and courageous organization of Nigerian women, to a formidable march and point accusing fingers against the colonial interlopers.²³ This effort was taken without giving consideration to the tradition that had trapped the women solely to the domestic engagement without a say in the socio-political affairs in the society.²⁴ The women resisted the men from preventing them to fight for their rights and thus gradually began to break free from the yoke of

¹⁵ Courville, "Re-Examination Patriarchy as A Mode of Production," 39.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 38 – 40; Claude, *A Political Economy of Africa*, 22.

¹⁷ Courville, "Re-Examination Patriarchy as A Mode of Production," 32.

¹⁸ Cheryl Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, (London: Onyx Press Limited, 1982), 1 – 13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1 – 13.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1 – 13.

²¹ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

²² Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

²³ National Archives Ibadan, NAI, File No. Commissioner of Colony (ComCol), 1185. Lagos Market Women Association and Colonial Administration.

²⁴ NAI, File No. ComCol. 1185.

patriarchy as well as seclusion from socio-political affairs dominated by the European lords with the involvements of the native men.²⁵

In 1914, having amalgamated the three colonies including the Lagos Protectorate, issues of tribalism, ethnicity, and racism and even sexism started to develop amongst the Nigerian people.²⁶ Hence, the atmosphere stimulated the struggle among the women against male domination and colonial oppression. Thus, further denial of women's right to participate and be recognized in the socio-political affairs began to take a different and drastic dimension as the women from Oloko, Umahia and Aba, in the eastern part of the country, put up resistance against the colonial administration for improvement in their lives and also to discuss the issue of tax over their farm produce and market goods. The first open resistance by the women happened in 1929 when Aba women confronted the colonial government over the amount of tax being levied upon them.²⁷

The liberation movement in South Africa was basically connected to the struggle against oppression and racism.²⁸ This had formed the class oppression of women linked with poverty and inequality.²⁹ South African women have realized the causes of their oppression and exploitation, became conscious and collectively agreed to embark on a non-partisan, non-racist, and non-sexist movement towards achieving a common goal.³⁰ In addition, democracy was seen as the last agenda of the struggle to be achieved which would aid them in their long struggle and agitation for rights and equality in both domestic and public spheres. It is important to bring to the fore that the outlined principles of non-sexism – were ostensibly accepted by their male counterparts whom they engaged in the liberation struggle together.³¹ But the fact remains that the men never ceased to display their masculine characteristics at different level of the liberation movement. However, women were able to manage the situation and continued with the spirit of selflessness with their uninterrupted resistance movement geared with the zeal to unanimously extricate themselves and the entire South African people from oppression and exploitation.³² In regard to the issue of male domination,

²⁵ NAI, File No. ComCol. 1185.

²⁶ Kamene Okonjo, "The Dual-Sex Political System in Operation: Igbo Women and Community Politics in Midwestern Nigeria," in *Women in Africa*, ed. Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay (Stanford: University Press, 1976), 76.

²⁷ Okonjo, "The Dual-Sex Political System in Operation," 77.

²⁸ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 1 – 13.

²⁹ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

³⁰ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

³¹ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

³² Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

Nigerian women had a similar experience. Men's pioneered parties influenced the formation of women's parties, associations, and unions.³³

In modern times, the subject of women's liberation movements has undoubtedly evoked intense debates among scholars, researchers, politicians, women political activists, feminists and proponents of women liberation across the globe.³⁴ The momentum of women liberation movement, for example, gained currency in the United States and other Economically Developed Countries (EDCs) in the late 1960s and thus continued to the 1970s.³⁵ During these periods, the interest of the advocates of this movement was to free women from oppression and male domination in their private life as tagged in the second waves of women liberation movements in the United States of America.

Women liberation movement is described as the struggle for the collective fight for gender equality. Also, feminism is defined as a doctrine that promotes or advocates for equal rights for the women. Thus, the concept of women's liberation movement is also synonymous with feminism because of the correlation in their agenda that seeks to free women from male supremacy and any form of oppression.³⁶ Be that as it may, for this study, these concepts would be used interchangeably. Women's movements had become profoundly prominent in places such as Asia, Latin America, and Africa since the periods of colonial rule. Various colonial territories in these continents experienced centuries of colonization from the 15th century up to the middle of the 20th century when the majority of them attained statehood.³⁷ The term colonial will be used interchangeably with the term apartheid in relation to issues to be covered within the period of this study when both concepts were in operation during the British imperial occupation of the South African territory.

In a similar vein, the amalgamation policy of colonial Nigeria of 1914 coupled with the obnoxious taxation policy levied upon the farmers and traders, provoked the women folks in eastern Nigeria who showed their displeasure through rioting which commenced in Oloko.³⁸ There was also the spread of similar protests leading to women's right campaign and

³³ Interview with Mrs Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017.

³⁴ Iris Berger, *Women in Twentieth Century Africa: New Approaches to African History* (Cambridge: University Press, 2016), xiv – 2.

³⁵ Linda Napikoski, 'Women's Liberation Movement – Feminism Glossary Definition, 2014.' Available from <http://womenshistory.about.com/od/feminism-second-wave/a/Womens-Liberations.htm>. Accessed on 23 February 2016.

³⁶ Napikoski, 'Women's Liberation Movement,' 2014.

³⁷ J. Allman, S. Geiger and N. Musisi, eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (University Press: Indiana 1964), 16.

³⁸ Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, 400.

uprisings in southern Nigeria up till the late 1940s and early 50s until independence was gained from Britain in 1960. This period of women's liberation movement in Nigeria also coincided with the apartheid era in South Africa because between 1948 to 1994 women's liberation movement gained momentum, as the segregation laws became intensified under apartheid.

It is pertinent to note that women's liberation movement was more peaceful in Nigeria with a minimal record of violent incidence unlike that of South Africa where there were often incidences of violent protests in several communities. However, whilst the liberation movement in Nigeria eventually ended up in flag-style independence in 1960;³⁹ the South African liberation movement ended with the granting of freedom that ushered in self-democratic governance in 1994.⁴⁰ Although both countries were formerly colonized by the British, the system of the colonial administration was different. In Nigeria, for example, the system of administration was the indirect rule, it was a rigid central system of governance that was adopted by the British in South Africa with some elements of indirect rule system in the Natal colony.⁴¹ The indirect rule was a system by which the colonial authority appointed some of the men as locals or natives of the Nigerian territory to serve as heads otherwise known as Native Authority (NA) in the region or community in order to oversee the affairs of the people.⁴² The officers of the NA reported to the colonial government about the various activities within their respective domains. Similarly, in the South African territory of the Natal colony, the native Chiefs reported to the British colonial government about the affairs of the locals while the colonial government delegated agents to enforce its policies directly on the natives of other South African communities.⁴³ Hence, during the anti-colonial liberation movement, Nigerian women revolted against the duo of the NA and the Colonial government side by side and separately as the case may be. The South African women engaged in open confrontation directly or indirectly in most instances to resist the colonial or apartheid governments as the case may be.⁴⁴

³⁹ This information is credited to Oyeronke Oyewunmi, Feminist scholar and Associate Professor of Sociology at Stony Brook University New York, USA. Was opportune to meet her during my visit to interview a participant to this study, Prof. Bolanle Awe, at her residence in Ibadan, South-West, Nigeria.

⁴⁰ Oyeronke Oyewunmi, Feminist scholar.

⁴¹ This statement is credited to Goolam Vahed, Academic, Durban, 14 August 2018.

⁴² This statement is credited to Goolam Vahed, Academic, Durban, 14 August 2018.

⁴³ This statement is credited to Goolam Vahed, Academic, Durban, 14 August 2018.

⁴⁴ This statement is credited to Goolam Vahed, Academic, Durban, 14 August 2018.

Meanwhile, the colonial period witnessed the perpetration of some dastard acts on the parts of the colonizers against the colonized who helplessly saw the erosion of their rights for centuries. The colonized countries developed nationalistic consciousness toward liberating themselves politically and socio-economically during different periods.⁴⁵

It is a trite knowledge that the two former British colonies did not encounter similar issues which makes it incongruous when analysing some factors that elicited anti-colonial responses from women in both colonies in the period under review. For instance, factors such as geography, and morphology led to the status of South Africa, as a settled colony, which was partly responsible for one of the most oppressive colonial experiences in history. Nigeria on the other hand was not blessed with such geography and morphology that is conducive to white settlers. In fact, tropical Africa where the region of Nigeria is situated was tagged as the white man's grave, as it is endowed with tropics and mosquitoes which were factors that informed the reluctant presence of colonialists and white settlers in Nigeria. Oppressive colonials in South Africa are sufficiently recorded. White autocracy did not hesitate to use military force, aided by legal and administrative terror, fear, social and economic pressures, complacency, and confusion generated by propaganda and education.⁴⁶

Having said that, with respect to the factors that spurred anti-colonial actions by women, it would appear that international issues surrounding women's affairs, which is political inclusion, socio-cultural and economic marginalization became a subject of concern for Nigerian women. In the twilight of colonialism, marginalization of women in South Africa was considerably on its apogee, with anti-pass clamour trumpeted in the nooks and crannies of the socio-political and economic fields of South Africa.⁴⁷

The two World Wars gave impetus to the people of the African colonial territories to demand independence in which many writers focused significantly on the roles played by men in the anti-colonial struggle. It is important to note that several women were equally involved in the struggle for independence from the British colonial master. To this end, women were recognized to have been active participants in political protests and resistance against the colonial government and other forms of oppression. It was in acknowledgment of the bravery of women in political protests in colonial Africa that Aaronette asserts that instead of the

⁴⁵ Courville, "Re-Examination Patriarchy as A Mode of Production," 39.

⁴⁶ Alan Paton Centre (APC), PC 170/7/2/4/3 African National Congress Advanced to power: 75 years of struggle, 4.

⁴⁷ APC, PC170/7/2/4/22 Cheryl Walker, Conference paper, 23.

people and particularly women of Algeria “becoming victims of conquest, they became creators of history.”⁴⁸ In this regard, rural women worked behind the scene rendering support by serving as cooks, messengers, and informants.⁴⁹ In some cases, they acted as combatants, financiers, as well as active members of political organizations such as the South West African National Union (SWANU) of modern-day Namibia, Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), and Zimbabwe African Women’s Union (ZAWU) in Zimbabwe. They were also active in Tanganyika African National Union, (TANU) in Tanzania, Moroccan Women Organization, (MWO) “*Akhawat al-Safa*” (Sisters of Purity), and Nairobi People’s Convention Party (NPCP) which later infused into a new party, the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) to mention but a few.⁵⁰

However, lack of comparative studies of African women’s liberation movement is a critical issue that this study seeks to interrogate. Therefore, this study compares and contrasts the roles of women in the liberation movements in both Nigeria and South Africa. It centres on three key issues: the *motives for women’s participation*; the *nature of women’s protests* (petitions, letter writing, collective organization; protest marches, protest songs, boycotts, and hunger strikes); and the *experiences of women as political prisoners*. A comparative study of women’s role in the liberation movements in both Nigeria and South Africa provides a deeper insight into the gendered nature of women’s participation on the African continent. It also highlights how regional differentiation, religion, gender, class, and ethnicity impact women’s motives, the nature of their protest, and their prison experiences.

Statement of the Problem: Broader issues to be investigated.

The literature on liberation movements has largely focused on masculine roles since the end of colonial rule and apartheid in Nigeria and South Africa, respectively. Existing works on the liberation movements often analyse the historical dynamics of colonial dominance and exploitation in Africa, focusing primarily on Southern Africa and ignoring the rest of Africa. The research interest in liberation movements in Africa has led to the publication of several studies recounting the past of a few African states while others have been left untouched. It is imperative to note that most of these studies focused on their respective sub-regions or

⁴⁸ Aaronette White, ‘All the Men Are Fighting for Freedom, All the Women Are Mourning Their Men, but Some of Us Carried Guns: A Raced-Gendered Analysis of Fanon’s Psychological Perspectives on War,’ *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 32, (1967): 4.

⁴⁹ Joyce Chadya, ‘Voting with their Feet: Women’s Flight to Harare during Zimbabwe’s Liberation War,’ *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du, Canada* 18, 2 (2007): 24 – 52.

⁵⁰ Berger, *Women in Twentieth Century Africa*, 82.

nations with few focusing on regional intersections of anti-colonial movements, regardless of whether they were male or female centred. Women's roles in Africa have occupied considerable space and time in history, yet little is known about their past. Nationalist narratives to some extent are still dominated by male accounts. The need to shift women's liberation narratives from the margins to the centre is wanting given the crucial role they played in the struggle.

The experiences of African women have been described in existing literature without dissociating them from oppression and discrimination due to their intersection of age, sex, culture, religion, language, race, and ethnicity. Comparing African women's anti-colonial experiences across regions will fill this gap in the literature. Using Nigeria and South Africa as case studies, this study examines the roles of women in liberation movements through a comparative study from the West and Southern African perspectives. Since the two countries have similar histories of colonialism and oppression, a comparative study will highlight nuances in women's activism and factors that shaped their political consciousness. This study examines women's contributions to the liberation movements from the perspectives of their motives for participation, the nature of the protests, and their experiences as political prisoners. The researcher chose these three themes because they were absent from liberation narratives and historiography. It is an aspect yet to be documented. In addition, exploring these themes will illuminate and reshape public perception of women's roles in the anti-colonial struggles in Africa thereby illuminating women's agency and voices.

Research problems and objectives: Key questions to be asked.

The following questions are germane to this study as they are premised on the lack of comparative understanding of the roles of Nigerian and South African women in the liberation movements.

1. What factors motivated women to participate in the liberation movement?
2. What were the various forms of protests employed by the Nigerian and South African women in the liberation struggle?
3. What were the prison experiences of Nigerian and South African women activists during the struggle?
4. How did race, class, gender, ethnicity, language, and religious affiliation impact women's participation in the struggle?
5. To what extent has the women's role in the liberation movement been gendered?

Research problems and objectives: Broader issues to be investigated:

This research centres on the roles of Nigerian and South African women in the liberation movement, which is an aspect of the liberation struggle that has received little or no attention in several bodies of literature surveyed. Thus, the study intends to comparatively investigate the roles of women in liberation movements in Nigeria and South Africa respectively within the context of their motives for participation, nature of protests, and prison experiences. This research, therefore, examines these issues through the following objectives:

1. To identify, compare and contrast the factors that led to women's participation in the liberation movements in Nigeria and South Africa, within a comparative framework. These factors are categorized into socio-economic and political factors.
2. To compare and contrast the various forms of protests employed by the Nigerian and South African women during the liberation movements. It focuses on modes and forms of protests- strikes, boycotts, letter and petition writing, dialogue, song, and dance and how they collectively shaped and defined women's resistance.
3. To compare and contrast the experiences of Nigerian and South African women as political prisoners. These experiences varied from solitary confinement, psychological trauma, prison conditions and ill-treatments leading to health challenges such as loss of pregnancies, sicknesses, and sexual assaults among others.
4. To examine the impact of race, class, gender, ethnicity, language, and religious affiliation on Nigerian and South African women in the liberation movements; how they intersected and intertwined, shaped and defined Nigerian and South African women's experiences in the liberation movements.
5. To assess the extent to which women's role in the liberation movements was gendered within a comparative framework.

Justification of the Study

Nigeria and South Africa share similar trajectories of colonial oppression and resistance. In both countries, women were instrumental in the liberation movement as they played a pivotal role in the struggle for gender equality and political independence. During the period of colonialism in Nigeria and apartheid in South Africa, women's movement and feminism became heightened in both countries as they challenged gender roles, racism, and patriarchy. Thus, they engaged in diverse acts of resistance: protests marches, rallies, trade unionism, boycott, and strikes.

I am interested in researching and understanding issues of gender and women's history in Africa during the colonial era as it is a branch of African history yet to be fully explored. I also followed the anti-apartheid movement, and in particular, Nelson Mandela closely, and when the opportunity arose to do my postgraduate studies in South Africa, it seemed the perfect opportunity to combine both my interests and do a comparative study of women in Nigeria and South Africa. Both countries served as role models to each other: Nigeria was a staunch supporter of the anti-apartheid movement and the oppressed communities in South Africa drew inspiration from Nigeria's independence.

There have been several studies conducted in South Africa on women's involvement in anti-colonial activism and few on Nigeria over the past decades. In South Africa, colonial rule lasted for a long time, while Nigeria was colonized during the 'Scramble for Africa' and had a relatively short period of colonial rule. South Africa was colonized by the British and later by a minority white group, while the colony of Nigeria remained under British control. In 1960, Nigeria became independent, while in 1994, South Africa achieved democracy. The purpose of comparing these countries is to understand the differences and similarities regarding women's involvement in anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles in their respective times and spaces. It represents a unique publication on the roles of women in the liberation movements in Africa, as well as a recent work on the roles of women in nationalist struggles in South Africa and Nigeria. In light of the aforementioned and the scarcity of literature on comparative nationalists, struggles in Africa, it piqued my interest to pursue this study.

Limitation of the Study

This study is not without limitations. There were several obstacles. For example, the researcher found it difficult to elicit detailed information from some participants— particularly political prisoners. Very few women activists recorded their prison experiences in Nigeria, and it is quite unfortunate that so many of them have since passed away. However, personal diaries at Kenneth Dike Library in the University of Ibadan and information at the Enugu Archives in Nigeria in conjunction with oral interviews, were useful in extracting information on women activists in Nigeria.

The financial limitations and the outbreak of the Covid-19 in March 2020 pandemic presented unprecedented challenges for me because I was unable to gain access to archives and libraries in both countries during this time.

However, the research was aided by digital archives. The following online repositories contain considerable amounts of information about South African activists: South Africa History Archives (SAHA), South Africa History Online (SAHO), Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre (GLDC), and Truth Reconciliation Commission (TRC Collection) which contains recordings of interviews conducted with women activists prior to their deaths.

A few interviews with the available participants were augmented by the online archives.

The process of gathering oral interviews in South Africa proved difficult, as some participants chose to relay their experiences better in their native tongues such as *isiZulu*. Furthermore, because the researcher is not proficient in *isiZulu*, some of the information in the archives, such as the newspaper *Ilanga lase*, was difficult to understand. Thus, the researcher sought the help of an *isiZulu* scholar as a research assistant to compensate for this limitation.

Scope of the Study

The Study Area: Nigeria and South Africa are the study areas. The cities and towns of anti-colonial movements and apartheid struggles are highlighted in this research.

In Nigeria, among the pockets of the protest movements were cities such as Abeokuta, Lagos, Ibadan, and Ife in the western region and Oloko, Enugu, Aba, and Owerri in the Easter region among others. These were the main flashpoints of protests actions against colonial

oppression. This movement began in 1914 after the amalgamation of the southern and northern protectorates and in the wake of feminism and gender sensitivity in the 1940s up till the early 1960s after independence. The feminist movement gained momentum in western Nigeria in the mid-1920s against the patriarchal system, the marginalization of girl child education, and market women oppression. There was agitation for women's representation and participation in the native administration in the east and western Nigeria. The movement also intensified in the eastern part when the taxation of women was implemented by the colonialists in connivance with the male native authority rulers leading to the outbreak of the women's war of 1929.

In 1948, the National government of South Africa intensified its implementation of the segregation policy of apartheid. An example of such policy was *pass law* against women which precipitated protests and campaigns by women across towns and cities in the 1950s. The protests were also used to demonstrate gender inequality and the apartheid regime. This was followed by the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, the 1976 uprising in Soweto, and the youth movement of the 1970s and 1980s through the era of self-democratic rule in the early 1990s.

The researcher collected data for the study through oral interviews with participants of the movements and eyewitness accounts within the study sites and gathered data from personal memoirs, files and diaries from archives and research institutions in these countries.

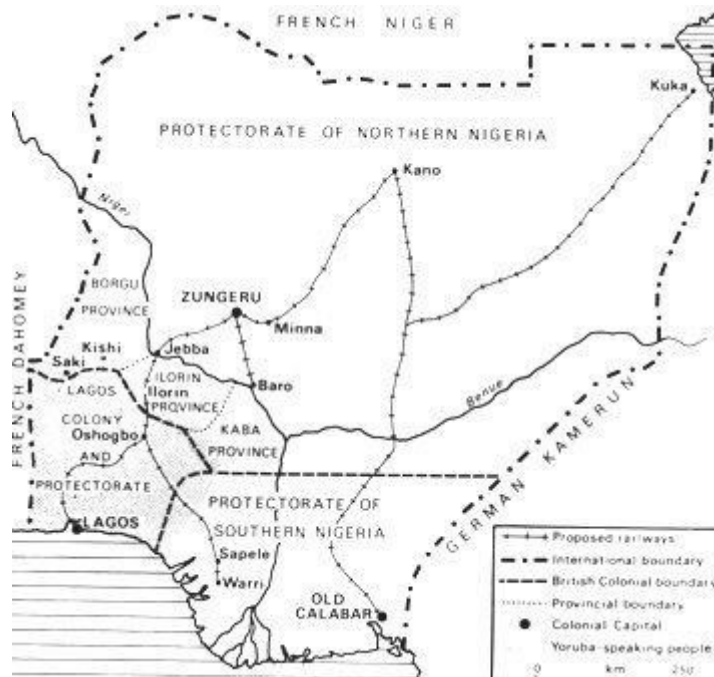
Duration of the Study:

The study covers a period of eighty years. Its commencement date is 1914 and terminates in 1994. The purpose of arriving at the commencement and terminal dates for this study is premised on historical significance. In several research on Nigerian history since the end of the colonial period, 1914 has been adopted as a significant date in Nigerian history.⁵¹ The landmark event was recorded on 1st January 1914 when Southern and Northern protectorates were merged to become one Nigerian colony under –Governor-General, Sir Fredrick Lugard.⁵² Maps 1 and 2 illustrate the towns, cities, and regions that made up the protectorates.

⁵¹ Ogunleye Ademola, *The Nigerian Prison System* (Ikoyi: Specific Computers Publishers, 2007), 11 – 12.

⁵² See figure 1 and 2. The protectorates are depicted in a map of Nigeria under the British colonial government as of 1914. In his amalgamation speech, 1st Governor General of Nigeria Lord Lugard stated that “It would be to the great advantage of the countries known as Southern and Northern Nigeria that they should be amalgamated into one Government, conforming to one policy and mutually co-operating for the moral and material advancement of Nigeria as a whole.” NAI Command Paper 468, 1919; Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the

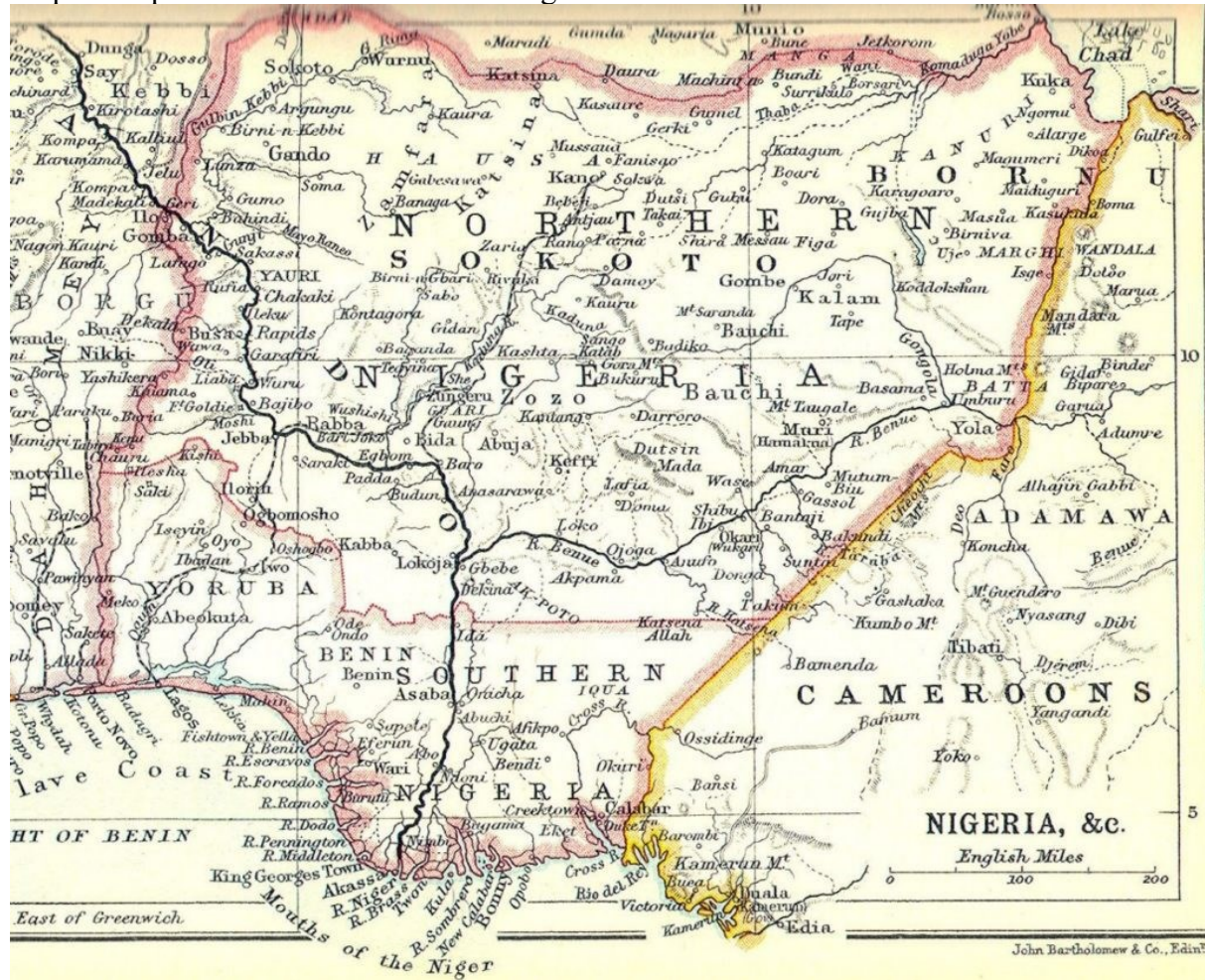
Map 1: Map of Nigeria before amalgamation in 1914, showing the Northern and Southern protectorates and Lagos Colony.



Source: Akin Akinboro, 'The PR2J3C4 1914 Amalgamation.' Available at <https://the234project.com/history/nigeria/the-nigeria-1914-amalgamation/>. Accessed 28 August 2017.

Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration 1912 – 1919; See, Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa 5th edition* (London: Archon Books, 1965).

Map 2: Map of Northern and Southern Nigeria in 1914.



Source: Pinterest, 'Sub-Saharan Africa.' Available at <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/725501821192502229/>. Accessed 28 February 2017).

1914 is also significant in South African history. The South African National Party was founded in 1914.⁵³ In addition, the newly formed South African Native National Congress, protested against the 1913 Natives' Land Act, which deprived Africans of land ownership. The anti-pass protests by African women in the Orange Free State in 1913 and Indian women's participation in the Satyagraha campaigns of 1913 and 1914 highlighted the significance of women as a political constituency.⁵⁴ Also, it marks a landmark for Indian politics as the Solomon Commission (SC) was established to investigate the reasons for the Indian resistance. It culminated in the passing of the Indians' Relief Act of 1914, which

⁵³ A J. Christopher, "South African Petitions to the House of commons, 1833 – 1914: Grievances, Protests, Advice and Information", *Historia*, 63, 1 (2018): 1 – 23.

⁵⁴ Christopher, "South African Petitions to the House of commons, 1833 – 1914", 2.

abolished the three-pound tax on Indians and recognised non-Christian marriages.⁵⁵ Furthermore, both the British protectorate of Nigeria and the dominion of the Union of South Africa entered the First World War in 1914.⁵⁶

The end date for the study is 1994 which marks the period that South Africa achieved democratic rule putting an end to white supremacist minority rule. Moreover, 1994 was a significant year in Nigerian history because the acclaimed winner of 1993 election MKO Abiola was imprisoned in June 1994 for declaring himself the state's leader.⁵⁷ This was followed by the annulment of the 1993 national election that supposed to usher in a new democratic system for Nigeria as it were for its South African counterpart, rather Nigeria headed to internal political crisis.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ The notice board at Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre at Westville campus, University of KwaZulu-Natal holds some pictorial illustration and information about the India movement against the British colonial rule.

⁵⁶ Robert Holland, 'The British Empire and the Great War, 1914 – 1918,' in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century*, edited by Judith Brown, Wm Roger Louis and Wm Roger Louis (Oxford: university Press, 1999), 1 – 2.

⁵⁷ Adonis Hoffman, "Nigeria: The Policy Conundrum", *Foreign Policy*, 101 (1995 - 1996): 146 – 158.

⁵⁸ Hoffman, "Nigeria: The Policy Conundrum", 152.

Maps 3: Shows the boundaries of the Union of South Africa at the time it entered the First World War in 1914.



Source: New Zealand History, ‘Map of South Africa in 1914.’ Available at <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/map-south-africa-1014>. Accessed 13 February 2023.

Research methodology and methods:

The researcher considered the theoretical framework and research design before deciding on the most appropriate methodology to be employed that can provide unbroken analyses of the research problems. It must be admitted that the methodology for studying women’s history is an unfolding one that will continue to be explored more as new research is undertaken. Women and gender studies remain an emerging sub-discipline of history in Africa, and in order to inject new ideas into them, the methodical approach for studying them must be reviewed from time to time.⁵⁹ Thus, the researcher adopted a qualitative research methodology to drive home the arguments on this study. This methodology can be explained under the following interconnected headings:

⁵⁹ Osifodunrin Ayodele Paul, ‘Violent Crimes in Lagos, 1861 – 2000: Nature, Responses and Impact,’ (D. Phil, dissertation, University of Lagos, 2007), 26.

Research Design

In line with the research questions and methodology, the research design of the study can be understood through the qualitative research approach. According to Creswell, the qualitative research approach entails historical narratives, ethnographic, phenomenology, biographic, and case study.⁶⁰ Again, qualitative data consists of sentences, and phrases that constitute a descriptive, narrative, and thematic analysis and in some cases may include visual images, audio, and video recordings.⁶¹

To that extent, this study is mainly qualitative in its approach as the researcher adopted historical narrative and phenomenological approaches because they relate to personal experiences in the context of understanding the phenomena of a liberation movement that involved people – Nigerian and South African women.⁶² The researcher's oral interviews with participants were either audio/voice recorded or written. The recorded voices were further transcribed and thematically analysed with the written information and followed with the subsequent interpretation of archival information. Thus, oral interviews and archival information were critically analysed and thematically constructed in this dissertation.

Sources of Data Collection

The sources of data are divided into two groups, which are - Primary and Secondary sources.

Primary sources involve oral interviews, government records such as colonial correspondence, gazettes, bulletins, police reports, and newspaper cuttings. Oral interviews were conducted in order to elicit information from the participants on the subject matter for the purpose of evaluation.

The researcher adopted purposive sampling techniques for this study. This is a non-probability technique that allowed the researcher to settle for participants that can provide relevant and adequate information on the subject matter based on their availability and

⁶⁰ John Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998), 12.

⁶¹ A. Lacey, and D. Luff, *Trent Focus for Research and Development in Primary Health Care: An Introduction to Qualitative Analysis* (Trent Focus: London, 2001), 1 – 6.

⁶² J. C. Welman, and S. J. Kruger, *Research Methodology for the Business and Administrative Sciences* (Johannesburg: International Thomson, 1999), 23.

willingness to participate in the study.⁶³ Through the purposive sampling technique, this study has been shaped in its appropriateness for determining the choice of participants at a given time, based on the experiences and knowledge possessed as regards the study. The researcher relied on a qualitative approach that combines oral interviews with archival sources.

Oral information was gathered through semi-structured open-ended interviews with the participants of the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles in both South Africa and Nigeria. The sample population for this study are women who are directly involved in the struggle. The study was carried out in both Nigeria and South Africa and participants were interviewed at either their residences or places of work. Participants included adult women in their 50s and above who experienced, witnessed the struggle as it unfolded, or had been privileged to receive information from those directly involved. Others were close associates, family, and friends who were involved in the struggle.

Interviews were proposed to be conducted with 20 participants, divided among the two countries 10 by 10. However, due to challenges encountered as explained under the limitation of the study the researcher was only able to access thirteen (13) participants. Hence, the researcher managed to access and interview 7 participants in South Africa and 6 in Nigeria. The seven participants from South Africa were made up of 3 African women, 3 Indian women, and 1 coloured woman while the Nigerian participants consisted of six (6) African women. The length of each of the oral interviews was between 15 to 90 minutes. Each of the oral interviews was in most instances recorded with a laptop computer or cell phone and sometimes notes were taken.

⁶³ C. Teddlie, and F. Yu, *Mixed Methods Sampling: A Typology with Examples* (Louisiana State University: Sage Publication, 2007), 1 – 10.

Details of Participants:

South African Participants:

Name: **Ela Gandhi**

Age: 78

Race: Indian

Level of Education: Tertiary

Religion: Hindu

Ela Gandhi is the granddaughter of the late Mahatma Gandhi. She was an activist in the liberation movement in South Africa. She participated in the Natal Indian Congress (NIC). She was the founder of Natal Organisation of Women. During the anti-apartheid movement, she was banned and placed under house arrest for nine years and also arrested and detained for a day. She also faced the trauma of arrest as housewife and mother when her husband was in detention. In this interview, Ela discussed her experiences as an activist, a wife, and how organisations such as Natal Indian Congress, African National Congress, and the United Democratic Front fought against the issues of discrimination, segregation, and pass law. Ela was interviewed at her private residence in Durban on 1 August, 2018. The interview was recorded with a laptop voice recorder with little information penned in the paper. Interview conducted for 38 minutes 50 seconds. This was later transcribed, analysed and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Name: **Theresa Mthembu**

Age: 83

Race: African

Level of Education: Tertiary

Religion: Christian

Theresa Mthembu was born in 1934 to Catholic parents. Her father was a Catechist and mother was a domestic worker. Theresa participated in the struggle for liberation and experienced racism in society when she was growing up as a young schoolgirl. She was not

arrested but witnessed different assaults experienced by her co-comrade in the struggle. During the interview, Theresa shared her experience with particular reference to one of her role models in the anti-apartheid movement (Victoria Mxenge) who was assassinated by apartheid police for sensitizing women and Africans toward the evils of the Bantu education. Theresa was motivated by Mxenge. She equally explained how church organisations like Diakonia and clerics such as late Archbishop Denis Hurley were instrumental to the emancipation of African women. Theresa was interviewed at the ANC regional office in Durban on 14 June 2017. The interview was recorded with audio voice recorder. Interview conducted for 39 minutes 01 seconds. This was later transcribed, analysed, and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Name: **Generosa Dudizile Beato**

Age: 63

Race: African

Level of Education: Matric

Religion: Christian

Generosa was born in 1956. She was a participant of the anti-apartheid liberation movement. In an interview with Generosa, she reminisced about her mother's narratives in the famous 1956 defiance march in Pretoria which coincided with the year of her birth. She said that the main cause of the protest march was the issue of pass laws to be carried by African women. Additionally, Generosa explained how her family was placed under distress of shelter due to the Group Area Act of the 1950s. She added that the Act enforced a forceful removal of her family from Bluff to Umlazi. She also talked about the arrest of her husband while she was nursing a 3-month-old baby. She explained that the bus boycott was used to protest against the high bus fares in Natal. Generosa was interviewed in Umlazi in Durban, on 7 September 2019. The interview was basically audio recorded and written. Interview was conducted for 18 minutes. This was later transcribed, analysed, and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Name: **Sumboornam Moodley**

Age: 71

Race: Indian

Level of Education: Tertiary

Religion: Hindu

Sumboornam was born in 1948. She contributed to my research by explaining the issues of the potatoes boycott and the impact of the Group Area Act as part of the motives for women's participation in the liberation movement. She highlighted the mode of protest employed by students in the late 1960s when theatre and drama stage were used as a medium to sensitize youths about the racism, inequality, and political marginalization in the country. This interview gave me insight into the youth movements in the 1970s as they politicized young women. She also narrated her experience when she was arrested after her presentation at a meeting organised by South Africa Student Organization (SASO) in 1976 and detained in Umlazi. Sam was interviewed at the Newlands West in KwaZulu-Natal on 1 July 2019. The interview was recorded with a computer voice recorder. Interview was conducted for 57 minutes. This was later transcribed, analysed, and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Name: **Saydoon Nisa**

Age: Adult

Race: Indian

Level of Education: Tertiary

Religion: Islam

Saydoon Nisa was born in 1950s. She participated in the anti-pass and defiance campaigns in the 1980s. She is currently active in the struggle for peaceful co-existence among the diverse religions in South Africa and Africa at large. She shared with me the reason for her participation in the struggle for liberation. She stated that the Tri-cameral legislative system that excluded Black Africans in the parliament, spearheaded her political activism. Moreover,

she became actively involved in the Muslim Youth Movement, largely influenced by her parents. This interview gave me insight into the role of interfaith collaboration in the process of finding peace and unity among the diverse race and religions in the country. In addition, she provided an insight into gender violence and its dynamics that make it difficult for women to open up about their experiences. Saydoon was interviewed in Durban 12 June 2019. The interview was recorded with a computer voice recorder. Interview was conducted for 37 minutes. This was later transcribed, analysed, and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Name: **Lucille Elizabeth Webster**

Age: 63

Race: Coloured

Level of Education: Tertiary

Religion: Christianity

Lucille Webster was born in 1956. She was a participant in the anti-apartheid struggle. During the interview, Lucille explained how she grew up listening to her parent and family talking about their experiences as victims of forceful removal in Cape Town. She explained how racism and the 1976 Soweto children uprising motivated her to be politically conscious. She narrated her experience as a victim of trauma arising from the imprisonment of her husband and brother-in-law for allegedly being involved in anti-apartheid terrorist activities in the 1980s. Lucille was interviewed via email on 30 July 2019. Her responses via email were collected, collated, and analysed.

Name: **Mary Ntombela**

Age: 68

Race: African

Level of Education: Tertiary

Religion: Christianity

Mary Ntomela was born in 1951. She participated in the anti-apartheid movement and played a role in the campaign against the pass laws. She narrated the role played by the NOW in dealing with women's issues. NOW was instrumental in the merger of the Health and Allied Workers Union to form the National Health and Allied Workers Union affiliated with COSATU. Among other issues she discussed were how women used strike actions and boycotts as modes of protest. Mary was interviewed in the Durban central on 3 July 2019. The face-to-face interview lasted for a few minutes and the detailed response to the interview questions were later emailed to the researcher.

Nigerian Participants:

Name: **Felicia Adetoun Ogunseye**

Age: 91

Race: African

Level of Education: Tertiary

Religion: Christian

Felicia Ogunseye was born in 1926. She was the first Nigerian female professor and retired academics at the department of library and information studies, University of Ibadan. Felicia is a feminist activist. She initiated various organizations such as the Council for Women Societies and in 1965 she became the President of the Nigerian Association of University Women. Mama Ogunseye witnessed and worked with some of the women activists. In an interview with her, she explained the motives for women's participation and the mode of protest women employed during the anti-colonial movement. She pointed out that the

traditional mode of protest like closing down of market and invocation of spiritual chants and naked dancing were used. She added that dialogue, however, became the least popular mode of resistance. Mama Ogunseye was interviewed at her residence in Ibadan on 11 and 12 January 2017. The interview was recorded with the phone. Interview conducted for 1 hour 49 minutes. This was later transcribed, analysed, and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Name: **Bolanle Awe**

Age: 85

Race: African

Level of Education: Tertiary

Religion: Christian

Bolanle Awe was born in 1933. Mama Awe is a renowned historian and feminist advocate. She was the first female professor of history at the University of Ibadan. She worked closely with notable Nigerian women activists such as Wuraola Esan. In the course of the interview, she highlighted the organizational platforms under which women participated in the liberation movement. She highlighted their reasons for collective organization as a way to fight against the education and political marginalization, and poor economic status of women. Mama Awe was interviewed at her residence in Ibadan on 9 January 2017. The interview was recorded on the phone. Interview conducted for 1 hour 49 minutes. This was later transcribed, analysed, and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Name: **Afusatu Arogundade**

Age: 89

Race: African

Level of Education: Secondary education

Religion: Islam

Afusatu Arogundade was born in 1929. As a trader and an activist, she contributed to the Abeokuta Women Unions' women's liberation campaigns during the 1940s. During this interview, Afusatu assisted my research by recounting the way women protested the collaboration between the paramount King of Egaland and colonial authorities to ban the caustic soda and synthetic dye businesses of women in Egaland. Afusatu also discussed how songs were used as protest strategies. She was interviewed at her residence in Abeokuta on 28 December 2017. The interview was recorded on the phone. Interview was conducted for 47 minutes 16 seconds. This was later transcribed, analysed and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Name: **Alhaja Aminatu Abiodun Akinsola**

Age: 83

Race: African

Level of Education: Tertiary

Religion: Islam

Aminatu Akinsola was born in 1935. She was a trader and a woman activist who was among the Nigerian Women Union, Ibadan Branch. She described her experience during her activism as a trader when traditional liquor was neglected to make room for highly spirited European liquor. She explained how they protested against the introduction of European alcohol extended to Ibadan and its economic effect on the sale of indigenous alcohol on women. She also spoke about the role played by Islamic organisations, as well as Muslim women, in relation to social, economic and political restriction on women in the north and south of Nigeria. Alhaja Akinsola was interviewed at her residence in Ibadan South-west

Nigeria on 10 January 2017. The interview was not recorded but manually noted. The interview was conducted for 25 minutes. This was later analysed and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Name: **Felicia Okafor**

Age: 88

Race: African

Level of Education: Secondary education

Religion: Christian

Felicia Okafor was born in 1930. She was a farmer and trader. She was a member of the Enugu Women Association. She narrated the role Enugu Women played in the war against colonial taxes. She also talked about the effort of the women's association in ensuring that girls in Eastern Nigeria have access to education and that women have political emancipation. Mama Felicia was interviewed at her residence in Enugu on 17 January 2018. The interview was recorded on the phone. The interview was conducted for 25 minutes. This was later transcribed, analysed, and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Name: **Elizabeth Ihediawa**

Age: 87

Race: African

Level of Education: Secondary education

Religion: Christian

Elizabeth Ihediawa was born in 1931. She was a farmer and participated in the Women's liberation movement in Nigeria as a member of the defunct Enugu Women Association and Nigeria Women Union. She narrated the origin of the women's war in Nigeria. According to her, after the war, women were allowed to join the native court officials, and the British colonial government did away with the offensive tax. Elizabeth also talked about the women

arrested in the war and imprisonment. Elizabeth was interviewed at her residence in Lagos on 17 December 2017. The interview was recorded on the phone. The interview lasted for 60 minutes. This was later transcribed, analysed, and incorporated into the appropriate sections of the thesis.

Other Repositories/sources

Autobiographies and memoirs were also used in this study.

A memoir is an historical account that contains the memories of individuals preserved for understanding their past experiences as well as contributions to the society. For example, this study utilized the personal diaries of participants such as Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti and that of the women organisations like Federation of Nigerian Women Organisation (FNWO) and Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW). The memoir offers a unique perspective on the history of the FNWO and FEDSAW and women's experiences as activists in liberation movements.

Autobiographies represent direct reports or accounts of person regarding past events which he or she has witnessed. Some women autobiographies were utilized in this study to understand the perspectives of their experiences in the anti-colonial struggle. For example, some famous anti-apartheid women activists include Fatima Meer's *Prison Diary*, Helen Joseph's *Side by Side* and *491 Days* by Winnie Mandela.⁶⁴

Autobiographies and memoirs are important sources of historical writings as they can provide insights into the past events and experiences of how people have lived their lives in different time and place. Yet, these sources can be distorted by their authors. Therefore, it is not sufficient to rely solely on them but supplement with other primary sources like oral interviews to better understand the perspectives of the historical subjects.

⁶⁴ Fatima Meer, *Prison Diary: One Hundred and Thirteen Days 1976* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001); Helen Joseph, *Side By Side* (London: Zed Books, 1986); Swati Dlamini and Sahn Venter ed. *491 Days Winnie Madikizela-Mandela* (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 2017).

Other sources of primary information were acquired from the following repositories:

Nigeria:

In Nigeria, the Kenneth Dike Library located at the University of Ibadan, Ibadan, South-west Nigeria, was a valuable archival site. It houses personal collections and files of Fumilayo Ransome-Kuti known as FRK Files. The file contains letters of correspondence between Olufunmilayo Ransome Kuti the leader of Abeokuta Women Union and the Federation of Nigerian Women Organization, the Native Chief of Egbaland (Alake) and the Colonial Government. Furthermore, it provided valuable information on events related to western Nigerian women's activities during the movement, as well as conference reports, petitions and letters sent to the Colonial Divisions and Police Commissioners in Egbaland. The sources provided me with insight into how Nigerian women under the FRK used education as a protest tool, using letter and petition writings to fight oppression and inequality. It equally allowed me to understand the extent to which women were organized during the course of the struggle.

National Archives Ibadan: This repository is also located in Ibadan and housed by the University of Ibadan, south-west Nigeria. It houses valuable colonial records on issues of women taxation on market goods as well as the nationalist movement in Nigeria with particular reference to the western region. This source has the detailed records of the commissioner of colony, command papers; districts and division affairs, colonial annual reports on the activities of the Native Authorities, who were in charge of the administrative affairs of the locals in western Nigeria. I also sourced newspapers such as *Daily Service*, *West African Pilot* and *Daily Times*. These newspapers provided information on how the colonial laws and policies affected women's affairs in the areas of the economy, education, politics, and domestic issues. Collectively the sources are helpful as they gave insight into issues of the causes of women's anti-colonial activities in western Nigeria from taxation to political and economic marginalization of women. It also provided insights to women's diverse modes of protests ranging from demonstrations, petitions, boycotts, hunger strikes, protest songs and marches.

National Archives Abeokuta: This repository is located in Abeokuta, South-west Nigeria. It houses records such as the Egba Council and FRK papers relating to Funmilayo Ransom Kuti and her organizations (Abeokuta Women's Union, Nigerian Women Union, and Federation Nigerian Women Organizations). These sources provided an insight into how women reacted

to taxation and its impact on market women. They also detailed the minutes of the meetings they had with the Native Councils and the Colonial police on the arrest and detention of women in peaceful protest.

National Archives Enugu: This is a repository that is situated in Enugu, South-east Nigeria. It houses the colonial records and journals, audio tapes, posters, and voices of the Aba women's resistance in eastern Nigeria. The records found included Colonial Annual Reports from the Owerri Province, Aba districts, and reports of the Aba commission of inquiry. This provided insights to the roles played by the colonial women to gain recognition in the politics and economy of eastern Nigeria and the campaign for girl child education and women's franchise. This material provided insights into the causes and responses to the eastern Nigeria women riots of 1929 and the events that led to the arrests and imprisonment of women.

South Africa:

Killie Campbell African Library and Collections (KCALC): This repository is located in Durban. It houses a valuable collection of colonial records and official documents of women activists and women's organizations during the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Included in these collections were valuable newspapers such as *Drum*. *Drum* for the years between 1956 and 1958 provided eyewitness accounts of women's protests, and anti-pass campaigns together with photographs. The *Drum* newspapers gave me insights into the various stages of the women's liberation movement with a particular focus on the late 1940s and 1950s events. The events included the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s, the 1956 anti-pass campaign, police assaults, raids and arrests of women. It also included Cato Manor women's beer brewing riots of the late 1950s and Welkom riots of 1958. It equally provided access to private collections such as Bourquin papers. The Bourquin papers, the erstwhile Director of the Department of Bantu Administration, Mr. S B Bourquin from 1953 to 1973, provided insights to African women's economic struggles and their resistance against the apartheid state in Durban.

Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre: The repository is located at the Westville campus of UKZN. It houses the *Voices of Resistance* project, a collection of oral interviews of various struggle-stalwarts of the anti-apartheid movement. Among activists interviewed were Ela Gandhi, Yusuf Haffeejee, Maggie Govender, and Srinii Moodley. The recorded interviews gave me insight into the trials, convictions, and detentions of Indian women activists. It provided information on the experiences of women as mothers and wives of anti-apartheid

political activists such as Ela Gandhi. It provided a deeper insight into how intersections of race, culture and identity shaped the political consciousness of South Africans of Indian origin in the struggle for justice, peace and freedom.

Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives (APC): This repository is located on the Pietermaritzburg Campus of UKZN. It contains newspaper collections, such as *Peace News*, *Natal Witness*, and *Echo*. The newspaper sources provided information on women's anti-apartheid struggle in different scope of events. For example, *Echo* March 1988, offered information on key significant protests movements and *Peace News* of May 1959 provided information on police brutality on women protesters.

It also houses valuable collections on anti-apartheid political organisations such as the African National Congress (ANC), the Women's Wing of ANC, Black Sash (BS) Women for Peaceful Change Now (WPCN), and Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Awareness (PASCA). These sources allowed me to understand the position of ANC in the struggle against apartheid through the radical roles of its early educated leadership. It also gave me insight into the contribution of the Women's wing of ANC, to the liberation movement. The BS and WPCN collections gave an insight to multi-racial protests in South Africa during apartheid with particular references on women's anti-apartheid activities in Pietermaritzburg.

In addition to the primary sources described above, this study made use of secondary sources. They included books, journal articles relating to issues on gender, nationalism, and resistance. Therefore, information derived from these secondary sources is employed to correlate with information gathered from the primary sources as highlighted above.

It is from the above primary and secondary sources that this study is conceptualized, and appropriate theories adopted.

Ethical Consideration

The researcher accessed the participants with an official letter of ethical considerations that served as a bond between the researcher and the interviewees. This made the participants to voluntarily participate in the project with ethical consent forms that assured anonymity of their personalities and responses which are confidential and used solely for academic purposes. This also determined the time and space required spent in each interview. The time

and space for the interviews were agreed upon without hitches and all discussions, however, with the consent of the participants, the interviews were either recorded or written down in order to enhance appropriateness for the exercise.

Mode of Analysis

In general, the mode of analysis in this research has been chronologically presented for a systematic analysis of salient matters as the events unfolded historically. This was achieved by using a thematic, descriptive, and qualitative interpretation of information gathered from different sources. The transcribed voice notes, interviews and archival materials were analysed through thematic content analysis that frames the understanding of the theory (resistance theory) best applicable to the study. The information is thus, reviewed in light of the research questions that posed to draw out themes, in their specific context of the dissertation.

Structure of the dissertation:

Chapter One – Introduction and Background to the Study

This chapter presents background information to the study and discusses specific problems of research with key issues to be investigated in the study. The chapter highlights the research questions in their appropriateness to the objectives of the study. It equally presents the justification and discusses the scope of the study with a clear focus on the study areas and duration of the study. The chapter provides the limitation of the study by bringing to the fore the challenges of the research and the way forward. The chapter also explores the mode of data collection, using a qualitative approach with the descriptive and thematic mode of analysis.

Chapter Two - Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter is divided into two separate sections. The first section provides a review of relevant literature and scholarly contributions that are related to the study. The review of the relevant literature covers existing works of scholars on issues such as the Feminist Movement in the western world; Colonialism and the Women Liberation Movement in Asia and Latin

America; Colonialism and Women's Liberation Movement in Africa. This is followed by historiographical trends in Nigeria and South Africa. Section two of the chapter examines the theoretical frameworks that are most relevant and underpinning to this study: Intersectionality, Post-colonial, and Resistance theories.

Chapter Three – Socio-Economic and Political Condition in South Africa and Nigeria

This chapter focuses on the socio-economic and political conditions of Nigeria and South Africa during the colonial and apartheid-era from 1900 – to the 1990s as an impetus to women's participation in the liberation movements. The chapter provides a direct focus on the socio-economic and political trajectories of both countries in the following areas: South Africa: interwar years - economic depression, trade unions, anti-pass campaigns, Sharpeville massacre, and the youth movement. In Nigeria, it focuses on issues of inter-war years – economic depression, youth movement, and post-colonial women in politics from 1960 – 1990s.

Chapters Four – Motives for Women's Participation in the Struggle

This chapter provides detailed analyses of factors that motivated women's participation in the liberation movements. These factors are analysed comparatively. These include familial influence, socio-economic political and educational factors. The chapter concludes that a single paradigm is not adequate to explain women's participation in complex and subjugating experiences under colonialism. This is because colonialism engendered complex and multiple socio-economic and political factors that had contradictory and sometimes similar effects on colonial Nigerian and South African women.

Chapter Five – Modes of Protest

This sets out to establish the dynamics in the mode of protest strategies adopted by the Nigerian and South African women in the liberation movements. This chapter analyses the modes of protest in both countries in its similarities and differences. The modes of protest include and not limited to, petitions, letter writing, strikes, demonstrations, collective organizations, boycotts, protest songs and dance, and dialogue, among others. The chapter concludes that collective multiple modes of protest played a significant role in shaping women's resistance.

Chapter Six – Women’s Experiences in Prison

This chapter focuses on the prison conditions and women’s experiences. The chapter examines the reasons for women’s imprisonment. It equally examines the treatment of women in the prison in the context of mental and sexual vulnerabilities.

Chapter Seven – Summary and Conclusion

A critical evaluation of the study, in particular, key trends and issues, are highlighted. It provides the significance of the findings of the study and offers recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Scholars, researchers, policymakers, feminists, and women liberation advocates have written about liberation movements across the world, but little attention has been given to the women's movement in Africa. The main objective of this study is to compare and contrast the roles of Nigerian and South African women in the liberation movement. Thus, it is important to undertake a critical review of existing literature that focuses on issues of colonialism, women's liberation movements, and resistance within a national and global perspective. In addition, this chapter also identifies the key theories that frame this study.

Literature Review

European and American: Feminist movement

In the past decades, feminist activism has resulted in the literature about women and women's movement toward repositioning the socio-economic and political status of women in society. Barbara Deckard's third edition on *The Women's Movement*, states that the women's liberation movements had been evident in the Marxist ideology. Deckard argues that the modern socialist movement was founded by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the 1840s toward the oppressive working conditions of women and children in the factories.⁶⁵ She argues that Engels has been the first to promote Marxist ideology on women's liberation in his works. The position of Engels is highlighted by Deckard, which affirms that women were underrepresented in the economic division of labour within the family. Additionally, she demonstrates how Engels pointed out that men's supremacy over women continued to persist into the capitalist society. Engels according to Deckard, argues that capitalism did not only unfairly treat women economically or legally, but also disadvantage them socially. Hence, Marx and Engels were of the opinion that the socio-economic and legal status of women could only be transformed to equality and freedom under socialism. Therefore, the move for

⁶⁵ Barbara Deckard, *The Women's Movement: Political, Socioeconomic, and Psychological Issues, Third Edition* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1983).

women's liberation was encouraged by Engel and Marx in the European socialist movement.⁶⁶

In 1868 Marx proposed a resolution that women could be allowed to participate and be members of International Workers Association (IWA) and form branches as men do.⁶⁷ Deckard states under Marx's leadership, space of rights for political participation was given to women in the European societies. For example, Harriet Law became one of the elected members of the General Council. The author posits that as women's liberation continued to gain momentum, the German Marxists continued to encourage and render support for women's organization to criticize the capitalist government which ignored the need for radical change in the legal, property rights, and socio-economic status of women.⁶⁸

Deckard states that between 1918 – 1921 the Soviet Union Women (SUW) held a conference in Moscow, with 1,147 delegates, towards changing their socio-economic status and freeing themselves from the chains of capitalism. Soviet women organized the Socialist Women Movement (SWM) such as Zhenotdel to push for women's liberation, which was later abolished by Joseph Stalin in 1929.⁶⁹ Further, Deckard notes that the remarkable leadership of Alexandra Kollantai, a pro-woman advocate and diplomat for Bolshevik Russia, facilitated equal rights under SUW. Accordingly, Deckard pointed out that SUW's equality rights were enshrined in Article 122 of the 1936 Soviet constitution, which stated that "women have equal legal rights with men in all spheres of economic, cultural, political, and other public activities."⁷⁰

Deckard explains that in China women became sensitive to the oppressive rule and stringent marriage regulations that were in place for both males and females. Thus, between 1921 and 1927 the SWM sprang all over the cities and organized about 1,500,000 women under the women's department coalition of the Kuomintang bourgeois government.⁷¹ The Kuomintang not only broke the coalition government in 1927, but also made it a bloody year for the communists as several women were tortured, raped, and imprisoned.⁷² In 1931 the Kuomintang ostensibly promulgated equal rights laws for women but was never implemented. It was not until after the Chinese revolution of 1949 that the revolutionary and

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 222.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 225 – 231.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 233.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 233.

militant women spearheaded the struggle for women's right under the All China Democratic Women's Federation (ACDWF) and by 1950 women began to enjoy new laws and equal rights in the Peoples Republic of China (PRC).⁷³ Deckard maps out the trajectory of women's liberation movement in a world view as it emanated from the European arena and perspectives of socialists against the capitalist, foremost amongst them were Karl Marx and Fredrick Engel. Yet, Deckard's work deals with the Euro-Asian discourse about women's liberation movement but fails to cite extensive examples of women's liberation in Africa, which are essential to this thesis.

The British Women's Liberation Movement (BWLM) was triggered by inequality in the British society from the 1960s onwards. Women were socially and politically relegated to the background as second-class citizens.⁷⁴ Hence, the situation necessitated the protest championed by the leftist political activists and feminists. Sheila Rowbotham, in *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World, and Barbara Caine's English Feminism 1780-1960* published in 1997, have alluded to women's mobilization for women's rights.⁷⁵ They fought for the socio-political and legal rights of women, equal work, equal pay and the right to an education.⁷⁶ Recent scholars like Florence Binard in *The British Women's Liberation Movement in the 1970s: Redefining the Personal and the Political* explore the historical trajectories of BWLM from the 1960s to the 1980s.⁷⁷ It examines the impact of the 1970s women's first national conference on gender roles in the British society. These works are relevant to this study because they provide a means for understanding how feminist movements stimulate women's political consciousness.

The women's movement also gained momentum in the United States in the 1950s. The wave of changes in women's role can be found in Jan Vandenberg-Daves's *Modern Motherhood: An American History*, arguing that American women in the early 1950s had better life prospects than those of the 1940s, when women were confined to housework, child-bearing,

⁷³*Ibid.*, 233 – 234.

⁷⁴ Florence Binard, 'The British Women's Liberation Movement in the 1970s: Redefining the Personal and the Political,' *French Journal of British Studies* XXII- Hors Serie (2017).

⁷⁵ Sheila Rowbotham, *Woman's Consciousness, Man's World*, (London: Pelican, 1977).

⁷⁶ Caine Barbara, *English Feminism 1780-1980* (Oxford: OUP, 1997); See also, Pugh Martin, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain* (London: Macmillan, 2000).

⁷⁷ Binard, 'The British Women's Liberation Movement in the 1970'; Binard is also cited in Laura Doan, *Disturbing Practices History, Sexuality and Women's Experience of Modern War* (Chicago: University Press, 2013).

and marriages with fewer divorces.⁷⁸ At this time, divorce was not common as women were pressured by the society to get married and stay married.⁷⁹ Lundberg and Famham concur that by 1950 the marriage status had changed and the divorce record increased from 385, 000 to 395,000 by 1959.⁸⁰ Hence, the idea of sexual liberation began to spring up as women continued to make a difference in their careers within the American society.⁸¹

By the late 1950s female employment increased at rate four times faster than men and by the early 1960s, many American families could afford a luxury lifestyle as a result of their wife's income.⁸² During the second wave of the women's movement in the 1960s to 1970s American societies experienced waves of changes in gender roles from office to factory work to reproductive rights.⁸³ Lundberg and Famham affirm that wives and the roles of women in their families have changed as women have been able to correlate their happiness with their right to choose what to do at home.⁸⁴

These works provide an understanding against the post-colonial scholars' that argue that the second waves of women's liberation movement in Europe and North America were basis that triggered women's liberation movement in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This is because the studies failed to show how the women's liberation movement in Europe influenced the women's movement in Africa. Yet, it has been argued by Iris Berger that it was the western based social organisations such as the Women International Democratic Federation (WIDF) that drew inspiration of anti-colonial agenda from Africa.⁸⁵ This was not acknowledged by European and North American studies on WLM. For example, Berger provides that WIDF's contact with foremost African feminist activists such as Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria

⁷⁸ Jodi Vandenberg-Daves, ed., *Modern Motherhood: An American History* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2014); Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia Famham, *Modern Women: The Lost Sex* (New York: Richard West, 1977).

⁷⁹ Vandenberg-Daves, ed., *Modern Motherhood*, 83.

