Education research gender, education and development - A partially annotated and selective bibliography - Education Research Paper No. 19, 1997, 250 p.
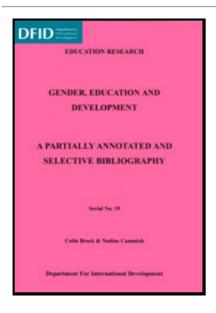
DFID

EDUCATION RESEARCH

GENDER, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

A PARTIALLY ANNOTATED AND SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Serial No. 19

Colin Brock & Nadine Cammish

Department For International Development

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Colin Brock (University of Oxford) Nadine Cammish (University of Hull) with Ruth Aedo-Richmond, Aparna Narayanan and Rose Njoroge

January 1997
Reprinted January 1999

Serial No. 19
ISBN: 0902500767

Department For International Development

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Acknowledgements

In a project like this there are too many individuals involved for us to be able to thank them all by name, We are most grateful to all those ministries, agencies, institutions, projects and librarians who have responded to our requests for information and assistance. We hope that they will be gratified to see the result of their response evident within the bibliography.

There are, however, just a few people we do wish to identify and thank on the record for their special support. Firstly there are our researchers Ruth Aedo-Richmond, Aparna Narayanan and Rose Njoroge who have made very significant contributions, not only in respect of their general input to the work, but also in terms of their insights and expertise on Latin America, South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa respectively. Secondly, our secretarial support has been equally vital, and here we would especially wish to record our thanks to Jennifer Webster. Finally, the index of any academic

document is the first port of call for most users, and for compiling this important element of the publication we thank Shirley Brock.

Inevitably there will be some oversights and significant omissions in a work of this kind. The theme is a massive one, still attracting a great deal of interest, as it should. We take full responsibility for any shortcomings, and hope that readers will notify us of important, readily available sources that have not been listed here. Hopefully they may be included in a subsequent update of the list and the annotations.

Colin Brock
Oxford

Nadine K. Cammish
Hull

Introduction

In theory a bibliography on the interconnected issues of gender, education and development could embrace a massive temporal and spatial scale: millennial and global. In practice there has to be selection, and this publication resides within a range of parameters that determines its rationale.

The initial step in this rationale is the motivation for its

compilation, which is to follow up the ODA Research Report of 1991 on Factors Affecting Female Participation in Education in Six Developing Countries. (That report has been revised, updated and reissued at the same time as this study.). Such a description immediately limits the range of nation states involved but also introduces problems of definition. Conventions such as 'Third World', 'Developing Countries' and 'The South' are all imperfect as the extremely disparate rates of development both between and within countries that tend to fall within such categories continue to deepen and diverge. Rather than seek to resolve this problem, we have decided to rest with traditional regional groupings as listed on the contents page above. All could be contentious, but are at least easily recognised, with real problems existing only on the margins and interfaces, where we have made arbitrary decisions as to inclusion or exclusion. In areas where in recent decades there has been massive economic growth in some countries, for example the Middle

East and South East Asia, we have decided to include all component states despite the fact that there are levels of development in such places that exceed those of most parts of the traditionally perceived 'industrialised world'.

Consequently the main frame structure of the bibliography is that of single traditional regional groupings of nation states, before which there is a section comprising selected publications that seek to address one or more of the related issues on a global scale. Within each regional grouping we begin with items that operate at that scale, for example 'Latin America' or 'Sub-Saharan' Africa, before proceeding with the component nation-states in alphabetical order. No significance at all is ascribed to the order in which regions, and therefore countries, appear in this bibliography.

Within this broad geographical framework we have then operated a number of criteria in the selection of items to be included. This is in no respect an exhaustive list and does not

pretend to be so. A key plank in the rationale is that it should be useful, therefore useable, within the limited time frame within which it may expect to be a 'contemporary resource'. We have therefore placed severe limitations in respect of language, periodisation and availability, again using arbitrary parameters for clear and practical reasons.

The vast majority of items are in English, though where, on occasions, what we reckon to be a key source is published in either French or Spanish, we have included them.

In general we have included only selected items published since 1975. The mid 1970s saw the emergence of a significant body of literature on gender, especially in the USA and then Europe, but it was in the 1980's that the connection with development becomes more apparent, with a surge of activity in respect of gender issues in developing countries.

