ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF POLITICAL RIGHTS OF AFRICAN WOMEN*

Phyllis Kay Dryden

INTRODUCTION

The concept of political equality for women became a serious goal on the international level for the first time in the early 1950's with the United Nations Convention on the Political Rights of Women. The Convention was adopted by the General Assembly in December, 1952, and was opened for signature in March, 1953. It pledged the commitment of ratifying nations to grant women the right to vote, the right to be eligible for elections, and the right to hold public office without discrimination. Currently, twelve African nations have ratified, acceded or succeeded to this Convention.**

The history of the political status of women in Africa is varied, differing with cultural traditions and political boundaries. The evolution of political equality for women throughout Africa, however, has been uniformly subject to four major successive influences. The earliest and most basic influence was and is indigenous African cultural and religious traditions. Next, during the Colonial period (roughly 1830's to 1950's) Western concepts of the role of women in society were superimposed upon the traditional concepts causing confusion and disorientation in many of the colonies where legislation was enforced in the face of conflicting tribal traditions. Thirdly, the struggle for independence in the late 1950's and early 1960's found women in many regions taking an active political part with men in the struggle for nationhood. Finally, the independent African governments themselves have been influential in creating and enlarging the legal political rights of women.

This bibliographical survey documents the progress of political equality for women in Africa from the 1800's to the present. It

* Unannotated entries were cited in primary sources but have not been examined.

** As of December 1971.
contains not only a survey of statistics and analysis of legal political rights of women in the various African countries through the years, it also traces the sociological and cultural forces upon African women which have influenced their utilization of these rights. Included are documents which are designed for the utilization of groups working to further raise the political education of women, with the goal of creating true political equality between men and women in the sense of political consciousness as well as legal rights.
PRIMARY SOURCES

An annual survey of articles and documents on contemporary Africa, arranged by country.

Selected articles and book reviews.

Contains articles, legislation and book reviews.

A quarterly survey of politics, economics and related topics in contemporary Africa containing articles and book reviews.

Selected articles on contemporary Africa, arranged by legal topics.

BOOKS


An anthropological study which treats political institutions in their social settings. This volume deals with the distribution of power under tribal governments and the interrelation of ritual and magic with modern legal institutions; the environment in which the political rights of African women has been developed.

A detailed study of the role of Algerian women starting chronologically with the earliest religious and cultural customs and tracing the disruptive changes of Western influences during the period of French colonialization (1830-1954), of the new status and level of political participation of women during the revolution (1954-1962), and of the current post-independence period. Politically, women have been granted formal political rights, but are still struggling against traditional taboos which are particularly strong in the field of politics in Algeria. Bibliographical references are included.


A sociological study of Ibo women which analyzes their status in public life in Ibo society. From a strictly political standpoint, the 1929 Aba riots are analyzed in some detail, showing the impact of action taken by Ibo women to prevent the taxation of female traders by the colonial administration.
A psychologist's thesis on the self-appraisal of African women of Elizabethville; on their place in society as modified by custom, modernization, urbanism, class and the attitudes of men toward their roles. The study sets up a psychological framework for evaluating political and public activity by urban African women without specifically confronting such issues as voting or political parties. A bibliography is included.


A collection of scholarly papers which sets forth the most relevant political developments in individual African countries, centering upon independence struggles and post-independence political systems, including a study of pan-Africanism. A bibliography is included.


A compilation of theses by female ethnologists drawing from recent fieldwork in French-speaking Africa. Taken together, they attest to the wide variety of settings in which women in tropical Africa live, show how traditional values have been diluted by European influences, and, among other things, present a comparative study of women's roles in the political organization of African societies. Contributions of particular
interest are: Dupire, Marguerite, "The Position of Women in a Pastoral Society: The Fulani WoDaaBe, Nomads of the Niger," including information on the political and legal status of the Borno women; Lebeuf, Annie M.D., "The Role of Women in the Political Organization of African Societies," a study of the political roles of women in African societies before colonialization and the subsequent effect of European influence on those roles; and Albert, Ethel M., "Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values," a study on how women can become influential in a patriarchial society. An annotated bibliography by M. Pearlman and M.P. Moal is included.


PAMPHLETS


REPORTS ON CONFERENCES

A report of the regional seminar held at Makerere University College at Kampala, Uganda from April 29 to May 6, 1964.