⁸⁰ Lundberg and Famham, *Modern Women*, 35 – 56.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 35 – 56.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 35 – 56.

⁸³ For American women liberation of the 1960s and late 1970s see works of Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men Women and Rape* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975). See also, Marilyn French, *The Women's Room* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977); Bestselling book of the 1960s on women liberation that provided American women the manifestos for their agitation for equality is by Betty Freidan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1963); Also frequently cited works of Ann Oakley, includes, *Gender and Sexuality* (London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1972); *A Critical Woman*; Barbara Wootton, *Social Science and Public Policy in the Twentieth Century* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011); *The Ann Oakley reader: Gender, Women and Social Science* (London: Bristol University Press, 2005).

⁸⁴ Lundberg and Marynia Famham, *Modern Women*, 35 – 56.

⁸⁵ Iris Berger, 'African Women's Movement in the Twentieth Century: A Hidden History,' *African Studies Review* 57, 3 (2014): 1 – 19.

in the late 1940s and Ray Alexander of South Africa in the early 1950s inspired the WIDF's committee and made them conscious to women's struggles in Africa and Asia.

Asia and Latin America: Colonialism and Liberation Movement

Many writers argue that several countries of the world were subjected to colonial exploitations and subjugations under the European imperialists across Asia, Latin America, and Africa between the 15th and 20th centuries. Thus, the colonized nations of Africa under the diverse strategies and control of French, British, Portuguese, Germans, and the Dutch rules were regarded as primitive, barbaric, and as a continent without history by the colonizers and western writers.⁸⁶ By the 1940s to the late 1990s colonized nations became sensitized and conscious of their dignity and therefore began to agitate for freedom and sovereignty. For example, India, Algeria, and the people of Southwest Africa now Namibia revolted against colonial rule.⁸⁷ The road to nationalism was championed by Nigerian nationalists and efforts were made to re-write the history of the country and to change the view of the western knowledge about African tradition.⁸⁸ Similarly in South Africa the oppressed Blacks revolted against colonialism and the apartheid system.⁸⁹ It should be noted that the struggle for liberation movements, and nationalism across Africa, coupled with the campaign for women's movements, globally, catalysed the engagement of Nigerian and South African women in the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movements.⁹⁰

Several studies have alluded to women's resistance. Thapar-Bjorkert focuses on the roles of middle-class Indian women in India's nationalist struggle in the midst of social backwardness, illiteracy, and purdah system.⁹¹ Basu highlights how rural, middle class, and poor urban women in India rose to revolt against colonial rule.⁹² Chatterjee too, focuses on the experiences of Indian women under colonial rule and alludes to their trade union

⁸⁶ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

⁸⁷ Lina Soiri, *The Radical Motherhood: Namibian Women's Independence Struggle* (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet: Uppsala, 1996).

⁸⁸ Toyin Falola and Saheed Aderinto, *Nigeria, Nationalism, and Writing History* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010).

⁸⁹ David Mermelstein, *The Anti-Apartheid Reader; The Struggle Against White Racist Rule in South Africa* (New York: Groove Press, 1987).

⁹⁰ J. Allman, S. Geiger, and N. Musisi, eds. *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Indiana: University Press, 1964), 264.

⁹¹ Suruchi Thapar-Bjorkert, *Women in the Indian National Movement: Unseen Faces and Unheard Voices, 1930 – 42* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006).

⁹² Amrita Basu, ed., *The Challenges of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective* (Westview Press: San Francisco, Oxford, 1995).

activism.⁹³ Legg and Taneja discuss the roles played by Indian peasant women against colonialism and patriarchy.⁹⁴ Similarly, Sen describes how gender politics sparked the women's movement in India between the 1920s and 1970s, which gradually enhanced the socio-political lives of Indian women.⁹⁵

Studies on women's movement in Latin America as expressed by Lobao and Safa indicate that women were subjected to multiple oppressions.⁹⁶ The oppression includes denial of participation in the public sphere.⁹⁷ Similarly, Craske states women engaged in social struggle against men's domination and other forms of dictatorship and fought for their rights based on the patriarchal experiences and class oppression in the public spheres.⁹⁸ According to Craske, women's recognition in the public sphere emerged from the movement against authoritarianism that was popular in Latin America in the 1940s and 1950s.⁹⁹

Africa: Colonialism and Liberation Movement

Gisela Giesler points out that anti-colonial struggles were associated with nationalist movements in various African countries during the late 1940s and 1970s.¹⁰⁰ She states that African women during these periods possessed a new and different lifestyle and philosophy irrespective of their background and educational attainments. For example, Kenyan women were instrumental to the success of the nationalists struggle during the Mau-Mau crisis in the 1950s as they engaged in active anti-colonial campaigns and were in the forefront of the struggle as fighters and intelligence gatherers.¹⁰¹ She also maintains that Zambian women took a drastic decision to join the nationalist struggle in order to liberate themselves against the tradition of their land which restricted women to domestic affairs coupled with the

⁹³ Partha. Chatterjee, 'The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question,' in *Recasting Women, Essays in Indian Colonial History*, ed. by Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1989), 237 – 239.

⁹⁴ Stephen Legg, 'Gendered Politics and Nationalised Homes: Women and the anti-colonial Struggle in Delhi, 1930 – 47,' *Gender, Place and Culture*, 10 (2003): 1; Anup Taneja, *Gandhi, Women and Nationalist Movement, 1920 – 1947* (New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 2005).

⁹⁵ Samita Sen, 'Towards a Feminist Politics? The Indian Women's Movement in Historical Perspective: The World Bank Policy Research Report on Gender and Development Working Paper Series No 9,' *Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network*, April 2000,

⁹⁶ Linda M. Lobao, 'Women in Revolutionary Movements: Changing Patterns of Latin American Guerrilla Struggle,' *Dialectical Anthropology* 15, 2 (1990): 211 – 232.

⁹⁷ Helen I. Safa, 'Women's Social Movement in Latin America,' *Gender and Society* 4, 3 (1990): 354 – 369.

⁹⁸ Nikki Craske, *Women and Politics in Latin America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁰⁰ Gisela Giesler, "Women's Participation in Nationalist Movement and Liberation Struggles; Fighting Men's Wars," in *Women and the Remaking of Politics in Southern Africa; Negotiating Autonomy, Incorporation and Representation*, ed. Gisela Giesler (Spain: Grafilur Artes Graficas, 2004).

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 264.

colonial oppression. Examples of such women in Zambia's United National Independence Party (UNIP) include Foster Mubanga, and Princess Nakatindi Yeta III, among others.¹⁰² Geisler also opines that similar patriarchal issue restricted Zambian women from involving in politics.¹⁰³ Foster Mubanga was however an exception, as she was allowed to be an activist largely through a supporting husband.¹⁰⁴

Giesler emphasizes that women's involvement in the Angolan nationalist movement was based on their opposition to capitalism.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, women's participation in the nationalist movements gained momentum with the formation of organizations and political parties in Southern Africa. These include the South-West African National Union (SWANU), the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in Namibia during the 1940s through the 1960s, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and the Zimbabwe African Women's Union (ZAWU) among others.¹⁰⁶

In addition, Lyons in *Guerrilla Girls, and Women in the Zimbabwean National Liberation Struggle*, argues that notable Zimbabwean women in the National Democratic Party (NDP), such as Sally Mugabe were among the thousands of women that participated in the nationalist struggle. The author affirms that the women demonstrated against the approval of a new constitution aimed at strengthening the domination of white parliamentarians over African counterparts.¹⁰⁷ Moreover women in the nationalist struggle were crucial for the success of the guerrilla war. On the other side, the author maintains that women faced the brunt of the struggle as thousands of them were arrested and detained in Salisbury (now Harare) for their participation in the nationalist movement. Thus, Sally Mugabe notes:

"We didn't tell our husbands about our plans. Early one morning, we left our homes, and by 7 am we were all assembled in the foyer of the Prime Minister's office in the city centre to protest in a peaceful manner, by means of placards, against the new Constitution. The Placards read: 'Women Do Not Accept This Backward Constitution,' 'Give Us our Land and Country,' and One Man One Vote. Soon our numbers had increased to the extent of over 1,

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 238 – 264.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 238 – 264.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 238 – 264.

¹⁰⁷ Tanya Lyons, 'Guerrilla Girls and Women in the Zimbabwean National Liberation Struggle' in *Women in African Colonial Histories*, edited by Allman, et al., 306 – 307.

*500 women. The police were in their hundreds
with dogs.*"¹⁰⁸

The above quote highlights women's activism and their organization as one of the largest protest actions in the history of anti-colonial resistance in Zimbabwe. They engaged the colonial authorities without the support of their male counterparts in NDP because they had failed to respond to the nationalist call for protest actions. The authors also posit that the women were pushed to protest against the Constitution because it was deemed to be inimical to their national dignity as it will further disenfranchise them and restrict their socio-economic rights.

Iris Berger affirms women's oppression under colonialism. For example, the imposition of taxes led to the war in Nigeria in 1929.¹⁰⁹ Berger highlights the role of women in Tanzania, in particular, activist, Bibi Titi Mohammed.¹¹⁰ Bibi Titi challenged cultural traditions for her to be involved in the national liberation movement. This is because African culture frowns at women's engagement in public activities and as a Muslim it was against the Islamic injunction for a woman to leave her matrimonial home without the consent of her husband.¹¹¹ Geisler concurs with Berger by stating that Bibi Titi succeeded in convincing her husband but failed to gain the support of her mother because she was afraid of losing Titi if she joins Tanzania's nationalist struggle.¹¹² Geisler alludes to Bibi Titi's patriotism and spousal support that enabled her to become a prominent activist in the nationalist struggle in Tanzania.¹¹³ However, none of the authors have highlighted women as political prisoners and their experiences, which this study seeks to address.

In *Citizen and Subject, Contemporary Africa and The Legacy of Colonialism* Mahmood Mamdani examines the paradoxical period of colonial rule in Africa, and how racism decimated African societies.¹¹⁴ This work is divided into two broad theme areas that the author premised his analysis. The first theme is the structure of power, wherein he introduces the British system of colonialism by decentralizing power to the town and villages under the control of the native authorities. Here, Mamdani brings to the fore that contemporary African

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 307.

¹⁰⁹ Berger, 'African Women's Movement in the Twentieth Century, 2014.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹¹² Giesler, "Women's Participation in Nationalist Movement and Liberation Struggles," 42.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹¹⁴ Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and "The Legacy Late of Colonialism"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

politics and its diverse situation of socio-cultural effects is rooted in colonialism. He argues that African indigenous rulers were influenced by colonial powers through authoritarianism, particularly British indirect rule in South Africa.¹¹⁵

The second theme of the book centres on the anatomy of resistance. Here, the author provides detailed examples of issues of resistance in African countries from rural to urban settlements, be it in colonial or post-colonial era. He categorizes the citizens as racial identity and ethnic identity as the subject which characterized the African traditional societies in the colonial period and brought about master servant rule that precipitated the anti-colonial movement campaign in the town and cities of African states.¹¹⁶

According to Mamdani, the colonial legacy forms the basis of incessant challenges for good governance in contemporary African states towards ending despotic governance and bringing forth a balanced democratic system. Mamdani's work does not discuss specific themes of my research rather, it creates an open thought of ideas and understanding of issues of racism, sexism, colonialism, and the apartheid system which my study revolves around. However, the work would be useful in adopting the model of comparative analysis in shaping the direction of the study as it tends to compare and contrast events from its historical perspectives.

Stuart Fowler's *Oppression and Liberation of Modern Africa*, alludes to the history of Africa in the context of colonialism.¹¹⁷ He analyses the pedagogy of colonial rule in the African colonies from the early 16th century to the late 20th century and its impacts on Africa in both colonial and post-colonial eras. However, in this regard, the pseudo-colonial development that existed through the slave trade, education, and economic and political system of colonialism on the continent of Africa are given detailed focus in this book. He contextualizes the issues of the anti-colonial movement and the rise of nationalism and the liberation movement toward ending imperial domination. Thus, he posits that post-colonial independent African development and struggle for a balanced and non-racial society campaign began by the African nationalist leaders. These include Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Kwame Nkruma of Ghana, and Nigerian Nnamdi Azikiwe, amongst others toward a united Africa, free of external influence and internal discords.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹¹⁷ Stuart Fowler, *The Oppression and Liberation of Modern Africa* (Potchefstroom: University Press, 1995).

He maintains that Africa's problems are rooted in its ethnic and religious diversity and ideological differences, thus the problems confronting African states are traceable to the centuries of colonial domination characterized by racism, oppression, and exploitation. Since the end of colonialism, Fowler argues, African leaders need to put their heads together and chart a new course for its development through grass-root renewal in the post-colonial era. Fowler equally suggests that for peace, development, and unity to be achieved, Africans should demonstrate maturity by allowing peaceful co-existence among them, regardless of their regional differences. Fowler and Mamdani's *Citizens and Subjects* are tilting towards the direction of historical context of analysis of the problems confronting African states and therefore proffering sizeable measures of addressing the challenges in the modern world with reference to the colonial antecedents.¹¹⁸

The co-edited work of Adekeye Adebajo, Adebayo Adedeji and Chris Landsberg, is a compendium of research papers on various socio-economic and political issues in Africa.¹¹⁹ The chapter on *South Africa and Nigeria in Africa: An axis of virtue*, provides the closest answer to this study's questions. Nigeria and South Africa are discussed in detail in terms of their economic, security and political relations. A comparative analysis of both countries in military and economic capacities with a view to predicting their potential hegemonic roles in their respective regions on the African continent is presented here. The authors discuss Nigeria's socio-economic support and South Africa's complementary effort during and after the apartheid regime. Therefore, this work is in line with this study, in relation to comparative analysis on the socio-political trajectories of the two countries. However, this study's subject and argument differ from that of this study for lack of deep analysis of women's political activism in the struggle against colonial and apartheid government.

In analysing African women, Iris Berger's *Women in Twentieth Century Africa*, explores the narration of feminism and the gender parity in Africa. Berger argues that African women, be it in colonial or post-colonial period experienced sexism.¹²⁰ She also argues that African women struggled to attain freedom from men's domination and control over their labour and reproductive rights. Berger narrates the status of women from different backgrounds in Africa as perceived to be voiceless over issues concerning their family, society, and national politics.

¹¹⁸ See, Fowler, *The Oppression and Liberation of Modern Africa* and Mamdani, *Citizens and Subject*, 16 – 22.

¹¹⁹ A. Adebajo, A. Adedeji and C. Landsberg, *South Africa in Africa: The Post-Apartheid Era* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007).

¹²⁰ Iris Berger., *Women in Twentieth Century Africa: New Approaches to African History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

According to Berger, African women held their ground against patriarchy and challenged the oppressive actions of men to gain economic freedom, as well as channel their ways to pursue family, and socio-political equity in the public spheres. Berger added that African women were extremely aware of their environment and became politically conscious in the mid-20th century as a result of state oppression and gender discrimination. Hence, the widespread movement for the emancipation of women from oppression through the global feminist movement gave African women more strength to understand their position within the society.¹²¹ As a historical account of African women's struggle for equality in the colonial times, Berger's work is a useful resource for this study but fails to provide a comparative analysis of women's anti-colonial movement from different parts of Africa.

Other writers on African women like Jean Allman, Susan Geiger, and Nakanyike in *Women in Africa and Women in African Colonial Histories* share similar views with Iris Berger on life histories of African women experiences during the pre-colonial and colonial periods.¹²² The authors present detailed records of historical events where African women engaged in negotiation and resistance to colonial law and structures against their cultural identity. The work highlights the impact of colonialism on African women as it reshaped the female identity, culture, socio-economic activities, and religious beliefs owing to immersion of western culture and ideas into the African societies. An example was the introduction of female circumcision for birth control in Kenya, and midwifery education for women in Senegal.¹²³ It also discusses the sensitization of African women through the working of missionaries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For example, the amalkholwa women converts became a threat economically, politically, and educationally to the Christian missionaries in South Africa.¹²⁴ In addition, the establishment of girls' schools in Buganda led to uproar in the society, as it changed gender roles and changed the traditional patriarchal status of women.¹²⁵

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹²² Allman, et al. eds., *Women in African Colonial Histories*, 234.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 264.

¹²⁴ J. Wright, and C. Hamilton, "Traditions, and Transformations: The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu Region in the late Eighteen and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in *Natal and Zululand: From Earliest Times To 1910, a New History*, ed. Andrew Duminy and Bill Guest (Pietermaritzburg, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 1989). Amalkholwa was the first group of Christian converts amongst Africans in South Africa.

¹²⁵ Michiel De Hass and Ewout Frankema, 'Gender, Ethnicity, and Unequal Opportunity in Colonial Uganda: European Influences, African Realities, and the Pitfalls of Parish Register Data,' *Economic History Review* 71, 3 (2018): 24.

Scholars have also focused on the social and economic hardships of women during colonialism and their resistance.¹²⁶ For example, in 1929 in Nigeria the imposition of obnoxious taxes on women's palm produces and market goods led to resistance from women after failed negotiations. However, whilst this is significant in the understanding of women's resistance to the colonial oppression in Nigeria, it fails to provide a comparative analysis of women's resistance against colonial rule between African states.

Another significant scholarly work is that of Susan Geiger. Her work intersects the trajectory discourse of social-political and cultural history of African women in the colonial period.¹²⁷ Geiger provides a serial analysis of the political history of Tanganyika, now Tanzania, and explains the gender roles mixed with cultural influence towards the struggle for Tanganyika's nationalism between the 1950s and 1960s. She positioned the Tanganyika women at the centre stage of the struggle for nationalism as they moved side by side with their male counterparts. Tanganyika women became politically active under the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), a national party led by Julius Nyerere. The women's wing of TANU was headed by Bibi Titi Mohamed. Geiger argues that Bibi Titi was imprisoned for unknown reasons in the 1970s, and her prison experience was not documented.

In recognising the roles of African women in the liberation movements, some well-known studies argue against the notions that lay emphasis on men's domination of nationalist narratives in Africa. The studies also negate the views of post-colonial writers that women liberation struggle in Africa is a subset of European liberation history. These studies include,

¹²⁶ Hafkin Nancy and Bay Edna, *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change* (California: Stanford University Press, 1976); Iris Berger, "Rebels or Status-Seekers? Women as Spirit Mediums in East Africa," in *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*, ed. Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay (California: Stanford University Press, 1976), 157 – 181; George E. Brooks, Jr., "The Signares of Saint-Louis and Goree: Women Entrepreneurs in Eighteenth-Century Senegal," in *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*, ed. Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay (California: Stanford University Press, 1976), 19 – 44; Judith Van Allen, "Aba Riots or Igbo 'Women's War'? Ideology, Stratification, and the Invisibility of Women," in *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*, ed. Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay (California: Stanford University Press, 1976), 59 – 85; Margret J. Hay, "Luo Women and Economic Change during the Colonial Period," in *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*, ed. Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay (California: Stanford University Press, 1976), 87 – 109; Claire Robertson, "Ga Women and Socioeconomics Change in Accra, Ghana," in *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*, ed. Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay (California: Stanford University Press, 1976), 111 – 133; Kamene Okonjo, "The Dua-Sex Political System in Operation: Igbo Women and Community Politics in Mid-western Nigeria," *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*, ed. Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay (California: Stanford University Press, 1976), 157 – 181.

¹²⁷ Susan Geiger, *TANU Women: Gender and Culture on the Making of Tangayikan Nationalism, 1955 – 1965* (Nairobi: E.A.E.P; Portsmouth: NH Heinemann, 1997); Allman, et al., *Women in African Colonial Histories* (Indiana: University Press, 1964).

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine;¹²⁸ Imam, Ayesha, Amina Mama, and Fatou Sow;¹²⁹ Johnson-Odim, Cheryl;¹³⁰ Meena, Ruth;¹³¹ Oyeronke Oyewumi;¹³² and Robertson Claire, among others.¹³³

South Africa: Colonialism/Apartheid, Women Liberation Movement

In South African historiography, the works of Cheryl Walker and Julia Wells were among the pioneering studies that provide voices to women's experiences in the anti-apartheid struggle.¹³⁴ Walker's book examines the 20th century struggles of South African women when they sought to participate in political activities to alleviate their socio-economic problems. Walker raises important arguments on issues of race, sex, gender, and liberation movement which tends to answer germane questions central to this study.

Lloy Frate's *Women in the South African National Liberation Movement, 1948 – 1960: Historiographical Overview*, gives a background to the government policies and events that led to apartheid formation in 1948.¹³⁵ According to Frate, the nationalist government of 1948 imposed a totalitarian policy on women that made them inferior. The involvement of women in political activism and political organisations soared in South Africa during the 1950s as a result of apartheid's unprecedented subjugation of women. As such, the 1950s became important in the history of women in South Africa. Moreover, the situation made the local inhabitants of Africans, Indians, Coloured and liberal whites to form organisations regardless of race, class, religion, language, and sexual orientation to resist the apartheid state. Frate argues that women from diverse backgrounds resisted the apartheid rule under the different

¹²⁸ Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women: A Modern History*, Translated by Beth Gillian Raps (Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997).

¹²⁹ Ayesha Imam, Mama Amina and Sow Fatou, eds. *Engendering African Social Sciences* (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1997).

¹³⁰ Cheryl Johnson-Odim, "Women and Gender in the History of Sub-Saharan Africa." In *Women's History in Global Perspectives*. Volume 3. Edited by Bonnie G. Smith, 9 – 67 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

¹³¹ Ruth Meena, ed. *Gender in Southern Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues* (Harare: SAPES, 1992).

¹³² Oyeronke Oyewumi, *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

¹³³ Claire Robertson, 'Never Underestimate the Powe of Women: The Transforming Vision of African Women's History.' *Women Studies International Forum*, 11, 5 (1988): 439 – 453.

¹³⁴ Cheryl Walker, *The Women's Suffrage Movement in South Africa* (Cape Town: University Press, 1979); *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (London: Onyx Press Ltd., 1982); For more examples see, Julia C. Wells 'Why Women Rebel: A Comparative Study of South African Women's Resistance in Bloemfontein (1913) and Johannesburg (1958),' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, 1 (1983): 55 – 70; Frate Lloy, 'Women in the South African National Liberation Movement, 1948 – 1960: An Historiographical Overview,' *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies* 21, 1 & 2 (1993): 27 – 40. See also Belinda Bozzoli, 'Migrant Women and South African Social Change: Biographical Approaches to Social Analysis,' *African Studies* 44, 1 (1985): 92 – 93.

¹³⁵ Frate, 'Women in the South African National Liberation Movement, 1948 – 1960,' 27 – 40.

organisations; they were the African National Congress Women League (ANCWL), Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) and Natal Indian Congress (NIC), among others.

In contextualizing the role of South African women in the liberation movement, Frate's argument conforms to the life experience of Helen Joseph as described in *Tomorrow's Sun: A Smuggled Journal from South Africa*.¹³⁶ This work narrates Joseph's participation in politics and her experiences as an activist who fought for gender and national liberation. While Frate analyses the struggle for women's equality, emphasizing the political role of women, it fails to contextualize their contributions as activists, wives and mothers.¹³⁷ However, Julia Well's *We have done with pleading: The Women's 1913 Anti-pass Campaign*, and Cheryl Walker's *Women and Resistance in South Africa* are examples of early 1980s studies that focus on women's resistance in apartheid South Africa.¹³⁸

Another scholarly work on the role of women's liberation movement in South Africa is Judy Kimble and Elaine Unterhalter, *We Opened the Road for You 'You Must Go Forward: ANC Women's Struggles, 1912 – 1982* that examines the relationship between women's liberation and nationalism.¹³⁹ It also discusses the relationship between western feminism and nationalist struggle.

Similarly, Patricia van Der Spuy and Lindsay Clowes in *Accidental Feminists? Recent Histories of South African Women* reflects the critical review of recent scholarly writings on women's history in South Africa.¹⁴⁰ The work focuses on Helen Scalon's *Representation and Reality: Portraits of Women's Lives in the Western Cape 1948 – 1976* and Nombonisa Gasa's *Women in South African History: Basus 'iimbokodo, Bawel'imilamho/ They Remove Boulders and Cross Rivers*. These works focus on the interrogation of early writings on women's history and nationalism in South Africa. They provide an argument about the relationship between African feminism and western feminism, capitalism (race and class struggle), and Marxism (social movement and feminism). The authors reveal that there was an absence of

¹³⁶ See, H. Joseph, *Tomorrow's Sun: A Smuggled Journal from South Africa* (London: Hutchinson, 1966); "The National Federation of Women," in *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa*, edited by Diana Russell (New York: Basic Books, 1989).

¹³⁷ Frate, 'Women in the South African National Liberation Movement, 1948 – 1960,' 27 – 40.

¹³⁸ For more see, Walker, *and Resistance in South Africa* (London: Onyx Press Ltd., 1982); Wells 'Why Women Rebel,' 55 – 70.

¹³⁹ Judy Kimble and Elaine Unterhalter, 'We Opened the Road for You, You Must Go Forward: ANC Women's Struggle, 1912 – 1982,' *Feminist Review* 12 (1982): 11 – 35.

¹⁴⁰ Patricia van der Spuy and Lindsay Clowes, *Accidental Feminists? Recent Histories of South African Women* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2007).

academic recognition of women's role in the struggle for liberation in South African history as the men's role are widely narrated in academic scholarship. The authors posit that though the women might not claim allegiance to feminism in their struggle, but their roles mostly raised feminist questions.

Additionally, feminist historians and academics have begun to challenge the under representation of women in academic scholarship. This was followed by important initiatives in academia such as the establishment of African Gender Institute (AGI) at the University of Cape Town (UCT), and *Feminist Africa* (FA) publication. The scholarly publications that emerged include, Cheryl Walker's *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*,¹⁴¹ and Jeff Guy's "Gender Oppression in Southern Africa's Pre-capitalist Societies,"¹⁴² It also include Robin Cohen, Yvonne Muthien and Abebe Zegeye's *Repression and Resistance: Insider Accounts of Apartheid*,¹⁴³ and Belinda Bozzoli's *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900 – 1983*.¹⁴⁴ Bozzoli's work also adopts the concept of feminism and feminists to understand African women and politics as indicated in the recent study of Oyewumi Oyeronke, *African Women and Feminism: Reflecting on the Politics of Sisterhood*.¹⁴⁵ Hence, Oyewumi argues that the definition of African feminism is often interpreted as western feminism even when it is been used in a distinctive geographical ground.¹⁴⁶

Post-1994, narratives on South Africa's liberation histories have been masculinized and focused on well-known and popular individuals that played key roles in the liberation movements. The histories constituted several genres: general accounts, short stories, autobiographies, biographies, and illustrative histories. Therefore, in this category, several works have emerged. Amongst them: G. M. Gerhart and C. L. Glaser, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882 – 1990. Volume*

¹⁴¹ Walker, ed. *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990).

¹⁴² Jeff Guy, "Gender Oppression in Southern Africa's Pre-capitalist Societies," in *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* ed. Walker (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990).

¹⁴³ Robin Cohen, Yvonne Muthien and Abebe Zegeye, eds. *Repression and Resistance: Insider Accounts of Apartheid* (Warwick: Hans Zell Publishers, 1990).

¹⁴⁴ B. Bozzoli, and M. Nkotsie, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900 – 1983* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1991); See also, B. Bozzoli, 'Feminism Marxism and Southern African Studies,' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 9, 2 (1983).

¹⁴⁵ Oyeronke Oyewumi, *African Women and Feminism: Reflecting on the Politics of Sisterhood* (Asmara: Africa World Press, 2003).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1 – 4.

6: *Challenge and Victory, 1980 – 1990*.¹⁴⁷ It also includes, R. Rosenthal, *Mission Improbable: A Piece of the South African Story*;¹⁴⁸ Zubeida Jaffer, *Beauty of the Heart: The Life and Times of Charlotte Mannya Maxeke* and Sam Moodley's *Time to Remember*;¹⁴⁹ to mention but a few.¹⁵⁰ However, early histories were masculinized as mainly prominent men were documented, amongst them Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, Oliver Tambo, Jacob Zuma, and Mac Maharaj among others.¹⁵¹

However, when women became the focus of study the emphasis was on well-known and prominent political stalwarts. For example, studies by Vanessa Noble, 'Ruffled Feathers' - *The Lives of Five Difficult Women in Durban in the 20th century*;¹⁵² Diana and Russell, *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa*;¹⁵³ Turok, *Life and Soul: Portraits of Women who Move South Africa*;¹⁵⁴ Ngcobo, *Prodigal Daughters – Stories of South African Women in Exile*;¹⁵⁵ and Matsinye, Albertina Sisulu, Fatima Meer and Helen Suzwan.¹⁵⁶ Recent publications have sought to be more inclusive of women's voices and experiences in the context of imprisonment, personal collections, and family life.¹⁵⁷ Whilst this study includes

¹⁴⁷ Gail M. Gerhart and Clive L. Glaser, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882 – 1990. Volume 6: Challenge and Victory, 1980 – 1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

¹⁴⁸ Richard Rosenthal, *Mission Improbable: A Piece of the South African Story* (Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998).

¹⁴⁹ Sam Moodley, (ed.), 'Time to Remember: Reflections of Women From The Black consciousness Movement,' Available at <https://africanwomanwarrior.wordpress.com/2019/01/27/book-by-black-conscious-women-activists-recalls-their-anti-apartheid-struggle-by-cheryl-roberts/> Accessed 13 February, 2023.

¹⁵⁰ Zubeida Jaffer, *Beauty of the Heart: The Life and Times of Charlotte Mannya Maxeke* (Cape Town: ZJ Books, 2016).

¹⁵¹ Enuga S. Reddy, ed. *Struggle for Liberation in South Africa and International Solidarity: Selection of Papers Published by the United Nations Centre against Apartheid* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1992).

¹⁵² Vanessa Noble, 'Ruffled Feathers' *The Lives of Five Difficult Women in Durban in the 20th century – A Study of the Lives and Contributions of Mabel Palmer, Killie Campbell, Sibusisiwe Makanya, Dr Goonam and Phyllis Naidoo*, (BA Hons, thesis, University of Natal, 1997).

¹⁵³ Diana E. H. Russell, *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa* (New York: Basic Books, 1989); Fatima Meer, 'South African Community Leader and Fighter against Apartheid,' *Sage* 5, 2 (1988): 69 – 73.

¹⁵⁴ Karina Turok, *Life and Soul: Portraits of Women who Move South Africa* (Cape Town: Double Story Books, 2009).

¹⁵⁵ Lauretta Ngcobo, ed. *Prodigal Daughters Stories of South African Women in Exile* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2012).

¹⁵⁶ Albertina Sisulu continued her activism as wife and mother while her husband Walter Sisulu and others were in jail in the 1980s. Albertina played a vital role to keep the spirit of anti-apartheid struggle alive and maintained underground political workings of ANC. See, Elinor Sisulu, *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2013); Fatima Meer, *Memories of Love and Struggle* (South Africa: Kwela Books, 2017); Helen Suzwan, *No Going Back* (Cape Town: South African Institute of Race Relation, 1992).

¹⁵⁷ Kalpana Hiralal, 'Married to the Struggle: For Better or Worse, Wives of Indian Anti-Apartheid Activities in Natal: The Untold Narratives,' *New Contree* 70, Special edition (2014); Margaret J. Daymond, *Everyday Matters Selected letters of Dora Taylor, Bessie Head & Lilian Ngoyi* (Jacana: Cape Town, 2014); Shirley Gunn, *Knocking On: Mothers and Daughters in Struggle in South Africa* (Cape Town: Human Rights Media Centre, 2008).

many unknown activists it also includes known women activists. For example, notable women political activists like Ela Gandhi and Sam Moodley were interviewed by the author for their voices to be heard through this study.

In recent years, attempts by scholars and academics to provide broader, perspective, shifted to include issues such as identity, prison narratives, women in the MK, and the impact activism had on families and personal collections, among others. For example, Hiralal's, *Married to the Struggle: For Better or Worse, Wives of Indian Anti-Apartheid Activities in Natal: The Untold Narratives*; explores the narratives of Indian women.¹⁵⁸ Hiralal discusses the experiences of Indian women as wives, mothers, and sisters to male political activists during the struggle and while they were imprisoned.¹⁵⁹

Another genre of documenting liberation histories are women's letters. Daymond's '*Everyday Matters Selected Letters of Dora Taylor, Bessie Head & Lilian Ngoyi*,' documents the narratives of women anti-apartheid struggle stalwarts based on their personal letters that showcase their experiences as political activists.¹⁶⁰ Another example is the work of Gunn, *Knocking On: Mothers and Daughters in Struggle in South Africa* which provides insight into the understanding of the narratives surrounding the shared experiences of women in the struggle against apartheid on the basis of gender, sex, race, language, class, and religion.¹⁶¹ Also, scholars have sought to understand the debates and issues surrounding feminism versus nationalism as opined by Iris Berger in "*African Women's Movement in the Twentieth Century: A Hidden History*."¹⁶² Shireen Hassim in *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa* focuses on the dimensions of African women's role in feminism agenda in the colonial and apartheid eras channelled toward equality and nationalism that sought to reclaim the dignity and identity of African women.¹⁶³ These studies are useful for this research since they provide background information about women's struggle, which is intrinsically tied to social-economic and political factors in South Africa.

¹⁵⁸ Hiralal, 'Married to the Struggle', 4.

¹⁵⁹ Hiralal, 'Married to the Struggle,' 4.

¹⁶⁰ Daymond, *Everyday Matters Selected letters of Dora Taylor, Bessie Head & Lilian Ngoyi*, 2014.

¹⁶¹ Gunn, *Knocking On: Mothers and Daughters in Struggle in South Africa*, 2008.

¹⁶² Berger, *Women Movement in Twentieth Century Africa*, 2.

¹⁶³ Shireen Hassim, *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa: Contesting Authority* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006).

Lauren Beukes's book, *Extra Ordinary Women from South Africa's Past*, contains a comprehensive history of South African women.¹⁶⁴ As the title indicates, the book contains life stories and biographical discourses of some women with extraordinary values from all corners of South Africa. It consists more or less of a narrative depicting the life experiences of women in South Africa who have distinguished themselves in a significant way. Many of them were recognised as activists and protestors, known for ruffling the feathers of a homogenized society ravaged by racism and discrimination. The book focuses on South African women's experiences from the early Dutch settlement to British colonial rule.

Biographies too have added to the narratives. Beukes, profiles the lives of 19 South African women among them are: Daisy de Melker, Sara Barmann, Helen Martins, Ruth First, Black Sophie, Nongquawuse, Glenda Kemp, Helen Joseph, Lilian Ngoyi, Sarah Raal, Elizabeth Klarer, Bessie Head, and Brenda Fassie, are among the women featured. Beukes highlights various aspects of women's early lives from schooling, religious affiliation to socio-political activism. Additionally, she illuminates their complex roles as youths, wives, and mothers. Hence, Beukes argues that women played a crucial role in liberating South Africa and consolidating men's efforts against apartheid in order to create a democratic and non-racial country. In this study, Beukes's work is relevant because it shows how race, class, sex, gender, language, ethnicity contributed to the resistance movement, how women mobilised as a collective. Several other works depict women as anti-apartheid campaigners and political prisoners; they include Helen's Joseph's *Side By Side; If This Be Treason*,¹⁶⁵ and Fatima Meer's *Prison Diary*, among others.¹⁶⁶

Scholars like Shireen Hassim's *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa* have sought to highlight women's collective resistance across race and region as well as the contestation between national and women's liberations.¹⁶⁷ The author explains that the women's movement for socio-economic and political freedom was not only informed by the global wave of feminist movement but also by the internal gender oppression experienced by the South African women since 1948. She argues that between 1950s and 1980s, women's organisations increased, conscientising women to gender and political oppression. It led to

¹⁶⁴ Beukes Lauren, *Maverick: Extra Ordinary Women from South Africa's Past* (Cape Town: Oshun Books, 2004).

¹⁶⁵ Helen Joseph, *Side By Side* (London: Zed Books, 1986); H. Joseph, *If This Be Treason* (Michigan: A. Deutsch, 1963); and H. Joseph, *Tomorrow's Sun: A Smuggled Journal from South Africa* (London: John Day Company, 1966).

¹⁶⁶ Fatima Meer, *Prison Diary: One Hundred and Thirteen Days 1976* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001).

¹⁶⁷ Hassim, *Women's Organizations and Democracy in South Africa*, 2006.

the formation of several women's organisations such as United Women's Organisation (UWO), Natal Organisation of Women (NOW), Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW), and the Women's National Coalition (WNC) among others. She argues that the women's movement against apartheid was an important social movement which earned them equal rights and justice and the laid basis for their social activism in post-apartheid South Africa. The work responds to key objectives of this study as it makes a valuable contribution in helping us understand political mobilisation by women across race, religion, and class to achieve both national and women's liberation.

Nigeria: Colonialism, Women Liberation Movement

There are also various scholarly works on the role of Nigerian women in the anti-colonial struggle. For example, Falola and Aderinto's *Nigeria, Nationalism and Writing History*, offers a comprehensive examination of how Nigerian nationalism developed and evolved over time.¹⁶⁸ Against the European claim of championing the documentation of Nigerian history, the author focuses on the oral tradition and Islamic literacy that shaped Nigeria's history prior to colonialism. The authors examine both human and institutional resources that contributed to pioneering Nigerian history. The authors state that colonial education shaped the writing styles of early Nigerian historians.

The authors argue that Nigerian nationalists challenged colonial notions about Africans' maturity to write their own histories. Therefore, Falola and Aderinto pointed out that post-colonial African historians adopted African traditions and indigenous intelligence to reconstruct their past in the face of western ideologies and perspectives. Some of the foremost historians of Nigerian nationalism are Kenneth Dike, E. A. Ayandele, Saburi Biobaku, A. Afigbo, F. Ade Ajayi, J. A. Atanda, Nina E. Mba, Bolanle Awe and Yusuf Bala Usman.¹⁶⁹

Thus, in the 1990s, historians introduced new waves of historical research by defining historical branches and becoming scholars in areas such as gender, maritime trade, political economy, ancient, and public history¹⁷⁰ Post-colonial scholars and writers, such as Cheryl Odim Johnson, Nina Mba, and Bolanle Awe, demonstrate that women activists became

¹⁶⁸ T. Falola and S. Aderinto, *Nigeria, Nationalism and Writing History* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010).

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* E. A. Afigbo, *The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria. 1891 – 1929* (London: Longman, 1972).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

empowered in the anti-colonial struggle and patriarchal oppression, resulting in some of their rights and the emancipation from oppression.¹⁷¹ Johnson, focuses on women politics in African society with particular reference to the role of women in Nigerian anti-colonial struggle.¹⁷² She explains that political participation of women in Nigeria was as a result of demasculinisation efforts of anti-colonial struggle. In this regard, she emphasizes that women were deeply involved in the liberation movement, through the formation of women's organizations and trade unions, such as the Lagos Market Women Association and Abeokuta Women Union. She also focuses on the Aba women's struggle of 1929 for repealing colonial laws and policies. The work of Coleman, however, pays more attention to the 1929 Aba women riots in the east of Nigeria.¹⁷³

Judith Bayfield's *The Bluest Hands: A Social and Economic History of Women Dyers in Abeokuta (Nigeria), 1890-1940*, opens a window into the history of gender, local production, and colonialism in Abeokuta. The book examines the relationship between indigo dyers and colonial structures in Abeokuta.¹⁷⁴ It explores the women's struggle for relevance in the colonial era, but it is limited to the Adire-dyers in Abeokuta, and not the rest of Nigeria. The author examines how colonial taxation impacted on women's pre-colonial roles.¹⁷⁵

Additionally, Judith Byfield's *The Great Upheaval: Women and Nation in Post-war Nigeria* explores the birth of a nation herein referred to as "Egba nation" and the history of Nigerian women's anti-colonial struggle.¹⁷⁶ It explores the other regions of Nigeria where women's struggle gained grounds through trade unionism in places like Kano in the late 1940s. Byfield argues that Nigerian women's movement for liberation did not succeed in several ways, but their struggle yielded the creation of women's organisations across the country that were used as platforms for engaging colonialism and male dominated native authorities. The author also provides detailed analysis on the roles played by women activists like Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti in the colonial period and Madam Tinubu in the precolonial period towards championing the rights of women. Women's experiences in post-war crisis such as the tax

¹⁷¹ Nina E. Mba, "Heroines of the Women's War," in *Nigerian Women in Historical Perspectives*, ed. Bolanle Awe, (Lagos/Ibadan: Sankore Publishers/Book craft, 1992).

¹⁷² Cheryl Johnson, 'Grass Roots Organizing: Women in Anticolonial Activity in Southwestern Nigeria,' *African Studies Review* XXV, 2 & 3 (1982): 137 – 157.

¹⁷³ James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (California: University Press, 1958).

¹⁷⁴ Judith Byfield, *The Bluest Hands: A Social and Economic History of Women Dyers in Abeokuta (Nigeria), 1890-1940* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2002), 13 – 14.

¹⁷⁵ Judith Byfield, 'Taxation, Women, and the Colonial State: Egba Women's Tax Revolt,' *Meridians* 3, 2 (2003): 250 – 277.

¹⁷⁶ Judith Byfield, *The Great Upheaval: Women and Nation in Post-war Nigeria* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2021).

revolts and gender politics are central to this study. John Enemugwem's *The Women's War of 1929: Its Implication for Niger-Delta* examines the factors that lead to war and its freedom in the aftermath of war.¹⁷⁷ Hence, this study examines events of the female solidarity in colonial Niger-delta, rather than exploring colonial Nigeria as a whole. The above studies, whilst valuable, give insight on women's marginalization in the colonial period and their search for peace and equality but is regional specific.

Cheryl Johnson's book, *On Behalf of Women and The Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti and the Struggles for Nigerian Independence and Women's Equality*, chronicles the exploits of Funmilayo Kuti during the struggle for Nigerian independence and the struggle for women's equality.¹⁷⁸ The book examines the relationship between gender and work in the colonial western Nigeria where the males exploited patriarchal traditions to dominate women in various aspects of social, economic, and political affairs. Ransome-Kuti and other women activists used their educational and socio-political networks to and sensitize women to gender issues. The book highlights Ransome-Kuti's role as campaigner for women's right whether in native or colonial administrations. However, Johnson's book fails to address the diverse modes women's organisations used in protest actions. The work of Marjorie Keniston, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change* highlights the interaction of colonial economy, demography, education, philosophy, and urbanization to address women's issues in Yorubaland without extending to other regions of Nigeria.¹⁷⁹

Additionally, Joseph Therese Agbasiere's *Women in Igbo Life and Thought* discusses the socio-political and religious status of women in Igbo land as well as gender relations in pre-colonial Igbo life and thought.¹⁸⁰ This book is restricted to the Igbo community. In the same vein, Regina Otite's work entitled, *The Urhobo Women* provides insight into the nature and function of women in Urhobo land and can serve as an aid in understanding how women assimilated in that part of southern Nigeria.¹⁸¹ With regards to colonial Nigeria, the work failed to provide a comprehensive picture of Urhobo women's political participation in the

¹⁷⁷ John Enemugwem, "The Women's War of 1929: Its Implication for Niger-Delta," in *Women in Nigerian History: The River and Bayelsa Experience*, ed. Ejitiwu C. Nkparom and Gabriel O. Amakievi (Porthacourt: Iseng Communications Ltd, 2003).

¹⁷⁸ Cheryl Johnson-Odim, "On Behalf of Women and The Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti And the Struggles for Nigerian Independence and Women's Equality," in *Expanding the Boundary of Women's History: Essays on Women in the Third World*, ed. Cheryl Johnson and Margaret Strobel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

¹⁷⁹ Marjorie Keniston, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change* (Ibadan: Book Craft, 2009).

¹⁸⁰ Joseph T. Agbasiere, *Women in Igbo Life and Thought* (London: Routledge, 2000).

¹⁸¹ Onigu Otite, *The Urhobo Woman* (Ibadan: Gold Press Limited, 2006).

struggle for freedom. *The Feminization of Development Processes in Africa; Current and Future Perspectives*, by Etim and Udoh, focuses on women of colonial Nigeria seeking peace through their individuality. This book highlights Margret Ekpo who directed her anti-colonial struggle towards the liberation of women of southern Nigeria. In this work, she is presented as one of Nigeria's pioneering feminist activists, similar to Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti.¹⁸² Moreso, Jeje Sola's *Women and Politics in Nigeria* is a relevant work on the Nigerian women's role in politics during the colonial and post-colonial era.¹⁸³ Sola examines the roles played by Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti in the struggle for the emancipation of women from gender and nationalist oppression. Overall, the work focuses on a biographical discourse of the leadership of Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti's political activism in Nigeria.

A similar work by Judith Van Allen, *Aba Women Riot or Women's War"? British Ideology and Eastern Nigeria Women's Political Activism*, posits that in the twentieth century, eastern Nigerian women pursued their political and economic freedom from the British colonial rule.¹⁸⁴ She maintains that the Igbo women collectively fought for identity and for the protection of African traditional ideologies against oppressive British ideologies. Van Allen argues that the women responded to British oppressive ideology by using traditional intelligence and later physical confrontation that made them heroines, of the 1929 rebellions. Women were subjected to colonial oppression that resulted in humiliation, arrest and murder. Thus, the work does not specifically mention names or numbers of women imprisoned but describes them as captives of anti-colonial struggle. The article, *Gender, Culture and Empire, European Women in Colonial Nigeria*, by Hellen Callaway is an exploration of race relations between the European women settlements and the African women in colonial Nigeria.¹⁸⁵ In it, Callaway describes the social interactions between European and African women who resided in Nigeria throughout the east, west and north regions. She argues that European women focus their relations on the health and education of Nigerian women as a means of integrating into a multi-ethnic society that does not provide equal rights for women. The work focuses on the integration of Nigerian women into the colonial institutions due to the shortage of manpower caused by the Second World War. Due to these circumstances, the gender gap between men and women, and Blacks and Whites, was closed, paving the way for

¹⁸² James Etim and Valentine Udoh, *The Feminization of Development Processes in Africa; Current and Future Perspectives* (Ibadan: Praeger Publisher, 1999).

¹⁸³ Jeje Sola, *Women and Politics in Nigeria* (London: LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2013).

¹⁸⁴ Judith Van Allen, *Aba Women Riot or Women's War"? British Ideology and Eastern Nigeria Women's Political Activism* (Waltham, MA: African Study Association, 1971).

¹⁸⁵ Hellen Callaway, *Gender, Culture and Empire, European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987).

White women to become nurses, and a few Black women to become administrative officers. Callaway does not highlight the role women played as military or intelligence officers during the World War nor gives an account of women's resistance to colonial and patriarchal system. It fails to discuss the issues of racial inequalities between the White and Black women in relation to job discrimination.

Philip Effiong's paper on *Nigerian Women Resist Colonial Laws* traces the causes of Nigerian women to resist the colonial laws in eastern and western Nigeria in 1929 and 1946, respectively.¹⁸⁶ He argues that the imposition of taxes on market produce of the women together with patriarchy were the catalyst for women's resistance. The weakness of the "warrant chiefs" in the east and exploitation of western women by the Alake of Egbaland also infuriated and charged the women to unanimously resist the colonial authorities and the local chiefs. Effiong adds that though the women were uneducated, lacked diplomatic prowess to engage the colonial masters but they were armed with conviction, self-determination and motivation by sense of dignity and justice.

Prison and Imprisonment

Of recent there has been some effort to document the lesser-known narratives of nationalist struggles. Florence Bernault, in *A History of Prison and Confinement in Africa*, depicts political accounts of repression and other human rights abuses that relate to imprisonment in Africa.¹⁸⁷ The study provides an analysis of colonial racial segregation and deprivation of African people in prisons. Bernault surveyed several prisons and other places of confinement, to explore penal laws and their impact on prisoners.¹⁸⁸ This study is relevant as both Nigerian and South African women during the anti-colonial struggle were oppressed and deprived of human rights. Many women suffered mental and sexual harassment in prisons. The shortcoming of Bernault's work is that it does not depict the challenges women faced in prison in the same way she depicts those faced by men.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Philip Effiong, 'Nigerian Women Resist Colonial Laws,' Available from <https://effiongmsu.domains/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Southeastern-Nigerian-Women-Revolt.pdf>. Accessed December 21, 2018. See also, Paddock, Adam and Toyin Falola, *The Women's War of 1929: A History of Anti-colonial Resistance in Eastern Nigeria* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2011).

¹⁸⁷ Florence Bernault, *A History of Prison and Confinement in Africa* (New Hampshire: Portsmouth. 2003).

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 21.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 21.

Early works on women's prison experiences of South African activists are recorded in, *491 Days Winnie Madikizela-Mandela*, edited by Swati Dlamini and Sahn Venter. The editors allude to Winnie Mandela's arrest under and imprisonment under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act for challenging the apartheid regime.¹⁹⁰

The work is divided into two parts; part one, narrates Winnie Mandela's experience in the prison from arrest to detention, her health condition, treatment, mode and attitudes of the interrogators. The section also includes her personal notes and unaddressed letters written while in prison to Nelson Mandela— her husband who was also in detention on Robben Island and to her two daughters at home in Soweto. Part two covers the arrest and detention of her husband, Nelson Mandela. She presents series of letters written by Mandela, while in prison, to Winnie, their children and their family attorney Joel Carlson.¹⁹¹ However, the limitation of this study is that prison conditions and how women were racially treated as political prisoners by the authorities are not extensively addressed.

Similarly, the scholarly work “Women Prisoners and Political Prisoners in Africa, South of the Sahara,” by Mechthild Nagel describes African prisons from colonial to post-colonial perspectives.¹⁹² The author cites examples of women who were political prisoners in various parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa, Mali, Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya, Senegal, Zimbabwe, and Nigeria to name a few. The author discusses the diverse factors or circumstances that led African women to experience sexual abuse and imprisonment. Nagel cites unemployment and a lack of education as examples of social factors that made young girls and women as sex and domestic workers where they were vulnerable to abuse and oppressions.¹⁹³ In terms of politics, Nagel argues that women were imprisoned for challenging the colonial authorities on their rights to freedom and equality. She argues that Black women political prisoners struggled against discrimination due to their sex and race. Thus, she argues that White and coloured women prisoners were oftentimes treated better in

¹⁹⁰ Swati Dlamini and Sahn Venter ed. *491 Days Winnie Madikizela-Mandela* (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 2017).

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 241 – 244; Winnie Mandela, and M. Benson, *Part of My Soul Went with Him* (New York: Norton, 1985). For more on South African women political prisoners, see, Barbara Schreiner, ed. *A Snake with ice Water. Prison Writings by South African Women* (Johannesburg: Congress of South African Writers, 1992), 240 – 249.

¹⁹² Mechthild Nagel, ‘Women Prisoners and Political Prisoners in Africa, South of the Sahara,’ *Encyclopedia on Women in Islamic Cultures, III*, (Boston: Brill Publishers, 2005), 436 – 439.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 436; M. Nagel, “Women, Prisons and Peacemaking in Mali,” in *Rethinking Prisons. Cross National Perspectives*, ed. Mechthild Nagel et al. (Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).

terms of accommodation, food, clothing, and mode of work.¹⁹⁴ Nagel asserts that African women were undeterred in their fight for equality against the oppressed colonial and apartheid authorities, citing Winnie Mandela in South Africa and Gambo Sawaba in Nigeria who were always ready to be arrested and jailed.¹⁹⁵

This study relevant as it explores prison conditions and the nature of treatment meted out to women in the prison. Shanthini Naidoo's *Women Surviving Apartheid's Prisons* provides a robust narrative of the South African women's experiences in the prison, focusing on four women activists.¹⁹⁶ The author traces the lives of women prisoners such as Joy Sikhakhane-Rankin, Shanthi Naidoo, Rita Ndzanga and Nondwe Mankahla, how they resisted racism and oppression in the prison and forged bonds of sisterhood.

Significance of Study

In general, the above-reviewed literature indicates that there are gaps and an absence of the comparative nature of the liberation movement in Africa. For example, even though there are studies on anti-colonial and anti-apartheid women's movements in Africa, none of the literature specifically focuses on a comparative analysis of the experiences of Nigerian and South African women. The discourse of women's liberation movements between Nigeria and South Africa on the modes of resistance and imprisonment of women during the struggle has also not been well documented. This is significant because the prison narratives highlight that prison also became another terrain of resistance.¹⁹⁷

The researcher chose this topic because of being passionate about investigating gender struggles within the context of the transnational discourse of the liberation movement. Secondly, as a Nigerian, I am passionate about investigating gender struggle within the nationalist movement between Nigeria and South Africa, because Nigeria was an ardent supporter of the anti-apartheid movement. Thirdly, the roles of women in the movement against the colonial and the apartheid governments, in terms of their motives, nature of participation, and imprisonment share similar trajectories in both Nigeria and South Africa.

¹⁹⁴ Nagel, 'Women Prisoners and Political Prisoners in Africa,' 438.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 437. For more detail on Gambo Sawaba, see, Rima Shawulu, *The Story of Gambo Sawaba* (Jos: Echo Communications Limited, 1990).

¹⁹⁶ Shanthini Naidoo, *Women Surviving Apartheid's Prisons* (Columbia: Just World Books, 2021).

¹⁹⁷ Ntando, P.Z. Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' *Southern Journal for Contemporary History* 43, 1 (2018): 93.

As the literature surveyed shows no comparative study of the women's liberation movement between Nigeria and South Africa, particularly from a gender-related perspective makes this research unique and original. The study is equally original as it provides a comparative study of the women's liberation movements in both Nigeria and South Africa based on their motives for participation, forms of protests, and prison experiences. Hence, this study would serve as a relevant resource material for the understanding of the role of women in the liberation movements from the viewpoints of Nigeria and South Africa in a comparative dimension for researchers, scholars, political activists, and policymakers.

The study will therefore enhance our knowledge of the diverse history of resistance, participation, and representation of women in national politics and human rights concerns. The study illuminates that women's role in nationalistic struggles cannot be homogenized or essentialised, and to some extent women's role and participation in the liberation movement were gendered. Therefore, this study will add to the historiography of women's resistance to nationalistic struggles on the African continent. It will pave way for advance research into the comparative roles of African women in the anti-colonial struggle from a national or regional perspective.

The study will promote research on women and gender issues as a growing field of study in African historiography and contribute to the body of scholarship in humanities and social sciences. It will contribute to the current global debate on issues of gender inequality as it establishes the significant roles of women in the struggle for liberation during colonial and apartheid rule that creates an ambiance of women's rights and opportunities in the private and public spheres.

Theoretical Framework

This study is based on the following theories: - Post-Colonial Theory, Intersectionality Theory, and Resistance Theory.

Post-Colonial Theory

The research adopted postcolonial theory as enunciated by Edward Said in his *Orientalism*, which argues that the post-colonial image of the Orient or the East has been falsified by the Western writers, philosophers, economists, and political theorists among others.¹⁹⁸ He stresses that the Orientals are paraded as primitive and uncivilized in contrast to the civilized or

¹⁹⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978).

advanced West. In view of this, Hamadi considers Said's *Orientalism* as a perspective premised on the ontological and epistemological distinction between the "Orient" and the "Occident" which is often used by the West as the justification for colonialism, accompanied by horrors, oppressions, and subjugations against the Orient.¹⁹⁹ This theory is useful to this study because it provides concepts that address issues of colonial exploitations and oppressions against the colonizers that necessitated their consciousness of the anti-colonial movement across Asia and Africa. Postcolonial writers like Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin share Said's view of how western writers and thinkers perceive Africa and Africans as weak, primitive and demonic.²⁰⁰ For example, Hegel described Africa as underdeveloped, devoid of morality, religion, and political structure.²⁰¹ This approach compliments the idea of postcolonial theorists, Spivak Gayatri in "*Can the Subaltern Speak*" and Homi Bhabha who argue that the robust ideas and enduring lessons for living, and thinking are drawn from those who have suffered neglect, subjugation, domination and displacement from the hands of the colonizers.²⁰² Hill Collins' on Black women's standpoint supports the argument of Gayatri and Bhabha that exploring the lived experiences of oppressed groups like colonized African women would provide unique understanding that will challenge the existing dominant discourse.²⁰³

This theory assisted my study by showcasing colonialism in the viewpoints of Africanist postcolonial writers about women's position in Africa during colonialism rather than Eurocentric perspectives as argued by postcolonial-feminist theorists like Minha and Mohanty.²⁰⁴ They argued about the root issues of hegemony, social change, feminism, racism and sexism in the colonized nations of Asia and Africa. Most importantly, post-colonial theory gave me an insight to understand the discourse of the subject under review beyond the

¹⁹⁹ Hamadi Lutfi, and Edward Said, 'The Post-Colonial Theory and the Literature of Decolonization,' *European Scientific Journal* 2 (2014): 40.

²⁰⁰ Trinh T. Minha, "Writing Post-Coloniality and Feminism," in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*, ed. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 16

²⁰¹ Omotade Adegbindin, 'Critical Notes on Hegel's Treatment of Africa,' *Ogirisi: A New Journal of African Studies*, 11 (2015): 20. See full details of Hegel's position on Africa in Georg W. F. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (New York: Dover, 1956).

²⁰² Spivak Gayatri, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 66 – 11. See also, S. Gayatri, *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, ed. Sarah Harasym (New York and London: Routledge, 1990); Bhabha Homi, "Post-Colonial Criticism," in *Rewarding the Boundaries: The Transformation of English and American Literary Studies*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt and Giles B. Gunn (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1992), 105 – 133.

²⁰³ Patricia H. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, Second Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 37 – 40.

²⁰⁴ Minha, "Writing Post-Coloniality and Feminism," 16; C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo and L. Torres, *Third World Women and The Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).

chronological construction of colonialism and apartheid system in Nigeria and South Africa. Specifically, the theory assisted me to understand the socio-economic, cultural, and political legacies of colonialism regarding the position of women and gender narrative that was more Eurocentric and that subjectively considered women as second-class gender without an agency, a voice for self-determination as depicted by the western scholars and writers.²⁰⁵

Hence, the post-colonial theorists advocated an objective reconstruction of African women's history by African scholars for an in-depth understanding of women's role in the anti-colonial movement. The theory gave me an understanding of the modern perspectives of Nigerian and South African women's role in the colonial and apartheid era, with particular reference to their roles in the struggle for liberation. The understanding of women's role was posited as political activists, mothers, wives, philanthropists, and human rights activists by post-colonial African writers such as Belinda Bozzoli, Shireen Hassim, Bolanle Awe, and Nina Mba, among others.

Beyond that, post-colonial theory gave an insight into the understanding of the need of African women historians to take up the critiques to challenge the early twentieth century scholarships about women and gender which were dominated by their male counterparts. This challenge gave birth to the rise of more radical women and feminist historians to venture into the research and writings of the legacies of colonialism about women by women. The post-colonial scholarships produced the likes of Fatima Meer, Nakanyike Musisi, Oyeronke Oyewumi, Felicia Kamene Okonjo whose works are useful in understanding the roles of women during the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggle.²⁰⁶

Furthermore, this theory helped me to understand the concept of the African feminist agenda. Whilst African women's agency and resistance existed since pre-colonial times, the second wave of women's movement in Europe and America in the 1950s was a catalyst to women's movements in Africa.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ Mohanty, *Third World Women and The Politics of Feminism*, 148.

²⁰⁶ Fatima Meer, 'South African Community Leader and Fighter against Apartheid,' *Sage* 5, 2 (1988): 69 – 73; Allman, et al., eds. *Women in African Colonial Histories*; Oyewumi, *African Women and Feminism*; Okonjo, "The Dua-Sex Political System in Operation," 157 – 181.

²⁰⁷ See, Wells, 'Why Women Rebel,' 55 – 70 and Bozzoli and Nkotsue, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness*; Falola, *Colonialism and Violence in Nigeria*, 108 – 130. Besides, the post-colonial historians and early African researchers revealed that the feminist movement in Nigeria predated colonial era as women of substance had been recorded to have politically mobilized themselves to challenge the issues of men domination in precolonial Nigeria and assumed socio-economic prominence and leadership in the case of Queen Amina of Zauzau, Nana of Itsekiri, Efunsetan Aniwura of the Old Oyo Empire and also in the Old Benin Empire.

Intersectionality Theory as coined by Kimberle Crenshaw in 1989 and promoted by Hill Collins in 1990, recognize and analyse issues of multiplicity of women's identities in terms of gender, age, race, colour, class, religion, language, and ethnicity.²⁰⁸ Hence, in recent times and in the view of third waves of feminism, intersectionality theorists argue that understanding gender should go beyond the position of women on the basis of colour, race, class, inequalities and indignation. Theorists, such as Bacca Zinn & Thornton Dill, bell hooks were of the opinions that feminist efforts go beyond single analytic frame of gender.²⁰⁹ They argued that it should analyse the experiences of women within the context of oppression, subjugation, even though history has shown otherwise, that woman or women as the case may be had been in positions of power and experienced oppression in different forms.