The issue of availability, admittedly a relative concept, has

also informed our selection and inevitably reflects the target audience. While it is hoped that this bibliography will be of interest to academics from a variety of disciplines it is, like the report from which it has grown, also intended for a wider professional readership. Especially in mind are those who are charged with the formation and operation of policy in respect of the issue of gender in educational provision, and also those in the service of governments or **NGOs** who work in this field. So most entries are published by well known companies or institutions and should not be too difficult to trace. They range from books and reports through journal articles and, occasionally, to pamphlets. We are aware that a vast range of additional material has been produced during the two decades in question, often by active groups within particular countries, but we have had to be deliberately highly selective on grounds of wider accessibility. Consequently locally produced publications in developing countries, probably numbered in the thousands in global terms and of obvious

significance in particular situations, have not in general been included.

There are considerable differences in the amount of material available from zone to zone and country to country. In some cases it has been necessary to cull severely, but where few items appeared to be available selection has been less stringent. Some countries have been omitted entirely because no easily accessible material appeared to be available, although in such cases some significant documentation almost certainly exists.

The selection of some publications for annotation has also been based on the same range of criteria as described above in respect of the bibliographical list. It was thought most useful to the reader to locate the annotations at the end of each regional grouping rather than as a completely separate section of the publication, as many readers will have region-specific interests. Here again, selection has been

made largely on the issue of the items being informative and capable of practical interpretation and therefore import. Obscure discourses have been excluded, and the treatment of all items selected for annotation has been such as to render information to the reader rather than deep criticism. Given the vast range of locations and cultures involved it would have been improper to do otherwise.

While taking full responsibility for the selection, we have been significantly constrained by the nature of the literature that is readily available in the sense described above. The global and regional material, as well as a fair proportion of the country specific items, focus on gender or gender and development. Publications that focus on education in relation to issues of gender constitute a minority, albeit for us a significant one. This is an interesting issue in itself. Does the virtual absence of educational discourse in relation to gender and development books and articles represent a calculated decision on the part of the authors, editors and publishers

involved, or is it simply a function of intellectual and academic specialisation? Most such publications are edited, and contributed to, by social scientists of one hue or another. Perhaps their analysis of the situation includes the realisation that the role of formal education in the development process is a second order issue, following the satisfaction of certain cultural and infrastructural imperatives? This may well be a fair position to take in respect of the formal mode, but while non-formal dimensions of education and training are more visible in the global and regional literature especially, they are still at the margins of the discussion. It would seem that international and comparative educators still have a great deal to do to effect interaction and dialogue with their social science counterparts involved in issues of gender and development.

Be that as it may, the outcome in respect of this bibliography is that we have decided to divide the lists relating to global regional and national categories into two sections: gender,

and gender and education. The relative incidence of each in terms of individual cases varies considerably, but as this would appear to reflect current and recent attitudes and approaches we have not attempted to adjust this imbalance to any significant degree. Rather, we hope that inter alia this will interest the social scientists and the educationists in each other's literature on an important issue of mutual concern that is central to. the development process.

Global

Annotations

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Annotations

ACKER, S. et al (1984) **World Yearbook of Education 1984: Women and Education,** Kogan Page, London.

The articles on gender and education in this collection cover both developed and developing countries but there are useful case-studies on Jamaica (Hamilton and Leo-Rhynie),

Malaysia (Fatimah Hamid Don), Egypt (Cynthia Nelson), and India (Carolyn Elliott). Two more general articles on aspects of gender and education in developing countries are particularly interesting. Maxine Molyneux, writing in 'Strategies for the emancipation of women in Third World socialist societies', (p. 268-278), shows how women's legal, economic and social position has been improved in socialist states such as China, Cuba, Democratic Yemen or Soviet Central Asia, even though they have not yet attained full equality with men. Where a state is committed to planned economic development and there is a comparatively high level of social welfare, employment opportunities for women are more likely to be developed. However, "For socialist states, the emancipation of women is not so much a goal in itself but is, rather, pursued chiefly insofar as it contributes to the achievement of the wider goals of economic development and socialist reconstruction", (p. 270). The pre-revolutionary social order is seen by socialist states as an obstacle to

economic development and social reform. They see women's importance in the period of social and economic transformation as helping to achieve three goals

- to extend political support

Women need to be drawn into political activity so that, politicised, they will cooperate in the process of social transformation. Their politicization challenges ancient customs and carries the revolution into the heart of the family.

- To increase and improve the labour supply

Once familial constraints are eased, women form a large reserve of potential employees or voluntary workers.

- to reconstruct the family

"When revolutionary governments outlaw institutions such as polygamy, the bride-price, child marriage, and discrimination against women in property settlements, they are not doing so only to emancipate women, but also to hasten the disappearance of the pre-existing social order as a whole," (p. 272).

