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**THE GENRES OF HISTORY AND THEIR RELEVANCE: THE CASE OF WOMEN**

**HISTORY**

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**Abstract**

The reconstruction of human activities in the period before writing making up for damaged and lost achieves, collation and interpretation of extant materials, the period of writing and other related problems have been addressed by disciplines from different angles. For the discipline of history these genres result from an epistemological decision which is ontologically made manifest through the created genres. These created genres are intended to inject a new meaning and truth into the past, and add new genres to pre-existing ones like social history, political history, economic history and intellectual history. Recent developments have resulted in the emergence of new genres including ethnic history, race history, gender history and women history to mention a few. The paper attempts to analyse the emergence of this genre and its relevance to the discipline and the society at large, in view of the neglect of women in historical discourse being a function of the ideas about historical significance which has been defined primarily by power, influence and visible activity in the world of political and economic affairs. The paper concludes that history as written and perceived so has been the history of the minority. With the majority finding a place in history, the discipline has moved to be comprehensively history: his-story and her-story.

**Key Words: Gender History, Women History, Genre, Historical Discourse, Reconstruction**

## Introduction

Cleo, the muse of history is now a liberated woman. No longer does she accept the traditional norms which defined certain themes as her proper pursuit. One now finds those she inspires investigating all manner of peculiar topics – mobs, magic, madness, famines, families and funny papers are only a few of the new topics intriguing historians. In the meantime, new techniques as diverse as quantification and psychoanalysis are being used by some historians. Traditional scholars have frequently expressed doubts that much good could come out of all this innovation and as women history makes its appearance and claims recognition as a legitimate new field of research, they must wonder still more about the future of their discipline. Surely, the study of women must be the ultimate harbinger of scholarly chaos. What could have less to do with the “serious” study of social change? Scholars suffering from the lingering “Victorianism” might feel that women are too eternal or unworldly to have much to do with politics and economics. Others might wonder whether topicality isn’t the sole reason for the increasing attention paid to the history of women.<sup>1</sup>

Why women history? Because women have a history too. For too long, the history of half the human race has been ignored. We need to know our past to understand our present since the present is the product of the past we have been alarmingly ignorant of. To explain for example the subordinate position of women in most societies, the narrowly defined female role, the attitude of men towards women, the low esteem in which women hold themselves etc. we need to look backwards to the origins and development of ills. From a study of ancient society for example, we can question the notion that patriarchy was the only organizational style ever known. Not only can the past explain the present but acknowledgment of that past can also prove a source of strength encouragement and admonition to women.

Almost from its inception, the historical profession has been dominated by male practitioners. In 1921, Arthur Schlesinger commented that it should not be forgotten that all our great historians have been men and were likely therefore to be influenced by sex on the interpretation of history unconsciously.<sup>2</sup> the vast majority of books on women centred on the theme of Women’s intrinsic goodness, badness or etiquette for women. Some of the books argued that women as embodiment of the eternal feminine had always provided the

necessary support for the more visible achievement of men throughout history. This in itself was an orientation which was fatal to balance scholarly treatment.

The nineteenth century ushered in organized feminism which began to challenge patriarchal structures of power in politics, academia etc. especially in America and England. The response of these efforts saw women particularly the famous ones as trouble makers.<sup>3</sup> as women have confronted many difficulties as they attempt to gain scholarly credibility and respect from male historian. The intellectual and social isolation imposed by sexual discrimination has been a powerful deterrent to sustained scholarly and professional activity. Until 1970 there were few academic women historians at the rank of full professor.<sup>4</sup>

In 1973, the title of a new university course in Paris, "Do Women have a History," converted perhaps the general state of women's history, but it also marked the beginning of a trend towards a much more receptive climate for women's history – the development of historical studies of the family, sexuality and the history of everyday ideas and behaviours. On the whole, however, women's history through the 1970s and into the early 1980's was largely treated as marginal.<sup>5</sup>

While traditional historiography had tended to excluded women from a 'universal' history which was rendered in male voices, the development of women's centred investigation of the 1970s has passed through some stages as the search for conceptual framework and methodology appropriate to the field is on-going. It began with 'compensatory history' or 'women worthies' and then it moved to contributory history.<sup>6</sup> By the end of 1970s, it had moved to 'transitory history,'<sup>7</sup> a period Joan Kelly noted that women's history had begun to restore women to history and to restore our history to women, but more than this, it had also began to stimulate the questioning of the most basic foundation of historical study.<sup>8</sup>

By women history or her-story the paper means a reconstruction, a retrieval of women's experiences, expression, ideas, actions, and their on-going functioning in a male dominated world on their own terms. In this context, the question of oppression alone does not elicit this history, as it is a useful but limited tool of analysis for women history.

