Hydra
Interdisciplinary Journal of Social Sciences

The education of women as a tool in development: challenging the African maxim

By Serena Suen
MSc International Development

Abstract

The old African proverb – "If you educate a man you educate an individual, but if you educate a woman you educate a family (nation)" was a pioneer in its time for realizing the importance of women's education when men predominated education opportunities. This maxim recognized the benefits of education and has repeatedly become the motivation for global development efforts to offer education opportunities for women. Yet, fundamentally this maxim bears problematic assumptions that further disempower women and reinforce patriarchal stereotypes. This essay seeks to unpack the assumptions behind the proverb by viewing how educating women is believed to lead to the development of the family and nation in the context of sub-Saharan Africa, an area still facing low female literacy rates and high gender disparity in the enrolment of formal schooling.

The education of women as a tool in development: challenging the African maxim

Serena Suen

Introduction

"If you educate a man you educate an individual, but if you educate a woman you educate a family (nation)"

As an old African proverb, this maxim was initially popularised by Dr. James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey, a renowned Ghanaian educator and sociologist, in his speech campaigning for the inclusion of women in the Achimota College in Ghana (Ephson, 1969). It bears the fundamental belief that education is beneficial to all but incorporates the notion that when women are educated, the benefits will be aggregated and magnified and enjoyed by a wider context – the family and the nation. Thus, 'educating women' has become a trend, as seen in the mounting global attention focusing on providing access to education for girls and women. Gender-focused aid has nearly tripled from US$2.5 billion in 2002 to US$7.2 billion in 2006 (Jackson, 2009p. 1), reflecting how the development industry is hailing this old African maxim as a universal truth and is eager to realise it on the ground. However, in recent decades, the maxim has gained further momentum in education and development discourse as it was frequently criticised by activists advocating for an end to gender inequality.

The rationales behind the maxim are questionable and were criticised as further disempowering women by viewing them as developmental instruments and reinforcing patriarchal stereotypes. This maxim fits into the 'Women in Development' (WID) paradigm by asserting women as development agents not to be wasted (Heward, 1999, p. 1). It also bears the assumption that women must assume their household roles as mothers and wives so that their education would lead to development in the wider context.

This paper seeks to unpack the rationales behind this influential maxim by firstly looking at how educating women is believed to lead to the development of the family and nation, followed by criticisms of this instrumentalist view. 'Education' will be defined as formal schooling in this paper; not because informal education is not

noteworthy, but formal schooling is typically considered to be the central arena for social and cultural shaping of the younger generation (Levinson and Holland, 1996, p. 1), and hegemony is often systematically reproduced through it. This discussion will be further contextualised using examples from sub-Saharan Africa, the area from which this proverb originated. This is also a region containing countries with the lowest female literacy rate and lowest gender parity index for enrolment in formal schooling (WB, 2012; UNESCO, 2012).

Recognising that girls and women should also be educated

This maxim was revolutionary when first used by Dr. Aggrey in the early 1900s as it highlighted the need for women to be educated alongside men at a time when this was extremely rare, particularly in the African context. As stated by Njeuma (1993, p. 123), the dominant view in the African context does not hold women as heads of household: the households are often *patriarchal* and *patrilocal*, and in certain areas, even *polygynous*. Thus, girls and their older counterparts are considered as being dependent on men throughout the course of their lives, and particularly, relying on their fathers or their husbands when they get married. In another words, women are dependents within the household and assume the role of caring and providing for their children (*Ibid*). In Zimbabwe, the gender division of labour is evident, with men having complete control over wealth and women's labour power as contributing to the advantage of the men in their household (Chung, 1993, p. 150). The contributive elements of women take the form of the day to day sustaining of the household, such as providing primary care for children and preparing food and maintaining an inhabitable environment for all members of the family. This permits men to dominate the role of earning income outside the household without the need to contribute labour power to the family unit.