A report of a conference held by the Women's African Committee in New York in November, 1959.


ARTICLES

A report on two major conferences in Africa. The first was a two week seminar organized by the United Nations in Addis Ababa from December 9 to 23, 1960. The participants included one hundred women leaders from thirty-one African countries and territories. The subject under discussion was the educational, economic, political, social and legal obstacles still impeding the progress of women in Africa. The second meeting was the first Afro-Asian Conference organized by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, in which three hundred women convened in Cairo on January 15, 1961, to discuss five major topics dealing with women's rights.

A report on the colloquium held at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, on "The Legal Status of Women in Africa; and Practice, Procedure and Evidence in the Native African Local or Customary Courts."


Examines the changes brought about by the process of urbanism in the status and role of women in Africa, including their participation in political organizations and national elections.
A sociological and psychological approach to the problems women face in the political arena, tending to show that present obstacles to full enjoyment of political rights by women have more to do with personal, private and even sexual rights rather than the old obstacles of legal, political and economic rights. Further, the paper anticipates indirect consequences inherent in future changes in the status of women, such as certain negative effects on men.


An article highlighting a number of positive aspects which can be seen as evidences that women in the area south of the Sahara exercise political rights to a considerable degree. Many lack the sophistication and knowledge to exercise their voting power in an independent manner, but they exhibit a keen interest in voting, often traveling long distances to do so. Women also hold a few high government offices. Bibliography included.


A report on the Women's Africa Committee meeting on November 20-21, 1959. The subject of the meeting was to enlighten American women as to the traditional roles which have been played by African women, and to caution members of the committee against forcing western customs upon African women in their effort to improve the status of women in African societies.


A brief analysis of French colonial legislation in West and Equitorial Africa and its effect upon the status of women and under French control through the early 1960's. The express purpose of this legislation was to alter the traditional role of women in French Africa to meet the standards of French social custom. However, because the French lacked knowledge of indigenous customs and ignored traditional patterns of behavior, they promulgated legislation which resulted in conflict, upheaval and disorientation in many of the societies that were intended to benefit from these laws. Only a small portion of the paper is concerned directly with political rights.


Cites actions taken by President Bourguiba to revolutionize the legal political status of women in Tunisia. In August, 1956, the Code of Personal Status was ratified decreeing the legal equality of men and women. Women were thus given the right to vote for the first time in 1957 municipal elections. Presidential influence gave strong backing to the formation
of the Tunisian National Women's Union (UNFT) which has become the prime force in mobilizing the country's women, mainly through its efforts to encourage women to vote and take part in political life. The article speculates that President Bourguiba's decrees outlawing mini-skirts and denouncing loose morals, and his decision not to outlaw veils are concessions to traditionalism designed to keep the fabric of Tunisian society intact in the face of more basic modernization.


Lewin, Julius, "The Legal Status of African Women: The Preliminary Report of an Institute Sub-Committee", Race Relations Journal, 26: 152-159, 1959. Summarizes the political rights of women before the independence of African countries. In general, African women had greatly diminished or no political rights. However, European women resident in Africa were given equal voting rights with African men.


Comprises the backlash against miniskirts in Africa to a resistance to modernization of women on all levels. Miniskirts symbolize the rapid changes inherent in revolutionary feminism. Denouncement of western miniskirts as morally decadent is also seen as a defense against guilt feelings for "backward" elements in African societies such as brideprice and polygamy.

Discusses recent developments in the political rights of women. Currently, the right of women to vote and hold political office is recognized by most United Nations member states, but in practice the rights are abridged in many ways as a result of traditions, prejudices, social and economic backwardness and the general reluctance of men to share political power. The gap between recognition and achievement is seen as wide even in politically stable and socially progressive countries.


Outlines the confusion underlying the political rights of women in Basutoland as resulting from the simultaneous enforcement of customary law and modern decrees. The divergencies of traditional and modern laws with regard to women's political rights are contrasted in detail.


Analyzes the role of women in African society with particular reference to their position in the political development process.

Describes the Women's Africa Committee, newly set up under the aegis of the African-American Committee and designed primarily to act as a clearing house for information such as names of African Women leaders. The Women's African Committee is located in the headquarters of the African-American Institute.


**Algeria** - vol. 12, Jan., 1967, p. 32.

Covers the first congress of the Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes held on November 19-22, 1967. President Boumedienn gave a welcoming speech reaffirming the government's recognition of women's political and social rights and called on women to participate in elections and to join fully in the work of communal assemblies.