### **The Relevance of Women History**

History is a flexible discipline with the ability to facilitate an ever wider exploration of the ever expanding even though already vast field of knowledge. History relevance is seen in its innovativeness readiness to confront the problems of the day as soon as they rear their heads. Economic history is that genre of history which seeks to relate economic growth and society's development to its total historical experience; political history is personality

focused, concerning itself with primarily the lives and actions of kings and queens, nobles and rulers; social history with the life of human society, their interactions with one another, their culture and tradition and the way these have affected the course of human development; Intellectual history with the ideas and thoughts of individuals on specific issues of life. The relevance of women's history is multi-faceted. The following relevance are worthy of mention.

Firstly, Women's history presents a challenge to the periodization of traditional history. The periods in which basic changes occur in society and which historians have commonly regarded as turning points for all historical developments, are not necessarily the same for men as for women. The traditional time frame in history has been derived from political history. Since women have been long excluded from political and military developments the irrelevance of this periodization to their historical experiences is obvious. How then can the challenge of periodization be tackled? This is one of the many questions that challenge the universal assumptions of all previous historical categories.<sup>9</sup>

Secondly, all conceptual models of history developed have only limited usefulness for women's history, since all are based on the assumptions of a patriarchal ordering of values. The structural –functionalist framework leaves out class and sex factors, the traditional Marxist framework leaves out sex and race factors as essentials, admitting them only as marginal factors.<sup>10</sup> Women's history has already presented a challenge to some of the basic assumptions and vaunted generalizations that historians have made over time. While most historians are aware of the fact that their findings are not value free and are trained to check their biases by a variety of methods, most are yet unaware of their sexist bias and more importantly, of the sexist bias which pervades the value system, the cultures and the very language within which they work.<sup>11</sup>

Thirdly, with women history new themes have been introduced into historical studies and old ones subjected to revisionist interpretation.<sup>12</sup> Focus has shifted steadily away from a preoccupation with the need to rediscover and render visible the contribution of heroines and women reformers from the past. By the 1980's, women historians were focusing less upon the history of women's place and female misfortune and were taking interest in social process which included women's culture, women's experience, trying to be more sensitive to matters of class, ethnicity and race as well gender and sexual orientation. In the words of Pascale Werner "women's history was the attempts to draw up anew geography, a historical

landscape in which feminist research could lead historians to people's space in different ways and move the boundaries around.”<sup>13</sup>

To achieve this, women's history is interdisciplinary in its methodology- tools for analysis. One of the methods of approaching historical materials is asking about the actual experiences of women in the past. This is different from a description of the conditions of women written from the perspective of male sources, and leads one to the use of women's letters, diaries, and autobiographies. Oral histories have also been embraced as the key method of recovering women's experiences and voices from andro-centric notions, assumptions and biases which dominate 'male-stream' history everywhere to a female oriented consciousness which has resulted in challenging new interpretations. As J. Reinhartz has put it, “women's oral history is feminist encounter because it creates new materials about women, validates women's experiences, enhances communication among women, discovers women's root and develops a previously denied sense of continuity.”<sup>14</sup>

Fourthly, women history has brought to the fore the omission of children and related aspects of family life, as an object of not only for the study of women but also for the study of people's history. The very obvious link between the private world of the home and the public world of affairs makes the neglect of this study more obvious. Adolf Hitler states clearly the link between the world of the home and the state, within patriarchal society thus: If we say the world of the men is the state, the world of the man is his commitment, his struggle on behalf of his community; we could then perhaps say that the world of the woman is a smaller world. For her world is her husband, her family, her children and her home. But where will the big world be if no one wanted to look at the small world? How could the big world continue to exist, if there was no one to make the task of caring for the small world at the centre of their lives? No, the big world rest upon the small world! The big world cannot survive if the small world is not secure.<sup>15</sup>

Fifthly, in recent times, the question of diversity, of differences between and among women stands as a continuing and thorny theoretical problem for women histories. While some women historians continue to conceptualize women as a unitary category which can be recognized and describe in history, there are others including Chandra Talpade Mohanty and Cheryl Johnson-Odim,<sup>16</sup> who insist that this unity tends to ignore the many differences and divides women? This is so since women do not all have the same history.