The maxim builds on the dominant view of women's societal roles in the African context but recognises that women should not be excluded from education based on the benefits they will bring to the family and the nation as a whole. Education, in this context, takes on Amartya Sen's approach to education as being one of "a relatively small number of centrally important beings and doings that are crucial to well-being" (Sen, 1992, p. 44). He emphasises the importance of education as a means to expand an individual's capability to achieve 'functionings' that make up their well-being. According to Sen (1999, p. 87), the 'capability' a person has is "the substantive freedoms he or she enjoys to lead the kind of life he or she has reason to value". Thus, after receiving education, women will have gained agency and the capabilities to achieve their well-being. Through doing so, it would follow that their well-being

would ‘trickle down’ and improve the well-being of their household, contribute to the next generation’s well-being, and ultimately, improve that of the nation.

Recognising women as agents of development

Recognising the importance of education for development, the proverb upholds the view that women are agents of development. It differentiates the outcomes of education for men and women. ‘Educated’ women have higher capabilities to yield externalities, additional benefits which would contribute to the development of their families and the nation as a whole. On the other hand, men will deliver benefits from education to themselves alone. Thus, this view renders educated women as better development agents when compared to men.

The proverb falls into the dominant approach of regarding educating girls and women as a solution to human poverty. This approach is strongly anchored in the long standing Women in Development (WID) framework, having been used since the 1970s. Later on, other frameworks appeared criticising the original stance of WID, such as Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD). Despite this, the WID framework is still considered to be acutely influential in how women and education are conceptualised, as seen by frequent quotations of the maxim in government, international agency and NGO advocacy campaigns/policy. The WID framework is inherent within modernisation theories and stresses that the expansion of education for girls and women will lead to “efficiency and economic growth” (Unterhalter, 2005). For instance, the World Bank regarded women from developing countries as a “previously untapped source of human capital” and repeatedly emphasised the importance of devoting resources to the education of girls to fully utilise the potentials held by this portion of the population in driving country development (Tembon and Fort, 2008, p. xvii). This has led to education becoming key in developing human capital by enhancing an individual’s productivity (Chabbott and Ramirex, 2000, p.165).

A human capital approach views education as an investment in development: sufficient investment is believed to promote overall development and increased sustainability of the developmental progress (USAID, 2005, p. 2). Hence, it attaches great importance to investment in girl’s and women’s education as “creating powerful poverty-reducing synergies and yielding enormous intergenerational gains*”* (USAID, 2005, p.2). This notion was readily accepted and there is significant research highlighting these ‘poverty-reducing synergies’ and ‘intergenerational gains’ from educating girls and women.

Women's education as poverty-reducing synergies

The foremost of poverty-reducing synergy is the generation of income through an increase of female participation in the labour market. In Ghana between 1991-1998, women receiving both primary and post-primary schooling increased participation rates by almost ten per cent in both urban and rural settings (Sackey, 2005, p. 15-16). A positive linkage is drawn between receiving education and gaining better employment opportunities. Women also possibly receive better earnings as higher-earning occupations and promotion opportunities usually require individuals to have more knowledge and skills that are primarily gained through formal education (Aslam *et al*, 2008, p. 67).

Other indirect poverty-reducing impacts are health-related; e.g. lowering fertility rate and fewer chances of contracting HIV and other diseases. High fertility rate is often seen as a feature of developing countries and a hindrance to development. In the mid-1970s, the World Fertility Survey was published endorsing education as a solution to the issue of high fertility with research showing that the more education a woman has had, the fewer children she is likely to have.

Thus, the notion of 'education as a form of contraception' was created by the causal relationship drawn between the level of female education and fertility rates (Sen, 1999, p. 23; Hewen, 1999, p. 5-8; Jeffery and Jeffrey, 1998). This causal relationship can be understood by the 'four main channels', outlined by Ainsworth *et al* (1996), explaining how the schooling of women can result in lower fertility and higher contraceptive use. In short, the four channels highlight how 'wage effects' and 'educational aspirations' increase the opportunity cost for women to raise children. 'Wage effects' take on the view that educated women will be entitled to better wages than their uneducated counterparts, therefore increasing the opportunity cost for them to raise children since child-bearing and rearing will take up additional amount of time, which could be otherwise spent on working. As for 'educational aspirations', Ainsworth *et al* (1996) believed when women received more education, they aspire to further their studies, in turn encouraging women to use contraception in order to refrain from having children or at least choose to have fewer children than before (Ainsworth *et al*, 1996, p. 86-87). Abu-Ghaida and Klasen (2004, p.1079) further build on the four channels by elaborating that reduced fertility lowers the dependency burden of children on the society. With a smaller dependent population, there would be an increase to the supply of savings in the economy, which in turn could be used to promote economic growth.