The two main policies usually pursued are family reform and the expansion of female educational opportunities. Although these bring about rapid change, the family remains a locus of inequality between the sexes - women are still responsible for housework and childcare, while being expected to participate fully in wage employment and political life. Women tend to have lower paid jobs too.

As Molyneux says - "legal reforms and Party proclamations will not, in themselves, suffice to enable women to attain equality with men," (p. 276).

The second article, Gail Kelly's 'Women's access to education in The Third World: myths and realities', (p. 82-89) is important in that it questions the assumptions that it is social background, cultural and religious milieu and the level of economic development in a country that influence women's access to education. Such assumptions lead to the view that women's access to schooling is independent of government policy towards women's education and school provision. Kelly argues that the greatest factor influencing female access to education is whether schooling is made available and accessible and what type of schooling is offered. These factors are matters of public policy and "therefore amenable to change," (p. 82).

AFSHAR, Haleh (ed) (1996) **Women and Politics in the Third World,** Routledge, London and New York.

The editor of this book is a distinguished academic in the field of gender and development, and gender studies in general,

and it is therefore no surprise to find this excellent addition to her range of publications. It adds a strong element to the literature in respect of the contribution of political science to the study of this area of enquiry.

While recognising in the introduction of this book the increased recognition of women's contribution to other dimensions of the development process, the editor makes a strong initial case for greater acknowledgment of their increasing role in the political arena at various levels. The fact that relatively few women even now are evident in positions of high power and leadership, especially in the West, leads to the generally Western-centred academic analysis of politics, ignoring women in developing countries and leaving them on the periphery of the discourse. As Afshar puts it: "Western feminisms negated Third World women's choices of paths of political activism which used the local prevalent ideologies and were often located within religious or maternal discourses".

So the object of this collection is to "bring Third World women to the centre of the political analysis, "and to illustrate that, "Their forms of negotiation with the state must not be equated with weakness nor should their strategies be classified as either temporary or unimportant." Contributions to this volume fall into two categories: those that are global or regional, and those that are country specific. The first, comprising four chapters includes three broad analyses of roles played by women in the Third World political arena, while the fourth concentrates on their resistance to authoritarianism in Latin America and South Asia. The country-specific chapters therefore form the majority of the book, but concentrate on just four cases, three of which are from Asia with two chapters each (China, Iran and Palestine), leaving the remaining chapters to a Nicaraguan subject.

The quality of the contributions is everywhere of a high order and sub-themes range across a number of issues, including: the politics of aid (Nicaragua); the politics of reform (China);

fertility behaviour (China); fundamentalism (Iran); constraint (Iran); the national struggle (Palestine); the Intifada (Palestine). Given the title, the absence of African discussion, except in the global papers to some extent, is unfortunate and renders the title somewhat misleading. South Asia - the other major poverty zone - is also hardly represented.

Nonetheless, some of the excellent discussions have possibilities for generalising across the Third World, and in any case, the main objective is to point up the political dimension, and the significant involvement in it by many women in developing countries.

BAGLA-GOKALP, Lusin (1990) **Les femmes et l'éducation de base. Étude spéciale pour la conférence mondial sur l'éducation pour tous, Thaïlande mars 1990** UNESCO, Paris.

Chapter 1 of this wide-ranging survey examines the

arguments for women's rights to education. The impact of female education on birth-rates, for example, is discussed, with evidence of the disparity between the experiences of various parts of the world and the contributory influence of numerous other social factors, apart from education. The "inter-generational effect" of women's education is examined in terms of the well-being and health of children, their cognitive development, and their schooling (particularly that of girls). Chapter 2 *La Situation des femmes dans l'éducation de base* is a good source of facts and figures on literacy rates for women and girls, the impact of world economic recession on basic education, and drop-out and wastage. Chapter 3 summarises various projects on girls' education in a variety of countries.

Chapter 4 *Les facteurs qui influencent la scolarité* is a substantial study of the following factors:

socio-economic and cultural constraints

- poverty
- early marriage
- locus of authority
- control of sexuality
- family systems (eg patrilocal)
- sexual division of labour

Problems of infrastructure and services

- access (roads, transport)
- buildings
- incomplete educational systems
- teachers (supply and quality)
- lack of single-sex schools for girls

Inappropriate types of education

Inequalities within education itself

The final chapter makes a series of suggestions for possible action and intervention to improve girls' chances in education. The author points out that central political change is usually ineffective because of regionally disparity and that equally changes at school level alone are insufficient to ensure real progress. A pluridimensional and integrated approach is needed. Firstly, quality education adapted to the environment should be the aim: good quality buildings and resources should be provided in rural areas, systems with multiple entry points and opportunities to catch up should be developed and national policy on education should be flexible in local circumstances. "Une politique participatoire" should involve villages in the building of schools and planning curriculum and materials to fit in with community development. Non-formal education should be part of community, development programmes.