**Tanzania** - vol. 12, May, 1967, p. 22.

A TANU conference accepted a request for affiliation from the Umoja Wa Tanzania (UWT), the women's league of Tanzania.

**Uganda** - vol. 13, May, 1968, p. 27.

President Milton Obote laid the foundation stone for the Institute of Public Administration in Kampala on March 15, 1968, and announced that henceforth women civil servants will be given the same pay and employment opportunities as men with the same qualifications. They will be eligible for permanent and pensionable appointments and also entitled to up to 120 days maternity leave annually as well as normal sick leave.


Asserts that the factors hindering utilization of political rights by women in Africa are shortage of trained leadership, conservative forces of traditional society, low health standards and lack of leisure time. The first woman in the national legislature in Liberia claims that feminine emancipation in Liberia is complete, even to the remotest village. Women hold
positions such as mayors, counsellors, jurors, sub-cabinet ministers, acting cabinet ministers, consuls and secretaries in overseas embassies. Many legislative measures have been introduced and inspired by women.

Summary of the United Nations seminar sponsored by the Ethiopian government on December 12-23, 1967. Discusses such topics as what forms women's participation in public life could take, what obstacles there were to this activity, and how the obstacles could be overcome. A distinct emphasis is placed on developing countries, especially African nations.

An annotated bibliography of articles on African women. The sections of particular interest are: Social and Legal Status, which is broken down into regions within Africa; Women's Associations, including articles on women's political organizations; Political Activities, which contains mostly articles on the political influence of women in traditional African societies; and Education-Emancipation, including articles on the participation of women in high government posts.

An analysis of the major changes that have taken place in the status and role of Toro women during the past 130 years. It notes the extent and direction of these changes, their major causes and consequences. The changes are described and analyzed in four successive time periods, starting in 1830 and ending in 1960. One section of the paper in particular focuses upon the jural status of women and their role in the economic, political and religious sectors of Toro society. Some attempt is made to compare the changes in different social classes within Toro society and to suggest some reasons for the relatively fast rate of change in the status and role of women in Toro as compared to some other African societies.

Deals in significant part with the place of women in national politics in Guinea. Specifically, it is concerned with the role of women in political parties both from the point of view of women and of the party itself.

Robert, A., "La Condition Jurisique et Sociale de la Femme en Afrique Equitoriale", Revue Juridique et Politique d'Outre-Mer, Paris, 16: 520-540, Oct. - Dec., 1962, no. 4 in French. Reviews the political and Social development of women in Africa from colonial times through independence, speculating upon future development. The article also traces the interrelation of the economic and political roles of women in Africa as significant forces upon each other and deals with the causes of political evolution for women during the independence period.


Üngör, Beraët Zeki, "Women in the Middle East and North Africa and Universal Suffrage", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 375: 72-81, Jan., 1968. Reveals that emancipation of women and equalization of their political rights have been successful only in part in the north African countries. Positive factors include political regimes which abide by egalitarian and reform principles, culture progress, women's organizations and the struggle to improve education. Negative factors include traditions, ignorance, Moslem cultural mores. Other influential factors include behavior of the men in the family, geographic location of the family, cultural and economic level of the family and industrialization.


TREATIES

Convention on the Political Rights of Women


Official text of the convention:

The Contracting Parties,

Desiring to implement the principle of equality of rights for men and women contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

Recognizing that everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country directly, or through freely chosen representatives, and has the right to equal access to public service in his country, and desiring to equalize the status of men and women in the enjoyment and exercise of political rights, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Having resolved to conclude a Convention for this purpose,

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided:

ARTICLE I

Women shall be entitled to vote in all elections on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

ARTICLE II

Women shall be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.
ARTICLE III

Women shall be entitled to hold public office and to exercise all public functions, established by national law, on equal terms with men, without any discrimination.

ARTICLE IV

1. This Convention shall be open for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and also on behalf of any other State to which an invitation has been addressed by the General Assembly.

2. This Convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE V

1. This Convention shall be open for accession to all States referred to in paragraph 1 of article IV.

2. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE VI

1. This Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the sixth instrument of ratification of accession.

2. For each State ratifying or acceding to the Convention after the deposit of the sixth instrument of ratification or accession the Convention shall enter into force on the ninetieth day after deposit by such State of its instrument of ratification or accession.