Women's history has brought to the discipline a frame of reference that builds women experiences of differences from women and differences among women,<sup>17</sup> since Christian

Crosby, has warned that “as long as women are seen in terms of their sameness, rather than their difference, women history will remain within the space of formation of a male historical discourse.”<sup>18</sup> A glossary look at historical materials over the ages has tended to view/treat all men as the same. With this realization, women’s history has come to include critical accounts of women in every race, class and culture as black feminist like Bonnie Thornton have critique the value of portraying a racially and culturally homogenous “woman-who is in reality a white bourgeois, western woman... as the agent of a more progressive history and culture.”<sup>19</sup>

Hence, important among attempts to reconfigure the field of history and gender relations have been recent efforts to encourage the writing of histories from below and to give primacy to the vision of the oppressed.

These... histories of women of the working class, of Africans and African Americans, of South Asians and of all colonized peoples... are efforts to calculate and redress the high cost of a history predicated on their silence and invisibility. Just as marginalization was (and is) fully political in its impetus and effects. These histories are driven by a logic which insist that all histories is imbricated with the political.<sup>20</sup>

Sixthly, the histories of relations among men and studies about men, in addition to those between men and women, have become an emerging focus of historical enquiry. This visibility of men as men is only seen when in relation to women’s history.<sup>21</sup> Far too little is known about the social construction of manhood and masculinity hence the need to situate men’s history in an explication of the sex/gender systems.<sup>22</sup>

This new genre of men’s history which has brought a woman-centred view to the study of homosexuality and has enabled a much fuller discussion of the construction of gender has been influenced by the path-breaking work of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick.<sup>23</sup> Perspectives gained from men’s studies according to advocates<sup>24</sup> will help female scholarship reach its fullest potential, although there have been doubts about men sharing women’s standpoints on them. Jeff Hearn has encouraged that these women’s viewpoints are critical in critiquing men’s social practises<sup>25</sup> while Michael Messner and Sabo have described the emerging feminist study of men and masculinity as “one that should aim at developing an analysis of men’s problems and limitations compassionately yet within the context of a feminist critique of male privilege.”<sup>26</sup>

## **Challenges of Women History**

One of the major challenges facing women's history is the strategy of viewing women and men historically through separate spheres/perspective. This has been questioned for its tendency to emphasize differences rather than elucidating the reciprocity between gender and society<sup>27</sup> But this perspective of viewing men and women through a separate sphere has proved useful in helping histories to move the history of women into the realm of analytical history, especially when the perspective helps to fill up the dearth of women's history.

This separate sphere's has also helped in the examination of ideologies oppress women, investigate female cultures created by women to support each other as well as to explore the nature of the boundaries of those sphere's that were expected to be observed by women. This challenge becomes tenable since "the growing acceptance of the word 'gender' and its use as an analytical category among histories of women may, unfortunately sanction the study of masculinity before the study of feminity ... let alone the history of women-is anywhere near complete."<sup>28</sup> Other women studies supporters have been concerned that the addition of men's studies might encourage a de-politicization of grassroots feminism underlying women's studies.<sup>29</sup>

The second challenge centres' around how the voices of 'other women'- different classes, races and ethnicity can be recovered and how the evidences of their experiences should be interpreted. This issue of representation is especially problematic as a number of women's historians feel compelled to ask who is entitled to speak on behalf of women of different classes, races and ethnicity. While Joan Scott suggest that evidence should be seen as "at once always already an interpretation and something that needs to be interpreted,"<sup>30</sup> since these evidence or giving voices especially using such techniques as interviews and oral history has helped the participant to describe the world as perceived, SheringGorelick explains that this has its own limitations as "it may remain confined within their perceptions and thus not be able to provide them with much that they do not already know."<sup>31</sup>