There is a need to improve the image of the school (a school building should reflect its importance) and to develop a

climate of security and confidence, especially as far as women teachers in rural areas are concerned. Motivating and convincing parents is also essential. Girls' education should be encouraged by adapting to parental wishes, providing for example single-sex education if this is what is wanted. To encourage poorer parents to send their girls to school, not only must the fee problem be removed but indirect costs need to be considered: where girls would otherwise be looking after younger siblings, pre-school provision and family allowances can both help. It is important too to make girls feel at ease within the school environment. The provision of separate toilets, awareness-training for teachers, the revision of sex-stereotyped textbooks and the introduction of female role-models into school would all help. Resources need to be equitably shared so that boarding places and scholarships are available to girls as well as boys. Job discrimination laws and good careers advice are needed to provide equality of opportunity in the jobs market.

BOWN, Lalage (1990), **Preparing the Future: Women, Literacy and Development,** Actionaid, Chard, UK.

This is a report prepared in order to focus attention on the impact of female literacy on human development and the participation of literate women in change. As the author puts it: "The main threads of the enquiry have been the effect of literacy on women's preparation for the future and on their capacity to emerge from being the shadows of other people."

It is necessary for the concept of literacy to be examined, and it is clearly explained that literacy is not a single unified competence, nor is it a fixed measurable achievement. Nonetheless, it is possible to recognise illiteracy and it would appear to be a growing problem overall, and with the gap between males and females widening to the further disadvantage of the latter. In order to get closer to the realities, a number of case studies are examined, especially to ascertain what kind of returns might be expected from an

improvement in female literacy rates. Such returns are discussed in respect of social effects (increased participation in education and health initiatives); economic effects (greater capacity to mobilise credit and participate in business initiatives), personal effects (greater influence on family decisions and willingness to participate in community activity). It is recommended that the female dimension should be highlighted in development projects funded by multilateral and bilateral donors, and that popular, or basic education be promoted. The issue of self-realisation and self-belief is central to any improvement that may be enjoyed. All these matters are well illustrated with detailed reference to field examples and experiences from Asia, Africa and Latin America. These cases are interwoven within the thematic chapters and thus relate well to theoretical considerations.

Despite the evidence collected and reported on here, the author concludes that there is still a great deal to be discovered. For example: does literacy have an impact on the

life-expectancy of mothers? how far is literacy an ingredient in the sustainability of women's economic ventures? how far could women's literacy improve agriculture in countries where women play a large part in farming? what effect does literacy have on women's budgeting and spending patterns/ how does literacy affect women's care for the environment? what is the interaction between schooled women and women gaining literacy in adulthood in movements for social change? Much of the existing evidence of some progress is based on short term, small scale project outcomes, but the more important dimension is the longer term. More research is needed, but at least there is widespread evidence of the significance of literacy for development, and in particular of female literacy.

KING, Elizabeth M and Hill, M. Anne (1993), **Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies,** The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London.

This book examines the education of women in developing countries from an economic perspective, both in terms of the then current situation and in terms of prospects for the future. The Foreward by Lawrence Summers, who has also examined this issue and is listed in this bibliography, contains telling introductory statistics about the 100 million or so "missing women" who in effect do not survive the rigours of the Third World. As he puts it: "Whereas women comprise 52.5 percent of the population in the industrial world, they account for only 51 per cent of the population in Sub-Saharan Africa, less than 48 per cent in East Asia, and less than 47 per cent in South Asia".

Such a situation correlates with indications surrounding the issue of educational disadvantage: that is to say, poorer cultures tend to view girls as less valuable than boys in that they may be less capable to perform physical labour - and yet they are called upon to do exactly that.

There are eight chapters. The first two comprise an overview of women's education in developing countries, and an analysis of the returns to women's education. These are followed by five regional chapters: Sub-Saharan Africa, Middle East and North Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, South Asia and East Asia. All contain detailed data on the economic and educational condition of their respective regions, and polices implemented in respect of the education of women and girls. The final chapter concentrates on lessons to be had from the experiences outlined before and selects a number of desirable aims: expanding access to schools; providing culturally appropriate facilities; recruiting female teachers; reducing direct costs; reducing opportunity costs; increasing the benefits; alleviating poverty; making interventions more successful. The writers conclude that while local initiatives are important and local research is needed to provide insights into the determinants of female disadvantage in particular contexts, broad policies also make

a difference: "For example, the more the government supports primary education, the greater the relative benefits to girls because girls are more likely than boys to quit school after primary level." Such an assessment fits well with the post-Jomtien thrust for basic educational development and the likely returns from investing in it.