ARTICLE VII

In the event that any State submits a reservation to any of the articles of this Convention at the time of signature, ratification or accession, the Secretary-General shall communicate the text of the reservation to all States which are or may become parties to this Convention. Any State which objects to the reservation may, within a period of ninety days from the date of the said
communication (or upon the date of its becoming a party to the Convention), notify the Secretary-General that it does not accept it. In such case, the Convention shall not enter into force as between such State and the State making the reservation.

ARTICLE VIII

1. Any State may denounce this Convention by written notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Denunciation shall take effect one year after the date of receipt of the notification by the Secretary-General.

2. This Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date when the denunciation which reduces the number of parties to less than six becomes effective.

ARTICLE IX

Any dispute which may arise between any two or more Contracting States concerning the interpretation or application of this Convention, which is not settled by negotiation, shall at the request of any one of the parties to the dispute be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision, unless they agree to another mode of settlement.

ARTICLE X

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in paragraph 1 of article IV of this Convention of the following:

(a) Signatures and instruments of ratifications received in accordance with article IV;

(b) Instruments of accession received in accordance with article V;

(c) The date upon which this Convention enters into force in accordance with article VI;

(d) Communications and notifications received in accordance with Article VII;

(e) Notifications of denunciation received in accordance with paragraph 1 of article VIII;
(f) Abrogation in accordance with paragraph 2 of article VIII.

ARTICLE XI

1. This Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish texts shall be equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit a certified copy to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States contemplated in paragraph 1 of article IV.

In faith whereof the undersigned, being duly authorized thereto by their respective governments, have signed the present Convention, opened for signature at New York, New York, on the 31st day of March, 1953.

African Nations which have ratified, acceded to or succeeded to the convention: as of March, 1972.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Signature</th>
<th>Ratification, accession (a)</th>
<th>notification of succession (d)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central African Republic</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 September 1962d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>31 March 1953</td>
<td>21 January 1969</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>19 April 1967</td>
<td>19 April 1967</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td></td>
<td>28 December 1965a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>9 December 1953</td>
<td>29 June 1966a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td></td>
<td>18 July 1969d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People's Republic of The Congo</td>
<td></td>
<td>15 October 1962d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 May 1963d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td></td>
<td>25 July 1962a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td></td>
<td>20 July 1970a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td></td>
<td>24 January 1968a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Official records of the General Assembly of the United Nations setting forth the text of the United Nations resolution on the Convention on the Political Rights of Women. The Convention was opened for signature pursuant to Resolution 640 (VII), adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 20, 1952. The text of the Convention grants to women the right to vote, the right to be eligible for election and the right to hold public office without discrimination.

Sets forth the text of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women.

Comprises the most recent published list of countries which have ratified, acceded or notified of succession to the Convention, including the respective dates thereof. The document also includes the texts of individual declarations and reservations by countries to the provisions of the Convention. The Convention of the Political Rights of Women was opened for signature at New York on March 31, 1953 and was registered and entered into force on July 7, 1954.

A history and background of the Convention, focusing specifically on the development of women's political rights prior to the formation of the United Nations, on action taken by the United Nations leading to the ratification of the Convention, and on the role of the Convention in the development of women's rights. The pamphlet analyzes and provides commentary on each of the provisions of the Convention, including the political environment in which the Convention was drawn up. Annexes set forth the text of the General Assembly Resolution 640 (VII) and of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women. Also included is a list of those countries where women had the right to vote in all elections on an equal basis with men as of November 7, 1955.

Presents a history of the adoption of the draft Convention on the Political Rights of Women by the Economic and Social Council on May 26, 1952. The text of the Convention is included.


Contains information received by the Secretary-General from some thirty-five member states with regard to constitutional or other legal provisions granting political rights to women pursuant to the Convention. Data is also included concerning women who have been elected to national parliaments and who have been appointed to high governmental, judicial or diplomatic posts. The information is organized into statements by the countries and tables of statistics. This document is supplemented by an addendum dated February 27, 1967, which adds information on Mali to the main body of the report.