## **The Relevance of Women History to African History**

Until recently, African history has been 'male-stream' as historians preoccupied themselves with political histories especially themes that discussed war and battles and the celebration of great men in African history.<sup>32</sup> Women were largely invisible or misrepresented in mainstream history and were they appeared, they were mentioned in footnotes. Paul Tiyamba Zeleza summed it this way:

The authors of African history differ in their approaches and research methods, in the subjects they examine, the interpretations they advance and in their ideological outlook. But they have two things in common, they are predominantly male and sexist in so far as their text underestimates the important role that women have played in all aspects of African history. In more extreme cases, women are not even mentioned at all, or if they are, they are discussed in their stereotypical reproductive roles as wives and mothers. The language used often inferiorises the women activities or experiences being described. Also women's lives are usually cloaked in a veil of timelessness, the institutions in which their lives are discussed, such as marriage, are seen as static. In viewing them as unchanging, as guardians of some ageless traditions, women are reduced to trans-historical creatures outside the dynamics of historical development.<sup>33</sup>

The relative underdevelopment of women's history in Africa at a time when it had started campaigning for a space in university curriculums in the West is attributed to several factors. Firstly, the argument that "compared with the histories of many other parts of the world, the writing of the history of Africans itself is a fairly recent development."<sup>34</sup> Secondly, historical reconstruction between 1950's to 1980's was dominated by three paradigms, nationalist school, underdevelopment or dependency school and the Marxist school.

The last three decades has seen the growth of literature on African women. This interest particularly in women's history is as a result of the widening horizons of historical epistemology and research and the new approaches to social history. These new approaches are helping women historian of African stock with "restoring women to history and restoring our histories to women."<sup>35</sup> Although, the numbers of those working on women history is gradually increasing, it is worthy of note that gone are the days when African women "were painted with the brush of exotica and seen as a monolithic group...cloaked in veils of 'traditions' from which they were gradually liberated by 'modernity,' for the concepts tradition and modernity have been exposed for their a historical and ethnocentrism,"<sup>36</sup> This liberation is critical not just for women history or the discipline, but for the whole of Africa since it has been shown by historians like T. O. Ranger and M. Chanock<sup>37</sup> that many of values and practises which are considered traditional today including those in the sphere of gender relations were invented during the colonial period.

The themes that women histories in Africa give attention to are varied as the methodology is inter-disciplinary. While re-examining as historical processes themes like kinship, marriage, fertility, sexuality and religious which had pre-occupied anthropologist,



there are also researches on the development of women's cultures, solidarity network and autonomous social spaces.

In economic sphere, the importance of women's economic activities in agriculture, processing, craft and manufacturing and trade is being brought to the fore as women's contribution to development. Politically, researches are showing that women actively participated in pre-colonial politics, both as rulers and within arenas viewed as female province and indirectly as mothers, wives, sisters and daughters of powerful men. In the colonial period, women actively participated in nationalist struggle either as organized groups against colonial policies inimical to their interest or they joined male led nationalist movement. Militarily, women participated both as individuals accompanying male troops and as groups of actual combatants; a case in point is the amazons of Dahomey.

In terms of periodization, the pre-colonial history of women before 1800 suffers a dearth. Some of the historiography in this period has been summed up by Paul Zeleza<sup>38</sup> under regions for coherence. For the west coast and its hinterland, the literature has dwelt on women's active participation in trade, production, state formation and increased social stratification among women; the literature on eastern and southern has featured the roles of women in production and the roles queen mothers, marriage and kinship systems; Western Sudan focuses on political roles played by women leaders such as Queen Amina, the impact of Islam on gender division of labour and women's position in the society and the growth of women's slavery with the expansion with the expansion of trans-Saharan slave trade.<sup>39</sup>

As African history enters the nineteenth century, we see more volumes with richer analysis written on women. In eastern and southern Africa we see Works that demonstrate how Basotho women's production roles, economic autonomy, property rights and household relations are transformed as a result of the adoption of new technologies such as the plough.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, in southern Mozambique, southern Tswana, Southern Malawi and the Maasai, commodity production which sometimes included slave trade, appears to have facilitated the subordination of women in this societies.<sup>41</sup>