This theory guided this study by engaging the past with the present and bringing to the fore multiple experiences of women without relying on the monolithic view of gender. This theory assisted me to have an in-depth understanding to analyse the recent past of women's anti-colonial movement from both South Africa and Nigeria from the perspectives of transracial dimension and other demographic characteristics as enunciated by Kimberley Crenshaw.²¹⁰ This is evident as each of the two countries has a record of oppression and marginalization, and this theoretical approach served as a veritable tool used to probe into the multidimensional forms of oppression faced by the women.²¹¹

This theory was useful as it highlighted how multiple variables shape and define women's resistance. The women's movement for liberation was not only based on the struggle against oppression and marginalization but also on the discrimination of African women along with race, class, gender, colour, and inequalities. Therefore, to understand the experiences of women in the period under review, this theory assisted in fulfilling objective four of this study to highlight the intersections of race, class, gender, ethnicity in shaping political consciousness and modes of protest.²¹²

²⁰⁸ Patricia H. Collins, 'It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race and Nation,' *Hypatia, A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 13, 3 (1998): 62 – 82.

²⁰⁹ Bacca M. Zinn, and Dill B. Thornton, 'Theorizing difference from Multiracial Feminism,' *Feminist Studies* 22, (1999); bell hooks, *Ain't I a Woman?* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1981); hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1989).

²¹⁰ Crenshaw Kimberley, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality. Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color,' *Stanford Law Review* 43, 6 (1991): 1241 – 1299.

²¹¹ Kimberle, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality,' 1298.

²¹² Kimberle, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality,' 1298.

Resistance theory is also integrated in this study. According to John Locke, the right of people to resist is argued in two ways.²¹³ It is either the government violates the rights of the people by manipulating laws against their will to please the political class, or it is the political class that invades the property rights of the people.²¹⁴ Resistance theory is a political concept of emancipation based on human rights concerns that consider issues of inequality, injustice, and marginalization experienced by oppressed groups.²¹⁵

James C. Scott introduced “everyday resistance,” which is *quiet, dispersed, disguised or otherwise seemingly invisible*; something Scott interchangeably calls “infra-politics.”²¹⁶ Scott argues that common subaltern behaviours (such as foot-dragging, escape, sarcasm, passivity, laziness, misunderstandings, or theft) are not always what they seem, but rather resistance. According to Scott, these activities are employed by exploited people both to survive and undermine repressive dominance, especially when rebelling is too risky.²¹⁷ The concept of resistance according to Michel Foucault is “Where there is power, there is resistance.”²¹⁸ This suggests that power abuse is frequently accompanied by resistance. Furthermore, it is possible to interpret it as an application of the concept of resistance whereby oppressed groups or individuals resist repressive acts unleashed upon them by a superior force or class.

In theorizing resistance, Hiralal locates her study in the context of indentured women in colonial Natal. They engaged in various forms of resistance, both direct and indirect, and either violent or non-violent resistance.²¹⁹ Feminist scholars and theorists, such as Maureen’s “*the Construction of Subjectivity and the Paradox of Resistance: Reintegrating Feminist Anthropologist and Psychology*,”²²⁰ and Maria’s “*Beyond the Mirrored Space: Time and Resistance in Feminist Theory*,”²²¹ focus on subordination, domination of social and political rights of women in the contemporary world. Sewell argues that the theory of resistance serves

²¹³ John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 3.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

²¹⁵ M. Butler, P. Mecheril, and L. Brenningmeyer, eds., *Resistance: Subjects, Representations, Contexts* (Bielefeld: Majuskel Medienproduktion, 2017), 7 – 8.

²¹⁶ James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak* (Yale University Press, 1985), 38.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 38.

²¹⁸ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction* (New York: Random House, 1978), 95 – 96.

²¹⁹ Kalpana Hiralal “Rebellious Sister: Indentured Indian Women and Resistance in Colonial Natal, 1860 – 1911,” in *Resistance and Indian Indenture Experience: Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Maurits S. Hassankhan, Brij V. Lal, and Doug Munro (New Delhi: Manohar, 2014), 241 – 263.

²²⁰ Mahoney Maureen, ‘The Construction of Subjectivity and the Paradox of Resistance: Reintegrating Feminist Anthropologist and Psychology,’ *Chicago Journals* 18, 1 (1992): 44 – 73.

²²¹ Ruiz R. Maria, ‘Beyond the Mirrored Space: Time and Resistance in Feminist Theory,’ *Behavioural and Philosophy*, 37 (2009): 141 – 147.

as an agency for women's voices to be heard, which negates the notion that classified women as a passive sex.²²²

This theory is relevant to this study because it assisted me to understand the different forms of resistance strategies adopted by women to survive the oppressive system in Nigeria and South Africa. This approach reaffirms the position of Scott on gender theory regarding sexism and racism due to the harsh colonial and apartheid policies in Nigeria and South Africa that forced women to rise against all forms of discriminations and marginalization.²²³ This theory also assisted me to understand the impact of feminist movement in Africa specifically in colonial Nigeria and as well apartheid South Africa, which served as a mouthpiece for women's voice against oppression and discrimination. The theory assisted me to achieve and understand objectives one and two of this study, particularly the motives for women's participation and their modes of protests in the liberation movement.

This study shows how marginalization and discrimination led women to mobilise and adopt diverse modes of resistance. Therefore, as the resistance theory helped to understand the causes of women liberation movement, it also provides an insight to the understanding of the various modes of protests employed as resistance against oppression. Thus, the theory assisted me to have a deeper understanding of the pivotal roles played by African women in the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movement. The post-colonial writers posited this to negate the views of the colonialists, orientalist, philosophers that described colonial African women as docile, weak sex, and un-mechanical.

The resistance theory also assisted me to have a deeper understanding against the notion that African men only resisted the colonial oppression and participated solely in the struggle for nationalism. Hence, several African women are known to have contributed wholeheartedly to the anti-colonial movement and nationalist struggle. Consequently, the theory allowed me to understand the fact that African women did not only resist the colonial interlopers and apartheid state but faced the consequences of imprisonment as political activists. They also faced the consequence as mothers and wives which had debilitating impact on their personal lives, careers, and family. This theory assisted me in achieving the objective three of this study in terms of understanding women's experiences in the prisons.

²²² William H. Sewell, 'A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency and Transformation,' *American Journal of Sociology* 98, 1 (1992): 1 – 29.

²²³ James Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,' *The American Historical Review* 91, 5 (1986): 1053 – 1075.

Conclusion

This chapter is an attempt to provide an overview of scholarly collections on liberation movements from different perspectives around the world, but with a particular focus on women's anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movements in Nigeria and South Africa. It is implied from the review that these works lack a comparative analysis of anti-colonial movements between countries and regions. As revealed in the chapter, the colonial and apartheid forces used repressive measures to counter the liberation movement by Nigerian and South African women, resulting in their arrest, and imprisonment. This chapter reveals that resistance had undoubtedly become the defensive response women adopted when confronted with colonial and apartheid interlopers in or out of the prison. It also explains the three theoretical frameworks that underpin the study. As the study addresses the intersections between women's rights and national liberation for freedom and equality from a post-colonial perspective, the theories provide insights into the study's interpretation.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NIGERIA

Introduction

This chapter examines the socio-economic and political conditions of Nigeria and South Africa between 1900 – 1994. Within the South African context, it discusses, the migrant labour system in the 1920s and 1930s; trade unionism in the 1940s; anti-pass and defiance campaigns in the 1950s, and the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre in the 1960s. It also examines the socio-political trends of emerging organizations from the 1970s to the 1980s. This chapter also maps out the socio-economic conditions in Nigeria in the early 1940s, and the late 1950s and how it shaped and defined women's resistance.

Socio-Economic and Political Condition in South Africa 1900 – 1990s

1900 – 1910

There is no doubt that the period 1900 – 1910 was significant in the history of South Africa.²²⁴ After the Anglo-Boer war (1899-1902) the British annexed the Transvaal and the Orange Free State to the Crown.²²⁵ In 1902, the treaty of Vereeniging ended the South African War.²²⁶ A powerful white political hegemony was established at the expense of the native Africans after the war when the British and the Boers (Afrikaners) put aside their differences. The South African Union was established in 1910.²²⁷ The Union was a formation

²²⁴ Boers represent the White South Africans who speak Afrikaans as their first language, especially one who descended from Dutch settlers. Anglo Boer war ensued 1889 – 1902.

²²⁵ Zulu is a large ethnic community that originates from eastern South Africa, mainly in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. The Zulus engaged in several wars with the European mostly in the early-19th century. The warrior and founder of the Zulu Kingdom (Shaka kaSenzangahona also popularly called Shaka Zulu) used his strength and military tactics to protect his territorial integrity against the colonial interlopers (Boers and British settlers) in the mid-19th century during the frontier wars until he was betrayed and murdered by his half-brothers (Dingane and Mhlangana) in 1828. Xhosa is an ethnic community that originates from the southern part of South Africa, mainly in Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Western Cape, Free State and KwaZulu-Natal region. It is closely related or linked to the Zulu ethnic people as both are products of Bantu language.

²²⁶ The British defeated the Boer in 1900 and gained the control of the South African Republics (The Transvaal and the Orange Free State).

²²⁷ “The people are not governed by logic; they are governed by parliament.” – Disraeli. “The Union of South Africa is still a parliamentary democracy, although political power is confined to the white population.” –

of previously separated colonies of the Orange Free State, Transvaal, Natal, and the Cape and came under British control.²²⁸ The British colonial administration and later the Union government entrenched a system of segregation through a divide and rule policy on the native Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Non-whites lived under poor conditions in locations and reserves. New systems of political and economic control were ushered in by the Union government. There were forced removals, restrictions on mobility through passes and taxation.

In the mid-twentieth century new political formation developed among the diverse oppressed groups, such as the Africans and the Indians. Foremost among political groups were the African National Congress (ANC), founded in 1912; the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) in 1920, was the amalgamation of pre-existing Natal and Transvaal organizations. The African Political Organization (APO) represented the interests of the Coloured people.²²⁹ These organizations had no women representatives and were primarily made up of men.²³⁰

Migrant Labour System and Urbanisation 1920 – 1930s

During the early 20th century, the white minority institutionalized oppressive systems perpetuated racism against Africans, Indians, and the Coloureds. For example, the Land Act of 1913, was introduced and relocated Africans (men and women) into remote areas, also known as reserves. For Africans reserves to become overcrowded settlements.²³¹

Limited opportunities in the reserves forced men and women to migrate. African men were forced to work in cities such as Durban and Johannesburg, leaving their wives and families in the reserves.²³² As a result of the system, men were subjected to hardships, including overcrowded conditions in the mine factory, exposure to cold weather, and the possibility of contracting HIV/AIDS. While on the other hand, women's socio-economic conditions in the reserves became unbearable, making it difficult for them to feed their children and husbands'

International Commission of Jurists, 'South Africa and the Rule of Law,' 8. For Details on the Union of South Africa. See, Morris Broughton, *Press and Politics of South Africa* (Cape Town and London: Purnel & Sons Limited, 1961).

²²⁸ This marked the Union of South Africa – being a merger of the Cape Colony, the Natal Colony and the colonies of the Republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State.

²²⁹ L. Thompson and A Prior, *South African Politics* (New York: The Vail-Ballou Press, 1982), 185.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 185.

²³¹ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 12 – 15.

²³² Cheryl Walker, *Gender, and the Development of the Migrant Labour System c. 1850-1930: An Overview* (Cape Town, David Philip, 1990), 170 – 172.

families, causing them to migrate to urban areas in search of better economic opportunities.²³³ According to Cheryl Walker, women's socio-economic conditions in the reserves worsened and forced them to migrate to the cities.²³⁴

By the 1920s women had created new independent lives for themselves, in the cities and acquired economic independence by engaging in socio-economic activities such as beer brewing, hawking, prostitution, and domestic work.²³⁵ The urbanization of women created another problem for African women: there was inadequate housing, high rents, a rise in market goods, and an increase in unemployment. In 1928, the government sought to stem the influx of women to the city through oppressive legislation that hindered their settlement, mobility and livelihood. It led to the introduction of pass laws and restrictions on women's beer brewing activities, in places such as Cato Manor and Sophia town. Beer brewing was an integral source of their livelihood. The frequent raids and disturbances of women and their beer brewing business eventually resulted in resistance as the women confronted the state police which led to the loss of lives and forced relocation of women from urban to rural settlements. The pass laws against women became a threat to their dignity, family stability and socio-economic livelihood.²³⁶ In 1913 African women in the OFS led by Charlotte Maxeke protested against pass laws.²³⁷

The OFS anti-pass campaign was primarily an African women's protest. At this point, there was no engagement with other oppressed women to collectively resist. At the time, both oppressed groups and their political organization believed each group could address their grievances separately, but they offered to render support whenever a crisis emerged. Therefore, when the OFS protest ensued the African women group drew support from Indian

²³³ *Ibid.*, 180.

²³⁴ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 15. For detail on Migrant Labour System, see, Cheryl Walker, *Gender, and the Development of the Migrant Labour System c. 1850-1930*.

²³⁵ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 15.

²³⁶ Kalpana Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie Resist,' *Gender and Resistance in South Africa 1900s – 1950s*, *Race Relations and the South Asian Diasporic Imaginary* 10, (2018): 123 – 138; 127.

²³⁷ Charlotte Maxeke (1874 – 1939) was instrumental in founding the Women's League of the ANC and became the president using the position as United State trained educationist black female South African to garner support in labour issues and trade union movement for Africans in early 1920. She held the pioneering role of women liberation movement and also a source of inspiration for women as political activism towards liberation in South Africa. "Her participation in Congress activities and in the general struggle of the African people symbolised the determination and willingness of the ANC to involve women and crystallise the belief in the movement in the equality of both sexes." Gandhi Luthuli Documentation CentreCentre (GLDC), Doc No. 1914/3, Class no. Sc/wom/(INT). International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa To Honour Women's Day: Profiles of Leading Women in the South African and Namibian Struggles (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1981), 19. See also, Zubeida Jaffer, *Beauty of the Heart: The Life and Times of Charlotte Manny Maxeke* (Cape Town: ZJ Books, 2016); Interview with Ela Gandhi, 78, Durban, 1 August 2018.

and Coloured women. Similar protests spread to other towns and cities such as Senekal, Winburg, Kroonstad, Potchefstroom, and the Rand.²³⁸ By 1918, the momentum of the women's resistance had given rise to the Bantu Women's League (BWL) led by Charlotte Maxeke, who entered into negotiating a settlement with Prime Minister Louis Botha that temporarily suspended pass laws for African women.²³⁹

Indian women too became politically active at the turn of the century. The need for labour in the Natal coastal areas led to the arrival of indentured immigrants from India. They were followed later by 'passenger' or Free Indians. Indentured women formed an integral part of the migration. Women came from diverse backgrounds, in terms of place of origin, religion, ethnicity, language, and class.²⁴⁰ Women along the coastal areas of Natal worked on the tea and sugar plantations and also worked as domestic servants.²⁴¹ Indentured women on the sugar plantation were poorly treated, underpaid, and oppressed by their employers both on the plantation field and as domestic servants.²⁴² The lives of the Free Indian women were different from those indentured Indian women. As Free Indians, paying their passage fare they were non-contractual immigrants that lived and worked in the cities. The majority of free Indian women were housewives.²⁴³ These socio-cultural and economic differences hindered social contact amongst the two groups of women.²⁴⁴

The arrival of Mahatma Gandhi in 1893 led to the formation of the Natal India Congress (NIC), which sought to represent the political interests of Indians.²⁴⁵ By 1906 Gandhi formed the non-violent movement otherwise known as Satyagraha against certain Indian grievances amongst them the non-entry of Indians in the Transvaal.²⁴⁶

Gandhi and the Indian community relaunched Satyagraha following the declaration of Justice Searle of the Cape Supreme Court who ruled that all marriages conducted other than in

²³⁸ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 127.

²³⁹ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 127.

²⁴⁰ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 128.

²⁴¹ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 125.

²⁴² Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 125.

²⁴³ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 125.

²⁴⁴ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 125 – 126.

²⁴⁵ Mahatma Gandhi was an activist Indian Lawyer who came to South Africa as free passenger with host of other professionals from India to render professional services to the Indentured Indian labourers working on the sugarcane plantation of the British Colonial Government (1860 – 1911). For details, See, Bill Freund, *Insiders and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910–1990* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995).

²⁴⁶ The form of nonviolent resistance initiated in India by Mahatma Gandhi in order to oppose British rule and to hasten political reforms as well used as non-violent movement in South Africa. In 1908 Mohatma' Ghandi led about 3000 Indians comprised of Muslims, Hindus and Christians to burn their passes in the courtyard of the Hamidia Mosque in Newtown, Johannesburg.

accordance with the Christian rites were thereafter made null and void. The consequence of the ruling suggested that women no longer ranked as their husbands' wives and their children no longer qualified to inherit the property of their parents. Thus, Indian women embarked on a protest march against this judgment until it was reversed in 1914 by the Indians' Relief Act.²⁴⁷

Picture 1: The Indian women resisters of the 1913 Satyagraha campaign



Source: Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre, University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)

By the 1930s the South African state continued to implement a policy of segregation. Efforts to remove Africans from the Cape voter's roll prompted the All-African Convention (AAC) to meet in order to organize a protest against this measure. This meeting gave birth to the African Council of Women (ACW) and subsequently the National Council of African Women (NCAW) led by Charlotte Maxeke.²⁴⁸ After the Second World War African urbanization provided a platform for resistance. In addition, countries like India, Ghana, and Nigeria began to attain independence in 1945, 1957, and 1960 respectively which had a huge impact on Black South Africans.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 125 – 126.

²⁴⁸ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 131.

²⁴⁹ Late 1940s saw the birth of anti-colonial movements in the sub-Saharan Africa that eventually shattered the political stability of British rule in Ghana and Nigeria. See Robert M. Price, *The Apartheid State in Crisis* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 15 – 20; The National Party government felt that the segregation policy implemented by the UP administration was not given the chance for a white supremacy, hence the need for a more far-reaching policy, called "apartheid" will be the only way to maintain a wholesome white supremacy in the post war South Africa. For detail on the party politics and white supremacy rule in South Africa. Broughton, *Press and Politics of South Africa* (Cape Town: Purnel & Sons Limited, 1961).

The 1940s

Women in the 1920s and 1930s were forced out of the reserves due to the challenges of homestead and the impact of migrant labour.²⁵⁰ There was a pull factor associated with the expansion of manufacturing industries in the towns and the urban centre, which provided opportunities for African workers to sustain themselves financially.²⁵¹ Urban growth and development in the 1930s and 1940s were influenced by the trade union movement and the changes in the national economy, which led to an increase in the demand for labour.²⁵² In the 1940s, African trade unions grew rapidly after the Second World War. By 1939, there were 25 African trade unions with approximately 37, 000 members, but by the end of the war and into the mid-1940s, the number of African union members increased to over 100, 000.²⁵³ Thus, the Transvaal Council of non-European Trade Unions became the central body representing the black unions at the national level. A large number of African workers with uneven wages made the early war years of the 1940s a time of trade union activism in South Africa.²⁵⁴ In 1946, about 70,000 mine workers went on strike for higher wages, resulting in incessant strikes by the coal, sweet, brick, dock, and dairy labour unions.²⁵⁵

As the 1940s brought an end to the dominance of mining and agriculture, the masses redirected their focus to the new industrialized structure of the economy that provided economic sustenance.²⁵⁶ Due to the industrial economy's high demand for jobs, Africans had more opportunities to work in the manufacturing industry than whites.²⁵⁷ The majority of Africans, however, were mostly employed in unskilled and semi-skilled capacities, while their white counterparts were largely placed in skilled positions, administrative and clerical positions.²⁵⁸ In contrast, the industrial economic system contributed to the hardship of the women in the reserves and the townships because able-bodied farm workers were drained

²⁵⁰ This was a consequence of the migrant labour system that created the shift in gender roles among the African people. The system made women to uphold the homestead responsibility and survived through agriculture as the main source of economic sustenance in the reserves while their husbands had sought for mine and factory job in the urban areas in order to be able to earn money to pay the poll tax imposed by the colonial government.

²⁵¹ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 113.

²⁵² GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1. "The Role of Women in The Against Apartheid," 2.

²⁵³ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 113.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 113.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 113.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 69.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 69.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 69.

from the reserves to fill unskilled jobs in mines and manufacturing industries in urban areas.²⁵⁹

The new development of growth in the industrial economy and the high input of the African workers' capacity never translated to any benefit for the Africans in terms of higher wages and cheaper consumer goods. This worsened the economic life of African women as the demand for food and cost of living soared along with the internal inflation caused by the Second World War.²⁶⁰ According to Cherryl Walker, the war period made staple food in South Africa rise by 91% between 1939 and 1944 without an increase in basic wages of the African workers. The rise in prices of food during the war became higher as the consumption of staple food items moved from a base of 1 in 1938 to 156.8 in 1948.²⁶¹ For instance, the price of rice rose from 2/7d to 7/9d per 1 lb, tea from 25/7d to 50/7d per 1 lb, beef from 8/2d to 11/5d per 1 lb, eggs from 21/7d to 37/-d per doz. and jam from 5/5d to 17/3d per 1 lb between 1938 and 1948.²⁶² The harsh economic situation that trapped African women in poverty, a shortage of housing for the Black population, and the drop in the standard of living of Blacks led to the rise of militancy among Black workers and political organizations.²⁶³ South Africa's United Party government led by General Smut was more interested in industrial growth and considered a more flexible approach to control the rise in the African population in urban areas.²⁶⁴

At this time, trade unions became an important point of gathering for women because it welcomed more working-class women who had long been disallowed memberships and participation in political organizations and other women's organizations.²⁶⁵ Having, received training within the fold of the trade union, women of respective communities later developed new skills in leadership positions that often inspired them into a wider political involvement.²⁶⁶ In the trade union, women were introduced to a series of techniques and concepts of organizations that allowed them to develop an advanced political ideology beyond their home and factory experiences. More importantly, the trade unionism of African women provided them the opportunity to challenge the age-long dominance of white minority

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 69.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 72.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 57.

rule. Trade unions allowed women from diverse backgrounds to work and resist collectively and support non-racialism. The Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA) promoted this idea of non-racialism.²⁶⁷ The CPSA recognized the essence of women's mobilization on the political front and emphasized unity and collective resistance.²⁶⁸ Many women were drawn to the CPSA. For example, in 1940 Hilda Watts formerly in the Labour Party joined the CPSA branch in Johannesburg where she was elected to the party's central committee.²⁶⁹ Also, Betty Sacks in 1941 joined the Cape Town Communist party and was elected as member of the party's central committee in 1946.²⁷⁰ Thus, the trade unions mobilized women from different races with the opportunity to articulate their grievances such as the campaign against passes, transport, housing and high food prices. For example, Mary Moodley played a leading role in the labour movement under the Food and Canning Workers Union (FCWU) in the East Rand.²⁷¹

In 1944, after the establishment of a shantytown near Johannesburg, few years later in 1947, many females participated in the squatter movement protesting against the shortage of housing in Johannesburg.²⁷² Consequently, the housing crisis led to the political consciousness of women such as Dora Tamana.²⁷³ Similarly, Julia Mpanza protested against soaring food prices and long queues in African townships in Johannesburg.²⁷⁴ In 1947, she led a women's march comprised of hundreds of women from all races to the street of Johannesburg in demonstration for freedom and equality.²⁷⁵

The late 1940s also recorded a significant move of closer cooperation between ANC and other political organizations in South Africa.²⁷⁶ The emergence of new generation of radical intellectuals in the ANC in the 1940s such as Anton Lembede;²⁷⁷ Walter Sisulu;²⁷⁸ Oliver

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 97.

²⁷¹ Mary Moodley was one of the women activists who fought for nearly 20 years in the face of victimization, and police harassment. She was arrested and detained along with hundreds of her members under the State of Emergency Act. GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 27.

²⁷² Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 76

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 76.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 88.

²⁷⁷ The South African radical political activist "Anton Muziwakhe Lembede, 1914 – 1947" Was the founding president of the African National Congress Youth League and recognized for promoting the ideology of African Nationalism in South Africa towards black resistance against the white supremacy.

²⁷⁸ Born, May 1912 and died May 2003, Walter Max Ulyate Sisulu was another South African radical political activist that participated in the 1940s anti-apartheid movement that led to his imprisonment for more than 25 years at the Roben Island.

Tambo;²⁷⁹ and Nelson Mandela;²⁸⁰ redirected the political administration of the party and set in a more radical or revolutionary agenda for the organization. Subsequently, in 1949, the Youth League of the ANC was formed, and party leadership reshuffled with election of Walter Sisulu as secretary general after defeating Daniel Tloome in a close contest.²⁸¹ Dr James S. Moroka was elected to take over from Dr Alfred B Xuma as the President–General.²⁸² By 1952 Moroka had been replaced by Albert Luthuli whom they considered as more dynamic and suitable for the position capable of driving the party radically to its goal.²⁸³

There were similar ideological changes in the SAIC. The radicals under the leadership of Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Dr Monty Naicker had captured the leadership of the TIC and NIC respectively. Similarly, in the SAIC, the radicals.²⁸⁴ These changes in the ANC and SAIC forged closer co-operation between the ANC and SAIC as well shifts in attitudes towards gender representation in these political organizations.²⁸⁵ The ANC and SAIC were accused of gender bias as there was unequal membership in terms of male to female representation. Though the recognition of women’s position had been reflected in the ANC constitution since 1919, they were not equal members.²⁸⁶ However, it was not until 1941 that attitudes changed towards women. Thus, ANC for the first time made a significant change towards women’s status by the passage of a new resolution during its annual conference in 1941 which posits that:

This conference recommends to the parent body the necessity of reviving the women’s section of the Congress in

²⁷⁹ Oliver Reginald Tambo was born October 1917 had his activism traced to the University days at the University of Fort Hare where he was expelled in 1940 during student strike alongside with his co-black student youth activists including Nelson Mandela. In 1943, Oliver Tambo became the first National Secretary of the ANC Youth League and its National Executive in 1948. By 1955 he was the Secretary General of ANC and on 1958 became Deputy president of the ANC and later President of ANC from 1967 to 1991. Died in 1993 after over 30 years in exile.

²⁸⁰ Nelson Mandela was born in Umata, Transkei in 1918. His BA degree study was at the Fort Hare College was suspended in his third year for organising a boycott of Student Representative Council having been deprived of its power by the government. Later completed a correspondence degree at the University of South Africa. While in Johannesburg he met with Walter Sisulu who encouraged him to complete his Law degree which he did and worked as legal practitioner with Oliver Tambo. They experienced the exposure of black population into urban slums, poverty, and pass laws and police harassment.

²⁸¹ APC, Magnus Gunther Collection File No. PC170/2/4/30. African National Congress: Cadres and Credo, 61.

²⁸² APC, File No. PC170/2/4/30 African National Congress Advanced: Problem of Communism July- August 1987, 61.

²⁸³ Thompson, *South African Politics*, 194.

²⁸⁴ APC, File No. PC170/7/2/4/3 African National Congress Advanced to Peoples Power! A 75 Years of Struggle, 15 – 61; Natal Indian Congress was founded in 1884 by Mahatma Gandhi and led in 1950s by Yusuf Dadoo. See, also Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 88.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 88.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 88.

*terms of the provision of the Constitution. Further, explain that women be accorded the same status as in the classification of membership. That the following means be made to attract the women: (a) to make the programme of the Congress as attractive as possible to the women, (b) a careful choice of leadership.*²⁸⁷

It was during the 1943 Annual Conference that the women's status gained full recognition in the ANC during which women were allowed equal membership, the right to vote, and the right to participate in all Congress affairs. Hence, the Women's League of ANC (ANCWL) was officially established and Madie-Hall Xuma, became the first president.²⁸⁸ The changes in ANC subsequently influenced a new and similar development in SAIC which had been largely dominated by males.²⁸⁹ Both the NIC and TIC revised its constitution and women were given membership status. Subsequently, Dr Goonam was elected as vice president of NIC.²⁹⁰ In the TIC Zainab Asvat, Mrs. P.K. Naidoo and Mrs. Suryakala Patel became senior executive members of the TIC.²⁹¹ The momentum of the radical changes in the ANC and SAIC forged closer co-operation between African and Indian women.²⁹² Dr Goonam and Mrs. Suryakala Patel fostered cooperation and better relationship with African and Coloured women during the National Women's Day celebrations in Johannesburg in 1946 and 1947.²⁹³ In addition, women were most noticeable as resisters during the Passive resistance campaign of 1946-1948.²⁹⁴ For example, students like Fatima Meer, Mrs. P. S. Pillay, and Mrs. N.P. Desai, Mrs. R. Jithoo, Dr Goonam and Miss Radhamonie Padyachee supported the campaign by addressing public platforms²⁹⁵ In 1946, Dr Goonam and Fatima Meer under the banner of NIC mobilized 6000 supporters made of students and women to participate in campaign at Durban, Clairwood, Merebank, Isipingo, Seaview, Bellair, Tongaat, Stanger and Lady Smith.²⁹⁶ Whilst the campaign was predominantly Indian it did recruit African and Coloured

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁸⁹ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist', 132. See also, Kesaveloo Goonam, *Coolie Doctor- An Autobiography by Goonam* (Durban: Madiba Publishers, 1991).

²⁹⁰ Dr. Goonam was a prominent woman in the South African Indian Congress, as one of the foremost black women doctors, in the early 1940s she was a member of the anti-segregation committee in the Natal India Congress and agitated for the independence of the Indians in the mid-1940s and known for her support for the position of women in South Africa.

²⁹¹ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 132.

²⁹² Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 132.

²⁹³ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 132. See also, Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 111.

²⁹⁴ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 111 – 133.

²⁹⁵ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 133.

²⁹⁶ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie resist,' 133.

supporters. For example, 15 Africans, 8 whites and 47 Coloureds participated. The late 1940s also witnessed closer unity between the ANC and the SAIC. It led to the Doctors pact in 1947 between three doctors; Dr Monty Naicker (NIC), Dr Yusuf Dadoo (TIC) and Dr A. B. Xuma (ANC).²⁹⁷ The pact promoted a non-racial political cooperation between the national organizations of Africans and Indians that shared equal opposition against the state.

1950s: The Defiance and Anti-pass Campaigns and FEDSAW

The post 1948 period saw a shift towards non-racialism. The Doctors pact of 1947 between the ANC and the SAIC saw the closer political co-operation between the two race groups. The ANC and SAIC formed a joint defiance campaign in June 1952 as a radical strategy to be used to collectively mount pressure on the Nationalist government.²⁹⁸ During this period, the defiance campaign was far more politicized which in turn gave rise to many women participating. For instance, out of 2,529 resisters in the Eastern Cape 1, 067 were women, in the Transvaal region, 173 were women out of 488 resisters. Women suffered detention and imprisonment.²⁹⁹ For example, Florence Matomela was amongst the 35 protesters arrested in Eastern Cape by the state under the Suppression of Communism Act and Fatima Meer faced same fate.³⁰⁰ The Defiance Campaign served as a springboard for women's resistance against passes.

In the 1950s, the Nationalist government sought to introduce passes for women to control their economic and social mobility.³⁰¹ As early as 1952 leakage of the proposed passes for women led to massive protest across the country comprising of men and women in solidarity for women's freedom of movement.³⁰² In April 1950 there were women marches in city centres such as Langa in Cape Town, East London in the Eastern Cape, and Pietermaritzburg in Natal. Among the notable women were Bertha Mkhize who led the women in demonstration to the Durban City Hall and Florence Matomela in a protest march in Port Elizabeth where passes were burnt.³⁰³ In 1952, the Nationalist party (NP) passed the Native

²⁹⁷ APC, File No. PC170/7/2/4/3 African National Congress Advanced to Peoples Power! A 75 Years of Struggle, 61.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 131 – 132.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 131 – 132.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 131 – 132.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 123.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 125.

³⁰³ Betha Mkhize was one of the anti-pass women activists and the then provincial secretary of the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) and the chairwoman of the Durban African women's Organization. Florence Matomela was an anti-pass women activist and the provincial president of the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL).

Laws Amendment Act (NLAA) which made the existing influx control measures to be stricter in the sense that it became an offense for any African, to stay without special permission longer than 72 hours in any urban areas.³⁰⁴ In 1952 of the Native Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act (NAPCDA) compelled the African women to carry passes (reference book).³⁰⁵ This was in contrary to the assurances of the Nationalist government that passes would not be extended to women. The introduction of passes forged closer co-operation among women of diverse racial background. This led to the formation of the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) in 1954.

The formation of FEDSAW was another significant landmark achievement of the 1950s.³⁰⁶ Subsequently, branches were open across the country with increasing membership from every stratum including the ANCWL.³⁰⁷ In 1955, FEDSAW adopted the ‘women’s charter’ with the common goal of eradicating gender inequalities and political oppression.³⁰⁸ In addition, FEDSAW embarked on an anti-pass campaign. By 27 October 1955, women had a successful demonstration amidst the state police assault across the country. This effort had motivated women to hold meeting in towns and cities in preparation for the upcoming year as announced by the authority to start issuing passes to them by January 1956.³⁰⁹ In March 1956, the authorities went to the Free State township of Winburg to issue passes to women.³¹⁰ Following this, the women organized a meeting with the Minister of Native Affairs to be met in March 1956 at the Union Building in Pretoria to express their grievances, but the authority employed all measures to obstruct the meeting.³¹¹ The women’s march led by Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa, and Sophie Williams collected the signed petitions from the crowd of demonstrators and dropped it at the office of the Minister of Native affairs who refused to meet the women.³¹² Despite the anti-pass campaigns the passes for women were implemented. The state adopted stern measures to curb women’s defiance. Many FEDSAW

³⁰⁴ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 125.

³⁰⁵ “Reference book” contained detailed information of the identity holder in terms of employment, residential area, and payment of taxes.

³⁰⁶ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 182.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 194.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 192.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 184 – 190.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 192.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, 132.

³¹² *Ibid.*, 132.

leaders were arrested, detained or banned amongst them were Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Frances Baard and Annie Silinga with host of others.³¹³

The late 1950s also witnesses the contestation between political freedom and gender equality. Though it was enshrined in the women's charter, FEDSAW was committed to ensuring the full emancipation of women from playing second fiddle in society. However, the women remain positive that the leadership of ANC must be respected and whatever that would bring down the unity of the national liberation movement must be avoided.³¹⁴ This was made clear regardless of the conflicts between the FEDSAW and ANC because in many occasions women were regarded as subordinate to men.³¹⁵ On the contrary based on the philosophy of women's charter FEDSAW was never structured as an organization to oppose the existing organizations but to foster unity.³¹⁶ Similarly, during the 1959 ANCWL annual conference, Lilian Ngoyi in her speech cautioned the audience about the spreading impression that portrayed women as 'courageous and militant,' and the men 'frightened and timid,' as a conscious reflection of patriarchal ideology that influenced the FEDSAW.³¹⁷ Thus, in 1959 FEDSAW appeared optimistic in achieving its aim for women and men towards the national liberation.³¹⁸

The 1960s -The Political lull

The late 1950s was characterized by protracted political differences between the ANC and PAC. In spite of their ideological differences, the focus of each group was to overthrow apartheid.³¹⁹ Subsequently, on the 21st of March 1960, more than 5000 people participated in a mass protest that took place at Sharpeville and Langa in Western Cape.³²⁰ This event was a peaceful protest march towards the police station at Sharpeville.³²¹ In response to this, the peaceful protest turned violent as the police disproportionately responded in a callous and brutal manner with arms to disperse the protestors.³²² This event became known as the Sharpeville massacre, owing to the death of 69 people, 180 of whom were injured.³²³

³¹³ *Ibid.*, 200.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 263.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 264.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 263.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 264.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 264.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 267.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, 267.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 267.

³²² *Ibid.*, 267.

³²³ *Ibid.*, 267.

The Sharpeville massacre escalated political tension and the State imposed harsh restrictions and many ANC, PAC, FEDSAW activists were banned. Hence, FEDSAW became inactive.³²⁴ At the same time, the PAC leaders such as Robert Sobukwe were arrested and sentenced to three years imprisonment and the PAC secretary, Potlako Leballo and others were given a two-year jail term.³²⁵ The aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre attracted international criticism that called for the suppression of the apartheid led NP.³²⁶ The PAC and ANC were banned in April 1960.³²⁷ The police arrested many leaders of the PAC and ANC while some leaders like Nelson Mandela and PAC were able to go underground where they reviewed their strategies. This led to the formation of the ANC military unit (Umkhonto we Sizwe also known as the Spear of the Nation).³²⁸

The banning of the ANC and PAC had a devastating impact on the FEDSAW in the early 1960s because it failed to survive the radical changes of the period as a result of the raging political tension and the Sharpeville massacre.³²⁹ Additionally, many of FEDSAW's leaderships were banned having been tagged and associated with the already banned ANC anti-apartheid political group.³³⁰ Subsequently, FEDSAW's freedom to act as a legal political organization was restricted as a result of the banning, eventual arrest, and political trials of its leaders.³³¹ Consequently, the crisis of the early 1960s crippled the activities of women organizations such as FEDSAW and the ANCWL, this was when its top leaders including Helen Joseph and Lilian Ngoyi were detained during the state of emergency while some went into exile.³³² However, FEDSAW regrouped again in early 1961 and tried to rebuild its shattered political structure by reorganizing its membership and find a way to recoup the lost glory of the organization as it was in the 1950s before the banning of the ANCWL in 1960.³³³

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 268.

³²⁵ APC, File no. Pc170/7/2/4/7. Letter from Chief Luthuli to the Prime Minister, Mr. J G Strijdom, 4. See, Thompson, *South African Politics*, 197.

³²⁶ Thompson, *South African Politics*, 197.

³²⁷ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 267.

³²⁸ The struggle against apartheid government led majority of the black leaders and revolutionaries to exiles into neighboring countries like Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania to mention but a few. They continue the struggle with an underground political tactics. On ANC and exiled political activists and the underground political struggle outside South Africa, see, G. M. Gerhart and C. L. Glaser, *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882 – 1990. Volume 6: Challenge and Victory, 1980 – 1990* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 120 – 155.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 269.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 269.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, 269.

³³² *Ibid.*, 269.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 269.

The 1960s was a destructive year for the women and their organizations. The period also marked the beginning of years of harassment as indicated in the continued arrest, banning of the leaders of the FEDSAW and ANCWL.³³⁴ In 1963, FEDSAW became inactive as a result of the apartheid authority's successful enforcement of the compulsory carrying of passes by African women. Thus, this development further truncated the effort of FEDSAW and women's organizations to regroup and galvanize adequate membership and resources needed for resistance and women liberation movement.³³⁵ The continual restriction of women leadership of FEDSAW was adversely destructive to the political agenda of the national liberation movement as many more of its members were removed from office by banning orders, arrests, and exile.³³⁶ For example, Ray Alexander who was forced into exile in Zambia in 1965, Albertina Sisulu, Amina Cachalia, Liz Abrahams, Mary Moodley, Ruth Matseoane, Bertha Mashaba, Violet Weinberg, Frances Baard, among others were either banned, imprisoned. In 1963, Florence Matomela, was served five years imprisonment for championing the ambitions of the banned ANC and she died shortly after her release in 1969.³³⁷ By the end of the 1960s, FEDSAW was a weakened organization.³³⁸

The 1970s – Youth Movement

The political tensions of the late 1960s had a devastating impact on the women's organizations such as the ANCWL and FEDSAW as they went into dormancy due to the imposition of passes and apartheid state clampdown on the leadership of activists.³³⁹ At this period, political activism had entered the tertiary institutions given the unavoidable presence of racism and segregation between the whites and oppressed African students. By the late 1960s youth movement gained momentum in the public and private spheres against racial discrimination in order to promote inherent dignity, social cohesion, and political inclusiveness among the Black population.³⁴⁰ The late 1960s and early 1970s youth movements were designed to work against racism and oppression premised on the ideology of Black Consciousness (BC) as a philosophy that sought to understand the meaning of Blackness in the struggle for liberation.³⁴¹ Thus, as a student, Steve Biko founded a black

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 273.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 274.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, 274.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, 273.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 273.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 275.

³⁴⁰ Pumla D. Gqola, 'Contradictory Locations: Black women and the Discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa,' *Meridians* 2, 1 (2001): 130 – 152.

³⁴¹ Gqola, 'Contradictory Locations,' 130 – 152.

South African Students Organization (SASO) in 1968 as a resistance to the formerly established student organization controlled by the whites, known as the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).³⁴²

As a student organization, SASO was not only interested in resisting the racial oppression in the state where white minority dominated the black population but also keen with the agenda of breaking the sexist male domination of organizations at both the learning institutions and the state where women were oppressed.³⁴³ Thus, SASO gave room for women's membership and provided them with a platform to be politically conscious and active in the struggle against racial discrimination and women's oppression. For example, Ramphela a Black student who was an active female member of SASO mentioned that women's participation in SASO activities helped them to build student political activism and assertive leadership skills.³⁴⁴ Similarly, some of the women that shared common political inspirations for Black Consciousness were the likes of Vuyelwa Mashalaba, Nomsisi Kraai, Deborah Matshoba, and Thenjiwe Mtintso.³⁴⁵ For example, Deborah Matshoba, was a member of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) while she was a student at the University of Zululand and became an active and notable member of SASO as the literacy director until she was arrested and detained by the state.³⁴⁶

In a bid to re-awake women's activism in the early 1970s, women became noticeable of the idea and influence emerging from the philosophy of Black Consciousness which sought to promote the dignity and solidarity among Black populations, and eradicate racial discrimination.³⁴⁷ Thus, the women of the defunct FEDSAW formed an organization known as Black Women's Federation (BWF) in 1975 under the leadership of Fatima Meer in Natal and Winnie Mandela in the Transvaal.³⁴⁸ However, in 1977 the state detained its leaders, and the BWF was banned for its affiliation with the Black Consciousness Movement, following

³⁴² Thompson, *South African Politics*, 203.

³⁴³ South African History Online, SAHO, 'Chapter 5 – The Character, Role and Significance of SASO.' Available from www.sahistory.org/archive/chapter_5_character_and_significance_saso. Accessed 1 June 2019.

³⁴⁴ SAHO, 'Chapter 5 – The Character, Role and Significance of SASO.' Accessed 1 June 2019.

³⁴⁵ Ian Macqueen, *Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2018), 142.

³⁴⁶ Macqueen, *Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid*, 138.

³⁴⁷ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 275.

³⁴⁸ Macqueen, *Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid*, 151; Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 275.

the Soweto Uprising in 1976.³⁴⁹ Thus, Steve Biko was placed under surveillance which led to his eventual arrest and detention in 1976 – 77.³⁵⁰

However, the impact of BCM on women was represented in the life of Dr Mamphela Ramphele notable among the female students in the fold of BCM.³⁵¹ While at the University, Ramphele was involved in student political activism in SASO. At the same time, she was active in the operation of BC organisations such as the Black People's Convention (BPC) and Black Community Programmes (BCP) among others. After being qualified as a medical doctor in 1972 she was hired as superintendent of the newly established Zanempilo Health Centre located at Kings Williams Town and she dedicated her medical services to the Black communities.³⁵² In 1977, Mamphela was restricted from rendering medical services to the oppressed Black communities and she was placed under banning in 1977.³⁵³

The women activists during the liberation movement across South Africa between 1960s and 1980s were subjected to banning, arrests and detentions. By 1980s considerable number of women, political activists had gone into exile whilst they carried on activism.³⁵⁴ For example, between 1977 and 1984 while Mamphela Ramphele was banished to Lenyenye near Tzaneen, she maintained her community engagement rendering health care services to the rural community,³⁵⁵ who have never operated computers previously.

According to Rozenna Maart, Black consciousness represented a self-interrogation and self-examination of ones lived experience in an oppressive society.³⁵⁶ Black consciousness was designed to free African men and women from apartheid inequality and oppression against the Black South Africans. For example, in 1963, Albertina Sisulu courageously resisted the apartheid government in an attempt to find out the whereabouts of her husband Walter Sisulu, when he went underground until he was eventually arrested and placed in life imprisonment

³⁴⁹ Macqueen, *Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid*, 151.

³⁵⁰ See, Steve Biko, *I write What I like*. Ed. A. Stubbs (London: Heinemann, 1979).

Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 275.

³⁵¹ Dr. Mamphela was born in Pietersburg in the northern Transvaal, studied at the University of North in the Transvaal and the University of Natal where she joined student political groups like SASO and BPC. She later became active in Black consciousness organization such as the Zimele Trust established for the release of the political prisoners like Bantu Steve Biko.

³⁵² GLDC, Doc No. 1914/3, Class no. Sc/wom/(INT), 36.

³⁵³ GLDC, Doc No. 1914/3, Class no. Sc/wom/(INT), 37.

³⁵⁴ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 13.

³⁵⁵ SAHO, '1970s: Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa.' Available from www.sahistory.org.za/article/black-consciousness-movement-south-africa-grade-12. Accessed 7 June 2019.

³⁵⁶ Rozena Maart, 'Black Consciousness and Feminism,' *Frank Talk* 5 (2013): 7 – 10.

on Robben Island.³⁵⁷ Subsequently, Albertina Sisulu was arrested together with her sixteen-year-old son, and both were held in solitary confinement for ninety days.³⁵⁸ In the writings of Rozena Maart, she expresses how BC influenced her life as a person and as an activist.³⁵⁹ It was depicted in her formative years, during high school in the Cape Flat how the National party forcibly removed the residents of District Six. Hence, the forcible removal was likewise a devastating experience to Maart which triggered her consciousness as an oppressed black teenager.³⁶⁰

The 1980s: The United Democratic Front and Women's Organisations

The 1980s became a period of intense turmoil in South Africa where banning, restrictions, and arrest were the instruments of state repression against the Africans, Coloured and Indians.³⁶¹ Subsequently, women began to re-group and led to several women's organizations, such as the United Women Congress (UWCO) sprung up in the Western Cape formed by the members of the ex-Federation of South African Women organizations in 1981 in order to fight for the socio-economic conditions of the Women and youths. For example, the, UWCO organized campaigns against the bread price, increase in bus fare, good health care for children, housing, and police brutality. Notable among the Western Cape women activists of the 1980s anti-apartheid struggle was Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi who was enlisted into the armed group (Umkhonto We Sizwe) of the banned ANC while in exile in Zimbabwe.³⁶²

³⁵⁷ Albertina Sisulu, wife of the then National Secretary of ANC was born in the Transkei region and a trained nurse. She joined the ANC women's League in 1950s and active in the Federation of South African Women. She was recorded to be the person that served the longer period of 15 years of banning in South Africa during her struggle as political activist against the apartheid system. See, GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 38 – 39.

³⁵⁸ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 38.

³⁵⁹ Maart, 'Black Consciousness and Feminism,' 8.

³⁶⁰ Maart, 'Black Consciousness and Feminism,' 8.

³⁶¹ SAHO, 'Apartheid Crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s,' 2019. Available from www.sahistory.org.za/womens-struggles-1900-1994/apartheid-crumbles-women-turmoil-1980s. Accessed 4 June 2019.

³⁶² Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi was born in Cape Town, in 1960. A civil right activist, drew her inspiration of activism from her grandmother who was a unionist and as a member of the Bellville Association for Community Action (BACA), being a civil organization that frequently fought to resolve political challenges facing the Bellville Community. She went into exile in 1980 during the heat of political tension in South Africa from the oppressive apartheid regime. While in exile, in Zimbabwe, she joined the military wing of the African National Congress. Then, received a military drilling in Angola, Cuba and Soviet Union, now Russia, and became member of the South African Communist Party (SACP) where she served as the regional leadership of the party in Zimbabwe until her return to South Africa in 1990.

In 1983, though most of the women organizations were either banned or under government restriction, the UWCO and the Women's Front (WF) both in Western Cape were among the few surviving organizations that jointly spearheaded the continuation of the resistance movement. Hence, in 1983, the duo women organizations and other delegates across South Africa met in Mitchel's Plain in Cape Town to align themselves with the United Democratic Front (UDF).³⁶³ The formation of UDF was initially based on the idea of using it as a platform to oppose the intended plans of the nationalist government of introducing a Tri-cameral constitution that would create three parliaments, for white, Coloured and Indians. However, this did not see the light of the day as the proposal was turned down unanimously by the Coloured and Indian people as well as the UDF. For instance, during this period, a participant to this study, Saydoon Sayed was troubled by the inequalities because she could not understand why there were so many racial discriminations based on the colour of skin.³⁶⁴

The UDF became much active in resistance movement across the country in its campaign for women's political rights, housing, labour, and health care issues. Subsequently, in 1983, the Natal Organization of Women (NOW) was formed.³⁶⁵ NOW, was an organization based in KwaZulu Natal to address the socio-economic, political activism and other issues relating to women in KwaZulu Natal³⁶⁶ In a bid to achieve its aim, NOW formulated a constitution that sought to protect the rights of women in the areas of health in terms of maternity and child care benefits, affordable housing and a campaign against the pass law.³⁶⁷ Hence, NOW leadership sustained political campaigns in Natal when many of its key political leaders were banned.³⁶⁸

In 1984, in the region of Transvaal now Gauteng over 200 women gathered to form the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW) in commemoration of August 9th Women's Day. It aligned itself with the Women's Freedom Charter adopted by FEDSAW in 1954, which was concerned with the socio-economic and political rights of women.³⁶⁹ In 1985 and 1987 during the state of emergency, the state's authority banned and detained leaders of the UDF and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU).³⁷⁰ The socio-economic

³⁶³ SAHO 'Apartheid crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s.' Accessed 7 June 2019.

³⁶⁴ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban University of Technology, 12 June 2019.

³⁶⁵ SAHO 'Apartheid crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s.' Accessed 7 June 2019.

³⁶⁶ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

³⁶⁷ SAHO 'Apartheid crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s.' Accessed 7 June 2019.

³⁶⁸ SAHO 'Apartheid crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s.' Accessed 7 June 2019.

³⁶⁹ SAHO 'Apartheid crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s.' Accessed 7 June 2019.

³⁷⁰ SAHO 'Apartheid crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s.' Accessed 7 June 2019.

and political conditions alluded to above highlights the factors that shaped and defined women's resistance in South Africa from the turn of the century to the 1980s. Changing conditions impacted on political dynamics and collective resistance. A similar trajectory is noticeable in Nigeria.

Socio–Economic and Political Condition in Nigeria 1900 – the 1990s

1900 – 1914

By 1861, Lagos was already an annexed British colony and by 1885, drawing from the Berlin Act, Britain divided Nigeria into north and south as protectorates. The oil protectorates of contemporary southern Nigeria were under the British powers, and by 1900, the northern protectorate was already subjugated through conquest following the fall of Sultan Attahiru;³⁷¹ and southern Nigeria was under the influence of the Royal Niger Company under British control.³⁷² The British colonizers invaded southern Nigeria comprising of the modern south-east Igboland. By 1902 the Kingdom of Ekumeku in western Igboland organized a remarkable movement to curtail the incursion of the British troops. The movement attracted support from Ishan to expel the despised Royal Niger Company.³⁷³ In 1904, the British re-strategized and laid a three-day siege on the Igbo people at Ubulu-Uku while the Ekumeku and other communities were defending themselves separately. By 1911 British subdued and arrested the leaders of Ekumeku and imprisoned hundreds of protestors in Calabar.³⁷⁴ In southern Nigeria, the invasion and dislocation of traditional political institutions extended to the Kingdom of Benin and Opobo as the monarchs were displaced and banished by the British colonial authority.³⁷⁵

³⁷¹Mohammadu Attahiru I was the 12th Sultan who ruled the Sokoto Caliphate (Northern Protectorate) between 13 October 1902 and 15 March 1903. He partook in the resistance against the British interlopers in the Northern protectorate in 1900s alongside his northern states such as Yola, Kontangora, Kano and Gombe but they were overpowered by the British troops. Attahiru I was killed in 1903 along with some of his followers in a battle to defend the taking over of the Caliphate of Sokoto. Hence, the northern Nigeria was captured, and the British installed a new Sultan. See, Abah Adah and Andrew Essien, 'Nigeria: Country's Early Monarchs Who Resisted Colonisation,' Available from <https://allafrica.com/stories/201602050170.html>. Accessed on 1 July 2018.

³⁷² John E. Flint, *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Modern Nigeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7.

³⁷³ Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Nigeria* (New York: Longman, 1983), 383.

³⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 383.

³⁷⁵ The Kingdom of Benin is recognized for its great economic resources like rubber, palm kernels, ivory but the King Ovonramwen used his fetish machinations to exclude the British merchants from accessing the resources. By 1892 Ovonramwen had signed a treaty which he unlikely understood to be a sacrifice of his sovereignty. Hence, British troops led by JR Phillips embarked on expedition to Benin in 1897, in spite of his spirited

The modern state of Nigeria was established in 1914 when the British colonial government amalgamated the northern and southern protectorates in order to form a unified colonial state. Though the northern and southern protectorates had been the creations of British rule, prior to this Nigeria had ruled themselves as independent states.³⁷⁶ Amongst them were Kanem-Borno;³⁷⁷ the Benin Kingdom;³⁷⁸ Old Oyo;³⁷⁹ Igbo;³⁸⁰ and the Hausa-Fulani.³⁸¹ It is important to note that many of these states had quite strong regional power for extended periods. Meanwhile, the smaller states were governed by decentralized political structures of local councils, chiefs, and other kinds of elites, without a single central administration.³⁸² The British, having succeeded in bringing Nigeria under colonial rule in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, went about integrating local political institutions to meet the needs of the new administration. The British system of ‘indirect rule,’ was introduced by Fredrick Lord Lugard in 1914.³⁸³

resistance, the city of Benin was captured and Ovonramwen spent his last sixteen years of life in exile. See, Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, 367.

³⁷⁶ T. Falola, and M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 7.

³⁷⁷ Kanem Bornu was an empire in the ancient Sudan/ West Africa, its reign dated from the 9th century. The empire has been cited as the longest empire in African history linking the modern-day Libya, Cameroon and Chad, it is located in the present-day Bornu state in northern Nigeria, and Chad. Its people are known as the Kanembu or Kanuris and speak Kanuri language.

³⁷⁸ The Benin Kingdom was a pre-colonial empire in the southern Nigeria. It is presently known as Edo with Benin as its capital. It is known for its culture and history of Art works. The people had early contact with the Portuguese in the 16th century that exposed them to European civilization.

³⁷⁹ Ancient Oyo was an empire in the pre-colonial West Africa in 15th century. It represents the modern day western and north central Nigeria. Its language is Yoruba with dialectical differences among its people, and its people and culture are extended to the southwestern West African states of the Republic of Benin, and Togo. It was known for its political importance and authoritative of all the early Yoruba principalities.

³⁸⁰ Igbo is the third largest ethnic group in Nigeria and after Hausa-Fulani and Yoruba. The Igbo is the native language of the Igbo ethnic group located in present day southeastern and southcentral Nigeria. Like the Yoruba, it has various dialects. Igbo language and people are found in Nigeria and Southeastern countries of Equatorial Guinea and Cameroon.

³⁸¹ Hausa-Fulani it is a combination of two ethnic groups with cultural similarities. Hausa-Fulani is largely in the northern Nigeria, but its presence spanned across West African states. Hausa-Fulani are closely linked with Kanem-Bornu people also in northern Nigeria. They are predominantly Muslims and known for their early contact with the Arab traders and scholars from 11th century, that informed the early introduction of historic civilization, political institution and Islamic literacy in Nigeria. Hausa-Fulani has been a determinant element of Nigerian politics since the Nigerian independent in 1960.

³⁸² Falola, *A History of Nigeria*, 6.

³⁸³ ‘Indirect rule’ was a British system of government introduced to government of the Nigerian state in the early twentieth century. Indirect rule a British system of governing through indigenous political institutions that allowed local chiefs and elites to maintain their local authority while submitting themselves to the authority of a central apparatus of British colonial administrators. For British rule in Nigeria, see, Falola and Heaton, *A History of Nigeria*. Among other Falola’s cited works include T. Falola and E. Browell, *Africa, Empire and Globalization. Essays in Honour of A. G. Hopkins* (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2011); T. Falola and K. D. Roberts, *The Atlantic World, 1450 – 2000* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2008); T. Falola and P. E. Lovejoy, *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development?, Pawnship, Slavery, and Colonialism in Africa* (Trenton NJ: Africa World Pr., 2003); T. Falola and S. J. Salm, *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005); Toyin Falola, *Yoruba Gurus: Indigenous Production of Knowledge in Africa; and Counting the Tiger’s Teeth: An African Teenager’s Story* (Trenton NJ: Africa World Pr., 2014).

With the implementation of the “indirect rule” in Nigeria, the political landscape of the diverse regions became altered in many ways. For instance, the British colonial rule brought together various independent states that had previously been autonomous for centuries under the single administrative umbrella of an amalgamated Nigeria. Also, the process of “indirect rule” resulted in changes in the powers of traditional political leaders, especially amongst the Igbo traditional societies, who had vehemently rejected the indirect rule system, which made the British colonialist introduced a warrant chief system, that further dislocated power and authority in the region.³⁸⁴

British colonialists went about restructuring Nigerian societies in the years after their conquest. On one hand, the colonial rule was charged with the tasks of governing the territories of Nigeria, by expanding the commerce of the country, and promoting “progress” and “civilization” for peoples they already considered inferior and backward. In some instances, the British often misconceived the traditional political institutions through which they governed, and frequently had difficulty identifying the legitimate traditional authorities. Also, the British sometimes extended powers to local rulers that they had never previously held, and in all cases, they took off the sovereignty that local rulers had enjoyed previously. British rule in Nigeria led to economic changes, replacing the traditional economy with a cash economy, and forced Nigerians into wage labour. This transformed the Nigerian economy from the barter system into a more capitalist system.³⁸⁵ Hence, the Nigerian economy was redirected towards external markets catering for the needs of British and European businesses.³⁸⁶

1914 – 1940s- The Inter-War Years

During the First World War the Nigerian economy, like other economies globally was severely hit. The colonial government in Nigeria introduced new measures that pressured her subjects, especially in the agricultural sector, who were forced to produce food crops to consolidate war efforts.³⁸⁷ Women were hard hit by these new measures as it prioritized foreign as opposed to local needs.³⁸⁸ The inter-war years and the Great Depression were to

³⁸⁴Falola, *A History of Nigeria*, 6.

³⁸⁵ Antony G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1973), 167–292.

³⁸⁶ Toyin Falola, ed. *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development* (London: Zed Books, 1987), 38 – 41.

³⁸⁷ Judith A. Byfield, ‘Feeding the Troops: Abeokuta (Nigeria) and World War II,’ *African Economic History* 35 (2007): 77 – 87; 78.

³⁸⁸ Byfield, ‘Feeding the Troops: Abeokuta (Nigeria) and World War II,’ 78 – 82.

create further economic challenges.³⁸⁹ The aftermath of the First World War naturally brought about the collapse of businesses and banks, which had hitherto stabilized the global economy.³⁹⁰ This had a ripple effect on Nigeria with consequences for, women-centred businesses such as tie and dye business, farming, weaving, and so on. An apt example was the tie and dye business.³⁹¹ Abeokuta women who were in tie and dye industry suffered from the Great Depression which made natural dye and normal soda expensive and unavailable.³⁹² During the same period, women in eastern Nigeria also suffered. In the 1920s, they protested in groups against colonial rule.³⁹³ They demanded as follows; clean compounds; lower bride-price, and Native Courts should change their justice system, ‘as poor men were often punished in native courts at the instance of the rich men.’³⁹⁴ In 1928, direct taxation had been extended to the entire eastern province of Nigeria. By 1929 the price of palm produce had fallen and the tax extended to women.³⁹⁵ However, the women believed that the Warrant Chiefs had connived with the British colonial administration to make life difficult for them.³⁹⁶ Hence, they embarked on a movement to reject colonialism, administrative oppression, and economic injustice.³⁹⁷ Thus, the Oloko women sent delegations to all towns in Aba to announce their grievances for change in the land. An Umuahia woman expressed that:

*“The whole woman folk of Umuahia were excited and agitated for action. This was more so because the cost of palm oil and palm kernel had fallen while the price of cigarettes and akawu had soared. How could women be asked to pay tax was the question that engaged the minds of every woman.... No woman can claim that she summoned others to join forces with the woman’s cause. The cause was not one that demanded conviction and sermon.”*³⁹⁸

The above suggests that the socio-cultural practice in colonial eastern Nigeria empowered men more than women. It is a practice that allowed men to dominate access to land

³⁸⁹ Byfield, ‘Feeding the Troops: Abeokuta (Nigeria) and World War II,’ 78 – 82.