Provides a list of those countries which have implemented the Convention on the Political Rights of Women and provides tables showing countries where women have been elected to national parliaments or have held high governmental, judicial or diplomatic posts. The first report of this nature by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly was made in 1967 in compliance with a request on the part of that body for annual reports containing relevant portions of national constitutions, electoral laws and other legal instruments relating to the political rights of women, and information on the implementation of the principles of the Convention by the United Nations. Annual supplements to this document are provided.

II. RESOLUTIONS

Resolution on the Development of Political Rights of Women in Territories Where These Rights Are Not Fully Enjoyed
Urges states to take all necessary measures, particularly educational and legislative measures leading to the development of the political rights of women in all territories in which women do not enjoy full political rights, including trust and non-self governing territories. The Resolution was adopted by the General Assembly at its 454 plenary meeting on October 23, 1953.

Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

Sets forth the text of the United Nations Resolution called the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women. The Declaration declares discrimination against women unjust and an offense against human dignity, and it recommends that appropriate measures be taken to guarantee rights by law and to ratify and implement international instruments on the subject. Article 4 in particular requires measures to be taken to grant women political rights guaranteed by national legislation. The General Assembly ratified the Resolution on November 7, 1967.


Program of Concerted International Action for the Advancement of Women

Recommends ratification of relevant international conventions relating to the status of women, enactment of legislation to bring national laws into conformity with international instruments on the status of women, development of effective large-scale educational and informational programs, and assessment and evaluation of the contribution of women to national development. This Resolution, passed by the General Assembly on December 15, 1970, recommends that its objectives and targets be achieved as widely as possible during the Second United Nations Development Decade.
III. U.N. REPORTS ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN


Annual reports by the Secretary-General in compliance with the Economic and Social Council Resolution 120A (VI) of March 3, 1948 which continue from 1948 until the present. The annual reports set forth national constitutions, electoral laws and other legal instruments which grant, restrict or deny women the right to vote and to be elected to public office.

The general format of the reports is as follows:
1. Documentation of relevant portions of national constitutions and statutes granting voting and other political rights to women;
2. Charts showing countries where women have equal rights with men, countries where there are restrictions, and countries where women are denied political rights;
3. Dates women were enfranchised in each country, including reaffirmation of the franchise by independence constitutions where applicable;
4. Table showing countries which have signed, ratified, acceded or notified acceptance of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women starting in 1953; and
5. Lists of the texts of declarations and reservations to the Convention on the Political Rights of Women by countries.


Report containing information on the initiation and progress of national Commissions on the Status of Women.


Sixth monograph in a series of studies published by the Social Development Section of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) under the generic title "Social Welfare Services in Africa". It has been adapted from the report of a field survey conducted for ECA by a special consultant, Ms. Helen O. Judd, in the east African countries of Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia in 1965. Additional material on Ethiopia, available to the Secretariat, has also been incorporated. In
part, this pamphlet deals with the encouragement of women to help themselves by organizing practical courses on civic matters for adults, by active propaganda through women's organizations, and by establishing women's sections in political parties to secure their political rights.

A report, updated at the Twentieth Session on January 24, 1966, containing several relevant sections on women's political rights. The contents include: 1. National legislation—titles of statutes granting voting and other political rights to women in Algeria, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Democratic Republic of), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria (Eastern and Western Regions), Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Uganda, Upper Volta; 2. Relevant United Nations resolutions; 3. Access of women to public services and functions—titles of national statutes and the rights granted to women in Cameroon, Guinea, Liberia, Morocco, Sierra Leone and Somalia.

Describes the conclusions of a report prepared by the Federation's two research committees on the political rights of women by national breakdown, including legal and extralegal discrimination.

Cites the progress made by the United Nations in the field of women's political rights, and includes information on the extent of women's suffrage in eighty countries, the historical development of women's right to vote and the impact of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women.
A Survey conducted by the International Political Science Association on behalf of UNESCO's Department of Social Sciences. The study itself encompasses only women in France, Germany, Norway and Yugoslavia. However, there is included in the study an annex document called "Women's Participation in Political Life - A Report to the Political Science Congress, The Hague, 8-12 September 1952", which is generalized in its approach to the question of how women employ their political rights.

"The Road to Equality; Political Rights of Women", United Nations Department of Social Affairs, Division of Human Rights, 1953, New York.
Traces women's suffrage and rights from the earliest actions taken by nations before World War I, through the period of the two world wars and the impetus of the United Nations charter, to 1953 and the Convention on the Political Rights of Women. It includes commentary on countries where women have restricted or no political rights as of 1953, plus a detailed breakdown in the form of charts on voting and political rights.