Moreover, studies have shown that when women receive more education they are

more likely to live healthier lives, such as well-known studies reflecting a higher prevalence of HIV in groups of uneducated girls as opposed to educated girls in sub-Saharan Africa. In Zambia, HIV infection rates fell by almost half for educated women, whilst showing only a very slight decline of HIV infection for women who did not receive any schooling in the 1990s (Erb-Leoncavallo *et al*, 2004, p. 39). In Swaziland, a nation with high HIV prevalence, two-thirds of teenage girls attending school do not have HIV, while two-thirds of out-of-school girls are HIV positive (UNAIDS and WHO, 2003). Further, girls in Uganda who have received secondary education are four times less likely to become HIV positive (UNAIDS and WHO, 2003). These findings demonstrate the benefits of education to women's well-being.

The poverty-reducing impact of education on women is believed to perform a key role in generating economic growth for the society by enhancing women's productivity and deterring decision-making that could lead to a reduction in productivity, such as incurring poor health.

Women's education yields intergenerational gains

As aforementioned, investing in women's education is considered to yield "enormous intergenerational gains" (USAID, 2005, p. 2). This supports the proverb's assertion that educational benefits trickle down to the next generation when women are educated. In relation to the 'education as contraception' argument, educated women are believed to be more capable of caring for their children's well-being as they are better informed about health and medical treatment available. Tembon and Fort (2008, p. xviii) observed that countries with higher levels of female post-primary enrolment enjoy a series of aggregate health benefits that link to the next generation: i.e. lower infant mortality rates, lower rates of HIV and AIDS, and better child nutrition.

Previous studies in Africa have shown that children of mothers who receive at least five years of primary education are 40% more likely to live beyond the age of five (Summers, 1994). While educated women in Niger and Nigeria are 50% more likely to have their children immunised, and thus, raising their next generation's chances of survival (Gage *et al*, 1997). Therefore, this research supports women's monumental influence on the well-being of their children and asserts the role of women as the primary care-givers within the household. Women are also found to be more likely than men to utilise resources, such as food, healthcare and education, to benefit the well-being of their children (UNDG, 2010, p. 18).

Apart from health benefits, it is also found that children of educated women have

better opportunities in receiving education (Hanushek, 2008, p. 24). Educated women are more likely to enrol their children in schools and, as the primary care-giver in the household, children receive initial forms of family education from their mothers. Thus, women play a pivotal role in the "intergenerational transmission of knowledge" (Hanushek, 2008, p. 24).

The African proverb contains a series of further assumptions regarding the relationship of education and women. It upholds that education is instrumental in expanding an individual's capabilities and contributes to one's accumulation of human capital. This assumption fits into the WID framework and advocates how women can use their newly expanded capabilities to enable the development of their family and the nation, in contrast to the individualistic nature of men. The assumptions of this proverb are problematic, however, in its simplistic and limited evaluation why women should receive education. In addition, such an approach reinforces the dominant patriarchal gender norms, rather than challenging it.

An instrumentalist view of women education and development

Perhaps the foremost problematic assumption of the proverb is that it holds that educating women will necessarily bring benefits to others. This assumption fits into the WID framework by advocating the integration of women into development as a solution to human poverty. However, the WID framework created and inserted into practice the category of "Third World women", which standardised and homogenised girls and women from developing countries (Koczberski, 1998, p. 400). According to the maxim, girls and women as housebound and have primarily the same needs and interest, i.e. to seek for benefits for their family after they receive education. This is highly problematic as it neglects the significance of race and class differentiation in women's lives (Connelly *et al*, 2000, p.59) by viewing women as a homogeneous group and failing to address the complexity of women's varying experiences and roles within the family, society and the nation. In addition, individual aspirations for and values place upon education are not taken into account, with the outcomes of educating girls and women focused instead upon stereotypical conceptions of wives and mothers. Unterhalter (2005, p. 18) observes that this notion of educating women primarily benefits others and the household. This failure to relate the benefits of education with women themselves is actually "the site of the harshest discrimination". Girls and women within this framework are educated in order to contribute to the family and the household, whereas boys and men receive education free from any such expectations. These contributions are eventually measured as economic benefit to the household in terms of increased women labour force participation, reduced

fertility rate, and lowered child mortality rate. Causal relationships between educating women and such contributions conceived of in this way are often governing the initiatives of governments, international agencies and NGOs. Summers (1994, p. 20), a former chief economist at the World Bank, phrases this dominant economic instrumentalist view in the following way:

> In making an economic argument for investing in female education, I have tried to steer clear of the moral and cultural aspects unavoidably involved in any gender-related question. Partially this reflects my comparative advantage as an economist, but it also reflects a conviction that helping women be better mothers to their children is desirable whatever one's view of the proper role of women in society.

Here, he explicitly acknowledges the politics inherent in gender issues, but then overtly sidesteps this aspect by emphasising the economic benefits brought about by educating women to be 'better mothers'. Fine and Rose, citing Stiglitz (2001, p. 170) respond to this argument by elaborating that "non-school factors", such as home background, contribute more to a worker's wage performance than schooling, thus asserting the fact that educating women is a "round-about" approach to enhancing the labour force productivity of their children as educated mothers are believed to provide better care and home education when they are educated themselves.

However, the causal relationships between the education of women and the economic externalities upheld were not as apparent as suggested. Compared to other frameworks, WID is relatively less complex and provides for easier generation of policy directives with measurable returns, such as the enrolment rate of girls, fertility rate and labour force participation rate, etc. (Mannathoko, 2008, p. 129). These numbers are often the 'evidence' used by international agencies such as the UN, World Bank and USAID to justify their funding policies. Yet, gradually, there are a mounting number of researches who have made observations to the contrary. For example, studies have shown that more schooling for girls and women does not inevitably lead to lower fertility rates (Jeffrey and Jeffery, 1998; Cochrane, 1982). Furthermore, the causal relationship between women's education and reproductive behaviour has also been revealed to be highly variable and context-specific (Knodel and Jones, 1996, p.685). Moreover, the global implementation of the WID framework has not incurred the expected effects. Instead of curbing women's impoverishment, gender inequality is slowly deteriorating but women's work burdens have been increasing (Koczberski, 1998). These worsening circumstances observed worldwide are attributed to the double-burden many women are now forced to bear: whilst

women are playing an increased role in the labour market, they are still expected to maintain their role in the household (Fine and Rose, 2001, p. 170). This proves that the instrumentalist purpose of educating women, to increase their productivity through participation in the labour market, does not actually address the structural inequalities within the household and in the wider societal context. Most education initiatives only address practical gender needs, such as setting up quota systems for girls entering secondary school in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and offering parents incentives to send their daughters to school by employing more female teachers and offering scholarships to girls (Swainson, 1995, p. 36-43). However, gender disparity is still largely apparent in schooling and in the labour force in sub-Saharan Africa despite these efforts, highlighting the fact that the lack of attention for women's strategic gender needs is problematic. This will be further elaborated in the following section.

A reinforcement of the patriarchal division of labour within the household and in the societal context

As mentioned previously, strategic gender needs are not being acknowledged by the maxim as it continues to view girls' and women's education as solely beneficial for their patriarchically designated roles within the household. The Gender and Development (GAD) framework distinguishes between 'practical gender needs' and 'strategic gender needs', highlighting the essentialness in differentiating and addressing both types of gender needs. Practical gender needs refer to "the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society" which are "a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context" (Moser, 1993, p. 40). These needs are often related to deprivation in day-to day living, like water and food provision and health care and employment, which are all practical in nature. However, by only addressing these practical gender needs, it does not challenge the firmly ingrained gender inequalities within the household and society. Strategic gender needs come into the picture by addressing "the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society" (Moser, 1993, p. 39). These challenge the gender divisions of labour and the domination of men by accentuating the significance of gender equality and not merely focussing on the provision of resources to meet practical gender needs. Strategic gender needs such as allowing women to work outside the households and having their own savings, are often ignored as these needs are challenging and threatening the present male dominant social structure throughout sub-Saharan Africa and the world more generally. Young (1989, p. xix) recognises that the women's role in the household as primary caregivers is shared across different "family forms, kinship structures, marital arrangements,

political and economic structures". This gendered division of labour is primarily attached to the patriarchal culture of society, which sees male dominance over women and children within the family and extending into all aspects of the society (Mosse, 1993, p. 51). As this stringent household role is essential to the dominant culture of the society, education plays a key role in the reproduction of this culture, as Bourdieu and Passeron (1990, p.54) have famously framed:

> Every institutionalized education system owes the specific characteristics of its structure and functioning to the fact that, by the means proper to the institution, it has to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self-reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and to the fulfilment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary which it does not produce (cultural reproduction), the reproduction of which contributes to the reproduction of the relations between the groups or classes (social reproduction).