³⁹⁰ Byfield, ‘Feeding the Troops: Abeokuta (Nigeria) and World War II,’ 78 – 82.

³⁹¹ Byfield, ‘Feeding the Troops: Abeokuta (Nigeria) and World War II,’ 78 – 82.

³⁹² National Archives Abeokuta (NAA) ECR 1/1/46, Minutes of Extra-ordinary Meeting of Egba Council, 12 February 1936. NAA ECR 1/1/46. Letter from resident to the Secretary of Southern Provinces. 24 April 1936.

³⁹³ Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, 399.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 399.

³⁹⁵ National Archives Enugu (NAE) Owerri Province Annual Report file no 391.

³⁹⁶ Sheldon, *African Women*, 160.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 160.

³⁹⁸ Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, 399.

acquisition and denied women the right to land properties and inheritance. Thus, it was a cultural practice that often fuelled the resistance of taxation in eastern Nigeria than western Nigeria.

“They would go to Owerrinta to demolish the Native Court; that they did not want the Native Court to hear cases any longer; and that all White men should return to their country so that the land in this area might remain as it was many years ago before the advent of the White man.

Our grievances are that the land is changed – we are all dying. It is a long time since the Chiefs and the people who know book.... have been oppressing us. We are telling you that we have been oppressed. The new Chiefs are also receiving bribes. Since the White men came, our oil does not fetch money. Our kernels do not fetch money. If we take goats or yams to market to sell, Court messengers who wear a uniform take all these things from us.”³⁹⁹

The above indicates that the women were forced to protest against the marginalization they experienced at the hands of both indigenous males and colonial authorities who stripped off their rights. It shows that the society wherein the women lived was not only masculinized but also corrupt and oppressive. The women attacked the native courts and the Warrant chiefs and also the European trading factories. Consequently, in December 1929, the police fired at protestor at Opobo killing 32 women and 31 wounded while 18 women were killed and 19 wounded at Utu Ekpo.⁴⁰⁰

In the same vein, in 1930, Madam Olajumoke Obasa, a social activist, in Lagos where she was deeply interested in promoting good welfare and other social interests of women.⁴⁰¹ For example, when Lagos market women of Ebute Ero were asked to pay rent for their stalls, she successfully led a delegation of the market women to the Lagos town council to protest against stalls rent payment. Hence, the order that women should pay monthly fees as stall rent

³⁹⁹*Ibid.*, 400.

⁴⁰⁰*Ibid.*, 401.

⁴⁰¹ M. K. Lawal, Oluyemi, O. T. and Abiola, O. A. ‘Women Participation and Political Leadership in Africa: A Case of Nigeria,’ *Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science* 7, 4 (2019): 49 – 57; 51.

was put on hold.⁴⁰² Similarly, another action that contributed to the political realities of indirect rule as it affected women and how women carved a niche for themselves in political participation in colonial Nigeria was the founding of Abeokuta Women's Union (AWU) by Mrs. Olufunmilayo Ransome-Kuti.⁴⁰³ Kuti focused sought to alleviate women's hardships.⁴⁰⁴ The sole objectives of the AWU were the abolition of Sole Native Authority (SNA) which was neither designed to be gender-sensitive nor gave room for women's representation and participation in the reformed system of administration.⁴⁰⁵ In 1935, Madam Okwei was crowned with the title of Omu as the Queen of Osomari as an illustrious Nigerian woman. As Omu of Osomari, Okwei was charged with several duties, such as advising the King and assisting him in settling disputes, especially advising on those that concerned women.⁴⁰⁶ Okwei was known as a generous leader in which she gifted some of her jewellery to those that could not afford it.⁴⁰⁷

During the Second World War, Nigerian women played a critical role in collecting the harvests of Nigeria's cash crops such as cocoa and palm oil for exports. In high demands, Nigerian farmers were coerced to produce these cash crops instead of food for the duration of the war.⁴⁰⁸ While many women and girls exercised new levels of freedom as they evade the attempts of fathers and husband's restriction of their movement, few women were enlisted to fight in the war.⁴⁰⁹

The 1940s - Youth Movement

The changes in the political and economic structures of Nigerian communities also led to significant social and urban changes.⁴¹⁰ Cities grew rapidly as people moved from rural to urban areas like Abeokuta looking for jobs in the civil service or in commercial firms. Traditional age and gender roles shifted as people reacted to the new labour system of the

⁴⁰²Fayomi, 'An Exploratory Study of Women in Political Leadership in Nigeria,' 6. Also available in Lawal, et al., 'Women Participation and Political Leadership in Africa,' 51.

⁴⁰³ Byfield, *The Bluest Hands: A Social and Economic History of Women Dyers in Abeokuta (Nigeria), 1890 – 1940* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2002), 34.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁴⁰⁵Fayomi, "An Exploratory Study of Women in Political Leadership in Nigeria," 6.

⁴⁰⁶ Felicia I. Ekejiuba, "Omu Okwei Osomari," in *Nigerian Women: A Historical Perspective*, ed. Bolanle Awe (Ibadan: Bookcraft Limited, 2001), 12.

⁴⁰⁷ Lawal, et al., 'Women Participation and Political Leadership in Africa,' 51.

⁴⁰⁸ J. A. Byfield, C.A Brown, T Parsons and A. A. Sikainga, *Africa and World War II* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 23.

⁴⁰⁹ J.A. Byfield, L. Denzer and A. Morrison, eds., *Gendering the African Diaspora: Women, Culture and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 45.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

colonial economy. In southern Nigeria, a new class of European-educated Nigerian Christians emerged. This group were keen on holding the colonial regime responsible for its actions and agitating for a greater role in the colonial government.⁴¹¹ Even with the European acquired qualifications and experiences, they were forced to either remain self-employed professionals like lawyers, physicians, or journalists or remain second-class citizens in their home country.⁴¹²

It is pertinent to understand that the subjugation of women became noticeable in the Clifford constitution of 1922, which in its first elective principles in the colonial Nigerian society disenfranchised women and limited the participation of adult males to the wealthy.⁴¹³ However, this is not to say that there was no element of gender inequality in traditional societies in Nigeria but the colonial law was more evidence of gender discrimination.⁴¹⁴ It is in between these realities that West African Students' Union (WASU) founded by Ladipo Solanke in 1925, was to be influential in the nationalistic movement in Nigeria.⁴¹⁵ In 1923, Herbert Macaulay and his followers founded the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP), in Lagos. It was supported by the groups of Lagos White Cap chiefs, and the market women in their struggle for the franchise.⁴¹⁶ NNDP sought free compulsory education, and the abolition of racial discrimination in the provincial courts.⁴¹⁷ However, in Lagos, there was an emergence of radical movements in 1934, the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM) which later transformed to the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) as a party to challenge Macaulay's control.⁴¹⁸

Following this nationalist movement, advanced political emancipation sprang up in the three regions of Nigeria led by intellectuals and politically saddled individuals with the sole responsibility of mobilizing their respective regional citizens towards a newly democratic Nigeria.⁴¹⁹ These leaders include Nnamdi Azikiwe from the southern region, Obafemi Awolowo from the western region, and Ahmadu Bello from the northern region. This

⁴¹¹ Philip S. Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 12.

⁴¹² Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, 401.

⁴¹³ Falola, *A History of Nigeria*, 253; Also see, Damilola T. Agbalajobi, 'Women's Participation and the Political Process in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects,' *African Journals of Political Science and International Relations* 4, 2 (2009): 75 – 82.

⁴¹⁴ Agbalajobi, 'Women's Participation,' 75 – 82.

⁴¹⁵ Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, 402 – 403.

⁴¹⁶ James S. Coleman, *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 68.

⁴¹⁷ Isichei, *A History of Nigeria*, 402.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 402.

⁴¹⁹ Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties*, 28.

movement made Nigeria more politically independent in the 1940s and 1950s and brought about reforms in governance and administration.⁴²⁰ Hence, the first constitution came into effect in 1947, known as the Richards Constitution, named after the then colonial Governor-General, Sir Arthur Richards.⁴²¹

Sir Richards Constitution revamped the Legislative Council created by the 1922 Clifford Constitution in order to allow a majority of unofficial, Nigerian members for the first time.⁴²² Since the enactment of the first constitution, the nationalist movement had somewhat pushed the colonial government to collaborate with moderate western intellectuals otherwise, known as nationalists to develop a system of gradual self-government until the independence of Nigeria in 1960.⁴²³ Though, the colonial government began to include Nigerians at senior levels of the civil service between 1939 and 1945 with 23 personnel.⁴²⁴ However, by 1947 it increased to 182; by 1953 it soared to 786, and by 1960 it was over 2,600. Many of these positions were filled and dominated by male nationalists.⁴²⁵

1945 – 1960- The Status of Nigerian Women

On May 10, 1945, about 12 women gathered to present their views on the need for a women's organization, hence, they resolved to form Nigeria's Women Party (NWP). Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, the leader of NWP who opposed the ethnic politics of division as promoted by colonialism, sought to work with the NCNC, a political party in which she occupied many positions. During the NCNC delegation to the United Kingdom, she as the only woman among the delegates protested against the proposals of the Richards Constitution of 1946.⁴²⁶ These proposals include the creation of three regional councils for North, East, and West, which was never been subjected to open debate in Nigeria.⁴²⁷ Subsequently, Kuti found the Federation of Nigerian Women's Societies and the Commoner's Party.⁴²⁸

⁴²⁰ Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties*, 28.

⁴²¹ Gabriel O. Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria 1939–1953* (Lagos: University of Lagos and Evans Brothers, 1973), 13.

⁴²² Olusanya, *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria 1939–1953*, 13.

⁴²³ Hakim Adi, *West Africans in Britain, 1900–1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1998), 18.

⁴²⁴ Adi, *West Africans in Britain*, 18.

⁴²⁵ Olisanwuche P. Esedebe, *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and the Movement, 1776–1963* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982), 86.

⁴²⁶ Sasha Rubel and Edouard Joubeaud, eds., 'Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti. The Women's Union of Abeokuta,' *Unesco Series on Women in African History* (2014): 21.

⁴²⁷ Rubel, 'Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti,' 21.

⁴²⁸ Nina E. Mba, *Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900–1965* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California Press, 1982), 135 – 9.

Nigeria is signatory to several international instruments affirming women's rights and equality with men. Prominent among these international instruments is the convention on the Political Rights of Women (PRW), which was adopted as far back as 1952.⁴²⁹ However, Nigerian women still remained invisible in the party system. Women were greatly under-represented in party membership as well as in decision-making organs. Between 1957 and 1959, there were four major political parties – NPC, NCNC, NEPU and AG. In the executive bodies of these political parties, women were almost invisible. Thus, men exclusively dominated the National Executive Councils of other political parties – AG, NCNC, and NPC.⁴³⁰ The NEPU situation appears paradoxical because politics in northern Nigeria in the period under review have not encapsulated many males, due to their lack of western education. The situation naturally spelled political participatory jeopardy on colonial northern Nigerian women.

The search for peace, equality, and freedom by Nigerian women did not end with colonial rule. This is because there were spill over effects of colonial structures, institutions, and administration. Also, the colonial regime was not able to totally repeal traditional institutions and customs that are inimical to women's political participation, freedom, peace, and equality. Hence, most of the women activists of colonial Nigeria continued the campaign against socio-cultural and eco-political gender discrimination.⁴³¹ However, colonial Nigerian women collectively carved a niche for themselves against all odds. Several organisations were formed, amongst them the Abeokuta Women Union, (AWU) Lagos Market Women Association, (LMWA) and Nigerian Women Union, (NWU), Federation of Nigerian Women Organisations (FNWO) to mention but a few. They used the platforms to drive the pursuit of movement towards freedom and gain political recognition.⁴³² However, the liberation movement continued as the northern government failed to give the franchise to the women. Thus, the FNWO condemned the attitude of the Government of the northern region of Nigeria in refusing women to exercise their franchise rights during the election.⁴³³ FNWO called on the regional government to repeal the law so that women in the region would vote and be voted for during all elections, as it would conform to the political rights of human

⁴²⁹ Tabitha V. Agishi, 'Women Participation in Party Politics in Nigeria: Challenges and The Way Forward,' *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review* 2, 4 (2014): 95.

⁴³⁰ Ibukunoluwa Olojede, "Women and Democratic Governance: Lessons from Second and Third Republics," in *Issues in Contemporary Political Economy of Nigeria*, ed. H. A Saliu (Ilorin: Sally and Associates, 1999), 3 – 4.

⁴³¹ NAI., 'Policy of Women Federation, 1959. The 3rd Special Conference of the Federation of Nigerian Women Organisations held in forester's hall & exhibition centre, Marina, Lagos, from August 28 to August 30, 1959.

⁴³² NAI, Policy of 'Women Federation,' 1959, 7.

⁴³³ NAI, Policy of 'Women Federation,' 1959, 2.

beings as laid down in the United Nations Charter.⁴³⁴ This could only be achieved in the post-colonial political environment when the prominent politician from the north, Hajia Gambo Sawaba in the face of attack and police harassment mobilized women for political rights sensitization.⁴³⁵

Table 1: List of some unknown Colonial Nigerian Women Political Activists

S/N	Name	Organization/ Location	Date /Period
1	Ebun Akpata		Colonial period
2	Folakemi Baba Oke Onisinu	Badagri	Colonial Period
3	Ajanaku Akoyuni	Agbedeji – port novo	Colonial Period
4	Adejenekun Iseli	Iworo	Colonial Period
5	Oke Yeweni	Agbadan	Colonial Period
6	Dorcas Agbadi	Iworo	Colonial Period
7	Madam Esuwerinde	Badagri	Colonial Period
8	Nimota Ababe	Abeokuta	Colonial Period
9	Sinatu Ajehun	Iseyin	Colonial Period
10	Salamatu Ajoke	Iseyin	Colonial Period
11	Madam E Soyinka	Abeokuta Women Union	Colonial Period
12	Madam Asana		Colonial period
13	J. I. Okala	First Onitsha Lady Councilor/ Anambra	Colonial Period

⁴³⁴ NAI, Policy of ‘Women Federation,’ 1959, 2.

⁴³⁵ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Women Activist, Academic, Ibadan, 9 January 2017. Hajia Gambo Sawaba struggled for socio-political emancipation of the Northern women to gain political rights in Nigeria politics. See, Oloyede Oluyemi, ‘Monitoring Participation of Women in Politics in Nigeria,’ *National Bureau of Statistics* (NBS, Abuja, Nigeria) (2015): 5.

14	Mrs Okoye	Enugu Women Organization	Colonial Period
15	Mrs Adegoke	Abeokuta Women Union	Colonial Period
16	Ebun Aduke Showolu	Lagos Democratic Party	Colonial Party
17	Felicia Ambougu Emodi	Onitsha	Colonial Period
18	Mrs. A. Obahor Warri	Warri	Colonial Period
19	Felicia Stephen		Colonial period
20	Amina Akameye	Lagos	
21	Beatrice Stone	Seamen Women Union (SWU) /Lagos	Colonial period
22	Mary Dickson	SWU/Lagos	Colonial Period
23	Veronica Ebunna	SWU/Lagos	Colonial Period
24	Ester Ukeje	SWU/ Lagos	Colonial Period
25	Muniratu Useni	Agbedeji – Port Novo	Colonial Period
26	F W Fagbemi	Abeokuta Women's Union	Colonial Period
27	Ikeazor Obori	FNWO/ Onitsha	Colonial Period
28	Seseri Abamu	FNWO/Benin City	Colonial Period
29	I.E. Boco	Nigerian Women Union NWU/Oron	Colonial Period
30	E. O Isong	NWU/ Oron	Colonial Period
31	Mrs Okpuno	NWU/ Asaba	Colonial Period

32	Evelyn Chichi	NWU/ Asaba	Colonial Period
33	Justina Elikwu	NWU/ Kafanchian	Colonial Period
34	Monica Okeke	NWU/ Kafanchian	Colonial Period
35	Beatrice Akpata	NWU/ Benin	Colonial Period
36	Janet Eson	NWU/ Benin	Colonial Period
37	Comfort Adaise	NWU/ Benin	Colonial Period
38	Alice Amuyi	NWU/ Benin	Colonial Period
39	J. N. Ikwemesi	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
40	Mrs Nwosu	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
41	Adelive Elechuku	NWU/ Agu	Colonial Period
42	Jusphine Kene	NWU/ Agu	Colonial Period
43	Unicy Aniroli	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
44	Abagana	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
45	D.B.N Omaliko	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
46	Pricilla Omuwa	NWU/ Owerri	Colonial Period
47	D.C Odo	NWU/ Owerri	Colonial Period
48	N.C. Ohidun	NWU/ Owerri	Colonial Period
49	R. Osuji	NWU/ Owerri	Colonial Period
50	D.G Aneroli	NWU/ Ogidi	Colonial Period
51	E. N. Ovraiagba	NWU/ Ogidi	Colonial Period
52	B. O. Weiuni	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
53	S. N. Nbachu	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period

54	Monica Okikwe	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
54	Mercy Oke	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
55	Anua Wamo	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
56	Erbil Oyoyo	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
57	Lydia Olokiro	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
58	Rose Erubi	NWU/ Aba	Colonial Period
59	Maitha Njuba	NWU/Aba	Colonial Period
60	B. A. Chijuidu	NWU/ Onitsha	Colonial Period
61	Ogbunike	NWU/ Onitsha	Colonial Period
62	V.O. Okwuazom	NCNC women/ Enugu	Colonial Period
63	C.K. Imokhuedi	NCNC women/Enugu	Colonial Period
64	Madam Mary Coker	Lagos Market Women's Union	Colonial Period
65	Madam Kawu	NEPU Women's Union	Colonial Period
66	Cecilia Prince will	Birom Women's Union-Jos	Colonial Period
67	Nmo Apampa	NCNC women/Ibadan	Colonial Period
68	Janet Badie	Ibo women's Association - Surulere	Colonial Period
69	Monica Kedira	Ibo women's Association - Surulere	Colonial Period
70	Mary Shomolu	Bada of Abeokuta	Colonial Period
71	Titi Amavie	Leader Afamai Women's Union	Colonial Period

72	Fakumou Oluwo	Market Women Union MWU/Lagos	Colonial Period
73	Relu Dosumu	MWU/Lagos	Colonial Period
74	Wilumota Aredola	Nigeria Women Union/Abeokuta	Colonial Period
75	Yaibala Agege	NEPU/ Agege	Colonial Period
76	Ami Agege	NEPU/ Agege	Colonial Period
77	Mairo Agege	NEPU/ Agege	Colonial Period
78	Kumatu Agege	NEPU/ Agege	Colonial Period
79	Madam Nuturi Dogo	Afamai Women's Union	Colonial Period
80	Madam Fati Soge	Afamai Women's Union	Colonial Period

Source: NAI, FNWO Minutes 1945 – 1959. Author's Compilation 2018.

The above-listed women were known for their participation in the liberation movement in their respective regions of Nigeria, during the colonial period, especially in the 1940s and late 50s towards Nigeria's independence. They gathered at the first Nigerian Women's Congress, held at the Centenary Hall Abeokuta, July 31– 1 August 1953.⁴³⁶ Mrs. Okala was recognized as the first lady chairperson to the Obi of Onitsha.⁴³⁷ Among other matters discussed at the Congress, where the unity of Nigeria, women's position in the amended constitution, universal adult suffrage and education.⁴³⁸ It is important to stress that it was during this inaugural meeting that Mrs. Egun Aduke Showolu moved the motion for the assembly of all Nigerian Women's Organization (NWO) be called and known as the Federation of All

⁴³⁶ NAI, Minutes of the Meeting of the First Nigerian Women's Congress Held on 1 July to 31 August 1953 at The Centenary Hall, Abeokuta, 1; NAI Full List of Delegates Attending the Women Conference, 1953.

⁴³⁷ NAI, Minutes of the Meeting of the First Nigerian Women's Congress, 2.

⁴³⁸ NAI, Minutes of the Meeting of the First Nigerian Women's Congress, 2.

Nigeria Women Organization (FNWO) and it was seconded by Mrs. Felicia Ambuogu Emodi from Onitsha.⁴³⁹

The 1960 – 1990s, Post-Colonial Women in Politics

Over the years, there has been a remarkable increase in women's participation in politics in Nigeria considering these standards, yet there is inherently a pronounced level of underrepresentation of women in politics when compared with their male counterparts.⁴⁴⁰ Post-colonial Nigerian political environment gave room for more viable roles for women to play. For instance, by 1960 in western Nigeria, the likes of Mrs. Wuraola Adepeju Esan were elected as the first member of the Federal Parliament from Ibadan west. She was also a founding member of the National Council of Women Societies (NCWS) while regionally Mrs. Margret Ekpo who established Aba Township Women's Association (ATWA) won election into the eastern region House of Assembly together with Mrs. Janet and Miss Ekpo A. Young. However, the political environment in northern Nigeria did not allow women to contest, vote, and voted for in an election, until 1979 when they began to exercise their franchise.⁴⁴¹

From 1979 – 1983 seven women were in the service of the federal government, while very few women won elections into the State House of Assembly, and some women were appointed as commissioners at State level.⁴⁴² By 1983 the Military had taken returned to power. The then government under General Muhammadu Buhari introduced the quota system as regards the appointment. Hence, Buhari administration directed that each and every state must appoint at least a female member to the Executive Council. In this case, all states complied with one while some appointed up to two to three females in the Executive Council.⁴⁴³

By 1990, only one woman emerged as Chairperson of Local Government in the South-West with a few numbers of women elected to the Local Government Council election of the Third

⁴³⁹ NAI, Minutes of the Meeting of the First Nigerian Women's Congress, 7.

⁴⁴⁰ Interview, Bolanle Awe, Women Activist, Academic, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁴⁴¹ Oluyemi, 'Monitoring Participation of Women in Politics in Nigeria,' 5. Also see, Christiana O. Ogbogu, 'The Role of Women in Politics and in the Sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria,' *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 3, 18 (2012): 1.

⁴⁴² Oluyemi, 'Monitoring Participation of Women in Politics in Nigeria,' 1.

⁴⁴³ A. O. Onyishi, O. Eme, and C. Nwaoha, 'Women Marginalization in Electoral Politics in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective,' *Nigerian Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review* 2, 7 (2014): 1- 17; 8.

Republic.⁴⁴⁴ During the 1990 elections, no female governor emerged but two emerged as deputy governors. When the 1992 senatorial election took place only one person emerged as a senator and few won election into the Federal House of Representatives.⁴⁴⁵ In January 1993, then President Ibrahim Babangida appointed two women as transitional council members. The Interim National Government (ING) under Chief Ernest Shonekan appointed two women as ministers and General Sani Abacha had few women ministers in his cabinet in the mid-and late 1990s.⁴⁴⁶ It can be deduced that the representation of Nigerian women in Nigerian politics has been consistently declining in number since independence.

Conclusion

The chapter discusses the trends of political dispensation in South Africa and Nigeria with specific interest in the colonial cum apartheid trajectories as it affects the ruled and the ruler and their socio-economic and political consequences on the ruled. In the South African context, the chapter explains the political events of the British-led government from the early twentieth century to the mid-twentieth century when the National government unleashed its unjust laws to separate and punish the natives. The unjust laws necessitated the passive resistance responses from the Indian community and subsequently the Africans against the pass laws, racism, sexism, discrimination, and segregation. On the other hand, in Nigeria, the struggle for liberation had a similar beginning as it was spearheaded by the foremost elites of mostly males like Herbert Macaulay, Henry Carr, Obafemi Awolowo, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Ahmadu Bello, Aminu Kanu, Ladoke Akintola and Anthony Enahoro, among others. They sought to exploit their exposure to the evil of British colonial ideology and power of literacy to rescue the Nigeria nation from the colonial oppression through formation of political organizations such as LYM, NYM, NCNC, NEPU, AG, NPN, to mention but few. Subsequently, educated, and courageous non-literate women followed their men counterparts in the struggle in the spirit to not only free the country but also regain their womanhood identity for equality in education and political rights and economic freedom.

⁴⁴⁴Onyishi, 'Women Marginalization in Electoral Politics in Nigeria,' 9.

⁴⁴⁵Onyishi, 'Women Marginalization in Electoral Politics in Nigeria,' 9.

⁴⁴⁶Onyishi, 'Women Marginalization in Electoral Politics in Nigeria,' 9.

CHAPTER FOUR

MOTIVES FOR WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

*While certain issues of sexiest oppression may unite women cross-culturally, women of different nations within these broad alliances may be involved in struggles for racial justice or national liberation...*⁴⁴⁷

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the motives for Nigerian and South African women's participation in the liberation movement. Their motives for participation were multiple, diverse, and intertwined. Familial influence, socio-economic, and political conditions shaped and defined women's political consciousness in different historical periods.

Familial Influence

Monica White highlights in her study on autobiographies of Black South African and African American women activists that familial influence had an impact on the women's role in political activism.⁴⁴⁸ She argues that parents and relatives such as fathers, mothers, aunts, uncles, and siblings have an influence in shaping and defining women's political activism and consciousness.⁴⁴⁹ Interviews conducted with participants for this study share similar trajectorial paths. For example, Ela Gandhi, the granddaughter of Mohandas Gandhi (globally known as Mahatma), and daughter of struggle activist Manilal Gandhi reveals how her family's political legacies influenced her thinking and activism. Ela was born in Durban and raised at the Phoenix Settlement (founded by Gandhi), near Inanda, northwest of central Durban in the province of KwaZulu-Natal.⁴⁵⁰ Ela drew inspiration from her grandfather's philosophy of non-violence. His work, such as *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* taught her about non-racialism, non-violence, democracy, and

⁴⁴⁷ Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives, APC, File No. PC170/7/2/4/19 Richard de Villiers, *The Resistance to The Extension of Passes to African Women: 1954 – 1960*.

⁴⁴⁸ Monica White, 'Familial Influence in the Autobiographies of Black South African and African American Women Activists,' *Michigan Family Review* 10 (2005): 27 – 44.

⁴⁴⁹ White, 'Familial Influence in the Autobiographies,' 35.

⁴⁵⁰ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

justice.⁴⁵¹ Ela was also influenced by the women in her family who were politically active. Her grandmother, Kasturba Gandhi, was amongst the first Indian women to participate in the 1913 Satyagraha campaign.⁴⁵² Not only was she among the pioneer party to disobey provincial laws between Natal and the Transvaal but she also suffered imprisonment.⁴⁵³ Ela also drew inspiration from her grandmother's resistance against patriarchy. At the time Indian women lived under a patriarchal system and participating in the political resistance was a challenge to the gender norms of the society.⁴⁵⁴

Ela was also influenced by her father's and grandfather's defiance against British rule in India.⁴⁵⁵ For example, Ela stated that her father together with her grandfather participated in the Salt March of 1930 that eventually led to his imprisonment.⁴⁵⁶ In South Africa, he also participated in anti-apartheid activities.⁴⁵⁷ In 1952, at the age of 12, Ela witnessed her father participating in the Defiance Campaign marches which later led to his arrest several times.⁴⁵⁸ In addition, Ela's mother, Sushila Gandhi was a firm believer in non-racialism by building a school for African children in Inanda.⁴⁵⁹ Ela remembers how the apartheid security forces hindered her mother from teaching and developing education amongst African students. She was warned firmly by an apartheid Inspector, who said: "*there is a law against private schools, and in particular you being an Indian cannot teach African children.*"⁴⁶⁰ These events and her family's involvement in political defiance exposed Ela to the horrors of racial oppression and injustices and shaped her own political consciousness. In the mid-1960s Ela experienced racism, as a young student while studying Bachelor of Arts degree at the non-

⁴⁵¹ Mahatma Gandhi, *an Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 1 – 3.

⁴⁵² SAHO, 'Ela Gandhi.' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/ela-gandhi>. Accessed 30 September 2019.

⁴⁵³ SAHO, 'Ela Gandhi.' Accessed 30 September 2019.

⁴⁵⁴ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁵⁵ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁵⁶ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁵⁷ The salt march of 1930 was as a result of the 1835 British colonial authority's taxation on locally produced high quality Indian salt in order to prevent the people from its possession and sales and enhance importation of foreign salt from United Kingdom to be sold at a cheaper rate. Subsequently, British East Indian Company monopolized salt trade which made India to be one of the largest salt producers in the world in the early 1900. By 12 March 1930 Mahatma Gandhi led thousands on a 24-day nonviolent campaign against the salt tax from Ahmedabad to Dandi. On 6 April 1930, the law was broken with thousands waded into the sea to grab salt with pans and bowls boiled pots of salt and illegal sale was all over communities of Dharsana and Bombay. Gandhi's son Manilal (Ela's father) and other members of Indian National Congress led boycott of foreign goods like cloths, liquors and taxes. Consequently, the Congress leadership including Gandhi were raided and arrested for civil disobedience. For details, see, Kathryn Tidrick, *Gandhi: Apolitical and Spiritual Life* (London: Verso, 2013), 216 – 246.

⁴⁵⁸ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁵⁹ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁶⁰ GLDC 'Voice of Resistance, 'Background Ela Gandhi.' Available from scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/Audio/GandhiEla/GandhiElaBackground. Accessed 1 October 2019.

White section of the University of Natal.⁴⁶¹ Indians were not allowed to study at this University. A separate facility was provided for the Indians at Sastri College. White lecturers would only come to teach Black students after teaching White students at Howard College.⁴⁶²

Ela was equally influenced by her then-husband, political activist, Mewa Ramgobin. Ela and Mewa, were committed, anti-apartheid activists. For example, when Mewa was banned and incarcerated for his political activism, in the Durban Central Prison, Ela continued her activism and rendered support to him.⁴⁶³ She explained that “*I bore the burden as a mother and as a wife. I had to look after the children alone and I visit the prison to provide him with food and toiletries. So, it was not an easy experience.*”⁴⁶⁴ *Whenever I take food to my husband, his fellow inmates used the opportunity to ask me for help to buy them food, clothes, and shoes because their families had no access to visit them.*”⁴⁶⁵ Her experiences steered her towards multi-racial and non-violent politics. She was actively involved in the NIC, NOW and the UDF.⁴⁶⁶ NOW was a multi-racial organization that served as a political platform designed to promote the socio-economic and political interests of women from different works of life regardless of religion, race, ethnicity, class, or colour. Under the umbrella of NOW, Ela mobilized and forged links among women across all class and racial divides from urban to rural areas. She also influenced the establishment of NOW branches outside Durban such as in the Inanda community. She encouraged Indian women’s organizations to affiliate with NOW and hence, broadened the membership of NOW.⁴⁶⁷

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Ela had been fully involved in political activism under organizations such as NIC, UDF, and NOW. For example, under NOW she participated in the 1976 march to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the 1956 women’s march.⁴⁶⁸ She became a target for house arrests, banning, and detentions.⁴⁶⁹ For these reasons, Ela Gandhi opined that the antecedent of her family’s political orientation and environment served as a major influence on her political activism.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶¹ GLDC ‘Voice of Resistance, Background Ela Gandhi.’ Accessed 1 October 2019.

⁴⁶² GLDC ‘Voice of Resistance, Background Ela Gandhi.’ Accessed 1 October 2019.

⁴⁶³ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁶⁴ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁶⁵ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁶⁶ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁶⁷ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁶⁸ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁴⁶⁹ GLDC ‘Voice of Resistance, ‘Background Ela Gandhi.’ Accessed 1 October 2019.

⁴⁷⁰ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

Similarly, Saydoon Nisa Sayed, a human rights activist, also born in the apartheid period in Durban to a South African Indian family. Her father Sayed Abdul Kader was an activist in the Muslim Youth Movement (MYM).⁴⁷¹ The MYM was a cultural and religious organization, founded in 1970 to foster the socio-cultural affairs of Muslims in South Africa. Her parents used to take her along with her siblings to the branch of the MYM Camp in As-Salaam, in Braemar on the south coast of Natal. Here, youths were sensitized to issues of social and political injustices as it affected the oppressed South African community.⁴⁷² Together with her sister, Saydoon at 22 years of age, began to follow their father to participate in the MYM campaign against the social injustices and inequality of the apartheid government.⁴⁷³ By the late 1970s and early 1980s, the MYM socio-religious ideology was combined with the ideology of the BCM. Having been exposed to political activism under the MYM, the emergence of the BCM stimulated her consciousness of human rights and social justice.⁴⁷⁴ Thus, Saydoon, being an Indian did not find it difficult to identify with the objectives of the BCM and quickly adopted the ideology by joining the campaign. Her solidarity with the BCM ideology bolstered due to her parent's support of non-racialism.⁴⁷⁵ In the early 1980s, under the auspices of the MYM, she participated in the campaign to boycott the Tri-cameral Parliament elections which sought to introduce a segregated parliament structure excluding Africans.⁴⁷⁶ She stated that: "The Tri-cameral *Parliament was for some set of people, the oppressed Black South Africans were still under marginalization and the state was taking inequality in its totality.*"⁴⁷⁷

To promote religious tolerance, Saydoon in the 1980s, under the MYM led an inter-faith demonstration against apartheid in Durban.⁴⁷⁸ This demonstration consisted of youths from different religions, such as Christian, Jews, Muslims, and Hindus.⁴⁷⁹ The demonstration led to the arrests of some MYM protesters who were mostly youths.⁴⁸⁰ Hence, the MYM rendered support to those that were imprisoned by visiting them with food and providing legal assistance. By 1996, in the post-apartheid era, Saydoon was elected as the first secretary

⁴⁷¹ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁷² Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁷³ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁷⁴ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁷⁵ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁷⁶ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁷⁷ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁷⁸ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁷⁹ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁸⁰ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

general of MYM, an office that had never been occupied by a woman prior to that period.⁴⁸¹

She reaffirmed that:

My political activism has always been in supportive of my family up till the present time, my sister also joined me in the protest marches in the 1980s under the MYM and now I am a member of an interfaith organization known as Religions for Peace where I became Vice Chairperson in 1992.... Today I am sitting on two African portfolios - Co-chair of African Women of Faith Network (AWFN), representing Muslims, Islam and Women in the continent of Africa. I have been elected for the second term as member of steering committee of the African Union Interfaith Forum and these are things that we want people to get involved in and women have major role to play in the challenges facing the women and youth today.⁴⁸²

The above statement highlights how Saydoon's deep religious convictions and her family's quest for a non-racial South Africa, shaped and defined her political consciousness and activism.

In the same vein, Theresa Mthembu, a political activist, was motivated by her deep religious convictions. She was born into a Christian family. Her father was a religious activist and catechist in the church and a principal in an African school in Umlazi. Her mother was a domestic worker for a White family.⁴⁸³ Theresa revealed how early exposure to segregation and racism shaped her political consciousness:

My father's school was African school for Africans, now it is a multi-racial school... schools were separated according to race, but church services were held together (multi-racial). It was just that in the morning the service was in English, by 10am the service was in Zulu, and by evening the service was partly English and partly Zulu. So, when I grow up, I went to a Black school, and then went to the college to train as a teacher. But things were very different even though I used to play together with my mother employer's kids, I went to Black

⁴⁸¹ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁸² Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban, 12 June 2019.

⁴⁸³ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017.

*school while her employer's children attended White school but on Sunday, we go to church together.*⁴⁸⁴

The above implies that Theresa learned about racial diversity and tolerance from her lived experiences. Her political consciousness aroused due to the racialized society she grew up as indicated above where she experienced issues of inequality as it relates to lack of access to quality education. The Bantu Education Act (1953) provided inferior education to African children. Theresa like many African children was denied access to secondary and tertiary education. Theresa also explains how her father's religious affiliation enhanced her politically and morally towards social justice and gender oppression.⁴⁸⁵ For example, for many African women, the church became a place of haven when they were evicted from their homes due to forced removals. Theresa, like many women, used the opportunity to gather women in the church to hold political meetings where they discussed social issues, such as poverty, passes, unemployment and lack of housing.⁴⁸⁶ Theresa maintained that the Church at Diakonia Centre in Durban accommodated the oppressed African women.⁴⁸⁷ Theresa narrates that:

In 1967, I was able to get the emancipation document which allowed me to get a house of my own through the influence of Archbishop Denis Hurly who knew my father had left teaching and I was the one catering for the family finances.⁴⁸⁸ I am still staying in the house up till date and he was a Whiteman. Women cannot gather except in the church. This deplorable condition of women made me to join forces with other women of courage like Victoria Mxenge in the struggle for women's emancipation. Victoria Mxenge influenced my political consciousness who was like a family friend to me as we grew up in the same community in Umlazi and when she became activist and an influential lawyer inspired and enlightened me and many women groups across the regions from Free State, Natal, and the Cape.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸⁴ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁴⁸⁵ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁴⁸⁶ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁴⁸⁷ See, Jewel Koopman, 'Archbishop Denis Hurley: Liberalism and Globalization,' *Concord Newsletter*, Alan Paton Centre 2, 3 (2002): 1 – 8. Diakonia centre was established by Denis Hurley as a religious and social concern forum designed to foster unity among the South African people.

⁴⁸⁸ A document required to own a house during apartheid. For Theresa and the women group it was difficult for them to get a house of their own because women do not have the right to head a family. With the help of the church women were able to get the emancipation document and became house owners.

⁴⁸⁹ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017.

In addition, Theresa stated that when women wanted to escape arrest by the state, it was the Church that issued employee passports to help them flee into exile.⁴⁹⁰ The Mxenge family in Durban also served as role models for Theresa's political activism. She opined that Victoria Mxenge, an anti-apartheid activist and a lawyer, often told women that "*if they allowed the men alone to fight in the struggle, the women would be left behind.*"⁴⁹¹ Griffith Mxenge the husband of Victoria was arrested and later detained.⁴⁹² Subsequently, Theresa organized a protest campaign for the release of Griffith Mxenge. Griffith and Victoria Mxenge were later assassinated and their deaths further motivated Theresa's political consciousness in fighting for human rights and social justice.

In Nigeria, Frances Abigail Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti was born into a well-known Christian family in the Egba community in Abeokuta, western Nigeria.⁴⁹³ Her socio-political consciousness was rooted in the activism of her parents as community leaders in the nineteenth century. She completed her high school education at Abeokuta Grammar School and proceeded to England to further her study.⁴⁹⁴ Funmilayo's political consciousness developed further in England as a result of her contact with racial discrimination. For example, she became socio-culturally conscious as she started using her Yoruba first-given name, Funmilayo, instead of her Europeanized name (Frances).⁴⁹⁵ On her return to Nigeria in 1922, she campaigned for girl child education and the emancipation of women.⁴⁹⁶ This was due to her education and racial experience in England and the community leadership role played by her parents, coupled with her love for her Egba - Yoruba ethnic group. In 1923, she became the head teacher of the girl's branch of Abeokuta Grammar School. Here, she mobilized young girls and formed the Lady's Club. The Club taught young girls' vocations like handcrafts and social etiquette. When she married in 1925, her social-political consciousness gained momentum as she was influenced by her husband Reverend Oludotun Ransome-Kuti who was an educationist and headmaster of Abeokuta Grammar School.⁴⁹⁷ Together, they became deeply involved in education. By the early 1930s, Funmilayo and her husband became the founders and pioneering members of the Nigerian Union of Teachers.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁰ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017

⁴⁹¹ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁴⁹² Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017

⁴⁹³ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 10 January 2017.

⁴⁹⁴ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 10 January 2017.

⁴⁹⁵ Sheldon, *African Women*, 174.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 174.

Thus, she became involved in not only advocating for female education but also for women in governance.⁴⁹⁹ By 1932 the Lady's Club was transformed into a literacy class, otherwise known as the Abeokuta Ladies Club (ALC) that initially consisted of western educated and middle-class women.⁵⁰⁰ They organized civic projects for the community youths to participate in picnics, athletic games, entertainment, and education.⁵⁰¹ By 1944, ALC had expanded to include women market traders sensitizing them to social justice issues.⁵⁰² Subsequently, the ALC transformed into AWU and Funmilayo became its founding president in 1946. The AWU became an important platform to fight for women's issues. For example, in the late 1940s under AWU there was the market women's resistance against taxation, patriarchy, and impediments to girl child education.⁵⁰³ She earned the support of her sister-in-law Madam Eniola Soyinka, a teacher, and an activist.⁵⁰⁴ Madam Eniola Soyinka was also one of the leaders of AWU who joined Funmilayo in the struggle against colonial rule and oppressive patriarchy toward ensuring gender equality.⁵⁰⁵

By 1949, Funmilayo founded the Nigerian Women's Union (NWU) as national women's organization, with branches across the country.⁵⁰⁶ She often attended their meeting with her son, Fela Anikulapo Kuti, who later became a famous musician and social-political critic through the familial inspiration derived from his mother's activism.⁵⁰⁷ Funmilayo's political campaign and support for women's rights and girls' education continued to gain strength as evident in 1953 when the NWU organized a conference that led to the formation of the Federation of Nigerian Women's Societies (FNWS).⁵⁰⁸ Under her leadership, the FNWS passed a resolution for its consultation in any legislation in order to have a say for women's rights, which includes universal adult suffrage, women's education, improvement of women's involvement in economic activities, and inclusion of women in the local and national government politics.⁵⁰⁹ In the early 1960s, Funmilayo's activism became a model for women's groups across the world and this earned her national and international awards, such

⁴⁹⁹ C. Johnson-Odim and N. Mba, *For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria* (Illinois: University Press, 1997), 64.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁵⁰² Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 10 January 2017.

⁵⁰³ Sheldon, *African Women*, 175.

⁵⁰⁴ She was among the leading educated women activist and the secretary of the Abeokuta Women's Union. She was the mother of the Nobel Laureate in literature and renowned writer, Professor Wole Soyinka.

⁵⁰⁵ Johnson-Odim, *For Women and the Nation*, 61 – 65.

⁵⁰⁶ Sheldon, *African Women*, 175.

⁵⁰⁷ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 10 January 2017.

⁵⁰⁸ Sheldon, *African Women*, 175.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 175.

as the Order of the Niger (ON), Lenin Peace Prize (LPP) and honorary Doctor of Laws (DL) from the University of Ibadan.⁵¹⁰

Similarly, Afusatu Arogundade, was also born in Abeokuta, western Nigeria. Her father was a farmer and her mother a trader (Tie and Dye Business). She narrated her personal story of becoming a political activist through the influence of her family:

My father was a farmer while my mother was into Tie and Dye business. As a comrade in the Abeokuta Women's Union, My mother wanted me to be educated, so I was enrolled at the Anglican Primary School and later attended Abeokuta Grammar School but when the opportunity came for me to further my education in the teachers training college I refused because of the passion I had developed for my mother's clothe dying business (Tie and Dye) which had served as a means of livelihood for the family and I wish to maintain the business. So, I became active at a very young age in the Tie and Dye guild association and the Women's Union because of banning and taxation.⁵¹¹

According to Arogundade, she was told by her mother that the women's anti-colonial event coincided with the year of her birth in 1929 marking the period of the famous Aba women riot in south-eastern Nigeria.⁵¹² Her dream of education was thwarted when she dropped out of secondary school in Form 3 in 1944. Thereafter she joined her mother fully in the *tie and dye* business.⁵¹³ By 1945, she was married to a trader who supported her business and aspirations. She grew up to witness colonial oppressive policies and the marginalization of women at the hands of native authorities. For example, in 1946, the British through the Alake Ademola (the native authority of the Egba community) issued a communique banning the use of caustic soda without citing cogent reasons.⁵¹⁴

Consequently, women rose against Alake Ademola and the colonial authority as the former had been fingered in many events to have deceived not only the *tie and dye* women traders but also farmers. Having witnessed the market women's oppression by the native authority,

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁵¹¹ Interview with Afusat Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2017.

⁵¹² Interview with Afusat Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2017.

⁵¹³ Interview with Afusat Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2017.

⁵¹⁴ Interview with Afusat Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2017.

and attending women union's meetings with her mother, Afusatu was inspired to join the AWU in the struggle for women's rights from a young age of 16.⁵¹⁵ Afusatu recalls,

*“virtually every woman in the tie and dye business in Abeokuta participated in the struggle against the oppressive ban of the use of caustic soda and synthetic dye which had been in existence before the advent of colonial rule.”*⁵¹⁶

The banning of caustic soda and synthetic dye made her be more aware of the injustices against women and as a result, she became more gender conscious. She explained that she mobilized grass root women in the *tie and dye* business to participate in the protest because the banning really affected their businesses for the non-caustic sodas were very scarce and also did not make the process of tie and dye efficient in terms of the time and profit wise.⁵¹⁷ She added that she personally donated resources such as food and water for co-protesters.⁵¹⁸ Despite being pregnant, she was actively involved in the day-to-day protest actions, much to the disapproval of her spouse.⁵¹⁹

Socio-Economic Factors

Socio-economic factors have, in many ways contributed to the reasons for women's political activism in the struggle for liberation in both South Africa and Nigeria. They played a pivotal role in enhancing the political consciousness of women as it facilitated the shifting of their roles from the domestic sphere to the public sphere and from passive to active responses. In this section, issues such as pass laws, forced removals, taxation, and trade unions will be critically discussed to show how they shaped women's political consciousness.

Pass laws controlled African women's mobility in apartheid South Africa.⁵²⁰ Pass laws were not only a denial of African women's freedom of movement but were also an affront to their dignity.⁵²¹ The pass laws destroyed several homes as many men were arrested and

⁵¹⁵ Interview with Afusat Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2017.

⁵¹⁶ Interview with Afusat Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2018.

⁵¹⁷ Interview with Afusat Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2018.

⁵¹⁸ Interview with Afusat Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2018.

⁵¹⁹ Interview with Afusat Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2018.

⁵²⁰ Michael Savage, 'The Imposition of Pass Laws on the African Population in South Africa 1916 – 1984,' *African Affairs* 85, 339 (1986): 181 – 205.

⁵²¹ Interview with Mary Ntombela, women activist, Durban, 3 July 2019.

imprisoned.⁵²² In these circumstances, women desperately sought their husband's freedom by paying heavy fines.⁵²³ Consequently, women realized that the application of pass laws to them would translate to double jeopardy on their dignity as women and wives.⁵²⁴ Aggrieved they called for pass laws to "*Burrry them, burn them, tear them, organize a national bonfire, and burn them at the stake.*"⁵²⁵

Subsequently in the 1950s, a wave of anti-pass protests took place. For example, in 1956, more than 20,000 women gathered at the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against the carrying of passes.⁵²⁶ Their determination was clearly noted,

*"Women are not afraid of suffering for the sake of their children and homes. Women have answer to the threats to their families and their future. Women will not face a future imprisoned in the pass laws. Women will fight for the right to live and more freely as human beings."*⁵²⁷

Similar protests occurred in Cator Manor on the outskirts of Durban in the 1950s. For many African women finding employment in the urban areas was difficult. Beer brewing was a profitable way of earning a livelihood in the cities. Women's socio-economic activities were disrupted by state controls on African women operating shebeens, which was the mainstay of their livelihood.⁵²⁸ The Cator Manor protest was prompted by the frequent police raiding and closure of *shebeens* which was considered illegal, mainly because of its perceived threat to the state's attempt to establish a monopoly on imported beers.⁵²⁹

⁵²² Extract of Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW). 'Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Issuing of Reference Books to African Women,' submitted by FEDSAW to the Non-European Committee of the City Council of Johannesburg, 1958, 1.

⁵²³ FEDSAW 'Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Issuing of Reference Books to African Women,' 1.

⁵²⁴ FEDSAW 'Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Issuing of Reference Books to African Women,' 1.

⁵²⁵ Killie Campbell Africana Library and Collections (KCALC); H. Nxumalo, 'Our Women Carry Passes: Burn Them,' *Drum*, 19 October 1958, 9.

⁵²⁶ FEDSAW 'Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Issuing of Reference Books to African Women,' 1.

⁵²⁷ Hilda Bernstein, ed. *For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears: Conditions and Resistance of Women in Apartheid South Africa: African Women in the Reserve* (IDAF: International Defence & Aid Fund, 1975), 15.

⁵²⁸ A *shebeen* was originally an illicit bar or club where excisable alcoholic beverages were sold without a license. Shebeen was first used and spread in Ireland, to Scotland, Canada, the United States, England, and to the English-speaking Caribbeans. Shebeen also known to have been spread to and operated in African such as Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa; Terrence Rangers, 'The Meaning of Urban Violence in Africa: Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia,' 1890 – 1960, *Cultural and Social History* 3 (2006): 194.

⁵²⁹ Cato Manor is situated about eight kilometers away from Durban City Centre in KwaZulu-Natal. It came into existence as a result of the settlement of Indian market gardeners in 1865 after the area allotted to George Christopher Cato as the first mayor of Durban in 1854. It became popular in 1959 when the Women riot broke out in the process of resisting the apartheid police advancement to dislodge them from the informer and multicultural community. Ovie F. Forae, 'Prohibition of "Illicit" Alcohol in Colonial Nigeria: Study in the

Similarly, in 1950, when Thabong Township was established at Welkom in the Free State province, the residents were allowed to brew African beer, but only four gallons. Anyone brewing more than four gallons was liable for arrest. Riots also broke out in 1951, in the Free State township of Thabong after police raids. During this period, the residents breached the condition that they should not brew more than four gallons⁵³⁰. Subsequently, the women protested against unfair arrests.⁵³¹ In 1951, residents were warned that the Welkom Board of Management (WBM) planned to open its beer hall, and permission for home brewing would be withdrawn. When the beer hall opened in February 1951, no arrest was made for home brewing except in cases where residents were found in possession of unauthorized four gallons.⁵³² So, when the mass arrest took place on March 17, 1951, the people claimed it came as a complete surprise. The horrors of the pass laws also brought about intolerable hardship and hindered the freedom of the African men and women of Sophia town in Johannesburg for many years.⁵³³ The passes forced women to carry reference books. In the late 1950s, the apartheid police conducted frequent raids of homes in Sophia town in search of permits.⁵³⁴ Failure to carry a pass led to wide arrests and detention. Subsequently, the victim's relatives would be worried about how to get the money for fines in order to aid their release.⁵³⁵ This situation left Sophia town unsafe with fears of a police crackdown on homes.⁵³⁶ FEDSAW sought the cooperation of the non-European committee of the Johannesburg City Council (JCC) to ease the issuance of a reference book on African women.⁵³⁷

The threat of passes and restricting women's mobility roused African women in a way that no other issue did, being regarded as a fundamental attack on themselves and the security of their homes, "*Today, we the women are to carry passes and we the women we should not agree we must fight, as when my man is sick, I must go to town and work and I will be asked*

Tenacity of Ogogoro (Local Gin) in Urhoboland, Southern Nigeria, 1910 – 1950,' *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development* 2, 3 (2013): 1 – 21.

⁵³⁰ KCALC 'Were both people and police too quick to act?' *Drum*, 17 June 1956, 21. ANC marcher was killed in Port Elizabeth during a clash between ANC and Police.

⁵³¹ KCALC 'Were both people and police too quick to act?' *Drum*, 17 June 1956, 21.

⁵³² KCALC 'Were both people and police too quick to act?' *Drum*, 17 June 1956, 21.

⁵³³ FEDSAW 'Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Issuing of Reference Books to African Women,' 3.

⁵³⁴ FEDSAW 'Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Issuing of Reference Books to African Women,' 3.

⁵³⁵ FEDSAW 'Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Issuing of Reference Books to African Women,' 3.

⁵³⁶ FEDSAW 'Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Issuing of Reference Books to African Women,' 3.

⁵³⁷ FEDSAW 'Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Issuing of Reference Books to African Women,' 3.

for pass and arrested.”⁵³⁸ This statement speaks to the experience of a participant in this study, Dudusile Generosa Beato, who opined that the pass laws against women had a generational effect on her family as she was told by her mother how devastated the enforcement of pass document was to the socio-economic progress of women.⁵³⁹ In 1983, Generosa decided to join the campaigns against bus fare hikes and inadequate housing in Natal.⁵⁴⁰ She stated,

*“The pass law restricts women from doing many things, as we cannot work without a pass, we had to report to the police before we can have a visitor; to register the number of people and time to spend with the police before we could receive visitors.”*⁵⁴¹

Despite women’s resistance passes were enforced. By March 1960, 3,020,281 African women, or about seventy-five percent of adults had accepted the passes. Winnie Mandela, one of South Africa’s leading activists, explained why women were forced to accept passes.⁵⁴²

*“We have to carry passes which we harbour because we cannot have houses without them, we cannot work without them, we are endorsed out of towns without them, we cannot register births without them, and we are not even expected to die without them.”*⁵⁴³

It is discernible from the foregoing that the issue of pass laws had a debilitating impact on the socio-economic livelihood of South African women. Women were hard hit far more than the men as wives and mothers because they had to fend for themselves, and their children and fight for the release of arrested and detained husbands. Consequently, the issue of pass laws politicized women to be sensitive about their welfare and wellbeing by forming and becoming members of political organizations and trade unions. Through these organizations’ women

⁵³⁸ APC, PC170/7/2/4/22. Cheryl Walker, *Conference on The History of Opposition in Southern Africa, 27 – 30 January 1978: The Federation of South African Women*, (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, 1978), 19.

⁵³⁹ Interview with Generosa Beato, Umlazi, 7 September 2019.

⁵⁴⁰ Interview with Generosa Beato, Umlazi, 7 September 2019.

⁵⁴¹ Interview with Generosa Beato, Umlazi, 7 September 2019.

⁵⁴² GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1. United Nations, “The Role of Women in The Against Apartheid, 1980,” Extracts from paper prepared by the Secretariat for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for women, (Copenhagen: United Nations, July 1980), 5.

⁵⁴³(GLDC), Doc No. 1962/1. “The Role of women in the Struggle against Apartheid, 1980,” 4.

gained a voice of resistance against the pass laws, and other injustices they experienced as women.

In Nigeria too, urbanization created serious problems for the colonial authorities and Nigerian women. The infrastructural deficits in the areas of construction of roads, laying of pipe borne water, and educational and health institutions were major hindrances.⁵⁴⁴ These failures negatively affected the existing infrastructures such as residential houses and marketplaces which provided shelters for ordinary Nigerian people.⁵⁴⁵ Many Nigerian women at the time were in agriculture and prominently traders and craft skills.⁵⁴⁶ Consequently, prominent women that were traditionally preoccupied with market trades in Nigeria became stranded as a result of urban development and were forcibly removed from their marketplaces and goods.⁵⁴⁷

On the significance of markets to colonial subjects in Nigeria, it was revealed at the Aba Commission of Enquiry (ACE) which was set up to resolve the women's grievances in the eastern and southern regions of Nigeria, that "*The market is our strength. When the market is spoiled, we are useless.*"⁵⁴⁸ In the early 1940s, the Nigerian market women resented the autocratic attitudes of the colonial sanitation officers, as well as market location control, and lack of security of their goods against increasing urbanization.⁵⁴⁹ This was the experience in locations such as Ijebuland and Ibadan in the western region including Lagos as well as Onitsha and Aba in the eastern region.⁵⁵⁰ These developments challenged women's socio-economic freedom hindering their livelihoods.⁵⁵¹ This gave rise to the anti-colonial movement by Ife women who embarked on several dialogues with the District Officer to alleviate the sufferings caused by market demolition.⁵⁵²

Similarly, in western Nigeria, the authorities tried to prohibit market women from selling along the road near Gege Bridge, Ibadan, due to repeated motor accidents.⁵⁵³ In Abeokuta, Madam Ayisatu Ajile Aina, while speaking on behalf of market women, thanked the native authority in 1952 for its interest in their well-being. She, however, opposed the government's

⁵⁴⁴ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁵⁴⁵ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁵⁴⁶ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁵⁴⁷ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁵⁴⁸ NAE Witness, Aba Commission of Enquiry, Notes of Evidence, 1930.

⁵⁴⁹ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁵⁵⁰ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁵⁵¹ Keniston, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, 57.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵⁵³ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

plan to move the market out of town and suggested that the current site be modernized.⁵⁵⁴ Again, the strategic but selective urbanization plans saw a high rate of rural-urban drift in colonial western Nigeria.⁵⁵⁵ For example, Felicia Ogunseye, a participant in this study, explained that: “*due to the issue of patriarchy system that was common at that time, the rural women had unequal opportunities in compared to their counterparts to leave for cities in search of better livelihood.*”⁵⁵⁶ But most women made their way to the city on the pretext of marriage.⁵⁵⁷ Similarly, the mobility of women was also restricted in colonial South Africa.⁵⁵⁸

While Nigerian women faced difficulties in getting urban opportunities due to the new colonial socio-economic order;⁵⁵⁹ their South African counterparts had it in principle to go about the urban centres with passes, which no doubt affected their economic status.⁵⁶⁰ Dr Van Rooyen a colonial chief, was asked by the *Drum newspaper* (a leading Africanist newspaper) if the identity cards for women be bound up with permit registration and influx control under the urban area act? He replied by saying: “*I don’t know. But I should think that any woman would be required to produce her identity card when seeking employment, but it will not in any way curtail women existing rights. They may travel from place to place and settle where they like.*”⁵⁶¹ The preceding words of Van Rooyen appear very similar to the propaganda the British colonial government used in Nigeria, when Major C.T. Lawrence, the colonial administrator was also reported to have told the women that “*they should tear off any government official that asked them to pay tax.*”⁵⁶²

The Effects of the Group Areas Act

The Group Area Act (GAA) was introduced by the apartheid Nationalist government in 1950.⁵⁶³ It enforced residential segregation in the South African cities and towns where it forcibly displaced Africans, Coloured, and Indians communities otherwise known as non-

⁵⁵⁴ NAI, Epe District Officers CrimRB, 1925 – 1926, 136. See Also, NAI, ‘The District Officer Epe Division,’ *Daily Comet*, 16 August 1947, 4.

⁵⁵⁵ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁵⁵⁶ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁵⁵⁷ Saheed Aderinto, “Sexualized Nationalism: Lagos and the Politics of Illicit Sexuality in Colonial Nigeria 1918 – 1958,” (D. Phil, dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, 2010), 65 – 107.

⁵⁵⁸ Pamela F. Scully, *Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape, South Africa. 1823 – 1853* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire: David Philip, 1997), 1 – 5.

⁵⁵⁹ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁵⁶⁰ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁵⁶¹ KCALC ‘Angry Women Protest against kitskonstabels,’ *Echo*, 3 November 1988.

⁵⁶² NAA, ‘Taxation of African Women,’ *Daily Times*, 18 December 1940.

⁵⁶³ Barry Higgs, ‘The Group Area Act and Its Effects, being notes and document of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid: Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, 1971.’ Available from https://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/AL.SFF.DOCUMENT.nuun1971_01. Accessed 23 May 2020.

Europeans.⁵⁶⁴ Prior to the enforcement of GAA in 1950, the African majority communities had been subjected to untold sufferings and indignities for decades under various segregation laws such as the 1913 Native Land Act (NLA), 1923 Native Urban Areas Act (NUAA), 1927 Native Administration Act (NAA) and 1936 Native Trust and Land Act (NTLA) among others.⁵⁶⁵ These laws were updated over years to empower the state to enforce segregation.⁵⁶⁶

The GAA was regarded as the cornerstone policy of the apartheid government as measure to separate, isolate and control the lands and movement of non-Europeans in South Africa.⁵⁶⁷ The government moved non-Europeans away from city areas to towns or suburban areas without adequate facilities, such as street lights, tarred roads, waterborne sewage, hospitals or clinics, and policing system.⁵⁶⁸ For example, the shack lands in Cator Manor previously occupied by Africans and Indians were declared a white zone in the late 1950s, and in 1960 the Coloured people of District Six in Cape Town were also displaced and declared white zones.⁵⁶⁹ Between the 1960s to mid-1980s majority of the African population in Port Elizabeth were dislocated.⁵⁷⁰ Similarly, in the Transvaal province, only three areas were declared Indian Group Areas, this includes Benoni in East Rand, Lenasia in Johannesburg, and Laudium in Pretoria.⁵⁷¹ However, the effect of the GAA further united the various oppressed non-European groups of Africans, Coloured, and Indians towards a non-racial movement for liberation.⁵⁷² The non-racial movement encouraged strong alliances and enhanced a widespread form of active resistance against the apartheid government.⁵⁷³

The effect of GAA on urban development affected the socio-economic livelihood of women. The African community was among the hardest hit by the GAA. They were assigned to “homelands” or Bantustans.⁵⁷⁴ The GAA of the 1950s rendered many Black South African homeless and became victims of social injustices.⁵⁷⁵ Mrs. Selina Bereng, describes her fears of forced removals as reported in *Drum* in 1956,

⁵⁶⁴ Higgs, ‘The Group Area Act and Its Effects,’ 1. See, SAHO, ‘Group Area Act of 1950.’ Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/group-areas-act-1950>. Accessed 23 May 2020.