"Women in Public Services and Functions", Report by the Secretary-General, United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on the Status of Women, 14th Session, 8 December 1959.
A general survey, updated at the Fourteenth Session on January 20, 1960, tracing the number of women in appointed positions in public life in various countries. It includes references to recruitment, qualifications, disqualifications, entrance exams, preference in appointment, quotas, types of positions, duties, remuneration, advancement and promotion. The survey deals mostly with low level public posts in the civil service, diplomatic and consular services.

Newsletters published semi-annually pursuant to a request by the Commission on the Status of Women for reports on actions by other organs of the United Nations which might be significant in relation to the work of the Commission. The Commission's request has been interpreted liberally to include items of interest about the Commission itself and about developments in various countries which have had a direct bearing on the functions and activities of the Commission. Newsletters 2-23 are bound together, including information on: signatures of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, number of women
elected to public offices in various countries, and legislation from various countries concerning the legal status of women.

"Discrimination Against Women in the Field of Political Rights", United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on the Status of Women, Fourth Session, 15 March 1950. Report by the Secretary-General presenting information on women's right to vote and to be elected to public office on equal terms with men. Included is a table outlining the number and percentage of women in the national legislative assemblies of various countries. Of African countries, only the Union of South Africa is represented due to the early date and lack of complete information at the time.


"Information Concerning the Status of Women in Non-Self Governing Territories", Report by the Secretary-General, United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on the Status of Women, Fourth Session, 30 March 1950. Contains an analysis in tabulated form of information supplied to the Secretary-General by the administering authorities of non-self-governing territories. It deals with political rights of women including the right to vote and to hold public office within the structure of colonial laws. Most of the present African countries are represented. This report was updated at least twice, the supplements being dated Seventh Session, 20 February 1953, and Eighth Session, 15 January 1954.

"Information Concerning the Status of Women in Trust Territories Contained in Annual Reports Made by the Administering Authorities", United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on the Status of Women, Fourth Session, 7 April, 1950. Consists of verbatim replies from administering authorities of non-self-governing territories to written questions posed to them by the Secretary-General on political and sociological issues. Statements with regard to the political rights of women
deal with suffrage laws, legal capacity of women in civil law, opportunities to enter and train for government service, and the status of women in general. The breakdown is by territory and includes all the then current geographical territories in Africa.


IV. PROGRAMS FOR THE POLITICAL ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN

Report submitted at the Commission's nineteenth session in February, 1966, containing a categorization of the substantive needs of countries for the political advancement of women. Major obstacles to be overcome are cited as discrimination, social attitudes, economic conditions, lack of information, lack of financial and human resources, restrictions against the holding of certain types of offices, problems with training and qualifications, psychological background, short period of time certain offices have been legally available, and the need for peer approval. Programs are suggested for developing new resources, for facilitating established projects initiated by non-government organizations, and for organizing a unified long-range plan for the advancement of all women. A bibliography is included for the express use of advancement programs.

Includes a relevant section on the training of women for public administration offices.

Contains comments and observations by governments concerning their particular needs and requests for assistance relating to long-range programs for the advancement of women. A supplement to this document dated Eighteenth Session, 17 February 1965, details United Nations resources available to nations for their programs to advance the status of women.
Civic and Political Education of Women, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York, 1964, pamphlet.

Written primarily for the use of community leaders responsible for the civic and political education of women, whether through governmental or non-governmental organizations, and intended as a basic resource document for adoption and use in all member countries. Included are tables of information concerning political rights of women, plus the text of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women with signatures, ratifications, accessions, notifications of acceptance, reservations and objections to reservations. Bibliographical material is provided.


A memorandum by the Secretary-General on the draft of the pamphlet entitled "Civic and Political Education of Women", including information on the achievement of political rights for women, the responsibility of citizenship, the exercise of political rights, citizenship in everyday life, obstacles impeding the participation of women in public life and suggestions for assistance in overcoming those obstacles.

"Activities Directed Toward the Recognition and Exercise of Political Rights of Women", Report by the Secretary-General, United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on the Status of Women, Tenth Session, 13 January 1956.

Outlines various pressures the United Nations has used on countries to encourage them to give women political rights and to help women learn to use those rights.