The "institution" in the above context refers to the State, which is often perceived as the key actor in perpetuation of male dominance as state bureaucracy is conventionally and conveniently dominated by men (Stromquist, 1995). Longwe (1998, p. 19) observed how the process of schooling in fact reinforces women's subordination since the state is often the key actor in the provision of education and maintains the existing order through the design of the curriculum and textbooks, and the setting of assessments. Thus, it ensures that women's advancement in education is still within the existing patriarchal social structure (*Ibid*). Consequently, the schooling process reproduces socially accepted patriarchal gender norms by dictating and instilling social roles that women and girls should take up after schooling. For instance, in Tanzania it is observed that girls are socialised since an early age into key roles of mothers and housewives and that these roles are often portrayed as the only viable option; women's status is measured mainly by their capacity to reproduce and provide for their children (Lim, 2002). Therefore, even when girls receive education, they rarely choose options that do not prepare them for these roles. This is often reflected in girls choosing to study conventional 'feminine' subjects such as arts, home economics, nursing and secretarial studies, which are in fact largely "an extension of home-based activities" (Leach, 1999, p. 48). In Kenya, this restrictive nature of the curriculum is being recognised as disempowering and resulting in very few girls participating in science-based curriculum (Kinyanjui, 1993).

Apart from the explicit gender-orientation towards different subjects, gender social

norms are also often subliminally delivered through what is known as a "hidden curriculum" (Leach, 1999, p. 48). This "hidden curriculum" incorporates a network of school practices such as the attitude of teachers and the management of students delivering a "male-dominated hierarchy of authority" which is meant to condition girls to take up this subordinate role after leaving school (*Ibid*). Thus, schooling serves the purpose of reinforcing male preference, with women in the subordinate position, which later continues to prevail in the labour market, in social relations, and of course, within the household context.

In addition to subordinating the role of women, the meaning projected by the African proverb with which we started is that men are individuals while women's identity and existence are tightly associated with their household. It portrays men as 'free' individuals who can enjoy the fruits of education by themselves and without the obligation to 'share' these benefits. In the sub-Saharan African context and most patriarchal societies, men represent the primary breadwinners in the household but they often do not take an active role in the management of the household and are deterred from caring for their children due to a need to demonstrate their masculinity and to uphold the gendered division of labour in the household. This approach further positions men as 'the problem' of development and not part of the solution. It also underestimates the role of men and stereotypes that educating men is for their personal advancement whilst discouraging them from any participation in the household. In this respect, the GAD framework moved away from the WID framework by seeing the importance of incorporating men into the equation too.

Moser emphasises the consideration of strategic gender roles as a necessity to pave the way for "an alternative, more equal and satisfactory organization of society" (1993, p.39) as this recognises the structure and nature of the relationship between men and women. This also realises that in order to achieve equality for women, we cannot view women in isolation as the issue of subordination is relative to men and it is therefore crucial to recognize the role of men in this process. Thus, the maxim is problematic in its staunch assertion of the unequal relationship between men and women. Education delivered to girls and women in this manner will only succeed in reproducing the vicious cycle of gender inequality.

Conclusion

This popular African maxim helped establish a much-needed accentuation of the education of girls and women, however, the assumptions upon which it is based led this paper to evaluate its reasons for educating girls and women. Whilst the current

educational efforts have without a doubt improved the lives of many women, they have still not addressed the strategic gender needs necessary for sustainable improvements in women's lives. Clearly, women are still tightly bound to their household roles as wives and mothers, and education is currently used as an instrument through which to reproduce this dominant patriarchal gender division of labour. By teasing out problematic assumptions, it is clear that the maxim has failed to address the fundamental causes for gender inequality in education and been ineffective in realising how gender inequality is reproduced through education. This inequality does not simply stem from the unequal access to schools and resources but also in how women are disempowered and confined to their gender stereotypes.