⁵⁶⁵ Barry, ‘The Group Area Act and Its Effects,’ 1. Accessed 23 May 2020.

⁵⁶⁶ SAHO, ‘Group Area Act of 1950,’ Accessed 23 May 2020.

⁵⁶⁷ Barry, ‘The Group Area Act and Its Effects,’ 15. Accessed 23 May 2020.

⁵⁶⁸ Barry, ‘The Group Area Act and Its Effects,’ 15. Accessed 23 May 2020.

⁵⁶⁹ SAHO, ‘Group Area Act of 1950,’ Accessed 23 May 2020.

⁵⁷⁰ SAHO, ‘Group Area Act of 1950,’ Accessed 23 May 2020.

⁵⁷¹ Barry, ‘The Group Area Act and Its Effects,’ 26. Accessed 23 March 2020.

⁵⁷² Barry, ‘The Group Area Act and Its Effects,’ 24. Accessed 23 March 2020.

⁵⁷³ Barry, ‘The Group Area Act and Its Effects,’ 24. Accessed 23 March 2020.

⁵⁷⁴ Bernstein, *For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears*, 15.

⁵⁷⁵ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

*We live in constant fear and were arrested just because we are housewives and don't work for the White people. I am 34 years old, and I have never lived outside Newclare, Johannesburg Newclare is the only home I know, yet a Johannesburg magistrate told me to quit Newclare, I was given a few months to go.... where I will go to?*⁵⁷⁶

The effects of the GAA on individuals and communities were to some extent politicized women. For example, Sam Moodley, a participant in this research explained that the GAA broke her childhood friendship between herself who moved to an Indian location, and (Dlamini) to an African location with their families.⁵⁷⁷ Both Sam and Dlamini after their matriculation in 1966 moved to Durban. While Sam advanced her educational career at the Salisbury Island College (referred to as University College for Indians), which is the present-day Westville Campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Dlamini on the other hand studied nursing at King Edward Hospital at the Natal University in Umbilo. Despite their separations, Sam and Dlamini still kept in touch.⁵⁷⁸ Sam recalls,

When we were going home for the first Easter vacation, as we got in a train in Durban but all of a sudden, the corps (police) said we should go into separate compartment, so they did not allow us sit together or see each other, then we realized the impact of what is meant to be separated.⁵⁷⁹ Our fathers who were taxi drivers picked us separately to our various locations. Before, we could be together in either of the father's taxi but in this case, we had to go separately into each father's taxi because we were no longer living in the same area.⁵⁸⁰

The narrative experience of racial segregation and trauma of separation from loved ones accounted for the factors that shaped the political consciousness of Sam Moodley from the formative years of her life.⁵⁸¹ In addition, her enquiring mind for social justice also contributed to her youth activism while in the University as she was never afraid of asking

⁵⁷⁶ Nxumalo, 'Our Women Carry Passes,' *Drum*, 17 January 1956, 7.

⁵⁷⁷ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁵⁷⁸ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁵⁷⁹ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁵⁸⁰ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁵⁸¹ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

questions.⁵⁸² Even though her history lecturer would not want to respond to her, she kept raising her hands challenging the biased teaching histories taught.⁵⁸³ She explains,

On the highland where the hostel of the Indian college was situated, we had supper at 6.00pm and by 8.00pm all doors are closed, we could not go out to anywhere only to be opened next morning at 6.00am. It was like we were in a prison on that Salisbury highland.”⁵⁸⁴

Lucille Webster, one of the participants in this study shared her family’s experiences of forced removals and how that did impact her political consciousness. Lucille Webster as a child listened to her parents and family speak about the incident of injustices experienced by the Coloured community.⁵⁸⁵ At first, they were moved to Lansdowne in the Cape Flats, and later again in the late 1960s and 70s were forcefully removed as their settlement was designated only for the whites.⁵⁸⁶ This incident shaped Lucille’s political consciousness from an early age.⁵⁸⁷

Lucille stated that the GAA created hierarchical racial structure because people were separated based on race.⁵⁸⁸ She explained how the GAA separated Coloured from whites, Indians, and Africans.⁵⁸⁹ For example, there were designated areas for the Coloured people who were assigned their own clinics, and schools among other amenities.⁵⁹⁰ Moreover, the Population Registration Act (PRA) of 1950, reinforced segregation as individuals were classified as White, Coloured, Africans, and Indians. This further engendered superiority complexes among racial groups.⁵⁹¹ Lucille, however, said that her parents taught her and siblings not to view any race as superior or inferior.⁵⁹² She has this to say about her personal experience of racism during her studies at the University of Western Cape:

I recall working as a part-time Store Assistant as a university student and noticing how a White woman could come in and ask for a particular

⁵⁸² Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁵⁸³ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁵⁸⁴ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁵⁸⁵ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁸⁶ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁸⁷ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁸⁸ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁸⁹ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁹⁰ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁹¹ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁹² Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

item that is in sale. For instance, sandals for kids were going cheap and on sale, but there was a limit as to how many pairs a customer could buy. That whole day we turned away people of colour who wanted several pairs. But then when a White woman requested, we told her the rule, she went to the manager who promptly allowed her to take as many as she wanted. I approached the manager about this unfairness and was fired on the spot. I was then also the cause for the shop refusing to further employ students from the University of Western Cape.⁵⁹³

Youth activism continued to rise against the racial discrimination and unfairness in the apartheid society. This made Lucille Webster and her peers at university to join SASO in protest against the unjust laws of the apartheid regime.⁵⁹⁴ Under the BCMSASO led students to many political rallies to understand how African countries were standing up to fight for independence and the need for oppressed South African youths to rise against their oppressors.⁵⁹⁵ Webster and many students at the time were inspired by the roles played by Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya towards independence and were equally inspired by the struggle for independence in neighbouring Mozambique, the Southern and Northern Rhodesia now Zimbabwe and Zambia respectively and the South-West Africa now Namibia.⁵⁹⁶ Therefore, all these served as inspiration and courage for the young people to stand together against the oppressive regime.

Dudusile Generosa Beato, another participant in this study shared a similar scenario of how the impact of GAA necessitated her involvement in the liberation movement in the 1970s and 1980s.⁵⁹⁷ She explained that her family was forcefully removed from their original residence of Brighton Beach in Bluff in 1964 before being relocated to Umlazi Township.⁵⁹⁸ According to Dudusile, the forceful removal not only caused traumatic distress to her family but

⁵⁹³ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁹⁴ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁹⁵ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁹⁶ Interview with Lucille Webster, Email response (Cape Town), 17 August 2019.

⁵⁹⁷ Interview with Generosa Beato, Umlazi, 7 September 2019.

⁵⁹⁸ Interview with Generosa Beato, Umlazi, 7 September 2019.

personally affected her educational life as she and her siblings were victims of Bantu education which was a substandard form of education for the Africans.⁵⁹⁹ She recalls,

My mother always reminds us of the trouble and effect of the forceful removal, telling us whenever we are having family discussion about the experience of apartheid that the police were not behaving like human being because they beat up my husband and pushed me away when I try to pull my husband away from them. This apartheid White government in this Mzansi is unforgettable in my life and the life of my children because the wish to give you quality education was denied.⁶⁰⁰

Based on the above, it is difficult to adequately describe what forced removals of both individual, mass and the systematic family dissolution had done to South African women. In apartheid South Africa, even their aggressive reactions to it cannot quantify the psychological damage it caused, especially for youths, homemakers, and mothers.⁶⁰¹ The following assertion depicts women's voice on taxation.

"We pay income tax through enforcement of the pay as you earn system and also General Sales Tax, Revenue also comes from: Company tax, Provisional Tax licenses, duties, tolls, customs, Petrol. We married women are taxed together with our husbands and so pay more tax."⁶⁰²

The Role of Trade Union

In South Africa, trade unions provided women with opportunities to be politically aware and attain leadership in organizations.⁶⁰³ The socio-economic challenges of South African women in the post-Second World War era in the 1940s made it easier for them to be politically

⁵⁹⁹ Interview with Generosa Beato, Umlazi, 7 September 2019.

⁶⁰⁰ Interview with Generosa Beato, Durban, 28 September 2019.

⁶⁰¹ APC, PC 5/7/1/3/4/2. The Black Sash file on 'Forced Removals,' during the 70th Commemoration of Natives' Land Act of 1913, 1 – 2.

⁶⁰² APC, PC5/1/3/3. PASCA Factsheet, 'Income Distribution in South Africa: Apartheid and Taxation,' 1987, 26

⁶⁰³ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 76.

conscious.⁶⁰⁴ During this era, the CPSA and other trade union movements became aware of the situation in the townships and urban areas and decided to play roles in alleviating the problems of African women.⁶⁰⁵ For example, both urban and rural African women resisted the government over lack of housing, rising food prices, bus fare hikes, and passes.⁶⁰⁶ Other trade unions women entered include SACTU, Transvaal All Women's Union (TAWU), African Food and Canning Worker's Union (AFCWU), Garment Workers Union (GWU), to mention but a few.⁶⁰⁷ These trade unions were significant in the socio-economic lives of women as they were used to mobilize South African women towards gaining political consciousness and as a platform to share ideas, and grievances, and provided the basis for non-racism and equality. For example, in the late 1940s, when Francis Baard found a job in a canning factory during the Second World War era, she became politically active. Subsequently, the trade union helped her to organize and mobilize women from her constituency towards the struggle against passes.⁶⁰⁸

One of the participants in this study Sam Moodley narrated that in 1947 Julia Mpanza, a political activist, took part in a protest march that involved people from diverse races in the street of Johannesburg, where they agitated for freedom and equality.⁶⁰⁹ She stated,

Following the March protest of 1947, Julia Mpanza, with the support of the CPSA group was elected as chairperson of the Transvaal All Women's Union (TAWU) in Rand, Johannesburg. Another example was in 1956 during the potatoes boycott⁶¹⁰, my mother told me that when children working as farm labourers in the Vaal triangle were deprived of their wages, the CPSA mobilized women to protest against the injustice. This led to the scarcity of rice and potatoes in the community.⁶¹¹

Similarly, trade unions like the SACTU attracted oppressed women who had been segregated to live in urban shantytowns and were under the threat of carrying passes.⁶¹² Ela Gandhi was one of

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁶⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁶⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁶⁰⁸ Berger, *Women in Twentieth Century Africa*, 75.

⁶⁰⁹ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁶¹⁰ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁶¹¹ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁶¹² Berger, *Women in Twentieth Century Africa*, 75.

the vocal voices in the campaign against passes by African women.⁶¹³ Ela explained that the likes of Lilian Ngoyi and Helen Joseph were politically active while working for the GWU for the rights of African women.⁶¹⁴ They were also active leading members of FEDSAW who participated wholeheartedly in the campaign against the apartheid policies that separated migrant workers from their families.⁶¹⁵ When NOW was formed in the early 1980s, it worked closely with trade unions. Ela recalls,

*In the late 1980s, the leadership of Natal NOW worked with the trade unions such as the Durban's Women's Food Committee, (DWFC) and SACTU to draft letters to the boards, for better wages and better condition of women at their various workplaces. The trade unions were also used to enlighten women on political events and activities.*⁶¹⁶

Similarly, in Nigeria, the palm oil Trader's Guild Women Association (TGWA) in the eastern region, allowed women to be politically conscious and assertive in their role in the trade and market associations. A participant, Felicia Okafor, who was a trader and anti-colonial activist, stated that the TGWA provided women with the opportunity to be conscious of equitable welfare and fair treatment of women workers.⁶¹⁷ It also allowed them to be involved in the struggle to achieve freedom and gender equality, which the association represented.⁶¹⁸ Felicia explained that:

*The TGWA gave me the opportunity to participate in the protests of the late 1940s when the international trading companies with the backing of colonial authority high jacked the pricing systems and forced the women trader to sell their palm produce at extremely low prices which was below production cost.*⁶¹⁹

In the 1940s thousands of women traders protested against colonial taxation and resisted foreign economic domination.⁶²⁰ For instance, in 1945, Alimatu Pelewura organized the Lagos

⁶¹³ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁶¹⁴ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁶¹⁵ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁶¹⁶ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁶¹⁷ Interview with Felicia Okafor, Enugu, 17 January 2018.

⁶¹⁸ Interview with Felicia Okafor, Enugu, 17 January 2018.

⁶¹⁹ Interview with Felicia Okafor, Enugu, 17 January 2018.

⁶²⁰ Berger, *Women in Twentieth Century Africa*, 71.

market women to join the general strike that lasted for 37 days in the interest of national sovereignty.⁶²¹ The LMWA used the strike action to organize a militant mass movement agitating for women's rights and campaigned for the end of colonial rule.⁶²² Again, in the mid-1950s, a pioneering female activist Madam Margaret Ekpo mobilized market women of Aba under the umbrella of the Aba Market Women Association (AMWA) to fight against racial discrimination by the colonial administration in the eastern region. For example, a participant, Felicia Ogunseye, stated that in the late 1950s, when Nigeria edged towards independence, Margaret Ekpo, used the platform of AMWA to sensitize Aba women to gain consciousness of their economic and political rights.⁶²³

The forgoing analyses indicates that women did not engage in political activism in South Africa and Nigeria until the mid-1940s and early 1950s when colonial authorities instituted changes in policies that threatened their well-being. For example, in South Africa, the urban development of the apartheid government created a shift that necessitated women's involvement in trade union activism in order to gain political consciousness. Similarly, Nigerian women began to engage actively in trade union during the post-war era as result of taxation and racialised urbanisation which had an impact on their socio-economic and political roles. Hence, their political consciousness deepened.

Role of Political Organisations

Political organizations played a critical role in shaping the consciousness of women. The majority of early political organisations such as ANC, NIC, and TIC, among others were male-dominated political groups.⁶²⁴ In a bid to end the colonial policies and change the narratives of gender politics of the time, African women began to set up political organisations for women.⁶²⁵ This led to the establishment of the Bantu Women's League in 1913 under the leadership of Charlotte Maxeke given women the opportunity to partake in the passive resistance and become assertive and politicized.⁶²⁶ Subsequently, in 1943, the ANC recognized the role of women and gave full membership to them, forming its women section known as ANC Women's League (ANCWL) with Madie Hall-Xuma as its first

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁶²² *Ibid.*, 71.

⁶²³ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 – 10, January 2017.

⁶²⁴ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁶²⁵ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁶²⁶ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

president.⁶²⁷ Also, in the 1940s, NIC and TIC reviewed their constitution to allow women to be part of the organisation's executives. This gave women a wider opportunity for political involvement and development.⁶²⁸ From the 1950s to the late 1980s several political organizations evolved to accommodate women's participation.⁶²⁹ These political organisations ranged from ANCWL, NIC, Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), FEDSAW, UDF, and NOW, to mention but a few.⁶³⁰

FEDSAW mobilized women across South Africa and adopted a Women's Charter in 1954. Women Charter (WC) formulated the goals of putting an end to inequality and all forms of oppression against women.⁶³¹ Subsequently, in 1956 FEDSAW was used as a platform to mobilize women from all races towards a national campaign against pass laws that had placed women under untold hardships.⁶³² However, the important thing to note is that the actions of the leadership of FEDSAW served as inspiration and influence for many women to join the political movement in the course of the fight against inequality and women's socio-political emancipation in the country.⁶³³ Another important organisation was NOW. It was an organisation that sought to mobilize women and address gender issues. NOW provided opportunities for women to organize themselves in order to campaign for issues such as housing at affordable rates, proper maternity care, and also concerned with pass laws.⁶³⁴ This movement allowed women to attain political positions in organizations.⁶³⁵ For example, Mary Ntomela opined that:

NOW was formed as one of the affiliates of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in which had Phumzile Mlamboas the first President who later became the first female Deputy President of South Africa under the leadership of Thabo Mbeki.⁶³⁶ Also, Hersheela Narsee acted as NOW first Secretary under the Presidency of Phumzile Mlambo. Through the leadership of

⁶²⁷ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁶²⁸ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁶²⁹ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

⁶³⁰ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

⁶³¹ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 192.

⁶³² *Ibid.*, 192.

⁶³³ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

⁶³⁴ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

⁶³⁵ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

⁶³⁶ Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka is a native of the KwaZulu-Natal, born in 1955 in Claremont, Durban South Africa. She is an activist and a politician. Currently, she is the Executive Director of UN Women holding the office of Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations.

*these notable women under the umbrella of NOW I was able to gain insight about politics at provincial and national levels of campaigns for women's right and national freedom.*⁶³⁷

According to Mary Ntomela, NOW played an important role increasing the role of women in the political struggle in the public spheres. For example, she said,

*In 1986, when there was state of emergency that led to mass detentions and restrictions of the UDF the women activities continued with the aid of NOW leadership filling the vacuum in Natal with the likes of Florence Mkhize spear heading campaigns that the UDF could not carry out. NOW also helped victims by providing shelter, food and moral support and involved in the settlement of the violence that erupted between Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and UDF.*⁶³⁸

When the NOW organisation was disbanded in 1990, many women joined the ANC and ANCWL.⁶³⁹ In 1989, towards the end of the apartheid, Ela Gandhi expressed that the women got more involved in civic organizations working side by side with men.⁶⁴⁰

*The Congress of South African Women (CSAW) came up to discuss democracy and the first meeting had about 10% women, so because there were few women all the parties came together with one voice for the more inclusiveness of women in the political arena. Therefore, they coined the slogan "one woman one man" for voting and deliberation towards South African freedom.*⁶⁴¹

In colonial Nigeria, the role of political organisations in shaping the political consciousness of women cannot be over emphasised. For instance, in southern Nigeria, western-educated women like Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti called for a united front as early as 1935 to denounce

⁶³⁷ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

⁶³⁸ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019

⁶³⁹ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

⁶⁴⁰ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁶⁴¹ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

the lack of women's participation and representation in grassroots politics.⁶⁴² In the late 1930s and early 1940s, she formed and led women's organisations to facilitate women's rights.⁶⁴³ Such organisations included the ALC, AWU, and Nigerian Women's Party (NWP), among others.⁶⁴⁴ For example, the constitution of the NWP, challenged the women of Nigeria irrespective of class or background reminding them of the backwardness of women and the unenviable position occupied by white colonial women, then calling Nigerian women to action for their rights.⁶⁴⁵ By the late 1940s, the AWU had attracted 20,000 registered African women who helped in coordinating massive demonstrations.⁶⁴⁶ The AWU focused on the dethronement of the King (Alake) of Abeokuta who was responsible for enforcing a colonial policy of taxation on women traders.⁶⁴⁷ This success gave the Nigerian women's movement international recognition as its leader Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti became a model of women's liberation figure in Nigeria and beyond.⁶⁴⁸ For example, a participant in this study, Felicia Okafor who was a farmer and trader of palm kernel and a secondary school dropout joined the Enugu Women Association (EWA) in 1948.⁶⁴⁹ She explained that:

*I did this with the intention of using the platform as a vocal voice against the taxation of women's farm produce and medium to champion girl child education which I was a victim. In addition, I joined the Enugu Women Association because the patriarchy nature of the Igbo culture and the less premium placed on girl child education by the colonial regime were the socio-political challenges faced by women.*⁶⁵⁰

Thus, Felicia's membership with the EWA accorded her the opportunity to voice out the issues affecting women and deliberate on the way forward. Felicia also stressed that EWA made them sign a series of petitions against the colonial authority to the effect of promoting girl child education.⁶⁵¹ The women's efforts became more vocal when EWA merged with other women's unions to form NWU in the 1950s.⁶⁵² By 1953, the NWU had established

⁶⁴² Johnson, 'Grass Root Organizing,' 139.

⁶⁴³ Johnson, 'Grass Root Organizing,' 137 – 157.

⁶⁴⁴ Johnson, 'Grass Root Organizing,' 137 – 157.

⁶⁴⁵ Johnson, 'Grass Root Organizing,' 139 – 157.

⁶⁴⁶ Berger, *Women in Twentieth Century Africa*, 73.

⁶⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶⁴⁹ Interview with Felicia Okafor, Enugu, 17 January 2018.

⁶⁵⁰ Interview with Felicia Okafor, Enugu, 17 January 2018.

⁶⁵¹ Interview with Felicia Okafor, Enugu, 17 January 2018.

⁶⁵² Interview with Felicia Okafor, Enugu, 17 January 2018.

branches throughout the country in collaboration with local organisations towards women's enfranchisement for political participation and representation.⁶⁵³ Towards the movement for Nigerian independence in the mid-1950s, Funmilayo used the platform of the FNWO to campaign for the political rights of women.⁶⁵⁴ For example, she opposed some traditional practices such as polygyny, forced and arranged marriage, and male domination. Against the backdrop of male domination, Funmilayo expressed that:

*“As women we still feel that we are inferior to men, we inherited this form from our mothers whose spirits had been subdued with slavery and we have to join hands together to shake off this feeling so that the forthcoming Independence may be of reality to us.”*⁶⁵⁵

The above assertion by Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti shows that she tirelessly worked as a feminist proponent against male domination, end to women's subordination, and promote the political involvement of women towards Nigerian independence.

Again, in the northern Nigeria where Islamic law was predominantly the social order women were secluded in *Purdah*, and were not allowed access to social places such as markets, polling booths, and some other public places.⁶⁵⁶ The reason for this was chiefly due to the age-long presence of Islam in the region, and the propagation of Islamic and Arabic education over western education.⁶⁵⁷ Hence, this understanding promoted the Islamic culture of women's seclusion and segregated education of males and females.⁶⁵⁸

Colonial/Apartheid Education

Apartheid Education, also known as Bantu education, introduced a segregated system of learning. The African schools were regarded as inferior as they were taught in local languages while the White schools were instructed in English with quality teaching and learning facilities. Thus, many Black South Africans were educationally and socially

⁶⁵³ Berger, *Women in Twentieth Century Africa*, 74.

⁶⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁶⁵⁶ *Purdah* is a social system that allows women of Islamic faith or Hinduism stay in isolation in the house as full housewife. The *purdah* system separates women (wives) from the sight of strangers or men other than their husbands and relatives; See, Nike L. Edun, 'Radical Nationalism in British West Africa, 1945 – 6,' (D. Phil, dissertation, University of Michigan, 2008).

⁶⁵⁷ Interview with Alhaja Aminatu Akinsola, Ibadan, 10 January 2017.

⁶⁵⁸ Edun, 'Radical Nationalism in British West Africa,' 1 – 13.

disadvantaged as they were only allowed to school in a racialized environment.⁶⁵⁹ The University Education Act (UEA) of 1959 made it an offense for any university to accept non-Whites without the permission of the Minister of Bantu Education.⁶⁶⁰ Some participants in this study were motivated to be part of the liberation movement as they were victims of apartheid education. For instance, the apartheid police would raid the Black medical students at the University of Natal, a separate campus (non-Whites section) at their Alan Taylor residence at Wentworth. Sam Moodley could not understand the reason she had to attend an Indian University and realized the University was under-equipped and lacked qualified teachers. She stated that:

*Majority of the lecturers were Whites, diploma holders who could not teach well and the student could not question them because they are Whites and if they should question the teachers they would be penalised, victimised or regarded as outcast.*⁶⁶¹

From the above, it can be deduced that women especially young students became politically conscious as a result of social inequality regarding the racialized form of education in apartheid South Africa. Specifically, it shows that Sam was a staunch critique of the racial hierarchy that was prevalent at that time. Thus, it was against this context that she was motivated to resist the apartheid system. Similarly, Theresa Mthembu a participant who attended an African school under apartheid education, stated that she walked a long distance and received her education in the n Bantu language, while her white friends were taught in the English language.⁶⁶² Another Ela Gandhi shared a similar experience with that of Theresa and Sam as she was a victim of apartheid education.⁶⁶³ For instance, Ela as a student of the University of Natal which was solely for white had to receive education in another facility designed for Indians at Sastri College an offsite campus of the University of Natal.⁶⁶⁴ Thus, this condition made Theresa and Ela conscious of their environment and became motivated to mobilize women to campaign against racial inequality. The African women's quest to resist educational inequality in South Africa led to the formation of Bantu Women Association

⁶⁵⁹ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁶⁶⁰ Eric Ashby, Wiley Online Library 'Apartheid in South African Universities,' *Higher Education Quarterly* 14, 4 (1960): 345 – 351. Available from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1468-2273.1960.tb00151.x>. Accessed 29 May 2020.

⁶⁶¹ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁶⁶² Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁶⁶³ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁶⁶⁴ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

(BWA). The BWA emphasis was laid on Bantu education, especially the education of the children. For instance, BWA frequently chanted the slogan that “*Education is our children’s fundamental right to freedom, justice and security.*”⁶⁶⁵ In a memorable phrase, a speaker of the FEDSAW once likened mothers under the Bantu education act to “*hens laying eggs that were then taken away from them.*”⁶⁶⁶ This was frequently expressed by the BWA, which argued that some scholars had tagged it as “*Bread and Butter*” issues.⁶⁶⁷

In Nigeria, colonial education and the newly introduced economic system were designed to primarily favoured men more than women.⁶⁶⁸ This was because men and male children were bestowed with the requisite skills required to function within the new economic order and manage the technologies in order to open work opportunities in colonial administrative offices.⁶⁶⁹ The males were also employed in the Native Courts, transport industry, the mines, the Christian mission stations, and expatriate trading companies.⁶⁷⁰ On the contrary, the women and girls were disadvantaged of all the industrial skills and employment opportunities because it was deemed that their access to western education would serve as a pathway to modern employment.⁶⁷¹ Hence, colonial education laid emphasis on domestic science training for girls and women while boys were exposed to leadership and technical instructions that gave them better opportunities in society.⁶⁷² For example,

*The men equally dominated the colonial economy in the areas of cash crops that favoured men than the women. The male domination of economy and access to employment was aided with the colonial policy that was tailored towards gender inequality that denied women access to western education.*⁶⁷³

The unequal opportunity in the colonial economic system was unacceptable to Nigerian women.

⁶⁶⁵ APC, PC170/7/2/4/22 Cherryl Walker, Conference paper, 24.

⁶⁶⁶ APC, PC170/7/2/4/22 Cherryl Walker, Conference paper, 24.

⁶⁶⁷ APC, PC170/7/2/4/22 Cherryl Walker, Conference paper, 24.

⁶⁶⁸ Gloria Chuku, ‘Igbo Women and Political Participation in Nigeria, 1800s – 2005,’ *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 42, 1 (2009): 89.

⁶⁶⁹ Chuku, ‘Igbo Women and Political Participation in Nigeria,’ 89.

⁶⁷⁰ Chuku, ‘Igbo Women and Political Participation in Nigeria,’ 89.

⁶⁷¹ Chuku, ‘Igbo Women and Political Participation in Nigeria,’ 89.

⁶⁷² Chuku, ‘Igbo Women and Political Participation in Nigeria,’ 89.

⁶⁷³ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

However, in the face of blatant discrimination and male domination, some Nigerian women such as Oyinkan Abayomi, Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, and Margaret Ekpo were the foremost women to gain access to colonial education. They used their education and political influence to challenge the existing political structure and promote the girl's education and enhance the consciousness of grassroots women through the formation of political organisations such as ALC, AWU, and AMWA. In the traditional Nigerian society, many parents were too reluctant to educate their daughters in ways other than the domestic methods of household skills and teachings of good conduct within a family and traditional community.⁶⁷⁴ Colonial education of girls was strange to the traditional African culture; hence, it was perceived as a threat by parents and male patriarchy that its impact may lead to the loss of girls and women to European culture.

In the 1940s, the ALC was formed in response to the marginalization of women and girls. In view of the asymmetrical preference given to male education, the ALC was a group of educated Nigerian women dedicated to spreading literacy.⁶⁷⁵

In the 1950s, due to the marginalization of women in politics and education, the Muslim women's group in Ibadan set up adult literacy classes, extending its programs to market women even though they were not members of the association.⁶⁷⁶ For example, Humuani Alaga a Muslim wealthy but minimally educated businesswoman in Ibadan tried to enrol her daughter in a Christian missionary school in 1958. She was told that Christian girls had the upper hand and were afraid of the requirement that her daughter would need to change her name and possibly adopt the Christian religion.⁶⁷⁷ In a bid to challenge the situation, used her wealthy influence to rally around the members of her Muslim group to join her in founding their own secondary school for all girls known as Isabatudeen Girls Grammar School.⁶⁷⁸ Even though Humuani and most of her women group were illiterate traders, they were sensitive to the disadvantages of colonial education on the girls, hence, they organized effectively, gained new members, and raised money to establish the first Muslim-owned all-

⁶⁷⁴ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁶⁷⁵ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 10 January 2017.

⁶⁷⁶ McIntosh, Marjorie 'The Context, Causes, and Cultural Valuation of Yoruba and Baganda women's Participation in the Public Economy,' *Program of African Studies Working Papers*, 22 (2013): 18.

⁶⁷⁷ Olufunke Adeboye, 'The Changing Conception of Elderhood in Ibadan, 1830 – 2000,' *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 16, 2 (2007): 261 – 278; 275.

⁶⁷⁸ Abiodun Borisade, 'Iyalode Humuani Alaga, pioneered first all-female girls School in Ibadan.' Available from <https://abiiodunborisade.com/iyalode-humuani-alaga-pioneered-first-all-female-girls-school-in-ibadan/>. Accessed 28 September 2019.

girls secondary school for girls in Ibadan.⁶⁷⁹ While colonial Nigerian women embarked on anti-colonial activities to increase the educational opportunities given to their female children, apartheid South African women were concerned by the standard educational system designed for the African male and female children.

Conclusion

This chapter reveals the motives for South African and Nigerian women's participation in the liberation movements in the period under review. While issues of passes posed more threats to the socio-economic existence of women in South Africa, Nigerian women faced taxation that was imposed on women starting from the eastern part and later to the western region. Thus, the chapter depicts those fundamental issues such as pass laws, trade unions, urbanization, taxes, and familial influence played a key role in the political consciousness of women in the struggle for liberation. Political organisations and unequal education also were contributing factors.

It can be concluded that it is problematic to adopt a single paradigm to explain the complex and subjugating experience of Nigerian and South African women under colonial and apartheid rule respectively. This is because colonialism engendered complex and multiple socio-economic and political factors that had contradictory and sometimes similar effects on Nigerian and South African women. Thus, Nigerian, and South African women adopted diverse strategies in order to achieve positive results. These strategies would be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

⁶⁷⁹ Borisade, 'Iyalode Humuani Alaga, pioneered first all-female girls School in Ibadan.' Accessed 28 September 2019.

CHAPTER FIVE

MODES OF PROTEST

“Now you have touched the women, you have struck a rock”⁶⁸⁰

Introduction

This chapter explores the modes of protest employed by Nigerian and South African women in the liberation movements. Some of the modes of protests were direct, while others were indirect; some are violent others non-violent. Among the modes of protests were collective organizations, marches and demonstrations, boycotts, songs, dances, petitions, letter writings, and dialogue. The chapter examines these modes of protests comparatively based on the trajectory of events that spurred the participation of Nigerian and South African women in the liberation movement in the period under review.

Collective Organisation

African women were quick to realize the importance of collective organization in mobilising women to achieve their goals: freedom and democracy and challenging the “common enemy” that hindered their access to socio-economic and political opportunities.⁶⁸¹ This sense of organization had been historically imbibed from the early years of colonialism.⁶⁸² Thus, early women organisations in colonial Nigeria such as LMWA, AWU, EWU and AWA, among others were formed around women’s issues such as gender equality, access to education, and other socio-economic issues.⁶⁸³ The LMWA drew support from Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP) a male-dominated organisation, led by one of the early western-educated Nigerians, Herbert Macaulay, who shared Pelewura’s views on gender equality.⁶⁸⁴ LMWA, women mobilised themselves within and across their various market unions by establishing

⁶⁸⁰ The statement issued by the women activists during the anti-pass law women’s march in 1956. This has become a protest song of strength and motivation used throughout the struggle against unjust laws of the apartheid regime. See South Africa History Archives: Archive for Justice-Available from www.saha.org.za/women/national_women_day. Accessed 20 June 2018.

⁶⁸¹ ‘Common enemy’ here is referred to as the colonial and apartheid government policies and laws that restricted the movement of the Black people and hindered women from gaining access to socio-economic activities and political opportunities. APC, Pc5/7/1/3/2 Women for Peaceful Change Now. A statement from the lecture delivered by US consulate General, Bismarck Myrick, 14 September 1991.

⁶⁸² APC, Pc5/7/1/3/2 Women for Peaceful Change Now.

⁶⁸³ Cheryl Johnson-Odim, ‘Nigerian Women and British Colonialism: The Yoruba Example, with selected Biographies,’ (D. Phil, dissertation, Northwestern University Evanston, 1978), 13.

⁶⁸⁴ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

committees.⁶⁸⁵ In 1932, these committees protested against the payment of taxes in the Lagos markets.⁶⁸⁶ In the mid-1930s, the LWMA pitched roadblocks to object against the relocation of Ereko market to the Oluwole area of Lagos.⁶⁸⁷ Several women were arrested and detained.⁶⁸⁸ Members of the LMWA campaigned against women's detention.⁶⁸⁹ Their efforts were successful as the women were released and the Ereko market was retained.⁶⁹⁰

Attempts were also made to establish organizations to help educate women on gender issues. For example, in the 1930s Funmilayo Ransom-Kuti, agitated for the educational right of girls and established literacy classes.⁶⁹¹ Funmilayo and other elite women set up schools and women organizations such as the ALC and AWU.⁶⁹² These organizations were not only utilized to educate women but also as a platform to politically mobilize and organise women.⁶⁹³ Attempts to impose taxes on Abeokuta market women led to a protest march by the AWU to the King's palace in Abeokuta.⁶⁹⁴ The march was not only successful but also created a conversation among women around gender inequities and colonial subordination.⁶⁹⁵

The Lagos Women Organisation (LWO), under the leadership of Oyinkan Abayomi also played a significant role in empowering women.⁶⁹⁶ In 1927 after the successful fund-raising campaign, Queens College (QC) for girls in Lagos was established. In 1944 Abayomi founded the Women's Party (WP). The WP was critical of welfare services, which carried out virginity testing on girls, which they described as an infringement on their rights.⁶⁹⁷ Both Abayomi and WP were recognized for their ability to unite various women organizations to collectively fight for the rights of women and girls.⁶⁹⁸ Similarly, in eastern Nigeria, women formed organisations to resist colonial rule from the 1940s to 1950s. Among the earliest organizations were AWA and EWA.⁶⁹⁹ These organizations were largely urban and gained

⁶⁸⁵ NAI, File No. ComCol. 2401, Lagos Market Women Association.

⁶⁸⁶ NAI, File No. ComCol. 2401, Lagos Market Women Association.

⁶⁸⁷ NAI, File No. ComCol. 2401, Lagos Market Women Association.

⁶⁸⁸ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁶⁸⁹ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁶⁹⁰ NAI, File No. ComCol. 2401, Lagos Market Women Association.

⁶⁹¹ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁶⁹² Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁶⁹³ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁶⁹⁴ Interview with Bolanle Awe, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

⁶⁹⁵ Johnson-Odim, "On Behalf of Women and The Nation," 132. Also see, Ifi Amadiume, *Re-Inventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture* (London: Zed Books, 1997), 168.

⁶⁹⁶ Bolanle Awe, *Nigerian Women in Historical Perspective* (Victoria Island: Sankore-Bookcraft, 1992), 1 – 12.

⁶⁹⁷ NAI, File No. ComCol, 2786, Letter from A. Izzett, 23 October, 1946. For detail see, Awe, *Nigerian Women in Historical Perspective*, 1 – 12.

⁶⁹⁸ NAI, File No. ComCol, 2786, Letter from A. Izzett, 23 October, 1946.

⁶⁹⁹ Gloria Chuku, *Igbo Women and Economic Transformation in Southeastern Nigeria 1900 – 1960* (London: Psychology Press, 2009), 38 – 91

support from women in Aba, Enugu, Onitsha, Calabar, and Port Harcourt.⁷⁰⁰ For example, in 1946, the AWA under the leadership of Margaret Ekpo;⁷⁰¹ mobilized women in the city of Aba to protest against the colonial authority over the racial segregation and taxation of women.⁷⁰² The organization was effective as the protest raised the political consciousness of women against colonialism.⁷⁰³

In 1951 the AWA and EWA collectively demanded justice for the death of a woman prisoner at the Enugu prison.⁷⁰⁴ During this crisis, the leadership of AWA and EWA collectively mobilized women to march to the prison to demand the body of the deceased woman prisoner to be released and given a decent burial.⁷⁰⁵ The protests were successful as the perpetrator was subsequently jailed. These actions spurred women to political resistance.⁷⁰⁶ The effectiveness of collective women organizations paved way for Margaret Ekpo to join the National Council of Nigerian and Cameroon (NCNC) where she was nominated to represent women as a special member of the regional house of chiefs. By 1960 she was elected to the eastern regional House of assembly.⁷⁰⁷

In South Africa, early organizations were largely male dominated, such as the ANC, NIC, and the SACP.⁷⁰⁸ Notable women protests through a collective organization began with the formation of the Bantu Women 's League (BWL) in 1918.⁷⁰⁹ The BWL was the forerunner to the ANC Women's League formed in 1948.⁷¹⁰ Several other women's organisations were established prior to the 1950s. Some were political or semi-political others were welfare and educational bodies.⁷¹¹ The SACP mobilized women around 'bread and butter' issues, whilst the Women's Liberal Group (WLG) provided a platform for educated Indian women to discuss political and social issues.⁷¹² Up until the 1950s, these organizations remained

⁷⁰⁰ Chuku, 'Igbo Women and Political Participation in Nigeria,' 91.

⁷⁰² S.A. Effah-Attoe and S.O. Jaja, *Margaret Ekpo: Lioness in Nigerian* (Abeokuta: ALF Publications, 1993), 12 – 20.

⁷⁰³ Effah-Attoe, *Margaret Ekpo: Lioness in Nigerian*, 12.

⁷⁰⁴ NAI, Petition to the Lieutenant Governor on the case of Mrs. Agnes Onyia by The Member of Women Unions, 1951.

⁷⁰⁵ NAI, Petition to the Lieutenant Governor on the case of Mrs Agnes Onyia, 1951.

⁷⁰⁶ Effah-Attoe, *Margaret Ekpo: Lioness in Nigerian*, 12.

⁷⁰⁷ Effah-Attoe, *Margaret Ekpo: Lioness in Nigerian*, 12.

⁷⁰⁸ SAHO, 'Bantu Women's League,' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/bantu-womens-league>. Accessed 18 June 2020.

⁷⁰⁹ SAHO, 'Bantu Women's League,' Accessed 18 June 2020.

⁷¹⁰ SAHO, 'Bantu Women's League,' Accessed 18 June 2020. The emergence of National Party in 1948 ushered in draconian laws and policy of segregation in South Africa. This was tagged apartheid regime, which brought the Black indigenous people under the suzerainty of white minority till 1994.

⁷¹¹ SAHO, 'Bantu Women's League,' Accessed 18 June 2020.

⁷¹² SAHO, 'Bantu Women's League,' Accessed 18 June 2020.

separate but supported each other in their protests against racism and segregation.⁷¹³ However, in the 1950s there was a shift towards non-racialism.⁷¹⁴ For instance, FEDSAW, was a multi-racial organization that included the ANCWL, women from the TIC, NIC, SACP, and various other women's organizations. FEDSAW provided women the opportunity to collectively resist the apartheid government toward national liberation.⁷¹⁵ This was noticeable in the anti-pass protests march of 1955, 1956, and 1958.⁷¹⁶ During the anti-pass campaign in 1956 Mrs. Bertha Mashaba Gxowa, a veteran ANCWL organiser noted that:

*"I was the national organiser for the Women's March to Pretoria in 1956, for the Women's League. I went around the country organising it. We did this by going around to the provinces in a little car in a little car Helen Joseph had. We used to take special unpaid leave. Meeting women in various provinces, various areas. And at the same time, we were organising locally. We were organising local protests to local authorities. In all the provinces you have the ANC office, an ANC Women's League. We were going to these offices and other organisations. The ANC office there would know which women."*⁷¹⁷

The above explains the processes undertaken by ANCWL and FEDSAW to mobilize women from various locations for the anti-pass protests. This prepared the ground for women's mobilization and changed the narrative that women were politically inactive, inept, and homemakers.⁷¹⁸ The anti-pass campaign protest led by FEDSAW to some extent was successful as it provided women of various races the opportunity to be politically conscious and engaged in political resistance as a collective organization. Following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre and the subsequent banning of major anti-apartheid organizations like the ANC, CPSA, and PAC in the 1960s, political activity was to some extent muted.⁷¹⁹ Thus,

⁷¹³ SAHO, 'Bantu Women's League,' Accessed 18 June 2020.

⁷¹⁴ David Mermelstein, ed. *The Anti-Apartheid Reader* (New York: Grove Press, 1987), 18.

⁷¹⁵ APC, File No. PC170/7/2/4/5.

⁷¹⁶ KCALC, 'Sophia town Riot over Taxi raid!' *Drum*, 22 June 1956, 23.

⁷¹⁷ Pam Brooks, "But Once They Are Organised, You Can Never Stop Them: 1950s Black Women in Montgomery and Johannesburg Defy Men and the State. Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity," *African Feminisms Three*, 58 (2003), 93.

⁷¹⁸ SAHO, 'History of Women's Struggle in South Africa,' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-womens-struggle-south-africa>. Accessed 18 June 2020.

⁷¹⁹ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

the emergence of the *Umkhonto we Sizwe* which was a component of the anti-apartheid struggle became a source of political agency for women towards achieving ANC's political goals.⁷²⁰ However, the 1970s and 1980s saw the emergence of many youth organizations such as the SASO and the BCM.⁷²¹ The BCM was designed to raise the consciousness of the black race for an effective liberation struggle against the inequality and oppressive rule of the apartheid regime.⁷²² Thus, in advancing the objective of BCM, both young men and women were at the forefront of the struggle.⁷²³ These include, Steve Biko, Mamphela Ramphele, Sam Moodley, Vuyelwa Mashalaba, Lucile Webster, Thenjiwe Mtintso among others.⁷²⁴ Their mode of protest was basically organizing political rallies and public lectures in the tertiary institutions across the country. Sam Moodley, a participant in this study described her affiliation to the BCM.

In a White dominated South African school, African, Indian and Coloured people were not supposed to discuss or partake in politics, people have been silenced, people were afraid, people were scared.⁷²⁵ When the opportunity came to articulate their grievances, pains, and agony in order to gain social, economic and political voices the student set up a non-European movement as a voice for the voiceless. So, in 1973, I was invited by SASO to deliver a lecture at the University of Natal black section on the commemoration of the event of Sharpeville massacre. Though in a tensed environment but I had the opportunity to express myself on the arrest and banning of the leadership of SASO.⁷²⁶

BCM, like other youth organizations, conscientised South Africans. Sam Moodley's consciousness, as alluded to in the above quote, was raised by the ideology of BCM which gave her the platform to speak for the political rights of South African youths. SASO, too

⁷²⁰ Kim Miller, "Moms with Guns: Women's Political Agency in Anti-Apartheid Visual Culture," *African arts*, 42, 2 (2009): 74.

⁷²¹ Ian Macqueen, *Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2018), 142.

⁷²² Macqueen, *Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid*, 138.

⁷²³ Macqueen, *Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid*, 143.

⁷²⁴ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁷²⁵ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

⁷²⁶ Interview with Sam Moodley, Newlands, 1 July 2019.

allowed females to be politically active during the liberation movement. Similarly, the speech delivered by Vuyelwa Mashalaba in 1971 at Fort Hare University on May 10, on SASO national celebration day was an eye-opening speech for female students.⁷²⁷ Students, especially females, were inspired by the commitment of SASO to focus on the concerns of female students so as to increase their consciousness in the struggle against the racist apartheid regime.⁷²⁸

In 1983 the formation of the UDF provided another platform for women's collective resistance. The UDF was a multi-racial organization and had branches in the provinces of Natal, Transvaal, and Cape Town.⁷²⁹ UDF challenged the apartheid government's Tri-cameral parliament that would provide a representation of Indian and Coloured people alongside whites in a segregated parliament.⁷³⁰ Subsequently, UDF staged a demonstration to protest against racial inequality and the lack of black representation in politics. The UDF also fought the idea of Tricameral Legislation by organizing workers stay away boycotts and school protests by black South African youths in 1985 across the country.⁷³¹ Consequently, the apartheid government began to arrest the UDF leaders such as Albertina Sisulu, Cassim Salojee, and Frank Chikane, among others for a treasonable acts.⁷³² But UDF was male-dominated and women felt that issues affecting them received little attention.⁷³³ Therefore, the feminist activists moved for the creation of a sister organization, the UDF Women's Congress which focused on issues relating to women.⁷³⁴

The UDF Women's Congress sought to promote black women's political consciousness across the provinces, to challenge sexism and racism.⁷³⁵ It affiliated with other organizations in the provinces towards achieving its objectives of gender equality and national freedom. The affiliate organizations include the NOW; the Federation of Transvaal Women (FFEDTRAW), Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO), Port Alfred Women's

⁷²⁷ Macqueen, *Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid*, 143.

⁷²⁸ Macqueen, *Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid*, 143.

⁷²⁹ S. Hassim, *Women's Organisation and Democracy in South Africa: Contesting Authority* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 11 -118; See, also, SAHO 'Apartheid Crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s,' 2019. Available from www.sahistory.org.za/womens-struggles-1900-1994/apartheid-crumbles-women-turmoil-1980s. Accessed 4 June 2019.

⁷³⁰ Interview with Saydoon Sayed, Durban University of Technology, 12 June 2019.

⁷³¹ Hassim, *Women's Organisation and Democracy in South Africa*, 118.

⁷³² Hassim, *Women's Organisation and Democracy in South Africa*, 118.

⁷³³ Hassim, *Women's Organisation and Democracy in South Africa*, 118.

⁷³⁴ Hassim, *Women's Organisation and Democracy in South Africa*, 118.

⁷³⁵ SAHO 'Apartheid crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s,' 2019.

Organisation (PAWO), and Gompo Women's Congress (GWC).⁷³⁶ These affiliate organizations promoted the objective of UDF of increasing the role of women in politics and national freedom.⁷³⁷ For example, in Natal, NOW women leaders engaged in protest actions that used demonstrations and boycotts to fight for women's issues such as proper maternity benefits, childcare, women's representation in politics, and civil society organizations.⁷³⁸ The effect of the protest was evident in the Natal provincial Supreme Court when the Judge ruled for the lifting of the ban on the UDF in 1987 to receive foreign support for the movement to end apartheid.⁷³⁹ The protests also led to the release of Albertina Sisulu in 1988 alongside other leadership of UDF.⁷⁴⁰ Significantly, in 1989, Albertina Sisulu was among the women delegate that represented UDF to discuss the process for international assistance to end the apartheid regime in South Africa.⁷⁴¹

Non-violent modes of protest

Another mode of protest used by Nigerian and South African women in their resistance against oppressive laws was non-violence. Non-violent resistance is a form of protest that is employed to enhance social, economic, or political change in society. Nigerian and South African women employed non-violent protest because it is more effective in achieving their socio-economic goals than violent resistance and drew the attention of security. Non-violent consisted of protest marches and demonstrations, boycotts, strikes, songs, and dances, petitions, letter writing, and dialogue.

Passive Resistance

One of the common forms of non-violent resistance was passive resistance also known as "satyagraha" a concept of resistance conceived by Mahatma Gandhi in early 1900.⁷⁴² It was introduced as a protest strategy to emancipate oppressed Indian communities from socio-economic and political restrictions imposed upon them.⁷⁴³ For instance, in 1907, Indians protested against the implementation of the Asiatic Registration Bill (ARB) introduced by the

⁷³⁶ SAHO 'Apartheid crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s,' 2019.

⁷³⁷ Hassim, *Women's Organisation and Democracy in South Africa*, 118.

⁷³⁸ SAHO 'Apartheid Crumbles, Women in the Turmoil of the 1980s,' Accessed 4 June 2019.

⁷³⁹ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

⁷⁴⁰ SAHO 'Apartheid Crumbles, Women in the turmoil of the 1980s,' Accessed 4 June 2019.

⁷⁴¹ SAHO, 'Apartheid Crumbles, Women in the Turmoil of the 1980s,' Accessed 4 June 2019.

⁷⁴² SAHO, 'Gandhi and the Passive Resistance Campaign 1907 – 1914,' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/gandhi-and-passive-resistance-campaign-1907-1914>. Accessed 22 June 2020.

⁷⁴³ SAHO, 'Gandhi and the Passive Resistance Campaign 1907 – 1914,' 1. Accessed 4 June 2019.

Transvaal government, which aimed at containing the mobility of Indians in the province.⁷⁴⁴ In 1907 under the leadership of Gandhi at a mass meeting in September about 3000 people gathered in Johannesburg to express solidarity to embark on a defiance campaign against the proposed law.⁷⁴⁵ However, when the Transvaal colonial authority passed the law into force, Gandhi travelled to meet the British colonial officials in London to lobby for the overturn of the ARB law.⁷⁴⁶ Consequently, the British granted his request by stopping the Bill in December 1906 only to be reinstated after the Transvaal received self-government in 1907. The campaign between 1907 and 1911 was considered as the first successful attempt at a non-violent protest strategy in South Africa.⁷⁴⁷ While women were absent during the Satyagraha Campaign of 1907 and 1911, they were at the forefront in 1913. The campaign aimed at resisting discriminatory measures such as the £3 tax and the non-recognition of non-Christian marriages.⁷⁴⁸ In the campaign, women defied government restrictions by crossing over provincial barriers, heckling policemen, defying municipal bylaws, and addressing mass crowds.⁷⁴⁹ In the 1940s Indian women adopted similar modes of resistance during the passive resistance campaign of 1946-1948.

African women too, adopted similar non-violent tactics, most noticeable in the OFS anti-pass campaigns in 1913, as alluded to above. Protests were widespread in, Winburg, Senekal, and Kroonstad that led to the arrest and imprisonment of 34 women.⁷⁵⁰ Yet, the 1913 African women passive resistance continued until it produced the desired result, which made the authorities to temporarily relax the pass laws.⁷⁵¹ Similarly, in the 1950s, women challenged forced removals in Sophia town, Martindale and New Clare.⁷⁵² Both the FEDSAW and ANCWL employed non-violent resistance to address women's grievances. For instance, the Alexandra laundry women who were fined for partaking in the demonstration decided to reject works from white households as a way to register their support for the women in prison.⁷⁵³

⁷⁴⁴ SAHO, 'Gandhi and the Passive Resistance Campaign 1907 – 1914,' 1. Accessed 4 June 2019.

⁷⁴⁵ SAHO, 'Gandhi and the Passive Resistance Campaign 1907 – 1914,' 1. Accessed 4 June 2019.

⁷⁴⁶ SAHO, 'Gandhi and the Passive Resistance Campaign 1907 – 1914,' 1. Accessed 4 June 2019.

⁷⁴⁷ SAHO, 'Gandhi and the Passive Resistance Campaign 1907 – 1914,' 1. Accessed 4 June 2019.

⁷⁴⁸ Wells, 'Why Women Rebel,' 55 – 57.

⁷⁴⁹ Wells, 'Why Women Rebel,' 57.

⁷⁵⁰ Wells, 'Why Women Rebel,' 56.

⁷⁵¹ Hiralal, 'Mary and Annie Resist,' 123 – 138. See also, Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 15.

⁷⁵² Wells, 'Why Women Rebel,' 69.

⁷⁵³ Wells, 'Why Women Rebel,' 69.

Picture 2: Anti-Pass Women Protesters at the Germiston Magistrate's Court in 1956.



Source: *The Women's Freedom March 1956. 50th Anniversary*. Mutloatse Arts Heritage Trust 2006.

Non-violent forms of protest permeated the 1950s and 1960s. In light of the government clampdown, it was a significant tool of resistance. According to *The Echo*, one of the leading newspapers in apartheid South Africa reported that; “A second major characteristic of the 1960s was social-political activism, which was made potent by non-violent protest.”⁷⁵⁴ For example, when the leader of PAC, Robert Sobukwe,⁷⁵⁵ organised a non-violent campaign against the apartheid regime on 21 March 1960, he advised the protesting members that comprised of both men and women not to bring their passes.⁷⁵⁶ And then requested them to surrender themselves for arrest at the nearest police station.⁷⁵⁷ Robert Sobukwe added that even after the protesters are released from jail, they would go again to offer themselves for arrest.⁷⁵⁸ He, thus, instructed them to act strictly in a spirit of non-violence, and that if the police ordered them to disperse, they should oblige quietly.⁷⁵⁹

⁷⁵⁴ APC, Pc5/7/1/3/2 Women for Peaceful Change Now.

⁷⁵⁵ GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1. “The Role of Women in The Against Apartheid,” 5.

⁷⁵⁶ GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1. “The Role of Women in The Against Apartheid,” 5.

⁷⁵⁷ GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1. “The Role of Women in The Against Apartheid,” 5.

⁷⁵⁸ GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1. “The Role of Women in The Against Apartheid,” 5.

⁷⁵⁹ GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1. “The Role of Women in The Against Apartheid,” 5.

The effectiveness of nonviolent resistance in India and South Africa served as an inspiration to other African countries.⁷⁶⁰ For instance, in West Africa, Nigerian nationalist leaders like Nnamdi Azikiwe;⁷⁶¹ and Aminu Kano,⁷⁶² were activists who were influenced by Gandhi's non-violent resistance strategy.⁷⁶³ Thus, they adopted this strategy to alleviate the challenges of the Nigerian people through their organizations, such as the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) and Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU) respectively in the Southern and Northern parts of Nigeria.⁷⁶⁴ For example, Aminu Kano described by Chinua Achebe as the "Gandhi of Nigeria" was recorded to have started the initiative of land reform, peasant cooperatives, and movement for gender equality.⁷⁶⁵ Some early women leaders such as Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, Margret Ekpo, and Gambo Sawaba also adopted the spirit of non-violent which was used in the course of their struggle for the women's liberation movement in the late 1940s and mid-1950s towards gender equality and national freedom.⁷⁶⁶ Nigerian women were also inspired by the success of South African women in the non-violent campaign against segregation laws and pass laws that hindered their socio-economic opportunities. The impact of the Second World War on the socio-economic livelihood of African women was another factor that made Nigerian women adopt non-violent as a means and not an end to their socio-economic freedom. This was a noticeable strategy when the colonial authority implemented laws that were inimical to their gender roles in society. This includes but was not limited to taxation, discrimination in education, lack of employment, and gender equality in political participation.⁷⁶⁷

The above indicates that the concept of passive resistance as a non-violent strategy used by South African and Nigerian women in the quest for protest against unjust colonial and

⁷⁶⁰ Nauriya, Anil, 'Gandhi and West Africa: Exploring the Affinities,' *The Wire, Online Newspaper*, 2016. Available from <https://thewire.in/history/gandhi-west-africa-exploring-affinities>, 5 November, 2016. Accessed 22 June 2020.

⁷⁶¹ Nnamdi Azikiwe was one of the early struggle stalwarts in Nigeria nationalist movement. Towards the end of the colonial rule in Nigeria, he wrote about his experience of Gandhi's passive resistance that "On Gandhi's teachings of satyagraha, history has proved Gandhi right." He argued that Gandhi's concept of passive resistance was not merely an expression of love towards the opponent. "Those Indians who tried to love and co-operate with the alien Sahibs who ruled over them and continued to do their work without seeking a political means of effecting a radical change in their status, had learned from experience that they were living in the clouds. Who but a fool would co-operate with evil of his oppressor?"

⁷⁶² Aminu Kano, a renowned progressive nationalist notable for love of his northern Nigerian masses. He was an admirer of Gandhi but also a student who adopted the concept of non-violent of Gandhi to northern Nigeria towards a socio-economic reforms, political consciousness and gender equality that made Chinua Achebe to describe him as "Gandhi of Nigeria" in his work "The Trouble with Nigeria".

⁷⁶³ Nauriya, 'Gandhi and West Africa: Exploring the Affinities,' 2016.

⁷⁶⁴ Nauriya, 'Gandhi and West Africa: Exploring the Affinities,' 2016.

⁷⁶⁵ Nauriya, 'Gandhi and West Africa: Exploring the Affinities,' 2016.

⁷⁶⁶ Nauriya, 'Gandhi and West Africa: Exploring the Affinities,' 2016.

⁷⁶⁷ Keniston, *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*, 57 – 77.

apartheid regimes and control of market goods allowed women to take a political stance in society. It was also regarded as an effective strategy used to challenge the male-dominated political space.

Strike/Boycotts

Boycott and strike action were other non-violent forms of resistance adopted by Nigerian and South African women. Both modes of resistance sought to illuminate their grievances through a withdrawal of their social, economic, or political relationship with either an individual, organization, or state as an expression of protest.

Strikes and boycotts were common in the 1940s and through the 1950s. South African women used non-violent boycott tactics to protest against issues of hikes in housing, and transport fares. In 1943 the hike in the bus fare from 5 cents to 6 cents sparked outrage amongst the poor African residents of Johannesburg township areas of Alexandra.⁷⁶⁸ For example, the commuters involving women embarked on a boycott by refusing to ride buses, rather walked for about 9.5 miles daily traveling from townships to Johannesburg city centre for almost ten days.⁷⁶⁹ This act of resistance forced the government to set up a Commission of Enquiry to evaluate women's grievances. Consequently, the Commission made the Rands Public Utility Transport Corporation (RUTC) revert the fare and people began to ride the bus again.⁷⁷⁰ The success in the use of a non-violent bus boycott strategy in the 1940s led to similar protests actions in the 1950s.⁷⁷¹ For example, on August 9, 1956, when RUTC attempted to increase bus fares from 4d to 5d, Florence Mophosho of the Alexandra bus boycott committee mobilized women to protest against the increase.⁷⁷² Mophosho led boycott was successful as the fare was restored back to 4d by the government.⁷⁷³ Strikes also erupted at the end of January 1973 in Durban, when 22 women working at a textile weaving and mending mill in New Germany went on strike, because of their meagre weekly wage of R4.50 (3 Pound).⁷⁷⁴ Also, on the same day, about 300 African and Indian women sorters

⁷⁶⁸ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 76 – 77.

⁷⁶⁹ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 77.

⁷⁷⁰ Ruth First, 'The Bus Boycott,' *Africa South* 1, 4 (1957): 55 – 64. Available from http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_displaydc&recordID=asjul57.10. Accessed 27 June 2020.

⁷⁷¹ First, 'The Bus Boycott,' 56.

⁷⁷² Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban. 1 August 2018.

⁷⁷³ Rosieda Shabodien, "A Pamphlet of Celebration of 9 Women; 100 Years of Women and the Struggle for Liberation, Unity in Diversity," (2006), 13.

⁷⁷⁴ Makabongwe Amakosikazi, "Women in Political Struggle," in *For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears: Conditions and Resistance of Women in Apartheid South Africa: African Women in the Reserve*, ed. Hilda Bernstein (IDAF: International Defence & Aid Fund, 1975), 43 – 55.

working at a Pine-town wool washing mill refused a ridiculous pay rise on wages of R6.35 (4 pounds) a week and were as a result of their agitations sent home.⁷⁷⁵

In the early 1980s, the King Edward health workers of the Natal region went on strike. For example, Mary Ntomela, a participant in this study stated that:

In 1981, the first hospital movement took place in South Africa, when the King Edward hospital in Natal went on strike.⁷⁷⁶ This protest action was successful as the participation of the medical students and professional doctors urged the management to listen to the grievances of the women. Hence, their demands were met.⁷⁷⁷

The above quote shows that the strike action of 1981 was effective owing to the role of student and professional doctors that acted as agencies that voiced out the grievances of the women workers till the hospital management provided them with adequate welfare demanded. In addition, the strike was also used to address violence and molestation against women.⁷⁷⁸

In colonial Nigeria, women traders were forced to embark on a protest action owing to their agitation that the men saw the four years trade union strike movement of 1941 and 1945 as the struggle for men's sustenance as they demanded an increase in the cost of living.⁷⁷⁹ For example, the LMWA appealed to women traders to show solidarity by lowering the price of goods to relieve the strikers.⁷⁸⁰ Similarly, EWA also sharpened the consciousness of eastern Nigerian women when they joined the jobless men in protest as a result of the general strike of 1945.⁷⁸¹ The likes of Mrs. Janet Okala, Mrs. Alice Afamefuna, Priscilla Onyia, and Madam Peter Okoye were leading members of EWA who became politically conscious as a result of the strike.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷⁵ Ibid., 55.

⁷⁷⁶ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 12 July 2019.

⁷⁷⁷ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 12 July 2019.

⁷⁷⁸ Shamim Meer, 'Freedom for Women: Mainstreaming Gender in the South African Liberation Struggle and Beyond Gender and Development,' *Mainstreaming a Critical Review* 13, 2 (2005): 36 – 45.