For western Africa the important roles of Asante queen mothers in the nineteenth century is brought to the fore as well as the biography of a remarkable woman in Asante, while in Mende, female solidarity enabled some women to become chiefs and exercise political control.<sup>42</sup> In the context of gender relations, the Senegambia region from the mid-nineteenth century shows that the intensification of agriculture production was both a social and gendered process while in Igbo society there was changing construction of gender and

sex roles.<sup>43</sup> Women's urbanization during this period was also explored especially in relation to changing forms of marriage, social status and their access to landed property, capital and labour.<sup>44</sup> Themes around the development of seclusion in Hausa land before and after the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate as well as during and after the colonial period and the emergence of intellectually inclined Fulani women during the Jihads also comes to the fore in this period.<sup>45</sup>

The twentieth century history of women interrogates the imposition of colonial rule and its effects on African women. While many elite women lost their control over trade, others took advantage of the expanding petty commodity markets. Esther Boserup<sup>46</sup> has particularly demonstrated how the expansion of cash crop production and male labour migrations increased women's workload, while at the same time, their ability to appropriate the produces of their labour declined. The negative effects of migrants labour on women was especially evident in Sothern Africa.<sup>47</sup> These developments created tensions and the colonial state responded by tightening customary laws which resulted in changes in family structures and created new forms of power.<sup>48</sup> Although the impacts were not the same for all women, "colonial patriarchal ideologies combined with indigenous patriarchal ideologies tended to re-enforce women's subordination, exploitation and oppression."<sup>49</sup>

The next theme in this period focuses on the specific resistance to colonial rule by women such as the Aba Women's War in Nigeria, the Anlu Women's Uprising in the Cameroons and the spontaneous uprisings in Southern Africa against apartheid, to general analysis of women's involvement in nationalist struggles like the Mau Mau and labour movement and struggles.

Post-colonial women's history has tended to investigate women's position and status with independence. Economically, studies in this period show that with independence, women's rural production has become more commoditized as women have increasingly resorted to petty trading and wage labour to make ends meet.<sup>50</sup>

In the urban areas focus on women activities demonstrates women's presence in trade and informal sector operators. Women in wage labour are on the increase due to access to education, changes in family structures, economic expansion and their struggle for independence. But their positions in low paying service jobs have caused them to juggle with the burden of the double day.<sup>51</sup>

Politically, studies show that despite their contributions to nationalist struggles culminating in independence, women have been excluded and marginalized from the political

process. These histories also demonstrate that until quite recently, most governments and international aid organization focused on men in their development projects. The growth of women in development based organizations is yet to correct this anomaly since vast majority of politically marginalized and economically exploited people in Africa are women. But the struggles as individuals and collectively against women exploitation, oppression and marginalization continues while efforts are on to push open the doors of economic, political, social and cultural empowerment.<sup>52</sup>

The analysis above shows that much work has been done to recover women's history but much more needs to be done if women's history must be visible. This will mean penetrating councils that design syllabuses for primary, secondary and tertiary education. This will mean that in addition to books, articles, monographs for use at the university, new course books must be published for schools. The major challenge has been to incorporate these recovered women's history into the mainstream of African historical studies. But this challenge will need the collaboration of both female and male historians who are committed to a deeper and broader understanding of the human past than is possible to using the traditional and conventional andro-centric paradigms since

Women's history represents a field of production which has its own history formed by both the politics of women liberation and intellectual developments within history and in associated disciplines and that there are methodological frameworks that are specific to women's history and women's studies in general.<sup>53</sup>

#### Conclusion

The analysis above shows how real and permanent women history is since it is no more permissible to write African history as his-story. The emergence of this genre in history has led to the challenge of conventional interpretations and the emergence of other genres. Like it has been noted

both on an empirical and theoretical level, one of the most exciting historical specializations today and by its very existence is instrumental in deconstructing mainstream historiography. by emphasizing the other side of history, women instead of men, the implicit male perspective historiography that has obliterated women becomes explicit. This process is pivoting the centre of dominant historiography. It exposes normative and expressive rules of both historical writing and teaching.<sup>54</sup>

The truth is that history as written and perceived up to now, is the history of a minority since with the emergence of women history, the majority found its past. Only a new

history firmly based on this recognition and equally concerned with men and women can lay claim to being a truly universal history. In order to write a new history worthy of the name, her-story and his-tory must make up history.

#### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Sheila Ryan Johanson, "HerstoryAs History: A New Field or Another Fad?" in Berenice .A. Carroll (ed), *Liberating Women History: Theoretical and Critical Essays*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976, p. 400.

<sup>2</sup>Arthur Schlesinger, *New Viewpoint in American History*. New York: Macmillan, 1921, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup>Emil Reich in his multivolume work titled *Women Through the Ages* 1908, p. 243, was comfortable to tell his readers that "if the primary function of history is to teach ... of what use today are the female makers of history except to show posterity the exaggerated errors into which their excessive egotism runs?"

<sup>4</sup>Jacqueline Goggin, "Challenging Sexual Discrimination in the Historical Profession: Women Historians and the American Historical Association, 1890-1940," *The American Historical Review*, 97,3, June 1992, pp. 769-802.

<sup>5</sup>Michelle Perrot (ed), *Writing Women's History*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1982, p. 39, translated by Felicia Pheasant.

<sup>6</sup>Mari Jo Buhle, Ann G. Gordon and Nancy Schron, "Women in American Society: An Historical Contribution," *Radical America* 5, No. 4, July-August, 1971, pp3-66;

<sup>7</sup>Gerder Lerner, "Placing Women in History: Definitions and Challenges," *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Autumn, 1975, pp. 5-14.

<sup>8</sup>Joan Kelly, *Women History and Theory*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, p1.

<sup>9</sup>Gerder Lerner, "Placing Women in History, p.7.

<sup>10</sup>Particia A. Vertinsky, "Gender Relations, Women's History and Sport History: A Decade of Changing Inquiry, 1983-1993," *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 21, No. 1, Spring 1994, p.8.

<sup>11</sup>Gisela Bock, "Women's History and Gender History: Aspects of an International Debate," *Gender and History*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Spring 1989, p.9.

<sup>12</sup>Gerder Lerner, *The Majority Finds the Past: Placing Women in History*. New York: University Press, 1979, p. 238; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Women's History in Transition: The European case," *Feminist Studies* 3: 3-4, 1976, p. 90; Joan Kelly, *Women History and Theory*,

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<sup>13</sup>Pascale Werner Introduction to *L' Histoire Sans Qualities*, quoted in Michelle Perrot (ed), *Writing Women's History*, 1983, p. 38 .

<sup>14</sup>J. Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 126.

<sup>15</sup>Adolf Hitler, Speeches to the National Socialist Women's Organization, Nuremberg Party Rally, 8 September, 1934. Cited in Deirdre Beddoe, *Discovering Women's History: A Practical Manual*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Inc. 1983, p15.

<sup>16</sup>Chandra TalpadeMohanty "Introduction: Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism." Also "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse." In Chandra TalpadeMohanty, Ann Russo and Lourdes Torres (eds), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991, pp1-51, pp. 51-80; Cheryl Johnson-Odim. "Common Theories, Different Context: Third World Women and Feminism." In Chandra Talpade etal (eds), *Third World Women...* pp. 314-327.

<sup>17</sup>Teresa de Lauretis (ed), *Feminist Studies/ Critical Studies*, Bloomington: Indiana Press, 1988, p. 14.

<sup>18</sup>Christian Crosby, *The End of History: Victorians and 'the Woman Question.'* New York: Routledge, 1991, p.153.

<sup>19</sup>Bonnie Thorton Dill, "The Dialectics of Black Womanhood," in Sandra Herding (ed), *Feminism and Methodology*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987, p. 97.

<sup>20</sup>Christian Crosby, *The End of History*, p.150-51.

<sup>21</sup>Gisela Bock, *Women's History and Gender History*, p.18.

<sup>22</sup>Nancy Cott. "On Men's History and Women's History," In Mark C. Games and Clyde Griffens (eds), *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990, p. 206.

<sup>23</sup>Eve KosofskySedqwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Homo-social Desire*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, p.86.

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<sup>25</sup>Jeff Hearn, *The Gender of Oppression: Man's, Masculinity and the Critique of Marxism*, Brighton England: Wheat sheaf, 1987, p. 182.

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