This realisation has started to dawn. Mahzarin Banaji, a Harvard University psychology professor, has reflected that the prevalence of gender inequalities lies in our own minds. She states that this way of systematically refusing to see the potential and talents of women is what made us very much a part of the problem, as well as part of the solution if we were to acknowledge it (As cited in Jackson, 2009, p. 23). Furthermore, Banaji argues that a transformation of the education system is essential to realising the real benefits of education for women, as well as doing away with the assumption that integrating women into the patriarchal schooling system will necessarily improve women's well-being. By questioning and evaluating curricula and cultures of pedagogy in schools, we can begin to establish developmental and social changes that are truly beneficial to girls and women, and not only at their expense.

References

Abu-Ghaida, D. and Klasen, S. (2004). 'The Costs of Missing the Millennium Development Goal on Gender Equity'. *World Development,* 32 (7), pp. 1075-1107.

Ainsworth, M., Beegle, K. and Nyamete, K. (1996). 'The Impact of Women's Schooling on Fertility and Contraceptive Use: a study of 14 Sub-Saharan African countries'. *World Bank Economic Review*, 10 (1), pp. 84-122.

Aslam, M., Kingdon, G. and Soderbom, M. (2008). 'Is Female Education a Pathway to Gender equality in the Labor Market? Some Evidence from Pakistan' in Tembon, M. and Fort, L. (eds). *Girls' Education in the 21st Century: Equality, Empowerment, and Growth*, pp. 67-92. Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank.

Bourdieu, P and Passeron, J. (1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London, Newbury Park and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Chabbott, C. and Ramirez, F. O. (2000). 'Development and education' in Hallinan, M. T. (eds). *Handbook of the Sociology of Education*, pp.163-187. New York: Kluwer Academic/ Plenum Publishers.

Chung, F. (1993). 'Educational expansion, cost considerations, and curriculum development in Zimbabwe" in Conway, J. K. and Bourque, S. C. (eds). *The Politics of Women's Education: Perspectives from Asia, Africa, and Latin America*, pp. 149-167. USA: University of Michigan Press.

Connelly, M. P. et al. (2000). 'Feminism and development: theoretical perspectives' in Parpart, J. L., Connelly, M. P. and Barriteau, V. E. (eds). *Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development*, pp. 51-160. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

Cochrane, S. H. (1982). 'Education and fertility: an expanded examination of the evidence' in Kelly, G. P. and Elliott, C. M. (eds). *Women's Education in the Third World: Comparative Perspectives*, pp. 311-330. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Ephson, I. S. (1969). *Gallery of Gold Coast Celebrities*. Ghana: Ilen Publications, Ltd.

Erb-Leoncavallo, A. *et al*. (2004). *Women and HIV/AIDS: Confronting the Crisis*. Geneva: UNAIDS and New York: UNFPA and UNIFEM.

Fine, B. and Rose, P. (2001). 'Education and the post-Washington consensus' in Fine, B., Lapavitsas, C. and Pincus, J. (eds). *Development Policy in the Twenty-first Century: Beyond the Post-Washington Consensus*. London and New York: Routledge, pp.155-181.

Gage, A., Sommerfelt, E. and Piani, A. (1997). 'Household Structure and Childhood Immunization in Niger and Nigeria'. *Demography*, 34 (2).

Hanushek, E. A. (2008). 'Schooling, gender equity, and economic outcomes' in Tembon, M. and Fort, L. (eds). *Girls' education in the 21st Century: Equality, Empowerment, and Growth*. Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, pp. 23-40

Heward, C. (1999). 'Introduction: the new discourses of gender, education and development' in Heward, C. and Bunwaree, S. (eds). *Gender, Education and Development: Beyond Access to Empowerment*. London and New York: Zed Books Ltd, pp. 1-14.

Jackson, L. W. (2009). *Educate the Women and You Change the World: Investing in the Education of Women is the Best Investment in a Country's Growth and Development*. Forum on Public Policy.