⁷⁷⁹ Lisa A. Lindsay, 'Domesticity and Difference: Male Breadwinners, Working Women, and Colonial Citizenship in the 1945 Nigerian General Strike,' *The American Historical Review* 104, 3 (1999): 788.

⁷⁸⁰ Wale Oyemakinde, 'The Nigerian General Strike of 1945,' *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 7, 4 (1975): 704.

⁷⁸¹ Amadiume, *Re-Inventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture*, 168.

⁷⁸² Effah-Attoe and Jaja, *Margaret Ekpo: Lioness in Nigerian*, 12.

The boycott was implemented, due to the socio-economic consequence of colonialism, and the great depression of the war years. For instance, the income of the women traders and farmers dwindled, and the colonial government introduced a produce inspection and price control system. The government also introduced another measure known as the “one-shilling test,” both were meant to prevent the dilution process of the palm produce.⁷⁸³ Thus, the women faced the brunt of the depression because of their role in providing the bulk of household food needs.⁷⁸⁴ In spite of all the measures, the eastern Nigerian women palm oil producers would boycott the process and dilute the palm production for their own gain against the ill-price control measures of the colonial authority. Similarly, women suppliers of Farina;⁷⁸⁵ in Ijebu Ode in western Nigeria also stationed women on Sagamu road where they set up roadblocks as a way to boycott and inspect every lorry bound for Lagos and removed any Farina found aboard in order to show displeasure with the government.⁷⁸⁶ The boycott strategy was effective as it made the government have limited success in enforcing price control on the market produce.⁷⁸⁷

Songs and Dances

Other forms of non-violent resistance strategies used were protest songs to decry issues of gender and racial discrimination and inequality that hindered their livelihood. In several anti-colonial marches, women used protest songs and dances as instruments of conveying messages of displeasure to the local and colonial authorities. Thus, protest songs and dances enhanced the idea of activism and allowed women to remain active in the liberation movement.⁷⁸⁸

For example, in western Nigeria, the Abeokuta Women Dyers (AWD) used demonstrations with abusive songs against the Alake who had collaborated with colonial authority to ban caustic soda and synthetic dye, which was killing the dyer’s production business.⁷⁸⁹ Afusatu Arogundade, a participant in this study stated that while they (Abeokuta women dyers) were on a march to Oba Alake’s palace in February 1936, they sang the abusive song, as follows:

⁷⁸³ Onwuka N. Njoku, ‘Evolution of Produce Inspection in Nigeria up to 1936,’ *Odu* (1979): 43 – 57.

⁷⁸⁴ Interview with Elihaza Ihediawa, Lagos, 17 December 2017.

⁷⁸⁵ A cereal grain such as Wheat or corn.

⁷⁸⁶ Interview with Elihaza Ihediawa, Lagos, 17 December 2017.

⁷⁸⁷ NAI, File No. ComCol. 2497, 1946.

⁷⁸⁸ Periphery Centre, ‘Songs of Struggle: Music and the Anti-Apartheid Movement of South Africa, 2015,’ Available from <http://www.peripherycentre.org/music/music-anti-apartheid-south-africa>. Accessed 14 August 2020.

⁷⁸⁹ Interview with Afusatu Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2017.

*“Oba Ko Jelu, Oba Ko soda ki Oba po soda naa mu. (The King Rejected the dye, and the soda, let him mix the soda and drink it.”*⁷⁹⁰

The above protest song was an instrument of resistance employed by the Abeokuta women dyers. It was a song used to express their grievances over the rejection of using dye and soda for clothing production, which would have had a serious impact on their livelihood, hence, dared the then King to drink the soda since he had denied the women from their means of livelihood. The women’s defiance subsequently led to the formation of a Commission of Enquiry into the *Adire* (Tie and Die) clothing industry in 1936. Subsequently, the commission recommended that the bans should be lifted.⁷⁹¹ Similarly in October 1946 a protest march over the issue of the direct tax on market women was organised and led by Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti led over one thousand women in a march to the palace of Alake to protest against the tax increase.⁷⁹² British colonial authorities tear-gassed and beat the protestors.⁷⁹³ Despite the police brutality, the women did not relent in their effort to express their dissatisfaction to both the Alake of Egbaland and the British colonial authority.⁷⁹⁴ In 1947 when the petition demands to remove the tax levied against them did not yield a positive result they embarked on a two-day protest march at Alake’s palace.⁷⁹⁵ At this time, the protest march involved over ten thousand women at the Alake’s palace from November 29 till the morning of November 30 1947.⁷⁹⁶ During this demonstration, they spent the night awake with protest songs such as it goes:

*“Idowu (Alake), for a long time you have used your penis as a mark of authority that you are our husband. Today we shall reverse the order and use our vagina to play the role of husband on you.... O you men, vagina’s head will seek vengeance.”*⁷⁹⁷

The above protest song highlights the notions of masculinity that expresses the men’s dominance over women in society. This was when the King of Egbaland, “Alake” used his position to denigrate women’s role in society by colluding with the colonial authority through

⁷⁹⁰ Interview with Afusatu Arogundade, Abeokuta, 28 December 2017.

⁷⁹¹ Byfield, *The Bluest Hands*, 13 – 14.

⁷⁹² NAA, Letter in FRK Papers From S.I Oguntoyinbo

⁷⁹³ NAA, Letter in FRK Papers From S.I Oguntoyinbo

⁷⁹⁴ FRK File, Letter from the women’s Union to the Commissioner of Police, 31 May 1949.

⁷⁹⁵ FRK File, Letter from the women’s Union to the Commissioner of Police, 31 May 1949.

⁷⁹⁶ FRK File, Letter from the women’s Union to the Commissioner of Police, 31 May 1949.

⁷⁹⁷ FRK File, Letter from the women’s Union to the Commissioner of Police, 31 May 1949.

direct taxation and male domination of political representation in the native administration. This issue of socio-economic and political domination raised the consciousness of oppressed women. Thus, women adopted protest songs to showcase their discontent over the inequality in society. The women's song implied that the men were not men enough and that they had to take a strong stand to fight for their rights.

Picture 3: Market women in demonstration in front of the Native authority ruler of Egba in Abeokuta otherwise known as Alake of Egbaland, 1947.



Source: Judith Byfield, 'Women, Rice, and War: Political and Economic Crisis in War – Time Abeokuta (Nigeria),' in *Africa and World War II*, eds. Judith A. Byfield, et al. (New York: Cambridge University, 2015). Available from <https://www.wesleyan.edu/africanstudies/events/index.html>. Accessed 23 June 2019.

In 1925, during the anti-colonial demonstration over colonial control of marketplaces in eastern Nigeria, the women used dance as a non-violent protest against the colonial authority and local chiefs. The protest was known as the Women's Dance Movement (WDM).⁷⁹⁸ They started the demonstration from Atta in Okigwe Division (OD) of Owerri Province (OP) and spread to other parts of the Province while they danced to the song, calling Europeans to leave the country.⁷⁹⁹ The dancing demonstration was called *Nwaobiala* in the Igbo language, otherwise known as "stranger leave."⁸⁰⁰ The women's dance protest was against the colonial

⁷⁹⁸ Interview with Felicia Okafor, Enugu, 17 January 2018.

⁷⁹⁹ Korieh J. Chimah, *The Land has Changed: History Society and Gender in Colonial Eastern Nigeria* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2010), 129.

⁸⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 129.

increase of bride price which should be paid in foreign currency.⁸⁰¹ Hence, the women insisted on the ban of colonial coins, and colonial control of the food prices and market activities.⁸⁰² The dance was an expression of their grievances against the moral laxity brought about by colonialism.⁸⁰³ Also, to the women, the introduction of foreign clothing to young girls increased the chances of prostitution among girls.⁸⁰⁴ Thus, women demanded the return to their old customs and economic reform.⁸⁰⁵ The failure of the colonial authority to comply with the women's demands made the 1925 movement linger for years till the outbreak of the 1929 revolts.⁸⁰⁶ This implies that dance protests led to violent resistance that characterized the 1929 women's movement in eastern Nigeria.

Similar modes of resistance also noticeable in other parts of eastern Nigeria.⁸⁰⁷ Several women from various towns gathered for a demonstration at the palace of Okugo, Chief of Oloko against colonial rule.⁸⁰⁸ A colonial officer, Henry Alex Miller, also noted that:

*"I have never saw women demonstrating in that manner. I have seen them play many times, but this was obviously entirely different, and there was no doubt whatever that they were out for trouble."*⁸⁰⁹

The above shows that the colonial officer expressed shock at the mammoth of women demonstrators that were present at the palace of the traditional ruler of the Oloko community. It shows that the women willingly organized themselves to challenge the authority. It also portrays that in some instances eastern Nigerian women became violent in their protest against the socio-political structure that gave room for male domination. This implies that the women were not only oppressed but were also taken for granted. Consequently, the women became assertive in the agitation to resolve the uneven social order that oppressed them perpetually. This action reflects those women were not passive but actively conscious of their socio-economic and political status under colonial rule.

⁸⁰¹ Nonye I. Nnamezie, 'A Historical Analysis of Childhood and the Role of Children in Igbo Culture, Nigeria,' (D. Phil, dissertation, Department of History & Strategic Studies, University of Lagos, 2020), 102 – 121.

⁸⁰² Chimah, *The Land has Changed*, 129.

⁸⁰³ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁸⁰⁴ Nnamezie, 'A Historical Analysis of Childhood and the Role of Children in Igbo Culture, Nigeria,' 121.

⁸⁰⁵ Chimah, *The Land has Changed*, 130.

⁸⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁸⁰⁷ Korich J. Chima, 'The Invisible Farmer? Women, Gender, and Colonial Agricultural Policy in the Igbo Region of Nigeria, c. 1913 – 1954,' *African Economic History*, 29 (2001): 14

⁸⁰⁸ NAE, J. Cook Aba Commission of Inquiry, 1930.

⁸⁰⁹ NAE, Henry Alexander, Aba Commission of Inquiry, 1930.

In South Africa, too, protest songs and dances, and mass mobilization of women became a characteristic feature of women's resistance. It was a means of challenging the apartheid government and highlighting their multiple grievances. For example, during the anti-pass women's march to the union building in Pretoria in 1956, Lilian Ngoyi, one of the women leaders asked the crowd to be silent for 30 minutes and began to sing anthems "Nkosi sikeleli Afrika," and "Morena Boloka" as they leave the scene, the song echoed all over the city.⁸¹⁰ The women also sang a freedom song known as "Wathint" a bafazi, way ithint imbolodo uzo kufa" meaning "now you have touched the women you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed."⁸¹¹ The analogy of this protest song was that the 'rock' was the women themselves, strong, tenacious, and resolute as they were not going to give up in the fight against the apartheid government that inflicted hardship on them. The 9 August 1956 protest march was considered a successful action as the protest songs indicated that the voices of oppressed women through FEDSAW and the leadership of another women's organisation were heard.⁸¹²

Similarly, on 7 December 1956, following the Government implementation of the voluntary Privilege Letters,⁸¹³ (PL) issued to women to control their movement in Durban City, the ANCWL and other women organisations called for a mass meeting.⁸¹⁴ Subsequently, as the meeting was still ongoing, Mrs. E. Mkuma, chairman of the Cato Manor Anti-Pass Campaign (CMAPC) of the ANCWL together with five other women, walked in protest into the Council Chambers (CC) shouting in an angry mood.⁸¹⁵ For example, at the entrance of the chamber the angry women told the pressmen that if they were not allowed in, they would destroy the meeting and call the hundreds of women squatting outside to march into the City Hall (CH) shouting "Afrika!"⁸¹⁶

Standing on the steps of City Hall, Miss Mkhize shouted: "*These people have sold us,*" and other women in mass demonstration made uncomplimentary remarks about leaders of the deputation.⁸¹⁷ Hence, the women marched to the office of the Manager in procession, singing

⁸¹⁰ Amakosikazi, "Women in Political Struggle," 55.

⁸¹¹ Amakosikazi, "Women in Political Struggle," 47. This was a song composed by South African women protesters in 1956 march at Pretoria to express their displeasures to the then prime minister Mr. Stridjom over the apartheid pass laws that infringed their rights.

⁸¹² APC, "The Role of Women in The Against Apartheid," 3.

⁸¹³ A letter to control the movement of African women in South Africa during apartheid era.

⁸¹⁴ KCALC, 'Durban Triumph,' *Drum*, 17 January 1956, 19.

⁸¹⁵ KCALC, 'Durban Triumph,' *Drum*, 17 January 1956, 19.

⁸¹⁶ The women at the City hall in a Demonstration chanted "Afrika" as a protest song.

⁸¹⁷ KCALC, 'Durban Triumph,' *Drum*, 17 January 1956, 19.

congress songs, dancing, and wearing congress colours.⁸¹⁸ In the process, they demanded to see the Manager but were told he was away on holiday; then they squatted on the lawn outside his office waiting for him to return.⁸¹⁹ Thus, the effectiveness of the demonstration was reflected later in the day, when the Chairman of the Native Administration Committee (NAC), Councillor Smith, announced the decision to abandon the “Privilege Letter” in solidarity with the Durban African women demonstrators. The women rejoiced in victory.⁸²⁰

Picture 4: Women’s anti-pass demonstration at the Durban City Hall 1956.



Source: KCALC, *Drum* 19 January 1956.

Solidarity songs was an integral part of women’s resistance in South Africa. They were sung at the meeting, protests marches, and women’s associations. For example, in one of Johannesburg’s conference halls, FEDSAW held conferences, and women arriving from different areas sang down the street. In the march to the hall, the music grew louder and louder until they entered the hall, where members rose to the thrilling songs before silence and harmony were achieved.⁸²¹ This was buttressed by Makabongwe Amakosikazi, who noted in her work that,⁸²²

“The beautiful voice of one of the women leaders, Ida Mntwana of the Transvaal ANC Women’s League, can never be forgotten. Her

⁸¹⁸ KCALC, ‘Durban Triumph,’ *Drum*, 17 January 1956, 19.

⁸¹⁹ KCALC, ‘Durban Triumph,’ *Drum*, 17 January 1956, 19.

⁸²⁰ KCALC, ‘Durban Triumph,’ *Drum*, 17 January 1956, 19.

⁸²¹ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁸²² Amakosikazi, “Women in Political Struggle,” 44.

powerful voice poured out freedom songs as police smashed up meetings, restoring calm and renewing the people's determination. Her voice, her strength and calm courage were a rallying point that brought strength to others and embodied hope, yearning, and determination."⁸²³

The above quotation depicts the personality of one of the South African women freedom fighters, Ida Mntwana, whose powerful voice served as an instrument of protest. This was when she led a protest march with solidarity songs that gave courage and inspiration to many women in the course of their struggle for liberation. It shows how protest songs gave power to the women activists and enhanced their socio-political consciousness. The quotation also shows how powerful a protest song can serve as an instrument of change in society. For example, the song restored calmness in the police as the atmosphere renewed the women's determination toward the struggle for freedom.

Similarly, the 1950s through 1980s featured the role played by the anti-apartheid freedom singers and writers.⁸²⁴ For example, Vuyisile Mini's "Ndodemnyama" (Beware, Verwoerd) as well as "Soweto Blues" by Miriam Makeba became a threat to the apartheid government as the songs increased the internal and international resistance against apartheid.⁸²⁵ The songs served as effective tools of protest because they helped in fuelling the movement and served as emotional healings for the oppressed South Africans. It sensitized the consciousness of the people about the socio-economic and political injustices of the apartheid government. From the foregoing, it can be deduced that Nigerian and South African women employed protest strategies of songs and dances due to the ability of women organizations to mobilize women from all works of life to their fight against colonialism and apartheid. The method was effective as it helped to influence social and political transformation in their respective society.

Petitions and Letter Writing and Dialogue

A petition can be described as a formal written request, typically accompanied by signatures by many aggrieved people appealing to the authority in respect of a particular course. African women also embraced petition, letter writings, and dialogue as a non-violent mode of protest

⁸²³ Amakosikazi, "Women in Political Struggle," 45.

⁸²⁴ Periphery Centre, "Songs of Struggle," 2015.

⁸²⁵ Periphery Centre, "Songs of Struggle," 2015.

against the colonial and apartheid authorities to express their grievances against issues such as gender violence, taxes, and high costs of food.⁸²⁶ In the context of this study, Nigerian, and South African women wrote petitions, and letters and engaged in dialogue to express the socio-economic grievances they encountered as a result of imposed colonial laws. Hence, women often relied on the services of a few lawyers and clerks as well as some literate men.⁸²⁷

For example, in Nigeria, men such as Herbert Macaulay;⁸²⁸ Oged Macaulay;⁸²⁹ Dr Solanke, Somoye, Oladipo, Egberongbe, and Alhaji Gbadamosi;⁸³⁰ amongst others helped the women in writing letters and petitions.⁸³¹ Similarly, in Lagos, Ereko market traders contributed 3 pence each week to a fund which was used to hire lawyers when needed and two literary clerks to write letters, petitions, and interpreters in interviews with colonial officials and other individuals.⁸³² Also, with the emergence of educated women and feminist advocates such as Charlotte Maxeke in South Africa and Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti in Nigeria, the adoption of petitions and letter writings became an important strategy for women's voices to be heard. In the same token, the LMWA through Herbert Macaulay on 16 December 1940, wrote a seven paged petition to the commissioner of the colony on taxation of women in Lagos. This petition was signed by Alimotu Pelewura of Ereko market, and Barikusu Iyalode of Faji Market and 190 others.⁸³³ Their thumb-printing appeared on most of their correspondences and proceedings of these women, especially in the early years of colonialism speaks volumes of the degree of illiteracy that existed amongst colonial Nigerian Women.⁸³⁴ The LMWA petition met with the disapproval of the colonial authority and was discarded on 16 December.⁸³⁵ See appendix 1 for the communication details from LMWA on anti-taxation petition signed to the commissioner of colony in 1941.

Nigerian women's protests in Abeokuta, alluded to above, led to Adire women traders submitting a petition to the ruler of Egbaland. The petition was read aloud and translated into

⁸²⁶ Bright C. Alozie, 'Female Voices on the Ink: The Sexual Politics of Petitions in Colonial Igboland, 1892 – 1960,' *Journal of Middle East and Africa* 10, 4 (2019): 351.

⁸²⁷ Alozie, 'Female Voices on the Ink,' 351.

⁸²⁸ NAI, File No. ComCol 2401/1Taxation of Lagos Women.

⁸²⁹ Johnson: 'Grass Roots Organizing,' 132.

⁸³⁰ NAI Comcol File No. 2401. Procession of Market Women, By Dr Solanke, December 1950; NAA ECR 1/1/46. Letter from Oladipo Somoye to the Alake, 28 February 1936

Crowder A. Michael, ed. 'Nigerian Tales of Colonial Era,' (Unpublished Manuscript, 1988), 19.

⁸³¹ NAI, File No. ComCol 1368.

⁸³² NAI, File No. ComCol 1368.

⁸³³ NAI, File No. Com Col 2401/4 Macaulay to T Lawrence.

⁸³⁴ NAI, File No. Com Col 2401/4 Macaulay to T Lawrence.

⁸³⁵ NAI, File No. Com Col 2401/32, 31 December 1940.

Yoruba.⁸³⁶ The petition called on the Alake and the Council to remove the ban on caustic soda and synthetic dyes as it inflicted hardship on women.⁸³⁷ AWU followed a similar path.⁸³⁸ For example, in 1946, when a Bata Shoe Company opened a shop in one of Oba Ademola Houses in Itoku Market, the Native Authority sent a plain clothed policeman to drive all the women who were selling their wares in the space between Oba Ademola's three-story building and the shop newly hired by the Bata Company.⁸³⁹ In the process, Constable Karunwi allegedly kicked and knocked down the tables on which they exhibited their goods.⁸⁴⁰ As a result, the women wrote a petition to the District Officer (DO), Egba Division (ED) dated August 20 1946 to complain bitterly about the incident, which yielded in the Itoku market women got another strategic place to cushion their yearnings.⁸⁴¹

In colonial South Africa, inferior education, and the emphasis on the use of Bantu languages made petitions written in English problematic.⁸⁴² However, against all odds, women exhaustively made use of petitions in their fight for equality, peace, and freedom. For example, in a bid to oppose passes in 1913 African women in the Orange Free State collected over 5000 signatures to file a petition written in English facilitated by Charlotte Maxeke to the colonial authority.⁸⁴³ A letter of notice was sent through the Non-European Affairs Department (NEAD) of the city council to all white housewives, beginning in the suburb of Mayfair, showing the need to support the non-European women in their fight against the pass laws.⁸⁴⁴ Petitions continued as a mode of protest following the 1956 anti-pass campaign. For example, FEDSAW in 1956 submitted signed petitions to the offices of the then Prime Minister Strijdom during their 1956 march to the Union buildings.⁸⁴⁵ In the late 1950s, women attended the anti-pass permit meeting at Sophia town in Johannesburg, where they requested an interview with the Mayor of Johannesburg.⁸⁴⁶ On 16 May 1957, more than 20,000 women gathered at the City Hall and successfully dialogued with the Mayor and

⁸³⁶ NAI, File No. CSO, 28400, Vol. 1 'Abeokuta Women Union,' *Nigerian Daily Times* 13 February 1936, 1.

⁸³⁷ NAI, File No. CSO, 28400, Vol. 1 'Abeokuta Women Union,' *Nigerian Daily Times* 13 February 1936, 1.

⁸³⁸ FRK Files: Petition sent by the Abeokuta Women Union, to District Officer, Egba Division dated, 20 August 1946.

⁸³⁹ FRK Files: Petition sent by the Abeokuta Women Union, 1946.

⁸⁴⁰ FRK Files: Petition sent by the Abeokuta Women Union, 1946.

⁸⁴¹ FRK File: Letter from District Officer Egba Division, to Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, 22 August 1946.

⁸⁴² Interview with Theresa Mthembu, 74, Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁸⁴³ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, 74, Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁸⁴⁴ APC, PC170/7/2/4/19 The Resistance to The Extension of Passes to African Women, 16.

⁸⁴⁵ APC PC170/7/2/4/22. Cheryl Walker, Conference paper, 16 – 18. See also, Julia Wells, *We Now Demand: The History of Women's Resistance to the Pass Laws in South Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1993), 141.

⁸⁴⁶ GLDC, "The Role of Women in The Against Apartheid," 1980, 4.

police action was suspended and exempted women from the certificates.⁸⁴⁷ Also, in 1986, when the Inkatha Women's Brigade (IWB) and the ANCWL were at loggerheads over ground rules for participation at the Women Seeking Peace Conference (WSPC), they resolved to dialogue.⁸⁴⁸

In 1957, African women also embraced petitions as a mode of protests. During the second National Women Conference (NWC) held in Pretoria, where about 500 delegates were present, the women endorsed an ambitious program for 1957 to collect half a million anti-pass pledges as well as 100,000 signatures for a petition against the Group Areas Act.⁸⁴⁹ However, both campaigns fell far short of the mark.⁸⁵⁰

Similarly, in 1980, a petition was submitted to protest against the brutality of the security forces who unjustly tear-gassed a group of 400 women while they were waiting for transport to convey them to the city where they planned to protest against the attack by the South African Police (SAP) in the township of Caluza.⁸⁵¹ Women moved on to Ubunye House in Pietermaritz Street where some made affidavits to lawyers and others signed a petition calling on the SAP to withdraw from Caluza.⁸⁵² In their petition women reflected their hardships and oppression:

*“We required the presence of the SADF (South African Defense Force) as we feel safer with them. If the police insist on staying, we insist that they should do their work properly in serving and protecting the community.”*⁸⁵³

The above petition statement emphasized the position of South African women in the Caluza Township where the SAP has terrorized their rights. Thus, they insisted on their demand of the apartheid police to either do their work by protecting the people or leave the community or rather be replaced by the SADF which they feel safer.⁸⁵⁴ From the foregoing, it is discernible to say that women of South Africa and Nigeria used petitions, letter writing, and dialogues to express their grievances to the authorities during the liberation movement. It indicates that the women were assertive in pursuing their goals of resisting the unjust laws of

⁸⁴⁷GLDC, “The Role of Women in The Against Apartheid,” 1980, 4.

⁸⁴⁸ APC, Women for Peaceful Change, Natal Witness, 26 September 1990.

⁸⁴⁹ APC, PC170/7/2/4/22, Cheryl Walker, Conference paper, 18 – 19.

⁸⁵⁰ APC, PC170/7/2/4/22, Cheryl Walker, Conference paper, 18 – 19.

⁸⁵¹ APC, File No. PC11/2/5/7/1 – 63. Women of Caluza Join in protest. December Crises 1980.

⁸⁵² APC, File No. PC11/2/5/7/1 – 63. Women of Caluza Join in protest. December Crises 1980.

⁸⁵³ APC, File No. PC11/2/5/7/1 – 63. Women of Caluza Join in protest. December Crises 1980.

⁸⁵⁴ APC, File No. PC11/2/5/7/1 – 63. Women of Caluza Join in protest. December Crises 1980.

the colonial government through petition and letter writing. This became an effective non-violent strategy employed by women during the liberation movement. For example, it could be understood that through petitions and letter writing the women earned the attention of the authority to gain political visibility, and paved the way for gender equity, and collective organization. It also allowed the transformation of women's social and political status quo in their respective societies.

Conclusion

It is evident from the foregoing that South African and Nigerian women adopted multiple modes of protest, in their struggle for liberation. In both countries, women showed tenacity, courage, and resilience. In South Africa, pass laws, the high food prices, and lack of housing and education forced women to adopt acts of defiance such as marches, strikes, and boycotts. Similarly, in Nigeria, high taxation forced women to engage in collective organization and strikes. This chapter thus reveals that the modes of protest in South Africa and Nigeria were shaped and defined by diverse socio-economic and political factors.

CHAPTER SIX

WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN THE PRISONS

“If I don't know book, I know rights... I have not been a member of any House of Assembly (legislature). I have not held any office except that I was a member of the House of Prison.”⁸⁵⁵

Introduction

This chapter highlights the experiences of South African and Nigerian women activists in prisons. It reveals how gender and race particularly played a pivotal role in how women were incarcerated and treated in prison. These insights are revealed in this chapter by women's testimonies of torture, sexual harassment, poor health care, and education in prison. However, the testimonies also allude to the narratives of how women resisted, defying authorities, and refusing to become victims of incarceration. In other words, the prison also became another site of struggle and resistance against oppression.⁸⁵⁶

Social-Economic and Political Circumstances that led to Women's Imprisonment

The impact of colonial taxation on Nigerian women in the early days of the women's liberation movement in the 1930s sprung a protest against the colonial government, which consequently led to their arrest and imprisonment.⁸⁵⁷ For example, Lagos women were imprisoned for non-payment of tax. This was expressed in the 14th paragraph of the first petition by the LMWA to the colonial government on the issue of women's taxation.⁸⁵⁸ Its reads as:

⁸⁵⁵Rimamnde S. Kwewum, *The Gambo Sawaba Story* (Abuja: Echo Communications Limited, 1990), 7.

⁸⁵⁶ Prinisha Badassy wrote about the sexual abuse of racialized men during colonial and apartheid regime by white women. For example, dozens of men were executed and imprisoned for sexually abuse of African women between 1902 and 1935. See, Prinisha Badassy, 'Crimes of Passion, Crimes of Reason: An Analysis of the Crimes against masters and mistresses by their Indian Domestic Servants, Natal, 1880 – 1920,' (MA Thesis, Department of Historical Studies, University of Natal, 2005), 114 – 115.

⁸⁵⁷ NAI, File no. COMCOL 2401, Hubert Macaulay to Governor of Lagos, Sir Bourdillon, Taxation of Women at Lagos, 16 December 1940. Sir Bernard Bourdillon was the Governor General of colonial Nigeria that introduced policies that aimed at cutting government spending.

⁸⁵⁸NAI, File no. COMCOL 2401, Taxation of Women at Lagos.

*“..... The outcome of the imposition of tax on women in the municipal area of Lagos is an innovation that will cause great hardship and undoubtedly lead to the imprisonment of many women and thereby dislocate the family group in Many local happy homes. When through the circumstances over which some will have no control, they fail to meet the demands of the tax officer.”*⁸⁵⁹

The above quotation indicates that the women did not only envisage that the taxation would cause socio-economic hardships and reactions but would lead to their imprisonment and have an impact on their families' wellbeing.

Similarly, in Lagos, women were incarcerated for protesting against bills, such as the high-water rates which caused them more socio-economic hardship, especially with those with jobless husbands.⁸⁶⁰ For example, it was reported in *The Times* of December 1940, that:

*“It might not generally realise by government that Lagos Women had been bearing the brunt of depression. They had not only feed and clothe their unemployed husbands and relatives but also to pay their income tax for them, lest they were sent to prison for defaulting.”*⁸⁶¹

The above shows that women experienced double-edged hardships as a result of the imposition of taxation. The post-war era of the 1940s, had an effect on the livelihood of women as their produce was heavily taxed and they also had to pay the income tax of their jobless husbands to avoid imprisonment. It is important to note that the incarceration of women in colonial Nigeria for political reasons was not only common in Lagos but also occurred in other regions of the country. The leadership of the women activists such as Funmilayo Ransome Kuti, and Margret Ekpo did a lot to have the women prisoners released. Also, in 1952 Elizabeth Adekogbe set up the Women Movement of Nigeria (WMN) political party which she used primarily for women's emancipation in western Nigeria.⁸⁶² For

⁸⁵⁹ NAI, File no. Comcol 2401, Taxation of Women at Lagos.

⁸⁶⁰ NAI, File no. Comcol 2401, Taxation of Women at Lagos

⁸⁶¹ NAI, 'Lagos Market Women Protest against Payment of Income Tax: Interview with Commissioner of The Colony,' *The Daily Times* 18 December 1940, 4.

⁸⁶² Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017. See also, S. Panata and H. Finch-Boyer, "Campaigning for Political Rights in Nigeria," *Clio. Women, Gende, History*, 43, Gender and the Citizen (2016): 1 – 185; 176.

example, in Abeokuta under the leadership of Funmilayo, the women showed their disaffection against taxation and many other colonial policies, adopting different anti-colonial tactics which made them indiscriminately liable for arrest.⁸⁶³ For example, when the Abeokuta women failed to pay their taxes, they were made to pay fines, and others who defaulted were imprisoned.⁸⁶⁴ The 1929 anti-colonial women riot in eastern Nigeria also led to women's imprisonment in Nigeria. Amongst them were Ikonnia Nwannediye, Nwugo, and Nnete Okorie-Egbe.⁸⁶⁵ Nnete Okorie-Egbe was imprisoned for two years at Port-Harcourt prison and died in 1968 during the Nigerian civil war.⁸⁶⁶ Similarly, a colonial official, Captain Hill stated that local Chief Wogu recommended that some women were freed, others detained and imprisoned.⁸⁶⁷

At other times, women were imprisoned due to political victimization.⁸⁶⁸ For example, after the 1929 riot in eastern Nigeria, the Aba Commission of Enquiry (ACE) reveals that a local chief manipulated the imprisonment of a woman by accusing her of stealing.⁸⁶⁹ This was because she had publicly complained and accused the native authority administration of judicial corruption.⁸⁷⁰

The above highlights the high-handedness of male-dominated colonial native administration, as women were imprisoned without proper judicial process.⁸⁷¹

Colonial governance and administrative policy had an impact on how women were imprisoned and treated. The indirect rule changed the socio-judicial order of colonial Nigeria. It elevated the social status of traditional rulers who became very powerful agents of the colonial authorities.⁸⁷² Indirect rule criminalized some of the activities in defiance against the native authority, such as public speaking and consorting with men in public places,

⁸⁶³ NAI, 'Lagos Market Women Protest against Payment of Income Tax,' 4.

⁸⁶⁴ NAI, 'Lagos Market Women Protest against Payment of Income Tax,' 4.

⁸⁶⁵ NAE, Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 123. Aba women Riot has overtime been renamed due to the fact that major events of the riot took place in Calabar and Owerri provinces, especially at Oloko and Umuahia. It has however attracted the name Aba Women Riot due to the fact that it first broke out in Aba, thus, to avoid scholarship controversy it has been temporarily called The Igbo Women's War.

⁸⁶⁶ NAE, Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 123.

⁸⁶⁷ NAE, Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 124.

⁸⁶⁸ NAE, Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 124.

⁸⁶⁹ NAE, Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 124.

⁸⁷⁰ NAE, Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 124.

⁸⁷¹ NAE, Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 125.

⁸⁷² Johnson, "On Behalf of Women and The Nation," 159.

particularly in northern Nigeria which attracted jail terms for women.⁸⁷³ For example, in the mid-1950s, the NPC was very powerful as it became the elite political party, supported by the Emirs (prominent title of traditional rulers in the north).⁸⁷⁴

In the north in the mid-1950s, NPC was dominant and oppressive to women.⁸⁷⁵ The NPC had the support of the Emirs in Northern Nigeria (ENN) and the British Colonial Authority (BCA). Other political groups such as the Borno Youth Movement (BYM), the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC), and the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) believed NPC was taking advantage and oppressing them.⁸⁷⁶ Despite these stumbling blocks Gambo Sawaba, a defiant and assertive woman went on to lay her mark in the fight for freedom and gender equality. The NEPU leader (Aminu Kano) was so impressed that he nicknamed her “Sawabiya” (meaning “the redeemer”) which was later shortened to the masculine Sawaba.⁸⁷⁷ The resistance against male domination and women’s oppression in the north led to the arrest and detention of Gambo Sawaba.⁸⁷⁸ Her example is indicative that some women were not afraid to challenge traditional gender norms.

In South Africa, women were arrested and imprisoned on a wide variety of political charges such as treason, terrorism, sabotage, and affiliation to banned political organizations.⁸⁷⁹ In addition, women activists were also prosecuted for helping people to escape from the country, recruiting guerrillas, breaches of banning orders, and failing to carry passes.⁸⁸⁰ Some women were also jailed as a result of their husbands’ political activism.⁸⁸¹ For example, Nonsikelelo Albertina Sisulu, wife of political activist Walter Sisulu, suffered tremendous harassment by the state police, when her husband was in hiding. She was arrested alongside her son, Max, who was 16 years and were held under “90 days” law in an

⁸⁷³ A. Helie, “Feminism in the Muslim World, Leadership Institutes, 1998 and 1999 Report, Presented in Istanbul, Turkey and Lagos, Nigeria, respectively. See also Kwewum, *The Gambo Sawaba Story* (Abuja: Echo Communications Limited, 1990), 19.

⁸⁷⁴ Byfield, *The Bluest Hands: A social and Economic History of Women Dyers in Abeokuta*, 159 – 160.

⁸⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁸⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 159.

⁸⁷⁷ Florence Bernault, “The Politics of Enclosure in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa,” in *A History of Prison and Confinement in Africa*, ed. F. Bernault and J. Roitman (Portsmouth: N. J. Heinemann, 2003), 1–53.

⁸⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁸⁷⁹ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, “For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears,” 50.

⁸⁸⁰ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, “For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears,” 50.

⁸⁸¹ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, “For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears,” 50.

attempt to make them disclose Walter Sisulu's whereabouts.⁸⁸² Winnie Mandela, known as the 'Mother of the Nation' faced continuous harassment from the police due to her role and that of her husband in the struggle against apartheid regime.⁸⁸³ By 1969, Winnie Mandela was arrested and kept in solitary confinement under the Terrorism Act.⁸⁸⁴ Similarly, Sam Moodley a participant to this study was arrested and imprisoned for her political activism and her husband's involvement in youth activism in the early 1970s. Her husband was one of the leading figures of SASO. The 1960s was characterized with widespread political trials as the police clamped down on all forms of political gatherings arresting women activists. For example, in 1963 two young African women, Cynthia Lichaba and Patricia Pathala were found guilty of belonging to the banned PAC and were both sentenced to 18 months imprisonment.⁸⁸⁵

Similarly, Dorothy Nyembe in 1969 was sentenced to a 15-year jail term under the Terrorism Act, and Suppression of Communism Act, after a political career that had already spanned 17 years of fearless activities with the ANC.⁸⁸⁶ Previously in 1956, she was one of the 18 women among 156 people arrested and charged in Treason Trial.⁸⁸⁷ In the 1960s, she was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment for furthering the aims of the ANC.⁸⁸⁸ Owing to this, she was believed to have served in Barberton Prison, Kroonstad Prison, and Pretoria Central Prison.⁸⁸⁹

Youth involvement in school politics was another circumstance that necessitated the arrest and imprisonment of women in apartheid South Africa. For example, Sam Moodley, an activist alluded to earlier in this thesis, joined the BCP in 1972 in order to strengthen students' activism for the oppressed Black community.⁸⁹⁰ While at BCP, Sam Moodley worked as a researcher for a book called *Black Review*, a book about Black people for Black people.⁸⁹¹ On 23 March 1973, Sam recalls, the first nine leaders of SASO were banned and

⁸⁸² KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 63. See also, GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT) in International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, *To Honour Women's Day: Profiles of Leading Women in the South African and Namibian Struggles* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1981), 38 – 39.

⁸⁸³ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 15.

⁸⁸⁴ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 15.

⁸⁸⁵ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 50.

⁸⁸⁶ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 34 – 35.

⁸⁸⁷ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 34 – 35.

⁸⁸⁸ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 34 – 35.

⁸⁸⁹ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 34 – 35.

⁸⁹⁰ Interview with Sam Moodley, New Land East, 1 July 2019.

⁸⁹¹ Black review was a subset of Black Community Programmes (BCP) which was designed to account of events in black communities. BCP reflected issues affecting black people from community organizations, sports, education, culture, and women organizations.

placed under house arrest for organizing events to commemorate the event of Sharpeville massacre in 1960.⁸⁹² SASO was the only group to have celebrated the Sharpeville massacre day which was a violation of the state order.⁸⁹³ Based on this, Sam was arrested when she was invited to speak at the University of Natal Sharpeville Day, organized by the Black section of the University under the umbrella of SASO.⁸⁹⁴ She explained further that:

While I was in a hitchhiked car, I was followed by the police corps from Inanda to UNB at Wentworth. I was in a four-month pregnancy. When I stood to talk, I saw the police seated at the front, while welcoming the audience, then gave a special welcome address to the corps and the next thing was a group of students trooped into the hall, but the police intervened by taking them to their residents, but it was a chaotic event. Then the entire hall was surrounded by the corps. I was quickly covered up with a blanket by a lady (Bhuyi Mashalaba) colleague for me to escape out of the venue, but on getting home I found out that the police were already in my house. Then, I was advised to take my cloths that I would not be coming back home that was how I was arrested.⁸⁹⁵

Thus, Moodley's arrest was a result of her involvement in youth political activities at the segregated University of Natal, the Black section of the campus. Moodley's narrative alludes to how youth activists often became targets of the security forces. Any form of anti-apartheid protest or discourse was met with clampdown. Freedom and expression were denied, and this fired young activists.⁸⁹⁶ Under these circumstances, youth organizations mobilized students and strengthened their movement against inequality and injustice. In the process, it raised the political consciousness of the youth.

Similarly, Deborah Mabale, a member of SASO, was arrested under the Terrorism Act and Internal Security Act for participating in student uprisings in 1977.⁸⁹⁷ She was detained in February 1977 and held for eighteen months in various police stations in Natal and Transvaal.

⁸⁹² Interview with Sam Moodley, New Land East, 1 July 2019.

⁸⁹³ Interview with Sam Moodley, New Land East, 1 July 2019.

⁸⁹⁴ Interview with Sam Moodley, New Land East, 1 July 2019.

⁸⁹⁵ Interview with Sam Moodley, New Land East, 1 July 2019.

⁸⁹⁶ Interview with Sam Moodley, New Land East, 1 July 2019.

⁸⁹⁷ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 14.

She was tortured, suffered sleep deprivation, and had no access to family, political associates, and even lawyers.⁸⁹⁸ After her release in 1978, she was not allowed to reunite with her family, under section 10 of the Internal Security Act (ISA).⁸⁹⁹ Similarly, Fatima Meer was blacklisted by the apartheid government because of her activities in the defiance campaign in Natal in 1952 and was issued a two-year banning order.⁹⁰⁰ Thus, in 1976, she was detained under the ISA.⁹⁰¹ Again, in 1981, she was served with another five-year banning order, but allowed to retain her academic position at the University of Natal but forbidden to publish her research or be quoted in print media.⁹⁰²

Prison Experiences of Women

There are several commonalities and differences in the prison experiences of Nigerian and South African women political activists. Understanding them within a comparative framework allows for nuanced experiences to be illuminated.

In Nigeria, several sites became places for imprisoned women. Women activists were either detained in the palace of the local chiefs, native police stations, or prisons.⁹⁰³ These incarceration sites were located in the major cities and towns based on ethnic and geographical location.⁹⁰⁴ For example, Yoruba women were incarcerated in prisons located in the western region, Hausa women in the northern region, and Igbo women imprisoned in the eastern region prisons.⁹⁰⁵ The separation of imprisoned women based on ethnicity was made easy due to the colonial policy of the divide and rule system. It also gave the traditional rulers control and power over women imprisoned in their jurisdictions.⁹⁰⁶ Amongst the most common sites of incarceration were Ilaro, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Ikoyi, and Lagos prisons, in the western region of the country. While Port Harcourt and Enugu prisons were situated in the eastern region with Kano and Zaria prisons in the northern region, among others⁹⁰⁷

South African women political prisoners were also imprisoned in different locations across the country. Notable among the prisons includes Kroonstad, Pollsmoor, Barberton, Pretoria

⁸⁹⁸GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 14.

⁸⁹⁹ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 14.

⁹⁰⁰GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 20.

⁹⁰¹GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 20.

⁹⁰² GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 20.

⁹⁰³Johnson, "On Behalf of Women and The Nation,"159.

⁹⁰⁴Johnson, "On Behalf of Women and The Nation,"159.

⁹⁰⁵ Johnson, "On Behalf of Women and The Nation,"159.

⁹⁰⁶ Helen N. Fontebo, 'Prison Conditions in Cameroon: The Narratives of Female Inmates,' (D. Phil, dissertation, Submitted to the Department of Sociology, University of South Africa, 2013), 53 – 54.

⁹⁰⁷ Johnson, "On Behalf of Women and The Nation,"159.

Central Prison (PCP), and Pietermaritzburg to mention but a few.⁹⁰⁸ Whilst some of the prisons were multi-racial, women were racially segregated.⁹⁰⁹ For example, Kroonstad Prison located in the Orange Free State housed both male and female inmates. It was racially segregated.⁹¹⁰ Similarly, Pollsmoor (located in Tokai in Cape Town), Pretoria Central, and Barberton (in Mpumalanga), were also multi-racial incarceration facilities, which housed men and women inmates, but inmates were separated along racial lines. Each of these prisons had a separate male and female section.⁹¹¹ For example, women activists such as Amina Desai and Dorothy Nyembe were both imprisoned in Kroonstad Prison but kept separately because they belonged to different groups.⁹¹²

Be it in Nigeria or South Africa, the women political prisoners were reported to have experienced different or similar appalling prison treatment than their male counterparts due to their gender and race.⁹¹³

Treatment of Women Prisoners

According to Hiralal, social gender norms and attitudes toward women prisoners made them more invisible than men's political prisoners.⁹¹⁴ This is because society accorded adequate focus and wider global publicity to male political activities and their prison experiences than their female counterparts.⁹¹⁵ These social gender norms and attitudes further explained why women were hard hit in the prison experiences in both South Africa and Nigeria.⁹¹⁶

The treatment of women in prisons in colonial Nigeria was appalling. The women prisoners experienced hard labour and the work assigned to them was gendered and onerous.⁹¹⁷ They were forced to engage in activities such as laundering, mat-making, cell cleaning, basket-weaving, and cooking.⁹¹⁸ For example, the women who were imprisoned for evading taxes or involved in an anti-tax protest in the western provinces of Ibadan, Iseyin, and Abeokuta

⁹⁰⁸ Hiralal, 'Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,' 34 – 44.

⁹⁰⁹ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, 74 Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁹¹⁰ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, 74 Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁹¹¹ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, 74 Durban, 14 June 2017.

⁹¹² Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 102.

⁹¹³ Hiralal, 'Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,' 7.

⁹¹⁴ Hiralal, 'Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,' 34 – 44.

⁹¹⁵ Hiralal, 'Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,' 34 – 44.

⁹¹⁶ Hiralal 'Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,' 34 – 44.

⁹¹⁷ Nagel, 'Women Prisoners and Political Prisoners in Africa,' 436 – 439.

⁹¹⁸ B. Archibong and N. Obikili, *Convict Labor and the Costs of Colonial Infrastructure: Evidence from Prisons in British Nigeria, 1920 – 1938* (Stellenbosch: LEAP, Department of Economics, 2019), 17.

between 1916 and the 1920s were forced to work extra hours.⁹¹⁹ South African women prisoners also suffered harsh labour and racialized treatment.⁹²⁰ For example, in Kroonstad prison, African women worked as toilets and courtyards cleaners for long hours per day.⁹²¹ They worked from 8:00 am to 12:00 pm with a short 40-minute lunch break.⁹²² Though their normal day ended at 3pm, they were allowed to partake in recreational activities. But these activities were racialized by the prison authorities.⁹²³ For example, the white women prisoners were permitted to play netballs, tennis, squash, and badminton while Black women were denied these privileges. They were only allowed to walk in the prison yard for only 30 minutes.⁹²⁴ The police cells were generally appalling because they were usually cramped, unhygienic, and poorly ventilated.⁹²⁵ A woman activist, Noma-India Mfeketo of ANCWL who spent five months in detention with her baby noted that:

“Police station was much worse than the prison. It was so untidy. When it was windy, you would be choked by the dust which was sitting on the windows, and dirt under the beds, and all that. So, it is not a healthy place to be with a baby”⁹²⁶

The above shows that the police cell was an unhealthy place for a nursing woman. It indicates that women detainees had no access to their families. Many arrested were detained indefinitely with their families unaware of their whereabouts. On such occasions, their concerns were taken up by the Detainees Support Committee (DSC) who sought to track the status of prisoners and those who had “disappeared.”⁹²⁷ The prison was also a site for solidarity.⁹²⁸ It provided women with an opportunity to meet inmates from diverse

⁹¹⁹ Abiodun Afolabi, ‘The Colonial Taxation Policy among Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria and its Implications for Socio-Economic Development,’ *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, 19 (2010): 89.

⁹²⁰ Mbatha, ‘Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,’ 103.

⁹²¹ Mbatha, ‘Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,’ 103.

⁹²² Mbatha, ‘Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,’ 103.

⁹²³ Mbatha, ‘Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,’ 102.

⁹²⁴ Mbatha, ‘Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,’ 102.

⁹²⁵ Hiralal, ‘Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,’ 34 – 44.

⁹²⁶ South African History Archive (SAHA), A FEDSAW report ‘Women in Prison, Detention under Section 29,’ 2. Available at https://www.saha.org.za/women/a_fedsaw_report_women_in_prison.htm. Accessed 16 December 2019.

⁹²⁷ GLDC Online Archive. Oral History Project “Voices of Resistance” Interviewee: Ela Gandhi (MP) Interviewer: Vino Reddy, Date: Saturday, 18 May 2002, Place: 22 Inverness Ridge Road Durban. Available from <http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/gandhi-luthuli-documentation-centre/oral-history-project-interview-ela-gandhi> 6. Accessed 16 August 2020. See also, Hiralal, “Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,” 34 – 44.

⁹²⁸ GLDC Oral History “Voices of Resistance” Interviewee Srimi Moodley, Interviewer: D. Shongwe, Date: 24 July 2002, Place: Documentation Centre. Available from <https://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/Audio/VOR/Transcript.htm>. Accessed 23 August 2019.

backgrounds of race, colour, ethnicity, class, and religion, united by a common goal of freedom. For example, Amina Cachalia, TIC and FEDSAW activist who was imprisoned in 1952 during the Defiance Campaign describes how women bonded through adversity.⁹²⁹

“Here [prison] I spent, for the first time in my life, time with women, other activists in prison – slept with them, ate with them, cleaned the toilet with them, cleaned the courtyard with them.... Here I spent time with all types of women, one coloured woman, ordinary African women and Indian women...we sang the same songs. We absolutely identified with the new South Africa that was going to come many decades later.”⁹³⁰

Amina’s quote reveals that imprisonment provided her the opportunity to interact with women from diverse groups, Africa, coloured, and white. In prison, women did not see themselves as a separate racial entity, but as South Africans, sharing similar aspirations. Freedom songs were sometimes sung in prison, a sign of solidarity and they used prison sites as an avenue to build political networks and connections toward inter-racial unity in their fight against apartheid.

Sexual Harassment, Assault, and Abuse

Women political prisoners were also subjected to sexual harassment and physical assault such as rape, physical beatings, and grievous bodily abuse.⁹³¹ A female officer died in Enugu prison in 1951, and prison officers began torturing and abusing women prisoners because they alleged a male officer committed it.⁹³² For example, male prison officers punched the women prisoners in the face, and womb, and inserted the neck of a bottle into their private parts in an attempt to rape them.⁹³³ This reveals that the women political prisoners suffered gender violence and abuse in the prison.⁹³⁴ Subsequently, this gender violence incident against women reached NWU who then intervened and took the matter to the Enugu Lower Court. During the hearing process, the police and prison security officers denied these

⁹²⁹ Hiralal, ‘Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,’ 34 – 44.

⁹³⁰ Nelson Mandela Foundation Malibongwe – “Praise Be to Woman - Remembering the Role of Woman in South African History Through Dialogue,” *Dialogue for Justice Booklet*, May 2007.

⁹³¹ Mbatha, ‘Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,’ 96.

⁹³² NAI, Petition to the Lieutenant Governor on the case of Mrs. Agnes Onyia by The Member of Women Unions, 1951.

⁹³³ Fontebo, ‘Prison Conditions in Cameroon: The Narratives of Female Inmates,’ 192.

⁹³⁴ Fontebo, ‘Prison Conditions in Cameroon: The Narratives of Female Inmates,’ 192.

actions.⁹³⁵ Unrelenting, the NWU petitioned the Governor seeking justice for the women prisoners and the deceased female wardress.⁹³⁶ In their petition, the NWU noted how the women prisoners had been physically and sexually assaulted.⁹³⁷ The actions of the NWU reveals that women were assertive, unbending in their efforts to highlight the scourge of gender violence in prisons.⁹³⁸ Eventually, the NWU ensured that justice was served as the alleged security officers were sentenced to jail.⁹³⁹

In northern Nigeria, women political prisoners were victims of sexual harassment and suffered emotional and physical pains.⁹⁴⁰ For example, while Gambo Sawaba was in Kano prison, one of the prison wardress was a lesbian who was “reputed to be forcing helpless female prisoners to bed.”⁹⁴¹ One day, as the wardress approached Gambo's cell to force her to bed, Gambo quickly ran out of the cell naked screaming “She wants to rape me!”⁹⁴² Ten years later, in another prison in Zaria in Kaduna, a similar situation emerged, but the warden was arrested and dismissed.⁹⁴³ She was also tortured by men on her way to a political meeting in 1957.⁹⁴⁴ She stated that she “was beaten up by six men and left to die in a bush and my front teeth are artificial, the originals were broken out.”⁹⁴⁵ She stated that no one was ever charged for the assault.⁹⁴⁶

Similarly, in western Nigeria, in 1949, there were similar tales of physical torture of prisoners. For example, 14 women, members of Ikomi Women Majeobaje Society (IWMS) of Abeokuta were detained at Ilaro police station for defaulting taxation.⁹⁴⁷ When the women were taken to the court for the hearing, a police constable assaulted them for making noise and drove them out of the court.⁹⁴⁸ The following day, the women were rearrested and

⁹³⁵NAI, Petition to the Lieutenant Governor on the case of Mrs. Agnes Onyia, 1951.

⁹³⁶ NAI, Petition to the Lieutenant Governor on the case of Mrs. Agnes Onyia, 1951.

⁹³⁷ NAI, Petition to the Lieutenant Governor on the case of Mrs. Agnes Onyia, 1951.

⁹³⁸ NAI, Petition to the Lieutenant Governor on the case of Mrs. Agnes Onyia, 1951.

⁹³⁹ NAI, Petition to the Lieutenant Governor on the case of Mrs. Agnes Onyia, 1951.

⁹⁴⁰John P. Barnard, ‘The Story of Gambo Sawaba, by Rima Shawulu: A Peer Review Ufahamu,’ *A Journal of African Studies* 20, 1(1992): 49.

⁹⁴¹ Barnard, ‘The Story of Gambo Sawaba,’ 49.

⁹⁴² Barnard, ‘The Story of Gambo Sawaba,’ 49.

⁹⁴³ Barnard, ‘The Story of Gambo Sawaba,’ 98.

⁹⁴⁴ Aljazeera, ‘Hajia Gambo Sawaba: The Most Jailed Nigerian Female Politician.’ Available from <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2021/2/15/hajiya-gambo-sawaba-the-most-jailed-nigerian-female-politician>, Accessed 3 March 2021.

⁹⁴⁵ Aljazeera, ‘Hajia Gambo Sawaba: The Most Jailed Nigerian Female Politician.’ Accessed 3 March 2021.

⁹⁴⁶ Aljazeera, ‘Hajia Gambo Sawaba: The Most Jailed Nigerian Female Politician.’ Accessed 3 March 2021.

⁹⁴⁷NAI, A petition written on 18 January 1949 by the Ikomi Women Majeobaje Society IWMS to Mrs Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti (AWU leader) on the imprisonment of Janet Oyindamola.

⁹⁴⁸ NAI, A Petition written on 18 January 1949 by the IWMS.

detained at Ilaro police station.⁹⁴⁹ The women were assaulted again as the police constables began to mock them by saying “do you find anyone here to bail you out now?”⁹⁵⁰ Subsequently, the case was tried and the women were fined £15 or 2 months imprisonment, but those of them who could not pay the fine were imprisoned at the Ilaro prison.⁹⁵¹ On arrival at Ilaro prison, the reluctant women were ordered to put their fingerprints in a book without knowing the contents of the book.⁹⁵² They were physically abused by the Nigeria Police (NP) and Native Administration Police (NAP) when they refused to take fingerprints.⁹⁵³ During the assaults, one of the women broke her arm and two lost their pregnancies.⁹⁵⁴ This situation made the IWMS call for the intervention of the Nigerian Women Leader (NWL) that questioned the Ilaro police officers on the alleged treatment of women. Subsequently, the intervention of the NWL yielded a result as it influenced the release of the women.⁹⁵⁵

Similarly, members of the Women’s Improvement Society (WIS) were also victims of sexual violence and abuse while in Ibadan prison. For example, Felicia Ogunseye, former secretary of WIS alludes to the predominance of sexual violence in prison:

*In 1954 when I was the secretary of Women’s Improvement Society, (WIS) the colonial police arrested some members of the WIS I visited the women in captivity and heard them talking about sexual harassment against women because some women were raped and impregnated, and some gave birth in the prison.*⁹⁵⁶

The above is indicative that women prisoners were victims of sexual violence like rape, harassment, and abuse. The perpetrators were prison officials such as the police, or prison warders. This situation worsened the condition of women prisoners as they were in perpetual fear of being sexually violated, and unwanted pregnancies. Very often the perpetrators did not take responsibility for their actions as the accused police denied the allegation of sexual

⁹⁴⁹ NAI, A Petition written on 18 January 1949 by the IWMS.

⁹⁵⁰ NAI, A Petition written on 18 January 1949 by the IWMS.

⁹⁵¹ NAI, A Petition written on 18 January 1949 by the IWMS.

⁹⁵² NAI, A Petition written on 18 January 1949 by the IWMS.

⁹⁵³ NAI, A Petition written on 18 January 1949 by the IWMS.

⁹⁵⁴ NAI, A Petition written on 18 January 1949 by the IWMS.

⁹⁵⁵ NAI, A Petition written on 18 January 1949 by the IWMS.

⁹⁵⁶ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

violence. Ogunseye's testimony reveals how the WIS served as an organization and platform agitating for justice and freedom for women prisoners.

In South Africa, there were similar narratives of sexual harassment. For example, Elaine Mohammed a university student at twenty-one and a member of the Black Students' Society (BSS) was arrested and detained for organizing a meeting to commemorate the founding of the SACP.⁹⁵⁷ She reveals how she was sexually vulnerable to harassment in 1982 by the apartheid police.

A policeman came into my cell and said, "You're not allowed tampons in here. You have to wear pads." And he shook the pad and hit it against the wall saying, "Put it on." I found this incredibly threatening. The first week I was not allowed to wash or have any change of clothing. After that when they brought in my fresh underwear, they flung it around and said how very small my panties were. I felt far more vulnerable with these kinds of experiences than when I was actually threatened.⁹⁵⁸ They made me stand astride and do star jumps to check that I was not hiding anything in my vagina. I remember policewomen making me strip in front of men and people laughing at me...When they didn't strip me, they'd feel through my clothes, slipping a hand into my pants and bra. The policewomen would also flick my breasts with their nails on my nipples, saying, "It's a shame nobody wants you. You have obviously never had a boyfriend. No one touched these breasts, else why are they so firm?" I found this incredibly humiliating.⁹⁵⁹

The narratives indicate that the level of torture and treatment of women prisoners during the apartheid was appalling. Elaine's experience shows that prison was used as more of a punitive centre than a correctional institution for inmates. Elaine faced a series of humiliations by the apartheid police, from physical assault, and to sexual abuse. It reveals that the sexuality, dignity, and rights of women were trampled upon. It also indicates that the South African society under apartheid institutionalized oppression laced with injustice and inequality that put women in the scene of political victimization and gender oppression.

⁹⁵⁷ Beth Goldblatt and Sheila Meintjes, 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,' A research paper submitted to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, May 1996, 1 – 9.

⁹⁵⁸ Goldblatt, 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,' 7.

⁹⁵⁹ Goldblatt, 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,' 7.

Similarly, Lydia Kompe states how the apartheid police brazenly terrorised and tortured political prisoners during the 1980s.⁹⁶⁰ She noted that the police taunted and used her sexuality against her during the process of interrogation.⁹⁶¹ For example, she was subjected to electric shocks which inflicted severe pain on her body.⁹⁶² The electric shock made her to lose consciousness as it weakened her nerves.⁹⁶³ She also narrated that women prisoners were raped by the security forces during interrogation and could not speak about it.⁹⁶⁴

Similarly, Sam Moodley, noted that in 1973 she felt emotionally and sexually humiliated while she was in a cell in Fisher's Street, Durban. She was stripped and searched indecently by the prison officials.⁹⁶⁵ She also suffered verbal abuse as the police called her series of ugly names like "black whore."⁹⁶⁶ She narrates her experience while in detention:

I was kept in a room for a body search and afterward a woman police led me into the toilet to do a strip search. Even though they knew I was pregnant, yet they refused to give me water to quench my thirst, hence, a table was pushed against me towards the wall (third degree). After humiliation and torture, then at about 2am in the morning I was taken to the cell at Somsteu road police station where I was till 5pm in the evening when I was transferred in the back of a corps van to the Wentworth cell where I was kept with other women of different races who had been brutally tortured, they thought I was a prostitute then I began to talk to them and raise their consciousness.⁹⁶⁷

It shows that women prisoners were violently tortured in the prison.⁹⁶⁸ This type of torture was inhumane and degrading to women's dignity as Sam was tortured regardless of her condition. It highlights the brutality of the security forces who did not care if a woman was pregnant or not. Thus, sexual abuse and violence against women experienced by Sam shows how cruel and brutal the prison authorities were on women prisoners. The treatment of South

⁹⁶⁰ Goldblatt, 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,' 6 – 8.

⁹⁶¹ Goldblatt, 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,' 6 – 8.

⁹⁶² Goldblatt, 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,' 6 – 8.

⁹⁶³ Goldblatt, 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,' 6 – 8.

⁹⁶⁴ Goldblatt, 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,' 6 – 8.

⁹⁶⁵ Interview with Sam Moodley, New Land East, 1 July 2019.

⁹⁶⁶ Interview with Sam Moodley, New Land East 1 July 2019.

⁹⁶⁷ Interview with Sam Moodley, New Land East, 1 July 2019.

⁹⁶⁸ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era', 97.

African women political prisoners highlighted in the stories of Sam and Lydia as earlier discussed above indicate that the apartheid society was ruthless in their treatment of women political activists. Clearly women were vulnerable because of their gender.