For example, the United Nations has approached governments directly to grant women statutory equality, has influenced public opinion through publicity, and has assisted in the political and civic education of women, both in countries where women have had voting rights for a long time and where they have been recently acquired.


General treatment of the political education of women. Of particular interest are the sections on education for citizenship, women in local government, and women in national life. A bibliography is included.

"Suggestions on Ways in Which Equal Political Rights for Women Can be Achieved and Made Effective", Report by the Secretary-General, United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on the Status of Women, Eighth Session, 3 February 1954. A summary of suggestions submitted from governmental agencies and from non-governmental organizations such as the International Federation of Business and Professional Women.

Political Education of Women, Pamphlet Produced at the Request of the Commission on the Status of Women, Endorsed by the Economic and Social Council, United Nations Department of Social Affairs, New York, 1951. Contains chapters on the role of women in political life, women in relation to governments, women's stake in liberty and equality, women and democracy, how women influence public authorities, women and political parties, women voters and candidates for election. Annexes include materials received by the United Nations Secretariat on political education of women, and materials on techniques used by organizations for the political education of women including discussion groups, publications, visual aids, audio aids, television and other educational devices.

"Political Education of Women", United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on the Status of Women, Fifth Session, 10 April 1951. Draft by the Secretary-General of the pamphlet cited above on the political education of women. It is recommended for use in conjunction with concrete examples applicable to the political structure of the country in which it happens to be used, and as a study guide for organizations working for the political education of women in countries where women have recently acquired the right to vote and are beginning to participate in public affairs.

"Collection and Dissemination of Information of Effective Programs of Political Education for Women Who Have Recently Acquired the Right to Vote", Report by the Secretary-General, United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on the Status of Women, Fourth Session, 22 April 1950.

A report concerning the progress of the United Nations program to accumulate current information on those programs which are having the most success in educating women to take advantage of recently acquired political rights.


V. UNITED NATIONS SPONSORED SEMINARS AND MEETINGS


Discusses the topic, purpose and background of the regional meeting. The report also lists African countries which answered the organizational questionnaire on the role of women in national development, gives general information on activities which have been promoted in countries to raise the status of women and sets forth the goals of the United Nations in this field.

The following are reports by individual African countries in response to a questionnaire sent out by the United Nations requesting information on the status of women in national development, for use as reference material at the abovementioned regional meeting at Addis Ababa, 1969. Each of the country reports below was published by the United Nations Economic and Social Council, Economic Commission for Africa.
A report on the position and performance of women in the national development of Liberia, including the holding of positions within the government and in community leadership. Also presented are problems in the education and training of women and solutions which are currently being implemented by the government. Legal status is contrasted with custom and tradition.

Chronicles recent achievements by the government in Ghana in improving the social and legal position of its female citizens. Barriers which continue to impede the effective contribution by women in the nation's development are discussed.

An analysis of the factors which contribute to the status of women in Gambian society, including educational opportunities, training programs, employment opportunities and the part women play in the nation's development program. A special section deals with a comparison of the role of women in the Gambia before and after World War II, with particular emphasis on their participation in government offices.

Outlines the status of women in Sierra Leone. While there are no direct statistics presented on the political role of women, the background given on legal rights and custom provide a summation of the setting in which women's political rights are exercised in Sierra Leone.


"The Role of Women in New Nigeria", 1 April 1969.

Report by the president of the Liberian Women's Social and Political Movement, presenting the role of Liberian women in public and political life.
"Country Report: Kenya".
Contains a statistical analysis of women in political office and presents information on voting and other political rights.

"Country Report: Somalia Republic".
Presents a background on the decline of the status of women in Somalia after the matriarchal society was "modernized" by colonial officials. Current legal rights of women in the political field are contrasted with the general lack of effective use of them.

"Country Report: Uganda".
Contains general information on women in government jobs.

"Speech by Tanzanian Delegation to the Conference on the Role of Women in Developing Countries".
Discusses the role of women in all phases of the national development process.

"Country Report: Sudan".
Reports that women hold high positions in the general framework of the Ministry of Education.

"Rapport du Dahomey" Participation de la Femme au Development Nationale".

"Rapport Présenté Par la Délégation Togolaise".

"Rapport du Gabon".

"La Femme Dans la Société Congolaise".
Treats such issues as the number of women in public offices during and after colonial rule.