Jeffery, P. and Jeffrey, R. (1998). 'Silver bullet or passing fancy? Girls' schooling and population policy' in Jackson, C. and Pearson, R. (eds). *Feminist Visions of Development: Gender Analysis and Policy*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 239-258.

Kinyanjui, K. (1993). 'Women's participation in the science-based curriculum in Kenya', in Conway, J. K. and Bourque, S. C. (eds). *The Politics of Women's Education: Perspectives from Asia, Africa, and Latin America*. USA: University of Michigan Press, pp.133-148.

Knodel, J. and Jones, G. W. (1996). 'Post-Cairo population policy: does promoting girls' schooling miss the mark?'. *Population and Development Review*, 22 (4), pp. 683-702.

Koczberski, G. (1998). 'Women in Development: a critical analysis'. *Third World Quarterly*, 19 (3), pp. 395-409.

Leach, F. (1999).'Women in the informal sector: the contribution of education and training' in Eade, D. (ed). *Development with Women: Selected Essays from Development in Practice*. Oxford: Oxfam, pp. 46-62.

Levinson, B. A. and Holland, D. (1996). 'The Cultural production of the educated person: an introduction' in Levinson, B. A., Foley, D. E. and Holland, D. C. (eds). *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp.1-56.

Lim, L. L. (2002). 'Female labour-force participation" in United Nations Population Division. *Population Bulletin of the United Nations: Completing the Fertility Transition*. New York: United Nations, pp. 195-212.

Longwe, S. H. (1998). 'Education for women's empowerment or schooling for women's subordination?'. *Gender and Development*, 6 (2), pp. 19-26.

Mannathoko, C. (2008). 'Promoting education quality through gender-friendly schools' in Tembon, M. and Fort, L. (eds). *Girls' Education in the 21st Century: Equality, Empowerment, and Growth.* Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, pp. 127-142.

Moser, C. O. N. (1993). *Gender planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*. London and New York: Routledge.

Mosse, J. C. (1993). *Half the World, Half a Chance: an Introduction to Gender and Development*. Oxford: Oxfam.

Njeuma, D. L. (1993). 'An overview of women's education in Africa' in Conway, J. K. and Bourque, S. C. (eds). *The Politics of Women's Education: Perspectives from Asia, Africa, and Latin America*. USA: University of Michigan Press, pp. 123-131.

Sackey, H. A. (2005). *Female Labour Force Participation in Ghana: the Effects of Education*. Kenya: The African Economic Research Consortium.

Sen, A. (1992). *Inequality Re-examined*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation and Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Sen, A. (1999). *Development as Freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stromquist, N. P. (1995). 'Romancing the State: Gender and Power in Education'. *Comparative Education Review*, 39 (4), pp. 423-454.

Summers, L. (1994). 'Investing in All the People: Educating Women in Developing Countries'. *EDI Seminar Paper*, No. 45.Washington, DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/World Bank.

Swainson, N. (1995). *Redressing Gender Inequalities in Education: a Review of Constraints and Priorities in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe*. Commissioned by The British Development Division in Central Africa of the Overseas Development Administration.

Tembon, M. and Fort, L. (2008). 'Foreword' in Tembon, M. and Fort, L. (eds). *Girls' Education in the 21st Century: Equality, Empowerment, and Growth*. Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ The World Bank, pp. xvii-xix.

Unterhalter, E. (2005). 'Fragmented Frameworks? Researching Women, Gender, Education and Development' In Aikman, S. and Unterhalter, E. (eds). Beyond Access: Transforming Policy and Practice for Gender Equality in Education. Oxford: Oxfam, pp. 15-35.

UNAIDS and WHO. (2003). *AIDS Epidemic Update.* Geneva, UNAIDS/WHO.

UNDG. (2010). *Thematic paper on MDG 3: Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women*. UN Development Group.

UNESCO. (2012). *World Atlas of Gender Equality in Education*. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

USAID. (2005). *Education strategy: Improving Lives through Learning*. US: U.S. Agency for International Development.

World Bank. (2012). *World Development Report 2012: Gender Equality and Development.* Washington, DC: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/ World Bank.

Young, K. (1989). 'Introduction' in *Serving Two Masters: Third World Women in Development*. Ahmedabad: Allied Publishers Limited, pp. ix-xxiii.