Impact on Health

During the 1913 Satyagraha Campaign many women were arrested and sentenced to 3 months of imprisonment in the Durban Prison.⁹⁶⁹ Women prisoners suffered poor health primarily due to the poor quality of food, and the unhygienic living conditions.⁹⁷⁰ For example, the women were sick with diarrhea and vomiting.⁹⁷¹ Two women died whilst serving prison sentences.⁹⁷²

Women activists of the 1940s and 1950s onwards shared similar treatment. Many detainees suffered from stress and anxiety, dizziness, headaches, nightmares, and sleeplessness were common health ailments.⁹⁷³ Prison doctors were often unsympathetic and mistrusted by women detainees.⁹⁷⁴ It is not a coincidence that many of these women political prisoners became sick and some even died on release from prison. For example, Mrs. Amina Desai, who was arrested and jailed in 1973, was imprisoned at Kroonstad Women's Prison.⁹⁷⁵ After being released in 1977, her health deteriorated due to unhygienic conditions in prison.⁹⁷⁶ There were also issues of racial inequality in the prison as women were treated differently based on race.⁹⁷⁷ Even though the likes of Mrs. Amina Desai an Indian and Dorothy Nyembe an African were together in Kroonstad prison yet had their food were served differently.⁹⁷⁸ For examples, Mbatha states that Desai would receive meat three times a week, fish, and soya beans (healthy) twice a week because of her Indian race while Nyembe would receive a different diet because of her African race.⁹⁷⁹ Mbatha failed to mention the types of food but it was categorized as an unhealthy diet which had an impact on her health.⁹⁸⁰

⁹⁶⁹ GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1.

⁹⁷⁰ Hiralal, 'Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,' 34 – 44.

⁹⁷¹ GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1.

⁹⁷² GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1.

⁹⁷³ Hiralal, 'Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,' 34 – 44.

⁹⁷⁴ Hiralal, 'Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,' 34 – 44.

⁹⁷⁵ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 102.

⁹⁷⁶ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 65.

⁹⁷⁷ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 102.

⁹⁷⁸ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 102.

⁹⁷⁹ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 102.

⁹⁸⁰ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 102.

Imprisonment also had a health impact on the life of Florence Matomela who was arrested and sentenced to five years imprisonment for associating with the ANC in 1964.⁹⁸¹ While imprisoned in the East London prison in 1966, Florence's health deteriorated due to diabetes because she had no access to required medical attention.⁹⁸² After her release in June 1969, she died immediately as a result of accumulated health problems.⁹⁸³ Similarly, the unhealthy living condition of Nigerian women in the prisons was often characterized by the unhygienic food they were served.⁹⁸⁴ For instance, a participant in this study, Elizabeth explained that:

*The prison condition was poor and inhabitable, especially for women whose bodies were susceptible to diseases and ailments, the welfare of women prisoners was not taken care of as they were served unhygienic food and were also molested and harassed by some prison officials.*⁹⁸⁵

This explains the state of the prison in which Nigerian women were incarcerated. It shows that the women developed ailments as a result of the unhygienic food and unkept prison conditions. It indicates that the prison conditions made women prisoners be vulnerable to diseases and suffered stress, nightmare, and sleeplessness as a result of the overpopulation and unhealthy nature of the prison.

It is deducible from the above section that both Nigerian and South African women experienced ill-health treatment which caused them sicknesses, diseases, and death. Despite the limited information on Nigerian women prison experiences, it does provide some comparative insights to their hardships.

Access to Education

Access to education was another challenge to women political prisoners. This challenge was considered one of the psycho-social discomfort caused by racial injustices experienced by South African women prisoners.⁹⁸⁶ This is because the white women political prisoners were often granted some special privileges to access educational materials such as books, pens,

⁹⁸¹ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 18.

⁹⁸² GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 18.

⁹⁸³ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

⁹⁸⁴ Fatima Meer, *Prison diary. One hundred and thirteen days, 1976* (Cape Town: Kelwa Books, 2001), 13 – 18.

⁹⁸⁵ Interview with Elizabeth Ihediawa, Enugu, 17 December 2017.

⁹⁸⁶ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 104.

and newspapers.⁹⁸⁷ However, for African women, access to educational privileges was mostly denied under Section 29.⁹⁸⁸ For example, Frances Baard stated that African women political prisoners were denied access to education as the only book they had access to, was the Bible.⁹⁸⁹ Hence, it became difficult for them to either give lessons to the illiterate inmates or write letters to their families.⁹⁹⁰

Another female prisoner, Sibongile Mkhabela revealed that her application to study in the prison was denied.⁹⁹¹ The only means she used to send messages home was through the use of toilet papers as writing material that was stitched with a needle to visitor's cloth, so it could get home.⁹⁹² After Sibongile was caught with toilet papers by prison security, she was served with a banning order.⁹⁹³ A banning order restricted her access to places of education after she was released from prison.⁹⁹⁴ Thus, she matriculated in 1983 after completing a distance learning correspondence program.⁹⁹⁵ Despite activist Thandi Modise's ugly experience while in Kroonstad prison, she was able to make use of the confinement to educate herself and came out with a matric as well as a BCom degree in industrial psychology and economics which later paved the way for her in the political space after her release in 1988.⁹⁹⁶ Unlike other prisoners who were denied education, Modise was perhaps given chance to study while in prison because she was detained for her link with MK activities not for students' protests against apartheid in the 1970s.⁹⁹⁷

Nigerian women prisoners also suffered lack of access to education.⁹⁹⁸ For example, the majority of female prisoners had no primary school education and very few could hardly speak or write in English. Those that were literate had no chance to teach the illiterate inmates because there were no writing materials.⁹⁹⁹ Hence, it became difficult for the women

⁹⁸⁷ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 104.

⁹⁸⁸ Hiralal, 'Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-apartheid Struggle,' 6.

⁹⁸⁹ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 104.

⁹⁹⁰ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 104.

⁹⁹¹ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 104.

⁹⁹² Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 104.

⁹⁹³ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 104.

⁹⁹⁴ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 104.

⁹⁹⁵ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 104.

⁹⁹⁶ People's Assembly, 'About Thandi Ruth Modise,' Available from <https://www.pa.org.za/person/thandi-modise/> Accessed 18 February 2019. See also Hiralal, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 103.

⁹⁹⁷ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 109.

⁹⁹⁸ Va. de Klerk and G. Barkhuizen, 'Language Usage and Attitudes in a South African Prison. Who calls the shots?' *International Journal of Social Language* 152 (2001): 97–115.

⁹⁹⁹ Nagel, 'Women Prisoners and Political Prisoners in Africa,' 438.

prisoners to write and send letters home.¹⁰⁰⁰ For example, in Kano prison, the likes of Gambo Sawaba and other women, had no access to any form of educational training.¹⁰⁰¹ They were only allowed to read spiritual literature like the Bible and the Quran.¹⁰⁰² This implies that the spiritual well-being of the inmates served as an important panacea to effective rehabilitation.¹⁰⁰³ However, the lack of prison education would have socio-economic and political implications on women as it would limit their chances to be effectively reintegrate into the society after release.¹⁰⁰⁴

Solitary Confinement and House Arrest

Solitary confinement and house arrest were common forms of incarceration used by the police to inhibit women's political activism. Solitary confinement was to keep women prisoners in isolation in order to prevent group interaction or meetings for political strategies.¹⁰⁰⁵ This caused trauma and mental disturbance as prisoners were locked up individually in separate cells for months.¹⁰⁰⁶ For many women, solitary confinement was the worst form of incarceration. For example, Shanti Naidoo was held in solitary confinement because she refused to appear as a state witness.¹⁰⁰⁷ When she was called to give evidence in support of the state, she responded that she could not live with her conscience if she did.¹⁰⁰⁸

The judge told her she will be imprisoned for two months after which she will be called again to talk but if she refuses, she will go back to jail.¹⁰⁰⁹ She replied that "*I am prepared to accept it.*"¹⁰¹⁰ After that, she described how she had been held in solitary confinement for six months, sleeping on the floor and often going without exercise for days or weeks at a time.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Nagel, 'Women Prisoners and Political Prisoners in Africa,' 438.

¹⁰⁰¹ Uju Agomoh, 'Assessment and Treatment of Female Prisoners in Africa,' *Journal of United Nations Asia and Far East Institute, Resource Materials Series No. 94* (2014): 131 – 146; 133.

¹⁰⁰² Nagel, 'Women Prisoners and Political Prisoners in Africa,' 438.

¹⁰⁰³ Fontebo, 'Prison Conditions in Cameroon: The Narratives of Female Inmates,' 54.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Agomoh, 'Assessment and Treatment of Female Prisoners in Africa,' 133.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 96.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 107.

¹⁰⁰⁷ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 51. For details on the experiences of Shanti Naidoo in solitary confinement, recent work by Shanthini Naidoo, *Women in Solitary: Inside South Africa's Female Resistance to Apartheid* (London: Routledge, 2021), offers a new account of narratives of women in detention during the apartheid regime.

¹⁰⁰⁸ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 51.

¹⁰⁰⁹ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 51.

¹⁰¹⁰ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 51.

She also narrated how the blackout in her cell made her lose track of time, and also how they made her stand for 5 days and 5 nights.¹⁰¹¹

House arrest was another form of oppression woman experienced. House arrest was a mode of torture enforced by the colonial and apartheid authorities to restrict the movement of women political activists in Nigeria and South Africa in the period under review. House arrest in this context served as a means of frustrating the lives of women activists as it denied them the freedom of speech, movement, and association.¹⁰¹² Hence, this form of punishment was an affront to women's dignity and human rights. For example, in South Africa, Helen Joseph of FEDSAW suffered several house arrests and banning orders. Helen became the first person to be served a house arrest order under the Sabotage Act of the apartheid government.¹⁰¹³ She lived alone for 10 years under stringent conditions without being permitted to have visitors and was given no chance to travel.¹⁰¹⁴ Similarly, Lilian Ngoyi, of FEDSAW also suffered house arrest and banning. She was placed on 15 years of house arrest in her home at Orlando Township of Soweto and banned from having visitors.¹⁰¹⁵ She was forced to give up her job and then made a living in sewing at home.¹⁰¹⁶ After 11 years of house arrest and several other restrictions, she made the following assertion:

“I must say I had tough time; it my spirit have not been dampened.... You can tell my friends all over the world that this girl is still her old self, if not more matured after all the experiences. I am looking forward to the day when my children will share the wealth of our lovely South Africa.”¹⁰¹⁷

Ngoyi's house arrest did little to dampen her resistance against apartheid. On the contrary, it inspired and fired her spirit in fighting for freedom, equality, and prosperity in South Africa. She became the voice of anti-apartheid activists to oppose the suppression of their will by the

¹⁰¹¹ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, “For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears,” 51.

¹⁰¹² Mbatha, ‘Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison during the Apartheid Era,’ 109.

¹⁰¹³ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, “For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears,” 63.

¹⁰¹⁴ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, “For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears,” 63.

¹⁰¹⁵ GLDC, ‘Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 33.

¹⁰¹⁶ GLDC, ‘Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 33.

¹⁰¹⁷ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, “For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears,” 61.

regime.¹⁰¹⁸ Yet, she envisioned a free South Africa wherein the wealth and sovereignty of the country would be in the hands of its citizens.

Ela Gandhi was also under house arrest from 1973 to 1982.¹⁰¹⁹ After 1982, she continued her activism under the influence of NOW which she co-founded.¹⁰²⁰ She narrates her house arrest experience:

“They come to serve us paper and tell you between 7am – 5pm you are not allowed to go anywhere. So, if you have an emergency, you cannot go, if you want to buy something, you cannot go. So, you have to plan your life like that. We could not see Durban for those 9 years. We had to be in that area where there were a lot of restrictions. We could not go to school of our children unless you take special permission which they hardly grant. We could not go to any factory; we cannot receive visitors.”¹⁰²¹

The above is an indication that house arrest had an impact on the personal, family, and social life of Ela Gandhi. It shows that her freedom was deprived as she was denied access to adequate communication and disengaged from public events as she was restricted from visiting her children in school. Her nine years of inability to socialize created fears of uncertainty for her and the future of her family.

On the other hand, Nigerian women activists also suffered house arrest.¹⁰²² For example, Margret Ekpo of AWA was very instrumental in anti-colonial activities in eastern Nigeria.¹⁰²³ She played important role in the Enugu Coal Miner (ECM) strike in the late 1940s.¹⁰²⁴ In 1949, she was initially kept under house arrest so as to prevent her from associating and instigating the public and especially inciting coal miners against the colonial authority.¹⁰²⁵

¹⁰¹⁸ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, “For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears,” 61.

¹⁰¹⁹ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

¹⁰²⁰ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

¹⁰²¹ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

¹⁰²² Viviane Saleh-Hanna, *Colonial Systems of Control Criminal Justice in Nigeria* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2008), 235.

¹⁰²³ Effah-Attoe and Jaja, *Margaret Ekpo: Lioness in Nigerian Politics*, 16.

¹⁰²⁴ Tayo Agunbiade, ‘Remembering Margaret Ekpo and the Enugu strike massacre,’ Available from <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2020/12/12/remembering-margaret-ekpo-and-enugu-strike-massacre>, Accessed on 8 February 2021.

¹⁰²⁵ Agunbiade, ‘Remembering Margaret Ekpo and the Enugu strike massacre,’ 8 February 2021.

Subsequently, she was detained in police custody without trial. Similarly, V.O. Okwuazom and Mrs. Okoye of NWU were placed under house arrest for causing a public disturbance.¹⁰²⁶ During their house arrests, they were banned from public speaking and political meetings, and prevented from having visitors while they await trials.¹⁰²⁷

Prison Resistance

Prison resistance is a way by which the prison inmates' express dissatisfaction over their condition in the prison and the kind of treatment meted out to them by the prison authority.¹⁰²⁸ Prison resistance takes a different form. It is carried out through the use of protest strategies such as hunger strikes, racial injustice agitation, work refusal, refusal to be rehabilitated, and forceful feeding rejection.¹⁰²⁹ The political prisoners often stirred up their grievances through hunger strikes to show that they did not feel comfortable with the prison conditions. Female prisoners at Pollsmoor prison, for example, demanded that they be kept together in the same cells as the male prisoners.¹⁰³⁰ This led Jenny Schreiner to go on hunger strike before she could spend an hour with other women prisoners each day.¹⁰³¹ In late 1980s, hunger strikes were the means by which women detainees were able to achieve some of their demands. Pollsmoor prison, for instance, released nearly 95% of the long-term detainees when about 600 prisoners went on national hunger strike in 1989.¹⁰³²

Agitation over racial injustices was another form of resistance women prisoners employed to express their dissatisfaction with prison treatment.¹⁰³³ For example, Sibongile Mkhabela expressed displeasure on the racial injustice in the prison by agitating over the prison uniform pattern of dress meant for Black female prisoners different from that of white female prisoners who were allowed to wear the dresses made or brought to the prison by themselves.¹⁰³⁴ The Black female prison uniform was described as degrading as they wore

¹⁰²⁶ Interview with Elizabeth Ihediawa, Enugu, 17 December 2017.

¹⁰²⁷ Interview with Elizabeth Ihediawa, Enugu, 17 December 2017.

¹⁰²⁸ Caesarina Makhoere, *No Child's Play: In Prison under Apartheid* (Michigan: Women's Press, 1988), 39.

¹⁰²⁹ Makhoere, *No Child's Play*, 39.

¹⁰³⁰ SAHA, A FEDSAW report 'Women in Prison,' 1.

¹⁰³¹ SAHA, A FEDSAW report 'Women in Prison,' 1.

¹⁰³² SAHA, A FEDSAW report 'Women in Prison,' 4.

¹⁰³³ E. Bouilly, O. Rillon and H. Cross, 'African Women's Struggles in Gender Perspective,' *Review of African Political Economy*, 43, 149 (2016): 338 – 349; 341.

¹⁰³⁴ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 106.

sagging denim overalls, white aprons, brown shoes without polish, navy-blue socks, and yellow or red turbans making them look unkept and insane as in a mental asylum.¹⁰³⁵

Another young female prisoner, Caesarina Makhoere also joined Mkhabela to challenge prison inequality by organizing other female protesters to resist the racial injustices through hunger strikes and protest, against the prison uniforms for Black female prisoners.¹⁰³⁶ Maggie Govender, a Durban-based activist and teacher was arrested during the State of Emergency whilst teaching in the classroom. She spent three months and three weeks in solitary confinement at the Durban Westville Prison (DWP).¹⁰³⁷ She stated that:

“Oh goodness the food they gave us, the diet was terrible. In the morning they would give us pap, right, but no salt or anything like that, with a drop of I think syrup or something in it and they would give us rooibos tea. And at that time, we all on principle refused the rooibos tea because there was salmonella scare about rooibos that was exported so we thought they were dumping this on us, and it was some indirect way of poisoning us or something. So, we did not drink that. The food was really terrible.”¹⁰³⁸

The above, reveals that women prisoners resisted the poor treatment in different ways. For example, it shows that the type of food they were served was not only deemed unfit for their health but also seen as a form of torture. The experience of Maggie and others indicates that prison resistance was not peculiar to men as it shows that the women also engaged in hunger strikes. Their refusal to eat was a form of resistance and defiance adopted by women political prisoners.

Nigerian women prisoners also resisted their treatment in the colonial prison. For example, in 1947, women imprisoned at the Abeokuta prison under the control of the local King Ademola Alake of Egbaland also became resistant in the prison as they were brutally treated by the native police for defaulting taxes payment.¹⁰³⁹ When they refused to eat, they were forcibly fed.¹⁰⁴⁰ The Abeokuta Women’s Union also staged a protest outside the palace of King

¹⁰³⁵ Mbatha, ‘Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,’ 106.

¹⁰³⁶ Mbatha, ‘Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,’ 102.

¹⁰³⁷ GLDC Oral History Project “Voices of Resistance” Interviewee: Maggie Govender, 2002, 23.

¹⁰³⁸ GLDC Oral History Project “Voices of Resistance” Interviewee: Maggie Govender, 2002, 23.

¹⁰³⁹ Johnson, ‘Grass Roots Organizing,’ 153.

¹⁰⁴⁰ NAI, ‘Taxation of Women, *Daily Times*, 11 November 1948, 27.

Ademola in solidarity with the imprisoned women for two days until the prisoners were finally released.

The above analysis shows that prison resistance was partially successful as it led the prison authority to improve the quality of food given to them but failed to make significant changes in the prison uniformed dress.¹⁰⁴¹ In Nigeria, prison resistance was also partially successful as some women were released while some died in the prison as a result of the treatment and hunger strike. The stories of the ill-treatment of women prisoners in the prisons were never reported.¹⁰⁴²

However, in the face of the harsh treatment and forcible feeding, the women prisoners resisted the threat by insisting on starving themselves until the native authorities released them.¹⁰⁴³ In South Africa, details on the women's Imprisonment, Detention, and Banning during the apartheid era is reflected in appendix 2. It indicates that several South African women political activists were imprisoned and detained for protesting against the apartheid regime. Thus, the imprisonment of women as political prisoners afflicted them with consequences of suffering behind bars and often had impacts on their families as daughters, mothers, and wives.

The Impact of Imprisonment on Women

a. Mental Illness

Imprisonment had a negative psychological impact on women prisoners. This was related to their exposure to constant fear, helplessness, despair, and distress due to prolonged isolation and torture.¹⁰⁴⁴ Imprisonment also makes inmates suffer mental-health conditions as they would no longer relate properly with either themselves or their environment after they were released.¹⁰⁴⁵ For example, during the Mau resistance movement in Kenya in the early 1950s, the colonial authorities used imprisonment as the psychological approach to gain political

¹⁰⁴¹ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 102.

¹⁰⁴² Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 93.

¹⁰⁴³ NAI, Taxation of Women,' *Daily Times*, 11 November 1948, 27.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Gresham Skypes, *The Society of Captives: A Study of Maximum-Security Prison* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, first published 1958), 84 – 108.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Craig Haney, 'The Psychological Impact of Incarceration: Implications for Post-Prison Adjustment,' paper prepared for the conference on "From Prison to Home" 30 – 31 January 2002, 1 – 4. Available from file:///C:/Users/Student/Downloads/The_Psychological_Impact_of_Incarceration_Implicat.pdf. Accessed 23 September 2020.

indoctrination of women detainees.¹⁰⁴⁶ This was when the women leaders of the Mau were arrested and detained in order to deny the agency of women's consciousness of the anti-colonial movement.¹⁰⁴⁷ Thus, the women leaders in detention were tortured to suffer mental illness and forced to renounce their allegiance to the Mau movement.¹⁰⁴⁸

Prison had a huge psychological impact on South African women. Many women suffered from mental illness. For example, Sibongile Mkhabela and Dorothy Nyembe were placed in isolation in Kroonstad Prison. The frequency of moving from one prison to another affected them psychologically leading to helplessness and despair.¹⁰⁴⁹ Their conditions were made worse because of disconnect with their families and prolonged incarceration.¹⁰⁵⁰ Similarly, Caesarina Makhoere also suffered psychological setbacks while sentenced to solitary confinement in KP.¹⁰⁵¹ For example, when the psychiatrist that attended to her in prison asked why she was behaving abnormally, she complained that she was constantly having mood swings and uncontrolled anger.¹⁰⁵²

Nonsikelelo Albertina Sisulu of ANCWL also suffered trauma and psychological distress while in prison. Sisulu was arrested in 1960s and 1980s when she was isolated in the Durban prison cell under the General Laws Amendment Act (GLAA) which gave the apartheid police the power to keep a suspect in detention for more than three months.¹⁰⁵³ The authorities used the punishment of isolation to intimidate and break Sisulu's spirit so as to mentally scar her and force her to divulge information of her husband's whereabouts.¹⁰⁵⁴ Sisulu, suffered depression when she was told that her husband had been detained and was concerned of his health condition because he was also serving life imprisonment on Robben Island.¹⁰⁵⁵ Her mental distress compounded when she was informed that her husband had died and children were seriously ill.¹⁰⁵⁶ This was used as a way to psychologically manipulate Sisulu to lose consciousness and renounce her political activism against the

¹⁰⁴⁶ Ebitimi. Kombo, 'Women in National Liberation Wars in the Settler Colonies of Kenya and Zimbabwe,' (MA dissertation, submitted to the Women Studies Department, University of York, 2012), 45.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Kombo, 'Women in National Liberation Wars in the Settler Colonies of Kenya and Zimbabwe,' 45.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Kombo, 'Women in National Liberation Wars in the Settler Colonies of Kenya and Zimbabwe,' 45.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 106.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 106.

¹⁰⁵¹ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 106.

¹⁰⁵² Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 107.

¹⁰⁵³ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Elinor Sisulu, *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime* (Cape Town: David Philip, 2013), 1 – 3.

¹⁰⁵⁵ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 68.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

apartheid regime.¹⁰⁵⁷ Thus, it was a tactical method of keeping inmates in perpetual incarceration.

Thandi Ruth Modise of the military wing of ANC, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), had a horrifying prison experience. She was arrested and detained for her role in MK activities under the Terrorism Act of South Africa.¹⁰⁵⁸ She had traumatic experiences during her eight years of detention at the Kroonstad prison in 1979.¹⁰⁵⁹ For example, Modise was arrested while she was four months pregnant and the prison condition of where she was kept was less than suitable for the development of the unborn baby.¹⁰⁶⁰ She was psychologically depressed as result of the ill-treatment by the prison officials.¹⁰⁶¹ Modise explains her ordeal with the police:

*I was ordered to dig a hole in the ground, and given a gun and I was told to shoot myself, when I refused, a security police captain placed the muzzle of the gun against my forehead, and threatened to pull the trigger... I was repeatedly hit when I refuse to answer questions.*¹⁰⁶²

Modise's testimony alludes to the harsh treatment of women by security police as she was treated without dignity as a pregnant woman. Modise feared the safety of her unborn child. Thus, it implies that women political prisoners do not usually escape psychological trauma when imprisoned. It also indicates that the authority used death tactics in different ways in order to weaken the psychological strength of the inmates. In addition, many felt lonely and helpless when faced against the brutality of the apartheid police.

Nigerian women also suffered the traumatic impact of imprisonment. For example, Hajia Gambo Sawaba who was known for her role in the fight against cultural and political oppression in northern Nigeria was reported to have been imprisoned more than a dozen time.¹⁰⁶³ Thus, she became noticeable in the various prisons in Kano, Zaria, Kaduna and Jos in northern Nigeria.¹⁰⁶⁴ The fight against social and gender equality of the environment often necessitated her constant arrest and detention. For example, she went to political campaigns

¹⁰⁵⁷ SAHO, "Albertina Nontsikelelo Sisulu", Accessed 23 August 2020.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 17 June 2017.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 17 June 2017.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Mbatha, 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era,' 109.

¹⁰⁶¹ Interview with Theresa Mthembu, Durban, 17 June 2017.

¹⁰⁶² GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT),' 25.

¹⁰⁶³ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Aljazeera, 'Hajia Gambo Sawaba: The Most Jailed Nigerian Female Politician.' Accessed 3 March 2021.

with a blanket with the words “Prison Yard” written on it.¹⁰⁶⁵ This reveals that she was defiant, unafraid of being arrested and considered prison as her second home.¹⁰⁶⁶

In the late 1950s, she was subjected to prolonged interrogation and torture while in Zaria prison. As reported by Aljazeera, Sawaba endured “indignity and pain of having her hair shaved off with a broken bottle while in the prison as she watched some of her women political prisoners die.”¹⁰⁶⁷ However, prison took its toll on her activism. For example, upon her final release from prison, she had suffered severe bodily injuries which rendered her psychologically weak and damaged.¹⁰⁶⁸ Coupled with the torture that she was subjected to, she no longer had the strength and temerity earlier displayed at the outset of her struggle and activism upon her release.¹⁰⁶⁹ Advanced age was another factor that slowed her down from continuing the struggle against a patriarchal political system she found herself in.¹⁰⁷⁰

b. The Effect of Imprisonment on Activists’ Families

The families of many activists suffered huge economic losses which had implications for their economic survival. For example, in 1961, the family of Mr. Mali Freddie, a staunch supporter and a member of the ANC suffered the consequence of his political activism. He and his family felt the blow of resistance to his political activism by the apartheid government.¹⁰⁷¹

Despite the fact that both Freddie and his wife were the main breadwinners of their family the apartheid state imprisoned them.¹⁰⁷² While the husband was sentenced to eight years imprisonment, his wife was not also spared as she was put behind bars for seven years, which meant that the couple spent fifteen years in incarceration. The incarcerated couple had four children of ages 3, 7, 9, and 11 whom their grandparents took home.¹⁰⁷³ However, the cost of supporting the grandchildren proved too heavy to bear for the unemployed grandparents who were financially incapacitated.¹⁰⁷⁴ Their inability to access financial support to pay for their

¹⁰⁶⁵ Aljazeera, ‘Hajia Gambo Sawaba: The Most Jailed Nigerian Female Politician.’ Accessed 3 March 2021.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Aljazeera, ‘Hajia Gambo Sawaba: The Most Jailed Nigerian Female Politician.’ Accessed 3 March 2021.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Aljazeera, ‘Hajia Gambo Sawaba: The Most Jailed Nigerian Female Politician.’ Accessed 3 March 2021.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

¹⁰⁷¹ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, “For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears,” 53.

¹⁰⁷² KCALC 33978. Bernstein, “For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears,” 53.

¹⁰⁷³ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

rent caused eviction.¹⁰⁷⁵ A long-term prison sentence for Freddie and his wife had negative effects on the four children, as one of the children fell ill and died because the grandparents lacked proper parental care and protection.¹⁰⁷⁶

The situation of families became a great matter of concern that it influenced the International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF) which was established in 1956.¹⁰⁷⁷ Thus, the IDAF raised funds and distributed it to support anti-apartheid movement activists and their families.¹⁰⁷⁸ This culminated in the payment of legal defence fees for many women activists and their families in their opposition to apartheid. For example, it was the IDAF that provided support for the payment of the necessary fees for the burial of Freddie's child whilst he was imprisoned.¹⁰⁷⁹

Imprisonment of women activists had severe impacts on their families. Albertina Sisulu suffered the loss of motherhood when she and her husband were jailed in 1963. For example, during her incarceration, she felt isolated, and lonely and became overwhelmed with anxiety with thoughts about her children and who would be responsible for their care.¹⁰⁸⁰ The incarceration of Sisulu and her husband also had an impact on their children.¹⁰⁸¹ The children were under the guardianship and care of extended family members.¹⁰⁸² However, at certain times of the struggle, the family was in constant disarray brought by constant arrests as the children also became victims of police arrest and detention. For example, the eldest son of Albertina Sisulu, Vuyisile Max, was detained at the same time in 1963 when Albertina was first arrested.¹⁰⁸³ Again, her daughter Lindiwe was detained for 11 months for partaking in the Soweto Uprising of 1976.¹⁰⁸⁴ Subsequently, Max was released and another son Mlungusi was detained in 1984 alongside the adopted niece and nephew of Albertina Sisulu for campaigning against the tri-cameral racial legislation.¹⁰⁸⁵ Similarly, Zwelakhe, the youngest

¹⁰⁷⁵ Interview with Mary Ntombela, Durban, 3 July 2019.

¹⁰⁷⁶ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 53.

¹⁰⁷⁷ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 53.

¹⁰⁷⁸ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 53.

¹⁰⁷⁹ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 53.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

¹⁰⁸¹ Sisulu, *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime*, 156. See also, SAHO, 'Albertina Sisulu, Freedom Fighter', Accessed 23 August 2020.

¹⁰⁸² Sisulu, *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime*, 156.

¹⁰⁸³ Sisulu, *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime*, 156.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Sisulu, *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime*, 156.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Sisulu, *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime*, 156.

son of Sisulu was detained twice in the 1980s for his journalistic reports about the horrors of the apartheid government.¹⁰⁸⁶

This reveals that the activism and detention of Sisulu influenced the involvement of her children in the struggle against apartheid. It demonstrates that Albertina Sisulu's children were motivated by the activism of their parents and remained resolutely committed to joining the parents in the struggle toward against apartheid. Thus, it indicates that Sisulu did not give up her spirit of activism. Her story clearly shows that Sisulu's family was a staunch anti-apartheid struggle activist. Similarly, Ela Gandhi, narrates how her arrest and detention rendered her children vulnerable in her absence as they lacked the bond between mother and children.¹⁰⁸⁷ She narrated her experience thus:

*It was hard, my children felt it most. They were short of mother care, as I cannot go out to see them and it was almost the same time when my husband was banned and arrested too. I have to look after the children alone. But that was what most women went through, even when they are not in prison, it destabilized most of us, whose husband are in prison, we have to go on visiting days.*¹⁰⁸⁸

The imprisonment of Ela as a political prisoner had an adverse effect on her family. It shows that her detention made life difficult for her children as they felt the vacuum of motherhood. This implies that Ela's greatest concern was what would be happening to her children as the absence of parental care could cause them to lose confidence and self-esteem. It also indicates that the children faced challenges of financial hardship more when both parents were in incarceration. It had a debilitating impact on the socio-economic and political lives of women and their families.

Elsewhere in Nigeria, the families of women political prisoners also suffered the impact of imprisonment. For example, Nwakohu, a farmer from Ozu-Umunwanwa, revealed her prison experience in the ACE before the district officer:

¹⁰⁸⁶ Sisulu, *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime*, 156.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

*With all due respect, I wish to say something regarding a complaint concerning myself. I was put in prison for five years in 1923 because one chief gave false evidence against me which led to my conviction. When I was released from the prison, I went to the chief to ask after my family, and I was imprisoned again for another six months. Ever since, I have not been myself as my mood was always affected thinking about the treatment that was visited on me. The condition of my family which I do not know up till now is constantly shattering my heart. I do not think I am normal because I talk to myself thinking that I am with someone who is not even there.*¹⁰⁸⁹

Evidently, Mrs. Nwakohu suffered political victimization and gender injustice in the male-dominated traditional institution. Mrs. Nwakohu's experiences reveal not only her struggle with mental illness but also the pain of being separated from her family. Even after her release, she could not locate her family. This had an adverse effect on her mental well-being. It was possible that the family might have gone into exile because of stigmatization and ostracization from members of the community where they resided. This was commonly experienced by activists as they were often shunned by society to interact with them. However, the testimonies above also reveal that while women were oppressed, they were not necessarily passive or docile.

Imprisonment of women political activists also led to the loss of financial and socio-economic well-being of their families. For example, in colonial eastern Nigeria, once a woman was convicted and sent to prison, her family would be eligible for state assistance at the rate of £1.10 per month.¹⁰⁹⁰ But, in reality, Mrs. Nwakohu's family members were neglected and allowed to become financially vulnerable as the monthly stipend meant for the support of the family was inexplicably withheld by the prison authority.¹⁰⁹¹ Through this action of the prison authorities, many families of women inmates in the region were denied access to funds to support them as guaranteed by the law.¹⁰⁹² In many cases, families were too frightened to approach the authorities to demand the money promised due to the fear of

¹⁰⁸⁹ NAE Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 124.

¹⁰⁹⁰ NAE Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 124.

¹⁰⁹¹ NAE Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 124.

¹⁰⁹² NAE Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 124.

arrest and further oppression.¹⁰⁹³ This made life and survival difficult for the family, particularly in a situation where the victim was the breadwinner.¹⁰⁹⁴ Elizabeth Ihediawa alludes to the above that;

I was part of the people that formed the Enugu Women Union. We created a commonwealth meant for the upkeep of women political prisoners. We assisted them by adopting some of their children. As a member I had the privilege of accommodating a girl child of one of the women that were persecuted by the British colonial government in 1947, few years after the Second World War. The child lived with my family till her mother was released from the prisons. Apart from accepting to take responsibility for some of their children, from the commonwealth of the EWU, we supported families of the women in prison to cater for socio-economic well-being of families in different places like Umuahia, Aba, and Enugu following the women's wars and descents of 1930s, and 1940s. See, my son (Mrs. Elizabeth was referring to me, the researcher), my people suffered untold hardship in the East. The government did not even mind that they were women. They dealt mercilessly with our sisters. Well, I admit that that is one of the consequences of fighting for one's rights sometime.¹⁰⁹⁵

As pointed out above by Elizabeth, the imprisonment of women political activists often led to situations where the family members left behind lost the right of motherhood and livelihood as they suffered financially. Besides, she added that in the face of these challenges, the women formed groups to solicit support for the victims of colonial oppression. Such groups provided women activists behind the bar with material resources and socio-economic support for their families while they were imprisoned so that the entire family would not be in total

¹⁰⁹³ NAE Aba Commission of Enquiries, Notes of Evidence, 1929, 124.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Interview with Elizabeth Ihediawa, Enugu, 17 December 2017.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Interview with Elizabeth Ihediawa, Enugu, 17 December 2017.

disarray. The families of such women prisoners faced challenges of poverty, unemployment, and lack of social care.¹⁰⁹⁶

Familial attitudes towards women's activism were another serious issue that confronted women. Women's political activism often met with resistance from their family members against the background of the social norms that were largely dominated by men. This was evident in the experience of activist Gambo Sawaba from northern Nigeria, who sought to challenge the existing social norms that infringed the rights of women to equality and freedom.¹⁰⁹⁷ She consistently challenged these norms by openly speaking against oppression and gender inequality as she campaigned for the rights of women to access quality education and political freedom in society.¹⁰⁹⁸ Yet, her action was met with counter-reactions from men counterparts who used traditional and political institutions to protect their interest to continuously oppress and marginalize women by maintaining the social gender norms.¹⁰⁹⁹

Consequently, Gambo Sawaba became a victim of incessant arrest, detention, and prolonged torture that eventually made her lose her dignity and motherhood.¹¹⁰⁰ The consequences of the fight against the social norms were also noticed in the resistance she received from her family members. For example, her husband's (in-laws) family was ignorantly unhappy and neglected her because of her political activism that was against their societal custom which forbids women to openly speak in public and challenge the gender norms of the society.¹¹⁰¹ Thus, her imprisonment affected her status as a mother, and wife and cost her relationship with her in-laws. She could not also cater to her children and failed to play the role of wife to her husband.¹¹⁰² Hence, her frequent imprisonment caused her family serious frustration that eventually led to her divorce.¹¹⁰³ There is the possibility that pressure from her in-laws might have been largely responsible for the divorce as they might have compelled him to do away with her because of her activism. This implies that the attitude of Sawaba's in-laws (family) was borne out of their conservatism toward the existing social structure that relegated women to the domestic. Sawaba was unafraid of opposing the social norms as she was radically

¹⁰⁹⁶ KCALC 33978. Bernstein, "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears," 53.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Pamela J. Smith, 'Feminism in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Women in Africa,' *Journal of Transformation*, 6, 2 (1989): 14.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Smith, 'Feminism in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Women in Africa,' 14.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Smith, 'Feminism in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Women in Africa,' 14.

¹¹⁰⁰ Aljazeera, 'Hajia Gambo Sawaba: The Most Jailed Nigerian Female Politician.' Accessed 3 March 2021.

¹¹⁰¹ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

¹¹⁰² Aljazeera, 'Hajia Gambo Sawaba: The Most Jailed Nigerian Female Politician.' Accessed 3 March 2021.

¹¹⁰³ Interview with Felicia Ogunseye, Ibadan, 9 January 2017.

questioning for a change and conscious of the need to liberate the women from the shackles of gender oppression and the patriarchal political system in the society.

Conclusion

The above analysis highlights the socio-economic and political context behind the imprisonment of women activists in Nigeria and South Africa. It alludes to how women suffered appalling treatments whilst in the prison: trauma, sexual harassment, and death in some cases. It also reveals the various forms of how women were incarcerated: house arrest, solitary confinement, and long-term sentences. It reveals that women's experiences in the prison were gendered. It also alludes to the horrors of women's prison experiences and how prison became a site for the struggle for imprisoned women activists. It also reveals how women resisted racial and social injustices in the prison, determined to challenge both colonial and apartheid oppression. These narratives are not only interesting but address gaps in African liberation histories.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study explored the roles of Nigerian and South African women in the liberation movement between 1914 and 1994. Framed within a comparative perspective, it explored three key issues: reasons for women's involvement in the liberation struggle, the strategies of protest employed, and their prison experiences. This study allowed for the understanding of the gendered nature of the liberation struggle and showed how issues of race, ethnicity, and class intersected with socio-economic and political issues shaping women's resistance.

This qualitative study used oral histories and archival sources to analyse its objectives. Both are significant in comparative studies. This study illustrates the significance of oral histories in comparative studies through testimonies and narratives expressed by the participants. The oral histories revealed that many Nigerian and South African women share similar narratives but are dissimilar in other ways. Their testimonies reveal how colonialism and apartheid impacted women, and how they shaped their political identities and mode of resistance.

Similarly, archival sources are also significant in comparative studies. Archival sources from South Africa and Nigeria provided data on women's activism during the anti-colonial and anti-apartheid movements. The archival sources I utilized to a considerable extent were male-focused, with women's voices often missing or nearly non-existent.

However, this was compensated by organizational records such as the FEDSAW and FNWO that alluded to women's collective activism but were not always documented. Therefore, FEDSAW and FNWO archival records disrupt the narratives that men dominated Nigerian and South African nationalist struggles. In addition, archival sources allude to commonalities and differences in women's resistance. For instance, it reveals that women used similar protest strategies, such as songs, boycotts, and strikes. It also indicates that they protested against different socio-economic issues. Thus, Nigerian women fought against colonial taxation, gender inequality in education and unemployment, and patriarchal attitudes. Their South African counterparts followed a similar trajectory: they protested against the apartheid policies of segregation, inequality in education, and racial injustices and pass laws, to

mention but a few. Hence, archival sources reveal how Nigerian and South African women activists used women's organizations as platforms for political mobilizations, how they engaged in the nationalist struggle, interacted with women activists, and negotiated with colonial and apartheid laws.

Hence, the combination of archival and oral sources in comparative histories is significant. It allows for critical evaluations of data collected from both countries to understand better the role women played in the nationalist struggle on the African continent. They reveal the intersections of how class and race, gender, and socio-economic inequality shaped regional and continental resistance. In addition, it highlights that the struggle against oppression by women in Africa was heterogeneous, not homogenous, as women from diverse ethnic, religious, and regional groups participated.

In addition, comparative archival and oral histories offer insight into women's agency, as viable political actors, and constituencies. The sources also reveal how women's agency shaped their resilience in the liberation struggle. They defied the authorities' orders and continued to mobilize without fear of arrest, imprisonment, and death. This research has revealed that oral histories can complement primary sources, especially when women's voices are absent or neglected in the archives. Archival sources can be biased, but oral histories enhance the understanding of the event and compensate for women's voices.

Key findings

A comparative study of women's political activism in South Africa and Nigeria also alludes to the varied contexts and motivations of their participation. It indicates that South Africa has a long history of women anti-colonial struggle than Nigeria, because it was a settler colony and endured internal colonisation known as apartheid which Nigeria did not. The study showed that in Africa, the evolution of the women's resistance emanated from hostile colonial rule that had several adverse effects on women. Among them were sexism, inequality, economic exploitation, and socio-political subjugation. As a result, African women started to participate in the nationalist struggle in the early 1900s. As early as 1913, women in South Africa resisted colonial laws which hindered their socio-economic development. By the 1920s they mobilized against pass and urban controls.¹¹⁰⁴ Similarly, in the late 1920s, Nigerian women were also active in the nationalist movement: they rebelled

¹¹⁰⁴ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 13.

against taxation, suffered the repercussions of the inter-war period, and protested price controls and gender oppression in the mid-1940s.

In the mid-1940s, Nigerian and South African women were affected by world wars that led to socio-economic hardships: poverty and unequal employment opportunities in colonial and native administrative offices, factories, and manufacturing firms. Women's decision to participate highlights that they were not prepared to be treated as second-class citizens: they were marginalized in the society, denied the right to own landed property, the right to franchise, underpaid and overworked.

Another key finding of this thesis is that women's motives for participation were multifaceted. Socio-economic and political factors collectively forced Nigerian and South African women to engage in the nationalist struggle. Lack of access to quality healthcare, education, and land ownership, along with unemployment, were major barriers women faced. They were unable to exercise their human and political rights because they were treated as second-class citizens. They suffered triple oppression: their gender, class, and race. Women from varied backgrounds suffered colonial oppression throughout Africa, because the socio-economic and political climate of Africa did not support the development of women, and hence, women were forced to exercise their agency.

This study also provides insights into modes of resistance of women activists in Nigeria and South Africa. The women employed diverse resistance strategies to fight colonial oppression: protest marches, demonstrations, songs, dances, boycotts, strikes, and petitions. At times, they employed similar modes of resistance; at other times, they differed. In the early days of resistance, marches were a defiance campaign strategy. For example, the 1913 anti-pass protests by women in the OFS were successful and it was temporarily repealed.¹¹⁰⁵ A similar campaign was carried out by Nigerian women in the late 1920s when they opposed proposed taxation and sought assurance that they would not be subjected to it. Governing sites also became a mode of resistance. The demonstrations of Nigerian women mainly were held at the palace of the local chiefs or native authorities.¹¹⁰⁶

In South Africa, thousands of South African women marched to the offices of the colonial authorities. In both instances, marches were accompanied by protest songs and dances.

¹¹⁰⁵ Hiralal, 'We Shall Resist,' 7.

¹¹⁰⁶ FRK File, Letter from the women's Union to the Commissioner of Police, 31 May 1949.

Women in both countries used songs and dances to bring attention to their demands and attract the authorities' attention. Thus, Nigerian women used the traditional mode of music and dance known as "sitting on a man." This type of resistance was utilised so that any male authority figure disrespecting or mistreating women was forced to consider his mistakes, and, frequently, the male leaders were removed from their post. The women in South Africa also used songs and dances as strategies to gain sympathy from authorities. They would dance with babies on their backs, kneeling and singing in front of government buildings until the authorities addressed them or the police asked them to leave.

Other modes of resistance were petitions and letters. Several petitions and letters were presented to the authorities, allowing Nigerian and South African women to voice their dissatisfactions with the authorities. The letters and petitions raised awareness of their grievances and opened the door for them to negotiate with the authorities. Accordingly, they engaged their respective governments in dialogue to pursue their demands. Therefore, petitions, letters and dialogues were forms of resistance women used to communicate their message to the authorities. The diverse modes of resistance can be understood as a strategy to obtain national independence. It also indicates that these modes of resistance were necessary because of the urgency to overthrow colonial authorities and gain power economically and politically.

Another key finding in this study is that women's participation in the nationalist struggles were gendered. Women and men as activists were shaped by their social position, their access to education, and political and economic resources. In colonial Nigeria, women were denied the franchise until the nationalist struggle yielded to their support in the early 1950s.¹¹⁰⁷ Women had access to education and were allowed to hold political office at the NAC. Before this, NACs were strictly male dominated; women were restricted from public speaking, and political participation and girls were denied the right to education. In addition, a significant number of Nigerian women were largely absent from the four major political parties of the late 1950s: NPC, NCNC, NEPU, and AG. The roles assigned to women activists also highlight the struggle's gendered aspects. They were traditionally non-combative in line with their gender. They served as cooks, caregivers, financiers, informants, and intelligent officers. With the exception of NEPU, whose executive organ had a woman called Gambo Sawaba,

¹¹⁰⁷ NAI, Policy of Women Federation, 1959, 7.

acting as a Women's Organizer, the rest were men. Funmilayo Ransome – Kuti was the only woman among the delegates to Great Britain representing the NCNC party to negotiate for Nigeria's independence and was accorded equal status. Margaret Ekpo, a foremost feminist activist, and member of the NCNC at the time of independence, became the first female politician in eastern Nigeria, as well as in national politics.¹¹⁰⁸

In South Africa, women shared similar treatment. The central African political parties: APO, ANC, SAIC, and PAC, did not accord equal positions to women. In these political groups, women were not assigned leading roles or were executive members. The parties' executives and leading positions were dominated by men such as John L Dube, Yusuf Dadoo, Pixey Ka Seme, Robert Sobukwe, AB Xuma, Sefako Makgatho and Zaccheus Mahabane to mention but a few. Thus, the women were invisible under the male-dominated political parties as they were not allowed to become politicized. Instead, their activities were confined to tasks such as serving as caregivers, cooking, desk officers, and informants. It was organisations like the ANCWL, FEDSAW, NOW, FEDTRAW and many others, together with the support of progressive-minded male activists, which revealed that women were a powerful political constituency.¹¹⁰⁹

The study also reveals the experiences of women in prison and how their treatment was gendered. Men and women were incarcerated in different locations in South Africa and separately. Robben Island was exclusively for men. However, there was no such thing as a designated prison for men in Nigeria. The detainees were kept in the same facility and in separate sections that were divided by walls. This indicates that separating men and women into a separate prison facility was necessary to disorganise protests and prevent normal human relations that would make it possible for prisoners to form bonds of solidarity and resist effectively. It also allowed the prison authorities to use the idea of prison separation to give gender-specific treatment to inmates. Women in prison were susceptible to sexual violence: rape, beating, punching, and body torture such as shaving their heads with broken bottles. Hence, women were more likely to be subjected to heinous and violent treatment than men due to their sexuality. It also implies that sexually oriented punishments were not necessarily applied to men, alluding to the differential prison treatment. Gendered notions of imprisonment can be discerned in work assigned to men and women. In Nigeria and South Africa, women were forced to clean toilets, cook and clean. In Nigeria, unlike South Africa,

¹¹⁰⁸ Effah-Attoe and Jaja, *Margaret Ekpo: Lioness in Nigerian*, 12.

¹¹⁰⁹ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 194.

women prisoners often worked as basket weavers, cloth washers, and mat makers. In contrast, South African women prisoners were forced to work long hours as courtyard cleaners. Men on the other hand, were permitted to work on government construction sites as bricklayers, carpenters, clerks, and drivers. This indicates that the colonial government used prisons to obtain cheap labour.¹¹¹⁰

It was also noted in this study that more female activists were imprisoned during the liberation struggle than males, but little is known about them. Thus, women prisoners were also incarcerated for decades but were not reported. For instance, Dorothy Nyembe of South Africa, who spent 17 years in incarceration, was the longest-serving woman prisoner.¹¹¹¹ At the same time, Gambo Sawaba of Nigeria was also regarded as the most imprisoned activist after spending more than a decade in prison.¹¹¹² It suggests that there is less work on women's imprisonment in Africa. Thus, women's prison experiences reveal how the system was used as a tool to repress and silence women's movement and agitation against the colonial authorities. Thus, their willingness to suffer the consequences indicates that they felt no deterrence from their appalling prison experiences. Despite all of the measures put in place to suppress and keep them in prison, the women have proved their resilience and tenacity by turning the prison into a site of resistance against inequality and oppression.

The study reveals that there were issues of contestation between women's oppression and nationalist oppression. Nigerian and South African women had to confront patriarchy and gender oppression. Both navigated their ways through patriarchy and cultural or traditional gender expectations in their respective societies. Nigerian women fought against the oppressive gender norms and taboos: the ban on public speaking or the right to freedom of speech, forced marriages, child marriage, and girl education. Women in South Africa had similar problems negotiating their freedom from various social and cultural issues such as the right to education and inter-racial and inter-religious marriage. Women in Nigeria and South Africa resisted two fronts: First, the authorities, who disregarded their demands and conservative men within the nationalist movements. As women's issues were not being addressed appropriately in political organisations, women strategized ways to deal with them. Negotiations were conducted to create a women's section within the male-dominated political

¹¹¹⁰ Tosin F. Abiodun, 'A Historical Study on Penal Confinement and Institutional Life in Southern Nigeria, 1860 – 1956,' (D. Phil, dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2013), 88.

¹¹¹¹ GLDC, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT), 34 – 35.

¹¹¹² Pat Williams, 'State, Women and Democratization in Africa: The Nigerian Experience (1987 – 1993),' *Africa Development* 22, 1 (1997): 141 – 182; 160.

organisations. Women from various walks of life were mobilised to become active participants in local and national meetings and conferences to improve their political status.¹¹¹³ In Nigeria, for example, diverse women's associations from across the country met in a national conference to form the FNWO, a united women's organisation. In FNWO, they discussed ways to address gender issues collectively. A plan was developed to strengthen women's organisations across the country and to form women's guilds and trade unions.¹¹¹⁴

Similarly, South African women under FEDSAW adopted a Freedom Charter outlining their demands. Several important issues were addressed in this Charter, including equal education, childcare, equal pay, political representation and participation and the removal of pass laws. Women also formed and joined several trade unions and youth movements to raise their feminist concerns. Thus, gender issues were often neglected, which frustrated women within the liberation struggle. Men showed little interest in addressing women's issues. Despite the frustration they faced in dealing with their issues and gaining national liberation; they remained assertive and defiant in their quest for freedom and equality. Eventually, they ultimately realised they could not address women's issues on their own; in other words, it could not be prioritised immediately. Instead, they had to reconcile and work together to achieve one common goal: national liberation. Thus, women had to relegate their pursuit of feminist concerns to the margins of the struggle to complement the men in their agenda of political liberation.¹¹¹⁵

Significance

The significance of this study lies in its comparative framework of African women in the liberation movement. This study opens a research lens to gendered issues concerning class, gender, and race within a comparative perspective. It shows that gender struggles shaped women's participation in the liberation movements in South Africa and Nigeria as they relate to socio-economic and politics in their respective communities. In addition, a comparative study alludes to the diversity and nuances of women's role and contribution to the liberation movement on the African continent. Thus, these experiences cannot be homogenised. It illustrates the importance of women's organisations as political platforms for negotiating women's rights for equality and social justice. It sheds light on the ways African women battled oppression on both the gender and nationalist fronts. A comparative study alludes to

¹¹¹³ Interview with Ela Gandhi, Durban, 1 August 2018.

¹¹¹⁴ Interview with Alhaja Aminatu Abiodun Akinsola, Ibadan, 10 January 2017.

¹¹¹⁵ Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa*, 264.

the heterogeneity of women's resistance on the African continent, specifically their resistance strategies, modes of protest amidst varying socio-economic conditions.

Thus, it provides a basis for future research development in the area of women's resistance against oppression in public space and in prisons. It will facilitate academic scholarship opportunities in Africa's humanities and social sciences. It reveals that the African women have always been a part of the nationalist struggle, despite public perception that they are oppressed and unable to make a significant impact on national socio-political affairs.

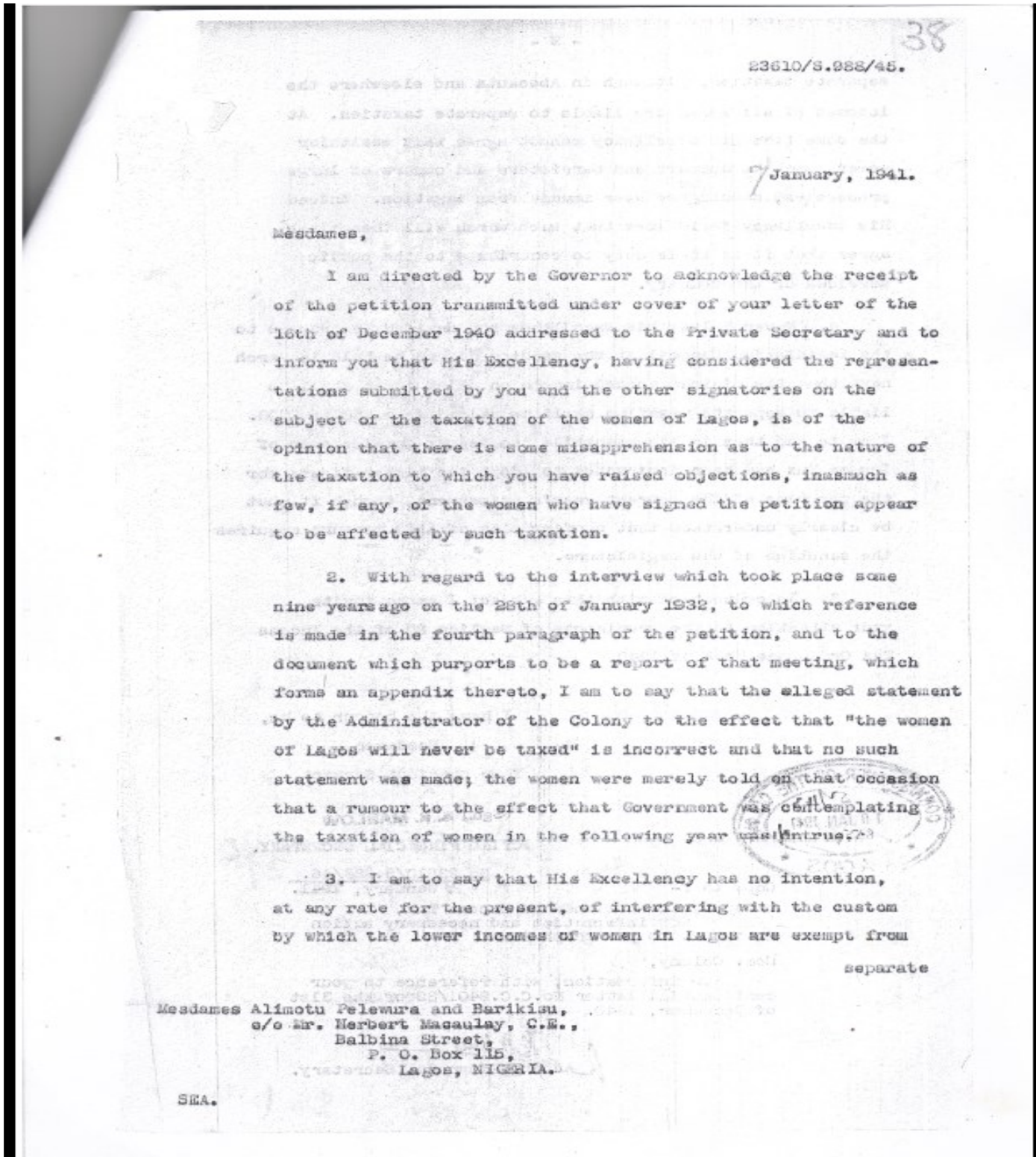
Recommendations

The historical experiences of women in the nationalist struggle reveal the significance of women's resistance and how collective action can, to some extent, make a difference in the lives of women.

There is a need for a united and strong women's organisation in post-nationalist and post-colonial states to address gender issues. To solve the problem of women's rights, the organisation should be used as a tool to combat gender discrimination, nationalist oppression, and equal opportunity in public and private affairs. While seeking to attain gender equality, current women's organisations are not necessarily successful. Current legislation does little to address gender equality, particularly its implementation. Herein lies a space for future research.

Appendixes

Appendix 1: Petition of the Lagos Market Women Association to the Commissioner of Colony in 1941



39

separate taxation, although in Abeokuta and elsewhere the incomes of all women are liable to separate taxation. At the same time His Excellency cannot agree that wealthier women, such as doctors and barristers and owners of large properties, should ^{be} for ever immune from taxation. Indeed His Excellency feels sure that such women will themselves agree that it is their duty to contribute to the public services of the country.

4. Nevertheless His Excellency has decided to propose to the Legislative Council at the session due to be held in March next that the minimum annual income on which women shall be liable to separate taxation shall be raised from £50 to £200. I am to add that in the meanwhile the Deputy Commissioner of Income Tax has been instructed to adopt the higher figure for the purposes of the current year's assessment, though it must be clearly understood that confirmation of this measure requires the sanction of the Legislature.

5. In connection with this subject I am to invite your attention to the provisions of Section 20 of the Income Tax Ordinance No.3 of 1940.

I have the honour to be,
Madames,
Your obedient Servant,

(Sgd) S. R. MARLOW
ACTING FINANCIAL SECRETARY.



No. 23610/S.988/46. 39A
9 January, 1941.

Copy to :-
Deputy Commissioner of Income Tax,
For information and necessary action
in regard to paragraph 4.
Com. Colony,

For information, with reference to your
confidential letter No.C.C.2401/32 of the 31st
of December, 1940.

R. D. Hall
Acting Financial Secretary.

Sup. 42

Geometra auriviridiana	Yoruba	X
Amma Yessufo	Yoruba	X
Victoria adonis	Yoruba	X
Hirata Guitola	Yoruba	X
Harikisa ayinke	Yoruba	X
Olade	Yoruba	X
Reurta Obodaxoni	State Nether	X
Kaliate Ouyalo	Yoruba	X
Harikisa Alachala	Yoruba	X
Hirata Alaka	Yoruba	X
Femi Ota Alaka Ota	Origenaria	X
Ogunguwa Alakoo	Yoruba	X
Kaliate Alaka	Yoruba	X
Ayicota Anisi	Yoruba	X
Victoria Othawa Alaga	State Neth	X
Priscilla Adarinka Iyalada	Yoruba	X
Amma Othawa	Yoruba	X
Hirata Ido (Alakoo)	Alakoo	X
Layinka Iyalada	Alakoo	X
Kaliate Alakoo	Alakoo	X
Ajaka Akufa	Ajagala	X
Harikisa Iyalada Alaka	Ajagala	X
Harikisa Alakoo Alakoo	Ajagala	X
Harikisa Alakoo	State Neth (Alakoo)	X
Aligali Alakoo	State Neth	X
Ogunguwa Alakoo	State Neth	X
Fimata Alakoo	State Neth	X
Harikisa Alakoo	State Neth	X
Hala Ayinke	State Neth	X
Harikisa Alakoo	State Neth	X
Harikisa Alakoo	Ajagala	X
Amma Othawa Alakoo	Ajagala	X
Harikisa Alakoo	Ajagala	X
Harikisa Alakoo	Ajagala	X
Harikisa Alakoo	Ajagala	X

marks

Appendix 2: List of some South African women that were punished (imprisoned and detained) for participating in the liberation movement against apartheid regime.