"Rapport Présenté Par les Déléguées de Côte-d'Ivoire".
Contrasts the contribution of women to the national development from both the rural and urban sectors, and in terms of the colonial and post-colonial eras.

"Extract From the Report of the Seminar on Civic and Political Education of Women, Held at Accra, Ghana, 19 November - 2 December 1968."

Contains conclusions reached and recommendations resulting from the seminar. The central conclusion of the seminar is that legal inequalities are now slight and the major problem is the lack of utilization of political rights by women. Obstacles are listed which impede the efforts of women to utilize their rights, and suggestions are made as to the avenues of assistance which should be considered by governments, by the United Nations and by non-governmental organizations.


Contains a chapter on measures taken by the United Nations in regard to the status of women, including conventions, declarations, programs, and a particular section on political rights.


Part of a set of evaluation studies requested by the Secretary-General for the use of the 1968 International Conference on Human Rights. The document stresses the problems in raising the status of women in general, and makes suggestions for solving the problems.


A study prepared by the former president of the National Council of Women in Great Britain, as part of the set of evaluation studies for the 1968 conference designed to provide resources of independent evaluation and opinion on the efforts of the United Nations in this field. This report contains information on the authority of the United Nations to further women's political rights, the methods it has used in its work and an evaluation of its achievements.
Three such seminars have been held: Bankok, Thailand: August 1957; Bogota, Columbia: May, 1959; Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: December, 1960.
These United Nations seminars were instituted by the General Assembly resolution 926(x) on advisory services in the field of human rights. Each seminar has been organized by the United Nations in collaboration with the host country.

Includes information and discussion on obstacles impeding the participation of women in public life such as educational deficiencies, economic disabilities and social, religious and legal problems. Several plans of action are formulated to overcome these obstacles.


Describes the history, composition and functions of the Commission on the Status of Women. It discusses the increase of the franchise of women after the two World Wars, and discusses the impact of the 1952 Convention on the Political Rights of Women. The supplement which is bound with the report gives a brief summary of progress by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, particularly its origins and its efforts in the field of political rights of women.


Presents speeches which were given at the assembly touching upon the political world as experienced by the women representatives and their aspirations for change. The Assembly was attended by representatives from the Union of South Africa, the only African nation represented.
IV. EVALUATION OF UNITED NATIONS PROGRAMS

A series of annual reports by the Secretary-General on the work of the Commission on the Status of Women, starting in 1960 and extending to the present. Each report is uniformly divided into chapters dealing with the various substantive aspects of the Commission's work. One of the chapters focuses on the political rights of women and is subdivided into women's political rights in general, access to public offices and functions, the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, and political education. This series of documents is an excellent research tool. It sets forth in chronological order the resolutions of the Commission on political rights of women, with introductory statements on the most important ones, and provides title reference to all reports, studies and publications prepared the Commission or used in connection with the Commission's activities in this field.

A series of annual reports to the Economic and Social Council on the sessions of the Commission of the Status of Women, starting in 1947 and extending to the present. These documents comprise a set of the minutes of the sessions of the Commission and include information on the progress of the Commission's effort to expand political rights of women, discussion on the aspects of participation of women in political life, proposals for new approaches to the legal and psychological problems of women with regard to politics, and, after 1953, references to the implementation of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women.

A series of reports by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly on the work of the Commission on the status starting in 1947 and extending to the present. In general, the reports
outline the status of the work of the Commission in terms of its resolutions, its collections of data on the status of women as reported by national governments, and the progress of its programs to assist in the political education of women through the publication of informational materials and the assistance of various non-governmental organizations in the field.


Pidgeon, Mary Elizabeth, International Documents on the Status of Women, Bulletin of the Women's Bureau No. 217, United States Department of Labor, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1947, pamphlet. Summarizes the work of two official international organizations on the improvement of the status of women. It is a chronological study of the work of the League of Nations and the United Nations between the years 1919-1946, containing reports which were presented before the League and the U.N. during those years, the exact time the reports were presented and the action taken upon them. It compares the provisions of the United Nations charter with that of the League of Nations with regard to the concepts presented on the status of women. Extensive footnotes contain relevant materials on such issues as the first known world-wide collection of data on the status of women which was made in 1902 by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Appendixes include documents on the status of women presented at the Hague Conference in 1930 and at sessions of the League of Nations during the years 1920-1939.