S/N	Name	Condition of punishment	Period 1948-1994
1	Amina Desai	Imprisoned	Apartheid
2	Angelina Mayoli	Imprisoned	Apartheid
3	Angelina Mbala	Imprisoned	Apartheid
4	Angeline Mahangu	Imprisoned	Apartheid
5	Anne Nicholson	Imprisoned	Apartheid
6	Apolonia Brusse	Imprisoned	Apartheid
7	Beatrice Mgedisi	Imprisoned	Apartheid
8	Betty du Toit	Imprisoned	Apartheid
9	Betty Tswana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
10	Bryline Mamkhala	Imprisoned	Apartheid
11	Diana Tamana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
12	Doris van der Heyden	Imprisoned	Apartheid
13	Dorothy Alexander	Imprisoned	Apartheid
14	Dorothy Cleminishaw	Imprisoned	Apartheid
15	Dorothy Nyembe	Imprisoned	Apartheid
16	Dulcie September	Imprisoned	Apartheid
17	Elsie Manona	Imprisoned	Apartheid
18	Elsie Faku	Imprisoned	Apartheid
19	Emily Qabela	Imprisoned	Apartheid
20	Emily Vara	Imprisoned	Apartheid
21	Eselinah Klass	Imprisoned	Apartheid
22	Esther Barsel	Imprisoned	Apartheid

23	Esther Damane	Imprisoned	Apartheid
24	Eunice Mosiah	Imprisoned	Apartheid
25	Eve Hall	Imprisoned	Apartheid
26	Evelyn Maliwa	Imprisoned	Apartheid
27	Florence Duncan	Imprisoned	Apartheid
28	Florence Grace Mkhize	Imprisoned	Apartheid
29	Florence Koena	Imprisoned	Apartheid
30	Florence Matomela	Imprisoned	Apartheid
31	Florence Tswana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
32	Francina Baard	Imprisoned	Apartheid
33	Freda Levson	Imprisoned	Apartheid
34	Gillian Gane	Imprisoned	Apartheid
35	Grace Maqungu	Imprisoned	Apartheid
36	Grace Ntingana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
37	Grace Wana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
38	Henrietta Motshweni	Imprisoned	Apartheid
39	Henrietta Motsoeneng	Imprisoned	Apartheid
40	Hilda Tshaka	Imprisoned	Apartheid
41	Ida Lawana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
42	Ivy Mati	Imprisoned	Apartheid
43	Ivy Nontshinga	Imprisoned	Apartheid
44	Jean Middleton	Imprisoned	Apartheid
45	Joyce Gavu	Imprisoned	Apartheid
46	Joyce Mapolisa	Imprisoned	Apartheid
47	Joyce Mohammed	Imprisoned	Apartheid
48	Lesley Schermbrucker	Imprisoned	Apartheid

49	Lydia Lungile	Imprisoned	Apartheid
50	Mabel Booysen	Imprisoned	Apartheid
51	Mabel Mali	Imprisoned	Apartheid
52	Maggie Masiza	Imprisoned	Apartheid
53	Mary Moodley	Imprisoned	Apartheid
54	Mary Turok	Imprisoned	Apartheid
55	Miss Marauzana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
56	Mita Marauzana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
57	Molly Doye	Imprisoned	Apartheid
58	Mrs B. Makase	Imprisoned	Apartheid
59	Mrs M. Nokrawuzana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
60	Mrs T. Tshaka	Imprisoned	Apartheid
61	Nambini Boyi	Imprisoned	Apartheid
62	Nellie Mankahla	Imprisoned	Apartheid
63	Nellie Mfazwe	Imprisoned	Apartheid
64	Nellie Plaatjies	Imprisoned	Apartheid
65	Nondwe Mankhala	Imprisoned	Apartheid
66	Nonhoniso Mayoli	Imprisoned	Apartheid
67	Nontombi Ningiza	Imprisoned	Apartheid
68	Nosipo Nokrawuzana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
69	Patricia Pethala	Imprisoned	Apartheid
70	Pixie Benjamin	Imprisoned	Apartheid
71	Rebecca Ndongeni	Imprisoned	Apartheid
73	Sarah Brown	Imprisoned	Apartheid
74	Sarah Carneson	Imprisoned	Apartheid
75	Shanti Naidoo	Imprisoned	Apartheid

76	Sheila Weinberg	Imprisoned	Apartheid
77	Stephanie Kemp	Imprisoned	Apartheid
78	Sylvia Cele	Imprisoned	Apartheid
79	Sylvia Neame	Imprisoned	Apartheid
80	Talitha Tshaba	Imprisoned	Apartheid
81	Tanyisa Voyi	Imprisoned	Apartheid
82	Rosie Tshisela	Imprisoned	Apartheid
82	Violet Gqirana	Imprisoned	Apartheid
83	Violet Weinberg	Imprisoned	Apartheid
84	Viyule Basset	Imprisoned	Apartheid
85	Vuyelwa Bizithi	Imprisoned	Apartheid
86	Winifred Kalipha	Imprisoned	Apartheid
87	Winnie Mandela	Imprisoned	Apartheid
88	Zebia Mpendu	Imprisoned	Apartheid
89	Albertina Sisulu	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
90	Amy Rietstein	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
91	Anne Haymann	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
92	Beverly Trehwela	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
93	Bridget Mellor	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
94	Brigette Mabandla	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
95	Caroline Motsoaledi	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
96	Charlotte Masingo	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
97	Dora Alexander	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
98	Doris Adams	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
99	Eleanor Kasrils	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
100	Elizabeth Mearns	Detained Without trial	Apartheid

101	Emily Vara	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
102	Esme Goldberg	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
103	Eugenia Mlisana	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
104	Eve Berman	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
105	Fatima Abduruman	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
106	Felicia Milindton	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
107	Gertrude Cohn	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
108	Hazel Goldreich	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
109	Helen Joseph	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
110	Jean Cohen	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
111	Joyce Motaung	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
112	Leabie Mandela	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
113	Lilian Ngoyi	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
114	Lynne van der Riet	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
115	Margaret Kriel	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
116	Margaret Smith	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
117	Martha Mahlasela	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
118	Martha Maltha	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
119	Martha Singh	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
120	Maureen Kreel	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
121	Mildred Lesia	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
122	Millie McConkey	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
123	Molly Fischer	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
124	Monyaniso Madikizela	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
125	Mrs D. Rachman	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
126	Mrs Dangala	Detained Without trial	Apartheid

127	Mrs E. Kazi	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
128	Mrs E. Khopone	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
129	Mrs E. M. Sebeko	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
130	Mrs Katzen	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
131	Mrs T. Naidoo	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
132	Muriel Sodinha	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
133	Myrtle Bernstein	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
134	Norma Kitson	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
135	Pat Lendrum	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
136	Rica Jones	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
137	Rita Ndzanga	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
138	Rose Schlachter	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
139	Rosie Mbele	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
140	Ruth First	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
141	Sally Kahn	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
142	Selino Molteno	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
143	Sharan Pinkus	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
144	Shulamith Muller	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
145	Sonia Bunting	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
146	Sophie Mangangane	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
147	Tettia Miya	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
148	Vino Cooper	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
149	Winnie Dadoo	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
150	Ela Gandhi	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
151	Sam Moodley	Detained Without trial	Apartheid
152	A Rambaly	Detained/charged with	Apartheid

		political offences	
153	Annie Silinga	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
154	Ayesha Dawood	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
155	Bertha Mkhize	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
156	Caroline Clark	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
157	Caroline de Crespigny	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
158	Chole Gama	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
159	Christina Jasson	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
160	Deborah Modise	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
161	Dorothy Shanley	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
162	Esther Stofile	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
163	Gladys Emma Lee	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
164	Helen King	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
165	Ida Mnthwana	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
166	Levilile Moahlolo	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
167	Martha Mohlakoane	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
168	Mrs Ranta	Detained/charged with	Apartheid

		political offences	
169	Ptricia Bolton	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
170	Queenie Ngubane	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
171	Ruth Robb	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
172	Sarah-Anne Raynham	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
173	Stella Damons	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid
174	Thandi Lebeko	Detained/charged with political offences	Apartheid

Source: Compiled by the author. For detail on the women's Imprisonment, Detention and Banning, See GLDC, Doc No. 1914/3, Class no. Sc/wom/(INT). International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa To Honour Women's Day: Profiles of Leading Women in the South African and Namibian Struggles (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1981), 68 – 71.

Bibliography

A. Archival Materials:

National Archives, Ibadan (NAI)

Commissioner of Colony (Comcol)

NAI Comcol File No.1185, Lagos Market Women Association and Colonial Administration.

NAI Comcol File No. 1368

NAI, File No. ComCol 2401/1Taxation Women at Lagos.

NAI Comcol File No. 2401/4. Hubert Macaulay to Governor of Lagos, Sir Bourdillon December 16, 1940.

NAI Comcol File No. 2401/4. Macaulay to T. Lawrence

NAI Comcol File No. 2401/31 Lagos Market Women Protest against Payment of Income Tax: Interview with Commissioner of The Colony, 1940.

NAI Comcol File No. 2401/32. 31 December 1940.

NAI Comcol File No. 2401/42. Letter from Acting Financial Secretary 16th January 1941.

NAI Comcol File No. 2401/45. Letter from Acting Financial Secretary 16th January 1941.

NAI, ComCol File No.2497, 1946.

NAI Comcol File No. 2401. Procession of Market Women, By Dr Solanke, December 1950

NAI Comcol File No. 2786, Letter from A. Izzett on the petition of the women's party, 23 October, 1946.

NAI, File No. CSO, 28400, Vol. 1 'Abeokuta Women Union,' *Nigerian Daily Times* 13 February 1936, 1.

NAI Command Paper 468, 1919; Report by Sir F.D. Lugard on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria, and Administration 1912 – 1919.

NAI Epe District Officers CrimRB, 1925 – 1926.

Colonial Reports and Petitions

NAI Annual Report on Southern Provinces of Nigeria 1936

NAI Full List of Delegates Attending the Women Conference, 1953.

NAI Minutes of the Meeting of the First Nigerian Women's Congress Held on 1 July to 31 August 1953 at The Centenary Hall, Abeokuta.

NAI Policy of Women Federation, 1959. The 3rd Special Conference of the Federation of Nigerian Women Organisations.

NAI Petition to the Lieutenant Governor on the case of Mrs Agnes Onyia, 1951.

NAI, A petition written on 18 January 1949 by the Ikomi Women Majoebaje Society IWMS to Mrs Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti (AWU leader) on the imprisonment of Janet Oyindamola.

Kenneth Dike Library (KDL) Funmilayo Ransome Kuti's Files (FRK) University of Ibadan

KDL FRK Files: Petition sent by the Abeokuta Women Union, to District Officer, Egba Division dated, 20 August 1946.

KDL FRK Files: Letter from District Officer Egba Division, to Funmilayo Ransome Kuti, 22nd August 1946.

KDL FRK Files, Letter from the women's Union to the Commissioner of Police, 31 May 1949.

National Archives Abeokuta (NAA)

NAA ECR 1/1/46. Minutes of Extra-ordinary Meeting of Egba Council. 12 February 1936.

NAA ECR 1/1/46. Letter from Oladipo Somoye to the Alake, 28 February 1936

NAA ECR 1/1/46. Letter from resident to the Secretary of Southern Provinces. 24 April 1936.

NAA Letter in FRK Papers from S.I Oguntoyinbo to Abeokuta Native Authority 1949.

National Archive Enugu (NAE)

NAE Annual Report 1925. Owerri Province (OP) File No. 391.

NAE. Aba Commission of Inquiry: Notes of Evidence, paragraph, 1779.

NAE Report of the Aba Commission of Inquiry. July 1930, 11.

NAE Aba Commission of Inquiry Notes of Evidence. 129th witness Oguta, 1930.

NAE Mr. Hunt Aba Commission of Inquiries Notes of Evidence. 16th witness, 1930.

NAE J. Cook Aba Commission of Inquiry, 1930.

NAE Henry Alexander Aba Commission of Inquiry, 1930

Alan Paton Centre and Struggle Archives (APC)

APC File No. Pc170/7/2/4/7. Letter from Chief Luthuli to the Prime Minister. Mr. J G Strijdom, 28th May 1957.

APC File No. PC170/2/4/30. Magnus Gunther Collection. African National Congress: Cadres and Credo, 61.

APC File No. PC170/7/2/4/3. African National Congress Advanced to Peoples Power! A 75 Years of Struggle, 4.

APC File No. PC170/7/2/4/3. African National Congress Advanced to Peoples Power! A 75 Years of Struggle, 61.

APC File No. PC170/2/4/30. African National Congress: Problem of Communism July – August 1987, 63.

APC File No. PC170/7/2/4/3. African National Congress Advanced to Peoples Power! A 75 Years of Struggle, 6 – 7.

APC File No. PC170/7/2/4/19 Richard de Villiers, The Resistance to The Extension of Passes to African Women: 1954 – 1960.

APC File No. PC5/1/3/3/3. PASCA Factsheet Income distribution in South Africa.

APC File No. PC5/7/1/3/2 Women for Peaceful Change Now

APC File No. PC11/2/5/7/1-63. Women of Caluza Join in protest, December Crises 1980 by Mike Matthew.

APC File No. PC 5/7/1/3/4/2. The Black SASH Forced Removals, during the 70th commemoration of Natives' Land Act of 1913, 1 – 2.

APC File No. PC170/7/2/4/22. Cheryl Walker, Conference paper on the History of Opposition in Southern Africa, 1978.

APC File No. PC170/7/2/4/5. African National Congress, Women's Wing.

Gandhi Luthuli Documentation Centre (GLDC)

GLDC, Doc No. 1962/1. "The Role of Women in the Against Apartheid.

GLDC, Doc No. 1914/3, 'Special Collection, Doc No. 1914/3, Class No. Sc/wom/(INT) in International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, *To Honour Women's Day: Profiles of Leading Women in the South African and Namibian Struggle* London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1981.

Killie Campbell, Africana Library and Collections, (KCALC)

KCALC Drum, 17 January 1956. Nxumalo. H. "our women carry passes?"

KCALC Drum June 1956. Sophia town Riot over Taxi raid.

KCALC Drum June 1956. Were both people and police too quick to act?

KCALC Drum, 19 October 1958.

KCALC 33978. Bernstein, H "For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears Conditions and Resistance of Women in Apartheid South Africa: African Women in the Reserve, 1975."

KCALC KCM 55233-55282. Bourquin papers

B. Newspapers

Daily Service

Drum

Daily Times

West African Pilot

West Africa Magazine

Daily Comet

Durban Triumph

Natal Witness

Echo

Peace News

Primary Sources:

C. Oral Interviews

S/N	Name	Age	Occupation/Status	Mode of Interview	Place of Interview	Date of Interview
1.	Ela Gandhi	78	Women Activist	Ora Interview	Durban Residence	1 August 2018
2.	Theresa Mthembu	83	Women Activist/ Politician	Oral Interview	ANC Regional Office, Durban	14 June 2017
3.	Generosa Dudizile Beato	63	Women Activist/ Entrepreneur	Oral Interview	Umlazi Residence	07 September2019
4.	Sumboor-nam Moodley	71	Women Activist/ Curator	Oral Interview	Newlands Residence	1 July 2019
5.	Saydoon Nisa	Adult	Women Activist /Researcher	Oral Interview	Durban University of Technology	12 June 2019
6.	Lucille Webster	63	Women Activist/ Researcher	Oral Interview	Email Response	30 July 2019
7.	Mary Ntombela	68	Women Activist/ Politician	Oral Interview	Durban	3 July 2019
8.	Felicia Ogunseye	91	Women Activist/ Academics	Oral Interview	Ibadan Residence	11 - 12 January 2017
9.	Bolanle Awe	85	Women Activist/ Academics	Oral Interview	Ibadan Residence	9 January 2017
10.	Afusatu Arogundade	89	Women Activist/ Trader	Oral Interview	Abeokuta Residence	28 December 2017
11.	Alhaja Aminatu	83	Trader	Oral Interview	Ibadan Residence	10 January 2017

	Akinsola					
12.	Felicia Okafor	88	Farmer	Oral Interview	Enugu Residence	17 January 2018
13.	Ihediawa Elizabeth	87	Farmer	Oral Interview	Lagos Residence	17 December 2017

Government and Intergovernmental/NGO Reports/ Memoirs /Projects

Goldblatt B. and Meintjes, S. 'Gender and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.' A research paper submitted to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. May 1996. Available at <https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/hrvtrans/submit/gender.htm>. Accessed 13 May 2019.

Joubeaud, E. and Rubel, S. 'Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti: and the Women's Union of Abeokuta.' *Women in African History. UNESCO Series on Women in African History*, 2014.

FEDSAW. 'Memorandum on the Pass Laws and Issuing of Reference Books to African Women.' Submitted by FEDSAW to the Non-European Committee of the City Council. Johannesburg, 1958.

Nelson Mandela Foundation Malibongwe – 'Praise Be to Woman - Remembering the Role of Woman in South African History Through Dialogue.' *Dialogue for Justice Booklet*. May 2007.

Shabodien, R. 'A Pamphlet of Celebration of 9 Women. 100 Years of Women and the Struggle for Liberation, Unity in Diversity.' 2006.

Secondary Sources:

Books/Book Chapters

- Adam, P. and Falola, T. *The Women's War of 1929: A History of Anti-colonial Resistance in Eastern Nigeria*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2011.
- Adebajo, A., Adedeji A. and Landsberg, C. *South Africa in Africa: The Post-Apartheid Era*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2007.
- Adi, H. *West Africans in Britain. 1900 – 1960: Nationalism. Pan-Africanism and Communism*. London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1998.
- Afigbo, E. A. *The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southeastern Nigeria. 1891 – 1929*. London: Longman, 1972.
- Agbasiere, J.T. *Women in Igbo Life and Thought*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Allen, J. V. *Aba Women Riot or Women's War"? British Ideology and Eastern Nigeria Women's Political Activism*. Waltham, M.A: African Study Association, 1971.
- Allman, J. Geiger, S. & Musisi, N. eds. *Women in African Colonial Histories*. Indiana: University Press, 1964.
- Amadiume, I. *Re-Inventing Africa: Matriarchy. Religion and Culture*. London: Zed Books, 1997.
- Amakosikazi, M. "Women in Political Struggle." In *for Their Triumphs and For Their Tears: Conditions and Resistance of Women in Apartheid South Africa: African Women in the Reserve*. Edited by H. Bernstein. IDAF: International Defence & Aid Fund, 1975.
- Archibong, B. and Obikili, N. *Convict Labor and the Costs of Colonial Infrastructure: Evidence from Prisons in British Nigeria, 1920 – 1938*. Stellenbosch: LEAP. Department of Economics, 2019.
- Aschcroft, B, Griffiths, G., and Fiffin, H. *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures*. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Awe, B. "Saviours of their societies." In *Nigerian Women: A Historical Perspective*. Edited. B. Awe. Ibadan: Bookcraft Limited, 2001.
- Awe, B. "The Iyalode in the Traditional Yoruba Political System." In *Sexual Stratification. A Cross-Cultural View*. Edited by A. Schlegel. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

- Awe, B. *Nigerian Women in Historical Perspective*. Victoria Island: Sankore-Bookcraft, 1992.
- Barbara, C. *English Feminism 1780 – 1980*. Oxford: OUP, 1997.
- Barbara, S. Edited. *A Snake with ice Water. Prison Writings by South African Women*. Johannesburg: Congress of South African Writers, 1992.
- Basu, A. Ed. *The Challenges of Local Feminisms: Women’s Movements in Global Perspective.*: San Francisco: Westview Press, 1995.
- Berger, I. “Rebels or Status-Seekers? Women as Spirit Mediums in East Africa.” In *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*, edited. Hafkin N. J. and Bay, E. G. California: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- Berger, I. *Women in Twentieth Century Africa: New Approaches to African History*. Cambridge: University Press, 2016.
- Bernault, F. A. “The Politics of Enclosure in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa.” In *A History of Prison and Confinement in Africa*. Edited. Bernault, F. and Roitman, J. Portsmouth: N. J. Heinemann, 2003.
- Bernstein, H. *For Their Triumphs and For Their Tears: Conditions and Resistance of Women in Apartheid South Africa: African Women in the Reserve*. IDAF: International Defence & Aid Fund. 1975.
- Biko, S. *I write What I like*. Ed. A. Stubbs. London: Heinemann, 1979.
- Bozzoli, B. and Nkotshe, M. *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness. Life Strategy and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900 – 1983*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1991.
- Brooks, G. E. “The Signares of Saint-Louis and Goree: Women Entrepreneurs in Eighteenth-Century Senegal.” In *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*. Edited Hafkin, N. J. and Bay, E. G. California: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- Broughton, M. *Press and Politics of South Africa*. Cape Town and London: Purnel & Sons Limited, 1961.
- Brownmiller, S. *Against Our Will: Men Women and Rape*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975.
- Butler, M. Mecheril, P. and Brenningmeyer, L. Edited. *Resistance: Subjects, Representations, Contexts*. Bielefeld: Majuskel Medienproduktion, 2017.
- Byfield, J. ‘Women, Rice. and War: Political and Economic Crisi in War – Time Abeokuta. Nigeria.’ In *Africa and World War II*. Edited. Judith A. Byfield, et al. New York: Cambridge University, 2015.

- Byfield, J. Denzer, L. and Morrison, A. Editors. *Gendering the African Diaspora: Women. Culture and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Byfield, J. *The Bluest Hands: A Social and Economic History of Women Dyers in Abeokuta Nigeria. 1890-1940*. Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2002.
- Byfield, J. *The Great Upheaval: Women and Nation in Post-war Nigeria*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2021.
- Byfield, J., Brown, C.A., Parsons, T and Sikainga, A. A. *Africa and World War II*. Cambridge University Press. 2015.
- Callaway, H. *Gender, Culture and Empire, European Women in Colonial Nigeria*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1987.
- Chatterjee, P. "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question." In *Recasting Women. Essays in Indian Colonial History*. Edited. Sangari, K. and Vaid, S. New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1989.
- Chimah, J. K. *The Land has changed: History Society and Gender in Colonial Eastern Nigeria*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2010.
- Chuku, G. *Igbo Women and Economic Transformation in South-eastern Nigeria 1900 – 1960*. London: Psychology Press, 2009.
- Claude, A. *A Political Economy of Africa*. New York; Essex: Longman, 1981.
- Cohen, R. Muthien, Y. and Zegeye, A. edited. *Repression and Resistance: Insider Accounts of Apartheid*. Warwick: Hans Zell Publishers, 1990.
- Coleman, J. S. *Nigeria: Background to Nationalism*. Berkeley: California University Press, 1958 and 1963.
- Collins, Patricia. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment. Second Edition*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Coquery-Vidrovitch, C. *African Women: A Modern History. Translated by Beth Gillian Raps*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 1997.
- Courville, C. "Re-Examination Patriarchy as a Mode of Production, the Case of Zimbabwe." In *Theorizing Black Feminisms, the Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women*. Edited by James S. M. and A P. A. Busia. New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Craske, N. *Women and Politics in Latin America*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1999.

- Creswell, J. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage publications, 1998.
- Daymond, M.J. *Everyday Matters Selected letters of Dora Taylor, Bessie Head & Lilian Ngoyi*. Jacana: Cape Town, 2014.
- Deckard, B. S. *The Women's Movement: Political, Socioeconomic and Psychological Issues. Third Edition*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1983.
- Diana, E. and H. Russell, *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa*. New York: Basic Books, 1989.
- Dlamini, S. and Venter, S. Edited. *491 Days Winnie Madikizela-Mandela*. Johannesburg: Macmillan, 2017.
- Doan, L. *Disturbing Practices History. Sexuality and Women's Experience of Modern War* Chicago: University Press, 2013.
- Effah-Attoe, S.A. and Jaja, S.O. *Margaret Ekpo: Lioness in Nigerian*. Abeokuta: ALF Publications, 1993.
- Ekejiuba, F.I. "Omu Okwei Osomari." In *Nigerian Women: A Historical Perspective*. Edited by B. Awe. Ibadan: Bookcraft Limited, 2001.
- Enemugwem, J. "The Women's War of 1929: It Implication for Niger-Delta." In *Women in Nigerian History: The River and Bayelsa Experience*. Edited. Nkarom, E. C and Amakievi, G. O. Port-Harcourt: Iseng Communications Limited, 2003.
- Esedebe, O. P. *Pan-Africanism: The Idea and the Movement, 1776–1963*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1982.
- Etim J. and V. Udoh, *the Feminization of Development Processes in Africa; Current and Future Perspectives*. Ibadan: Praeger Publisher, 1999.
- Falola T. and Salm, S. J. *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005.
- Falola, T. and Aderinto, S. *Nigeria Nationalism and Writing History*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010.
- Falola, T. and Browell, E. *Africa, Empire and Globalization. Essays in Honour of A. G. Hopkins*. Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 2011.
- Falola, T. and Heaton, M. M. *A History of Nigeria*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Falola, T. and Lovejoy, P. E. *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development? Pawnship. Slavery. And Colonialism in Africa*. Trenton NJ: Africa World Pr. 2003.

- Falola, T. and Roberts, K. D. *The Atlantic World, 1450 – 2000*. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2008.
- Falola, T. *Development Planning and Decolonization in Nigeria*. Gainesville: University Press of
- Falola, T. Ed. *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development*. London: Zed Books, 1987.
- Falola, T. *Yoruba Gurus: Indigenous Production of Knowledge in Africa; and Counting the Tiger's Teeth: An African Teenager's Story*. Trenton NJ: Africa World Pr. 2014.
- Flint, J. E. *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Modern Nigeria*. London: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Foucault, M. *The History of Sexuality. Volume 1: An Introduction*. New York: Random House. 1978.
- Fowler, S. *The Oppression and Liberation of Modern Africa*. Potchefstroom: University Press, 1995.
- Freidan, B. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1963.
- French, M. *The Women's Room*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977.
- Freund, B. *Insiders, and Outsiders: The Indian Working Class of Durban 1910 –1990*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1995.
- Gailey, H. A. *The Road to Aba: A Study of British Administrative Policy in Eastern Nigeria*. New York: New York University Press, 1970.
- Gandhi, A. *Women and Nationalist Movement. 1920-1947*. New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 2005.
- Gandhi, M. *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1993.
- Gayatri, S. *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*. Edited. Sarah Harasym. New York and London: Routledge, 1990.
- Gayatri. S. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader.*" Edited. Williams, P. and Chrisman, L. Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993.
- Geiger, S. *TANU Women: Gender and Culture on the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism. 1955 – 1965*. Nairobi: E.A.E.P; Portsmouth: NH Heinemann, 1997.

- Gerhart, G. M. and Glaser, C. L. *From Protest to Challenge: A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa, 1882 – 1990. Volume 6: Challenge and Victory.* 1980 – 1990. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010.
- Gisela, G. “Women’s Participation in Nationalist Movement and Liberation Struggles. Fighting Men’s Wars.” In *Women and the Remaking of Politics in Southern Africa; Negotiating Autonomy, Incorporation and Representation.* edited. Gisela Giesler. Spain: Grafilur Artes Graficas, 2004.
- Goonam, K. *Coolie Doctor- An Autobiography* Durban: Madiba Publishers, 1991.
- Gunn, S. *Knocking On: Mothers and Daughters in Struggle in South Africa.* Cape Town: Human Rights Media Centre, 2008.
- Guy, J. “Gender Oppression in Southern Africa’s Pre-capitalist Societies.” In *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* edited. Walker. Cape Town: David Philip, 1990.
- Hafkin, N. and Bay, E. *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change.* California: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- Hassim, S. *Women’s Organizations and Democracy in South Africa: Contesting Authority.* Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2006.
- Hay, M. J. “Luo Women and Economic Change during the Colonial Period.” In *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change.* Edited. Hafkin, N. J. and Bay, E. G. California: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- Hegel, G. W. F. *The Philosophy of History.* New York: Dover, 1956.
- Hiralal, K. “Rebellious Sister: Indentured Indian Women and Resistance in Colonial Natal, 1860 – 1911.” In *Resistance and Indian Indenture Experience: Comparative Perspectives.* Edited. Hassankhan, M. S. Brij V. Lal, and Munro, D. New Delhi: Manohar, 2014.
- Holand, R. “The British Empire and the Great War. 1914 – 1918.” In *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume IV: The Twentieth Century.* Edited. Judith Brown. Wm Roger Louis and Wm Roger Louis Oxford: university Press, 1999.
- Homi, B. “Post-Colonial Criticism.” In *Rewarding the Boundaries: The Transformation of English and American Literary Studies.* Edited. Greenblatt, S. and Gunn, G. B. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1992.
- Hooks, b. *Ain’t I a Woman?* Cambridge. M A: South End Press, 1981.
- Hooks, b. *Feminism for Everybody: Passionate Politics.* Cambridge. MA: South End Press, 2000.

- Hooks, b. *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist. Thinking Black.* Cambridge. M A: South End Press, 1989.
- Hopkins, A. G. *An Economic History of West Africa.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1973.
Howard University Press, 1982.
- IDAF. International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa to Honour Women's Day: Profiles of Leading Women in the South African and Namibian Struggles. London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1981.
- Imam, Ayesha. Mama Amina and Sow Fatou. Eds. *Engendering African Social Sciences.* Dakar: CODESRIA. 1997.
- Isichei, E. *A History of Nigeria.* New York: Longman, 1983.
- Jaffer, Z. *Beauty of the Heart: The Life and Times of Charlotte Manny Maxeke.* Cape Town: ZJ Books, 2016.
- Johnson-Odim, C. "Lady Oyinkan Abayomi." In *Nigerian Women: A Historical Perspective.* Edited. B. Awe. Ibadan: Bookcraft Limited, 2001.
- Johnson-Odim, C. "On Behalf of Women and The Nation: Fumilayo Ransome-Kuti And the Struggles for Nigerian Independence and Women's Equality." In *Expanding the Boundary of Women's History: Essays on Women in the Third World.* Edited. Cheryl Johnson and Margaret Strobel. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.
- Johnson-Odim, C. "Women and Gender in the History of Sub-Saharan Africa." In *Women's History in Global Perspectives.* Volume 3. Edited. Bonnie G. Smith. 9 – 67. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.
- Johnson-Odim, C. and Mba, N. *For Women and the Nation: Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti of Nigeria.* Illinois: University Press, 1997.
- Joseph, H. "The National Federation of Women." In *Lives of Courage: Women for a New South Africa.* Edited. Diana Russell. New York: Basic Books, 1989.
- Joseph, H. *If This Be Treason.* Michigan: A. Deutsch, 1963.
- Joseph, H. *Side By Side.* London: Zed Books, 1986.
- Joseph, H. *Tomorrow's Sun: A Smuggled Journal from South Africa.* London: Hutchinson, 1966.
- Keniston, M. *Yoruba Women. Work and Social Change.* Ibadan: Book Craft, 2009.
- Kwewum, R. S. *The Gambo Sawaba Story.* Abuja: Echo Communications Limited, 1990.
- La Hausse, P. *Brewers. Beerhalls. And Boycotts: A History of Liquor in South Africa.* Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1988.

- Lacey, A. and Luff, D. *Trent Focus for Research and Development in Primary Health Care: An Introduction to Qualitative Analysis*. London: Trent Focus, 2001.
- Lauren, B. *Extra Ordinary Women from South Africa's Past*. Cape Town: Oshun Books, 2004.
- Locke, J. *Second Treatise of Government*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.
- Lugard, L. *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa. 5th edition*. London: Archon Books, 1965.
- Lundberg, et al. *Modern Women: The Lost Sex*. New York: Richard West, 1977.
- Lyons, Tanya. "Guerrilla Girls and Women in the Zimbabwean National Liberation Struggle." in *Women in African Colonial Histories*. Edited. Allman, J. Geiger, S. & Musisi, N. *Women in African Colonial Histories*. Indiana: University Press, 1964.
- Macqueen, I. *Black Consciousness and Progressive Movements under Apartheid*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2018.
- Makhoere, C. *No Child's Play: In Prison under Apartheid*. Michigan: Women's Press, 1988.
- Mamdani, M. *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Colonialism*. Princeton: University Press, 1996.
- Mandela, W. and Benson, M. *Part of My Soul Went with Him*. New York: Norton, 1985.
- Marks, S. "Patriotism, Patriarchy and Purity: Natal and the Politics of Zulu Ethnic Consciousness." In *The Creation of Tribalism in South Africa*, edited. Leroy Vail. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982 – 2004.
- Martin, P. *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain*. London: Macmillan, 2000.
- Mashinini, E. *Strikes Have Followed Me All My Life: A South African Autobiography*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Mba, N. "Heroines of the Women's War." In *Nigerian Women in Historical Perspectives*. Edited. Bolanle Awe. Lagos/Ibadan: Sankore Publishers/Book craft, 1992.
- Mba, N. E. *Nigerian Women Mobilized: Women's Political Activity in Southern Nigeria, 1900–1965*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California Press, 1982.
- Meer, F. *Memories of Love and Struggle*. South Africa: Kwela Books, 2017.
- Meer, F. *Prison Diary: One Hundred and Thirteen Days 1976*. Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2001.

- Mermelstein, D. *The Anti-Apartheid Reader*. New York: Groove Press, 1987.
- Minha, T.T. "Writing Post-Coloniality and Feminism." In *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. Edited. Ashcroft, B. Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Mohanty, C. T. Russo, A. and Torre, L. *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991.
- Nagel, M. "Women, Prisons and Peacemaking in Mali." In *Rethinking Prisons. Cross National Perspectives*. Edited. Mechthild Nagel et al. Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005.
- Nagel, M. *Women Prisoners and Political Prisoners in Africa, South of the Sahara: Encyclopedia on Women in Islamic Cultures, III*. Boston: Brill Publishers, 2005.
- Naidoo, S. *Women in Solitary: Inside South Africa's Female Resistance to Apartheid*. London: Routledge, 2021.
- Naidoo, S. *Women Surviving Apartheid's Prisons*. Columbia: Just World Books, 2021.
- Ngcobo, L. *Prodigal Daughters Stories of South African Women in Exile*. Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2012.
- Oakley, A. *A Critical Woman; Barbara Wootton, Social Science and Public Policy in the Twentieth Century*. London: Bloomsbury, 2011.
- Oakley, A. *Gender and Sexuality*. London: Maurice Temple Smith, 1972.
- Oakley, A. *The Ann Oakley reader: Gender, Women and Social Science*. London: Bristol University Press, 2005.
- Ogunleye, A. *The Nigerian Prison System*. Ikoyi: Specific Computers Publishers, 2007.
- Okonjo, K. "The Dual-Sex Political System in Operation: Igbo Women and Community Politics in Midwestern Nigeria." In *Women in Africa*. Edited. Hafkin, N. J. and Bay, E. G. Stanford: University Press, 1976.
- Olojede, I. "Women and Democratic Governance: Lessons from Second and Third Republics." In *Issues in Contemporary Political Economy of Nigeria*. Edited. H. A Saliu. Ilorin: Sally and Associates, 1999.
- Olusanya, G. O. *The Second World War and Politics in Nigeria 1939–1953*. Lagos: University of Lagos and Evans Brothers, 1973.
- Otite, O. *The Urhobo Woman*. Ibadan: Gold Press Limited, 2006.

- Oyewumi, O. *African Women and Feminism: Reflecting on the Politics of Sisterhood*. Asmara: Africa World Press, 2003.
- Oyewuni, O. *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourse*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.
- Price, R. M. *The Apartheid State in Crisis*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Reddy, E.S. Edited. *Struggle for Liberation in South Africa and International Solidarity: Selection of Papers Published by the United Nations Centre against Apartheid*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Private Limited, 1992.
- Robertson, C. "Ga Women and Socio-economics Change in Accra, Ghana." In *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*. Edited. Hafkin, N. J. and Bay, E. G. California: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- Rosenthal, R. *Mission Improbable: A Piece of the South African Story*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers, 1998.
- Rowbotham, S. *Woman's Consciousness. Man's World*. London: Pelican, 1977.
- Ruth, M. Ed. *Gender in Southern Africa: Conceptual and Theoretical Issues*. Harare: SAPES, 1992.
- Said, E. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Saleh-Hanna, V. *Colonial Systems of Control Criminal Justice in Nigeria*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2008.
- Sanday, Peggy. *Female Power and Male Dominance on the Origins of Sexual Inequality*. Cambridge: University Press, 1981.
- Scott, J. C. *Weapons of the Weak*. Yale: University Press, 1985.
- Scully, F. P. *Liberating the Family? Gender and British Slave Emancipation in the Rural Western Cape. South Africa. 1823 – 1853*. Portsmouth. New Hampshire: David Philip, 1997.
- Shawulu, R. *The Story of Gambo Sawaba*. Jos: Echo Communications Limited, 1990.
- Sheldon, K. *African Women: Early History to the 21st Century*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017.
- Sisilu, E. *Walter and Albertina Sisulu: In Our Lifetime*. Cape Town: David Philip, 2013.

- Sklar, R. L. *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- Skypes, G. *The Society of Captives: A Study of Maximum-Security Prison*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, first published 1958.
- Soiri, I. *The Radical Motherhood' Namibian Women's Independence Struggle*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 1996.
- Sola, J. *Women and Politics in Nigeria*. London: LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2013.
- Suzwan, H. *No Going Back*. Cape Town: South African Institute of Race Relation, 1992.
- Teddle, C. and Yu, F. *Mixed Methods Sampling: a Typology with Examples*. Louisiana State University: SAGE Publication, 2007.
- Thapar-Bjorkert, S.
Women in the Indian National Movement: Unseen Faces and Unheard Voice. 1930 – 42. New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2006.
- Thompson, L. and Prior, A. *South African Politics*. New York: The Vail-Ballou Press, 1982.
- Tidrick, K. *Gandhi: Apolitical and Spiritual Life*. London: Verso, 2013.
- Turok, K. *Life and Soul: Portraits of Women who move South Africa*. Cape Town: Double Story Books, 2009.
- Van Allen, J. "Aba Riots or Igbo 'Women's War'? Ideology, Stratification and the Invisibility of Women." In *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change*. Edited. Hafkin, N. J. and Bay, G. E. California: Stanford University Press, 1976.
- Van Allen, J. *Aba Women Riot or Women's War"? British Ideology and Eastern Nigeria Women's Political Activism*. Waltham, MA: African Study Association, 1971.
- Van der Spuy, P. and Clowes, L. *Accidental Feminists? Recent Histories of South African Women*. Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2007.
- Vandenberg-Daves, J. ed. *Modern Motherhood: An American History*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2014.
- Walker, C. *Gender, and the Development of the Migrant Labour System c. 1850 – 1930: An Overview*. Cape Town, David Philip, 1990.
- Walker, C. *The Women's Suffrage Movement in South Africa*. Cape Town: University Press, 1979.

- Walker, C. *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*. Cape Town: David Philip, 1990.
- Walker, C. *Women and Resistance in South Africa*. London: Onyx Press Limited, 1982.
- Watkins G. J. *Feminist Theory from Margin to Center*, Routledge. New York, 1984.
- Wells, J. *We Now Demand: The History of Women's Resistance to the Pass Laws in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1993.
- Welman, J. C. and Kruger, S. J. *Research Methodology for the Business and Administrative Sciences*. Johannesburg: International Thomson, 1999.
- Wright, J. and Hamilton, C. "Traditions and Transformations: The Phongolo-Mzimkhulu Region in the Late Eighteen and Early Nineteenth Centuries." In *Natal and Zululand: From Earliest Times To 1910. a New History*. Edited. Duminy, A. and Guest, B. Pietermaritzburg, University of Kwazulu-Natal Press, 1989.
- Zachernuk, P. S. *Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000.

Journal articles

- Aaronette W. 'All the Men Are Fighting for Freedom, All the Women Are Mourning Their Men, but Some of Us Carried Guns: A Raced-Gendered Analysis of Fanon's Psychological Perspectives on War.' *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 32 (1967).
- Adeboye, O. 'The Changing Conception of Elderhood in Ibadan, 1830 – 2000.' *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 16, 2 (2007): 261 – 278; 275.
- Adegbindin, O. 'Critical Notes on Hegel's Treatment of Africa,' *Ogirisi: A new Journal of African Studies*, 11 (2015): 20.
- Afolabi, A. 'The Colonial Taxation Policy among Yoruba of Southwestern Nigeria and its Implications for Socio-Economic Development.' *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 19 (2010): 89.
- Agbalajobi, T. D. 'Women's Participation and the Political Process in Nigeria: Problems and Prospects.' *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*. 4, 2 (2010): 75 – 82.
- Agishi, T. V. 'Women Participation in Party Politics in Nigeria: Challenges and the Way Forward.' *Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review*. Nigerian Chapter. 2, 4 (2014): 95.

- Agomoh, U. 'Assessment and Treatment of Female Prisoners in Africa.' *Journal of United Nations Asia and Far East Institute, Resource Materials Series No. 94* (2014): 131 – 146; 133.
- Alozie, B. C. 'Female Voices on the Ink: The Sexual Politics of Petitions in Colonial Igboland. 1892 – 1960.' *Journal of Middle East and Africa* 10, 4 (2019): 351.
- Barnard, J. P. 'The Story of Gambo Sawaba, by Rima Shawulu: A Peer Review Ufahamu.' *A Journal of African Studies* 20, 1(1992): 49.
- Berger, I. 'African Women's Movement in the Twentieth Century: A Hidden History.' *African Studies Review*. 57, 3 (2014).
- Binard, F. 'The British Women's Liberation Movement in the 1970s: Redefining the Personal and the Political.' *French Journal of British Studies XXII- Hors Serie* (2017).
- Bouilly, E. Rillon, O. and Cross, H. 'African Women's Struggles in Gender Perspective.' *Review of African Political Economy* 43, 149 (2016): 338 – 349; 341.
- Bozzoli, B. 'Feminism Marxism and Southern African Studies.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 9, 2 (1983).
- Bozzoli, B. 'Migrant Women and South African Social Change: Biographical Approaches to Social Analysis.' *African Studies* 44, 1 (1985): 92 – 93.
- Brooks, P. 'But Once They Are Organised, You Can Never Stop Them': 1950s Black Women in Montgomery and Johannesburg Defy Men and the State.' *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity. African Feminisms Three*. 58 (2003): 93.
- Byfield, J. 'Feeding the Troops: Abeokuta. Nigeria. and World War II.' *African Economic History* 35 (2007): 77 – 87; 78.
- Byfield, J. 'Taxation, Women, and the Colonial State: Egba Women's Tax Revolt.' *Meridians*. 3, 2 (2003): 250 – 277.
- Chadya, J. M. 'Voting with their Feet: Women's Flight to Harare during Zimbabwe's Liberation War.' *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 18, 2 (2007): 24 – 52.
- Chima, K. J. 'The Invisible Farmer? Women, Gender. and Colonial Agricultural Policy in the Igbo Region of Nigeria. C. 1913 – 1954.' *African Economic History*. 29 (2001): 14.
- Chuku, G. 'Igbo Women and Political Participation in Nigeria. 1800s – 2005.' *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*. 42, 1 (2009): 89.
- Collins, P. H. 'It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender. Race and Nation.' *Hypatia, A Journal of Feminist Philosophy* 13, 3 (1998): 62 – 82.

- De Hass, M. and Frankema, E. 'Gender, Ethnicity, and Unequal Opportunity in Colonial Uganda: European Influences. African Realities. and the Pitfalls of Parish Register Data.' *Economic History Review* 00, 0 (2018): 24.
- de Klerk, Va. and Barkhuizen, G. 'Language Usage and Attitudes in a South African Prison. Who calls the shots?' *International Journal of Social Language* 152 (2001): 97–115.
- Edwards, L. 'Shebeen Queen. Illicit Liquor and the Social Structure of Drinking Dens in Cato Manor.' *Agenda*. 3 (1998): 75 – 97.
- Ekejiuba, F. I. "Omu Okwei Osomari." In *Nigerian Women: A Historical Perspective*. Edited. Awe B. Ibadan: Bookcraft Limited, 2001.
- Fayomi, O. and Ajayi, L. 'An Exploratory Study of Women in Political Leadership in Nigeria.' *Journal of Women and Social Sciences*. 4, 4 (2009): 4.
- Fontebo, H. N. 'Prison Conditions in Cameroon: The Narratives of Female Inmates.' D. Phil, Dissertation. Submitted to the Department of Sociology. University of South Africa, 2013.
- Forae, O. F. 'Prohibition of 'Illicit' Alcohol in Colonial Nigeria: Study in the Tenacity of 'Ogogoro' Local Gin in Urhoboland, Southern Nigeria. 1910 – 1950.' *International Journal of Innovative Research and Development*. 2, 3 (2013): 1– 23.
- Frate, L. 'Women in the South African National Liberation Movement, 1948 – 1960: An Historiographical Overview.' *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies* 21, 1 & 2 (1993): 27 – 40.
- Gqola, P. D. 'Contradictory Locations: Black Women and the Discourse of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa.' *Meridians* 2, 1 (2001): 130 – 152.
- Hiralal, K. 'Mary and Annie Resist, Gender and Resistance in South Africa 1900s – 1950s,' *Race Relations and the South Asian Diasporic Imaginary* 10, (2018): 123 – 138; 127.
- Hiralal, K. 'Narratives and Testimonies of Women Detainees in the Anti-Apartheid Struggle.' *Agenda*, 2015.
- Hiralal, K. "Rebellious Sisters. Indentured Indian Women and Resistance in Colonial Natal, 1860 – 1911." In *Resistance and Indian Indenture Experience*. Edited. Maurits, H. Brij, V.L. and Doug, M. *Manohar*, 2014.
- Hiralal, K. *Married to the Struggle: For Better or Worse. Wives of Indian Anti-Apartheid Activities in Natal: The Untold Narratives.* *New Contree*, 70, Special Edition. 2014.

- Hoffman, Adonis. 'Nigeria: The Policy Conundrum.' *Foreign Policy*, 101 (1995 - 1996): 146 – 158.
- Johnson, C. 'Grass Roots Organizing: Women in Anticolonial Activity in Southwestern Nigeria.' *African Studies Review*. 25, 2/3 (1982): 137 – 157.
- Kimberle, C. 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality. Identity Politics and Violence against Women of Color.' *Stanford Law Review*. 43, 6 (1991): 1241 – 1299.
- Kimble, J. and Unterhalter, E. 'We Opened the Road for You. You Must Go Forward: ANC Women's Struggle. 1912 – 1982.' *Feminist Review* 12 (1982): 11 – 35.
- Kolawale, T. O., Abubakar, M. B., Owonibi, E. and Adebayo, A. A. 'Gender and Party Politics in Africa with Reference to Nigeria.' *Online Journal of Education Research*. 1, 7 (2012): 132 – 144.
- Koopman, J. 'Archbishop Denis Hurley: Liberalism and Globalization.' *Concord Newsletter*. Alan Paton Centre. 2, 3 (2002): 1 – 8.
- Lawal, M. K. Oluyemi, O. T. and. Abiola, O. A. 'Women Participation and Political Leadership in Africa: A Case of Nigeria.' *Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Science* 7, 4 (2019): 49 – 57; 51.
- Legg, S. "Gendered Politics and Nationalized Homes: Women and the anti-colonial struggle in Delhi. 1930 – 1947." *Gender Place and Culture* 10 (2003).
- Lindsay, L. A. 'Domesticity and Difference: Male Breadwinners, Working Women, and Colonial Citizenship in the 1945 Nigerian General Strike.' *The American Historical Review* 104, 3 (1999): 788.
- Lobao, L. M. 'Women in Revolutionary Movements: Changing Patterns of Latin American Guerilla Struggle.' *Dialectical Anthropology*. 15, 2. (1990): 211 – 232.
- Lutfi, H. and Said, E. 'The Post-Colonial Theory and the Literature of Decolonization.' *European Scientific Journal* 2, 40 (2014).
- Maart, R. 'Black Consciousness and Feminism.' *Frank Talk* 5 (2013): 7 – 10.
- Maria, R. R. 'Beyond the Mirrored Space: Time and Resistance in Feminist Theory.' *Behavioural and Philosophy*, 37 (2009): 141 – 147.
- Maureen, M. 'The Construction of Subjectivity and the Paradox of Resistance: Reintegrating Feminist Anthropologist and Psychology.' *Chicago Journals*. 18, 1, (1992): 44 – 73.

- Mbatha, N.P.Z. 'Narratives of Women Detained in the Kroonstad Prison During the Apartheid Era.' *Southern Journal for Contemporary History* 43, 1 (2018): 93.
- McIntosh, M. 'The Context, Causes, and Cultural Valuation of Yoruba and Baganda women's Participation in the Public Economy.' *Program of African Studies Working Papers*. 22 (2013): 18.
- Meer, F. 'South African Community Leader and Fighter against Apartheid.' *Sage*. 5, 2 (1988): 69 – 73.
- Meer, S. 'Freedom for Women: Mainstreaming Gender in the South African Liberation Struggle and Beyond Gender and Development.' *Mainstreaming a Critical Review* 13, 2 (2005): 36 – 45.
- Miller, K. 'Moms with Guns: Women's Political Agency in Anti-Apartheid Visual Culture.' *African arts*. 42, 2 (2009): 74.
- Njoku, O. N. 'Evolution of Produce Inspection in Nigeria up to 1936.' *Odu* (1979): 43 – 57.
- Ogbogu, C.O. 'The Role of Women in Politics and in the Sustenance of Democracy in Nigeria.' *International Journal of Business and Social Science*. 3, 18 (2012): 1.
- Oluyemi, O. 'Monitoring Participation of Women in Politics in Nigeria,' *National Bureau of Statistics*. NBS. Abuja. Nigeria. (2015): 5.
- Onyishi, O. A., Eme, O. and Nwaoha, C. 'Women Marginalization in Electoral Politics in Nigeria: A Historical Perspective.' *Nigerian Chapter of Arabian Journal of Business and Management review*. 2, 7 (2014): 8 – 9.
- Oyemakinde, W. 'The Nigerian General Strike of 1945.' *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 7, 4 (1975): 704.
- Panata, S. and Finch-Boyer, H. 'Campaigning for Political Rights in Nigeria,' *Clio. Women, Gender, History*. 43, Gender and the Citizen (2016): 1 – 185; 176.
- Rangers, T. 'The Meaning of Urban Violence in Africa: Bulawayo. Southern Rhodesia. 1890 – 1960.' *Cultural and Social History*. 3 (2006): 194.
- Robertson, C. 'Never Underestimate the Power of Women: The Transforming Vision of African Women's History.' *Women Studies International Forum*. 11, 5 (1988): 439 – 453.
- Rubel, S. and Jouveaud, E. Editors. 'Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti. The Women's Union of Abeokuta.' *Unesco Series on Women in African History* (2014): 21.

- Safa, H. I. 'Women's Social Movement in Latin America.' *Gender and Society*. 4, 3 (1990): 354 – 369.
- Savage, M. 'The Imposition of Pass Laws on the African Population in South Africa 1916 – 1984.' *African Affairs*. 85, 339 (1986): 181 – 205.
- Scott, J. W. 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis.' *The American Historical Review*. 91, 5 (1986): 1053 – 1075.
- Sewell, W. H. 'A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency and Transformation.' *American Journal of Sociology* 98, 1 (1992): 1 – 29.
- Smith P. J. 'Feminism in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Women in Africa.' *Journal of Transformation*. 6, 2 (1989): 14.
- Taneja, A. *Gandhi, Women and Nationalist Movement. 1920 – 1947*. New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 2005.
- Wells, J. C. 'Why Women Rebel: A Comparative Study of South African Women's Resistance in Bloemfontein 1913 and Johannesburg 1958.' *Journal of Southern African Studies* 10, 1 (1983): 55 – 70.
- White, M. 'Familial Influence in the Autobiographies of Black South African and African American Women Activists.' *Michigan Family Review*. 10 (2005): 27 – 44.
- Zinn, B. M. and Thornton, D. B. 'Theorizing difference from Multiracial Feminism.' *Feminist Studies*. 22, (1996): 321 – 333.

Internet Sources

- Adah A. and Essien, A. 'Nigeria: Country's Early Monarchs Who Resisted Colonisation,' Available from <https://allafrica.com/stories/201602050170.html>. Accessed on 1 July 2018.
- African National Congress Women's League. Establishment of ANCWL. Available at www.womensleague.anc.org.za Accessed on 5 February 2018.
- Agunbiade, T. 'Remembering Margaret Ekpo and the Enugu strike massacre.' Available from <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2020/12/12/remembering-margaret-ekpo-and-enugu-strike-massacre>. Accessed on 8 February 2021.

- Akinboro, A. 'The PR2J3C4 1914 Amalgamation.' Available at <https://the234project.com/history/nigeria/the-nigeria-1914-amalgamation/>. Accessed 28 August 2017.
- Aljazeera, 'Hajia Gambo Sawaba: The Most Jailed Nigerian Female Politician.' Available from <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2021/2/15/hajiya-gambo-sawaba-the-most-jailed-nigerian-female-politician>. Accessed 3 March 2021.
- Anil, N. 'Gandhi and West Africa: Exploring the Affinities.' *The Wire, Online Newspaper*. 2016. Available from <https://thewire.in/history/gandhi-west-africa-exploring-affinities>, 5 November, 2016. Accessed 22 June 2020
- Ashby, E. Wiley Online Library 'Apartheid in South African Universities,' *Higher Education Quarterly* 14, 4 (1960): 345 – 351. Available from <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1468-2273.1960.tb00151.x>. Accessed 29 May 2020.
- Bakare-Yusuf, B. "Yoruba's Don't Do Gender": A Critical Review of Oyeronke Oyewumi's. The Invention of Women." Available at www.codesria.org/Links/conferences/gender/BAKARE-YUSUF.pdf. Accessed 24 March, 2017.
- Borisade, A. 'Iyalode Humuani Alaga. Pioneered first all-female girls School in Ibadan.' Available from <https://abiiodunborisade.com/iyalode-humuani-alaga-pioneered-first-all-female-girls-school-in-ibadan/>. Accessed 28 September 2019.
- Effiong, P. 'Nigerian Women Resist Colonial Laws.' Available from <https://effiongpsu.domains/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Southeastern-Nigerian-Women-Revolt.pdf>. Accessed 21 December 2018.
- First, R. 'The Bus Boycott.' *Africa South* 1 4 (1957): 55 – 64. Available from http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_displaydc&recordID=asjul57.10. Accessed 27 June 2020.
- GLDC. Online Archive. Oral History Project "Voices of Resistance" Interviewee: Ela Gandhi (MP) Interviewer: Vino Reddy, Date: Saturday, 18 May 2002. Place: 22 Inverness Ridge Road Durban. Available from <http://disa.ukzn.ac.za/gandhi-luthuli-documentation-centre/oral-history-project-interview-ela-gandhi> 6. Accessed 16 August 2020
- GLDC. Oral History. "Voices of Resistance" Interviewee Srimi Moodley, Interviewer: D. Shongwe. Date: 24 July 2002. Place: Documentation Centre. Available from <https://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/Audio/VOR/Transcript.htm>. Accessed 23 August 2019.

- GLDC. Oral History. 'Voice of Resistance, 'Background Ela Gandhi.' Available from scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/Audio/GandhiEla/GandhiElaBackground. Accessed 1 October 2019.
- Haney, C. 'The Psychological Impact of Incarceration: Implications for Post-Prison Adjustment.' paper prepared for the conference on "From Prison to Home" 30 – 31 January 2002. 1 – 4. Available from file:///C:/Users/Student/Downloads/The_Psychological_Impact_of_Incarceration_Implicat.pdf. Accessed 23 September 2020.
- Higgs, B. 'The Group Area Act and Its Effects, being notes and document of the United Nations Centre against Apartheid: Department of Political and Security Council Affairs, 1971.' Available from https://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/AL.SFF.DOCUMENT.nuun1971_01. Accessed 23 May 2020.
- Moodley, S. Ed. 'Time to Remember: Reflections of Women from The Black Consciousness Movement.' Available at <https://africanwomanwarrior.wordpress.com/2019/01/27/book-by-black-conscious-women-activists-recalls-their-anti-apartheid-struggle-by-cheryl-roberts/>. Accessed 13 February 2023.
- Napikoski. L. Women's Liberation Movement – Feminism Glossary Definition. 2014. Available at <http://womenshistory.about.com/od/feminism-second-wave/a/Womens-Liberations.htm> Accessed April, 2016.
- New Zealand History, 'Map of South Africa in 1914.' Available at <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/map-south-africa-1914>. Accessed 13 February 2023.
- Ojikutu, O. 'Yoruba Women in the Pre-independence Era.' 2011. Available at <http://234next.com/csp/cms/sites/Next/ArtsandCulture/5594609-147/story.csp> Accessed 2 February 2018.
- People's Assembly. 'About Thandi Ruth Modise.' Available from <https://www.pa.org.za/person/thandi-modise/> Accessed 18 February 2019.
- Periphery Center. 'Songs of Struggle: Music and the Anti-Apartheid Movement of South Africa. 2015.' Available from <http://www.peripherycenter.org/music/music-anti-apartheid-south-africa>. Accessed 14 August 2020.
- Pinterest, 'Sub-Saharan Africa.' Available at <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/725501821192502229/>. Accessed 28 February 2017.

- South Africa History Archives: 'Archive for Justice.' Available at [www.saha.org.za/women/national_women day](http://www.saha.org.za/women/national_women_day). Accessed 20 June 2018.
- South African History Archive. A FEDSAW report 'Women in Prison, Detention under Section 29.' Available at https://www.saha.org.za/women/a_fedsaw_report_women_in_prison.htm. Accessed 16 December 2019.
- South African History Online. 'Abertina Nontsikelelo Sisulu.' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/albertina-nontsikelelo-sisulu>. Accessed 23 August 2020.
- South African History Online. 'Apartheid Crumbles. Women in the turmoil of the 1980s.' 2019. Available from www.sahistory.org.za/womens-struggles-1900-1994/apartheid-crumbles-women-turmoil-1980s. Accessed 4 June 2019.
- South African History Online., 'Bantu Women's League.' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/bantu-womens-league>. Accessed 18 June 2020.
- South African History Online. 'Chapter 5 – The Character, Role and Significance of SASO.' Available from www.sahistory.org/archive/chapter_5_character_and_significance_saso. Accessed 1 June 2019.
- South African History Online. 'Ela Gandhi.' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/ela-gandhi>. Accessed 30 September 2019.
- South African History Online. 'Gandhi and the Passive Resistance Campaign 1907 – 1914.' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/gandhi-and-passive-resistance-campaign-1907-1914>. Accessed 22 June 2020.
- South African History Online. 'Group Area Act of 1950.' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/group-areas-act-1950>. Accessed 23 May 2020.
- South African History Online. 'History of Women's Struggle in South Africa.' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/history-womens-struggle-south-africa>. Accessed 18 June 2020.
- South African History Online. 'The South African General Election: 1994.' Available from Sahistory.org.za. Accessed 15 August 2018.
- South Africa History Online. 'National Party.' Available from <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/national-party-np>. Accessed 28 May 2019. Accessed 28 May 2019.

Unpublished Thesis/Dissertation/ Manuscript

- Aderinto, S. 'Sexualized Nationalism: Lagos and the Politics of Illicit Sexuality in Colonial Nigeria 1918 – 1958.' D. Phil, dissertation. University of Texas. Austin, 2010.
- Badassy, P. 'Crimes of Passion. Crimes of Reason: An Analysis of the Crimes against masters and mistresses by their Indian Domestic Servants. Natal. 1880 – 1920.' MA Thesis. Department of Historical Studies. University of Natal, 2005.
- Edun, N. 'Radical Nationalism in British West Africa. 1945 – 6.' PhD Dissertation. University of Michigan, 2008.
- Johnson-Odim, C. 'Nigerian Women and British Colonialism: The Yoruba Example. With selected Biographies.' D. Phil. Dissertation. Northwestern University Evanston, 1978.
- Kombo, E. 'Women in National Liberation Wars in the Settler Colonies of Kenya and Zimbabwe.' MA Dissertation. Submitted to the Women Studies Department. University of York, 2012.
- Michael, C. A. Edited. 'Nigerian Tales of Colonial Era.' Unpublished Manuscript. 1988.
- Nnamezie, N. I. 'A Historical Analysis of Childhood and the Role of Children in Igbo Culture, Nigeria.' D. Phil. Dissertation. Department of History & Strategic Studies. University of Lagos, 2020.
- Noble, V, 'Ruffled Feathers' The Lives of Five Difficult Women in Durban in the 20th century – A Study of the Lives and Contributions of Mabel Palmer, Killie Campbell. Sibusisiwe Makanya, Dr Goonam and Phyllis Naidoo.' BA Hons. University of Natal, 1997.
- Osifodunrin Ayodele Paul, 'Violent Crimes in Lagos, 1861 – 2000: Nature, Responses and Impact.' D. Phil, dissertation, University of Lagos, 2007.

Conference, Seminar, Symposium and Workshop Papers

- Helie, A. 'Feminism in the Muslim World, Leadership Institutes. 1998 and 1999 Report. Presented in Istanbul. Turkey and Lagos. Nigeria, Respectively.
- Parpart, Jane. Women and The State in Africa. Working paper presented at the Department of History. Halifax: Dalhousie University. 1986.
- Policy of Women Federation, 1959. The 3rd Special Conference of the federation of Nigerian Women Organisations held in forester's hall & Exhibition Centre, Marina, Lagos, from August 28 to August 30, 1959.
- Samia, S. Towards a Feminist Politics? The Indian Women's Movement in Historical Perspective: The World Bank Policy Research Report on Gender and Development. Working Paper Series, no 9. April. Poverty Reduction and Economic Management Network, 2000.

United Nations. The Role of Women in the Against Apartheid. 1980 Extract. Extracts from paper prepared by the secretariat for the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for women, Copenhagen. July 1980.

Walker, Cheryl. Conference on The History of Opposition in Southern Africa, 27 – 30 January 1978: By the Federation of South African Women in Johannesburg University of Witwatersrand. 1978.