MOMSEN, Janet and KINNAIRD, Vivian (1993) **Different Places, Different Voices: Gender and Development in Africa, Asia and Latin America,** Routledge, London and New York.

A number of disciplines contribute to the study of educational issues in international and comparative perspective, and so it is with geography and gender studies. This volume is a contribution to the latter by exponents of the former.

In the developing world today the subordinated position of women is exacerbated not only by patriarchal attitudes but

also by economic crisis and the legacy of colonialism. The traditional model for women has been housework and childcare. However, new socio-economic demands and individual motivation have created new opportunities.

Different places, Different Voices analyses the changing lives of the women in the South through the voices of female geographers from the developing world. An emphasis on location and positionality highlights the differences created by place, and challenges much of the feminist and post-colonial scholarship of the West.

The focus on place, with country-specific studies within individual regions, results in a natural grouping by continent of the chapters within the book and emphasises the diversity of identities. The twenty case studies present regional perspectives by Third World geographers on aspects of urban and rural development, household reproduction and production and community organisation. There is a balanced

coverage of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania with contextual and theoretical introductions to each continent by local leading feminist geographers.

Many topics covered within the case studies fall within established geographical fields of enquiry - human/environment relations, demographic analysis and migration; others exemplify the broad range of issues as part of a 'new geography' that is bold in embracing new areas of enquiry and methodology. It is relevant beyond the particular interests and approaches of geographers and is certainly useful in respect of development studies, women's studies, sociology and anthropology. Although there are brief regional commentaries at the beginning of each section (Africa, South Asia, South-East Asia and Oceania, Latin America), almost every chapter is country-specific, though in fact only fifteen countries are actually represented. Countries favoured with multiple chapters are: India, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Bolivia and Colombia.

NUSSBAUM, Martha and GLOVER, Jonathan (1995),
Women, Culture and Development: A Study of Human Capabilities, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

This substantial volume (480 pages) is a major contribution to the convergence of philosophical and economic analysis in respect of gender, and development policy. From a variety of philosophical positions the 25 contributors proceed to provide considerable support for the 'capabilities' approach pioneered by Amartya Sen, who is in fact also a contributor. A sense of realism and practical consensus is promoted by the decision of the editors to preface the various discourses with a major case study by Martha Chen entitled: 'A Matter of Survival: Women's Right to Employment in India and Bangladesh'. As the writer of the foreword (Lal Jayawardena) puts it: "The problems of women in developing countries call urgently for new forms of analysis and for an approach that moves beyond utilitarian economics to identify a number of distinct components of a human being's quality of life, including life-

expectancy, maternal mortality, access to education, access to employment, and the meaningful exercise of political rights. Even when a nation seems to be doing well in terms of GNP per capita, its people may be doing poorly in one or more of these areas. This is especially likely to be the case for women, who have been treated unequally in many traditional societies, and who nowhere enjoy, on average, a 'quality of life' equal to that of men, when this is measured by the complex standard recommended by the 'capabilities' approach."

The book is structured into four parts, the first being the aforementioned case study. The second is focused on: 'Women's Equality: Methodology, Foundations' and includes discussion of, for example; human capabilities, development elites, justice, pragmatism, democracy and rationality, cultural complexity and moral interdependence. The third has to do with: 'Women's Equality: Justice, Law and Reason', comprising contributions on gender inequality and theories of

justice; inequalities and cultural context; gender, caste and law; emotions and women's capabilities. Finally, part four takes on 'Regional Perspectives' with examples from China, Mexico, India and Nigeria. So the volume as a whole contributes in a balanced way as across the major components of the developing world and adds greatly to the ongoing work of the Quality of Life Project of which it is a part.

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Individual countries

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Annotations - Sub-Saharan Africa

General

HAY, Margaret Jean & STICHTER, Sharon (eds.) (1995), **African Women South of the Sahara,** Longman Group. Essex.

The main purpose of the book is to explore the range of variations in women's social and political positions in sub-

Saharan Africa, taking into account two important factors: firstly, the great variety of traditional social arrangements; secondly, how historical forces, for example, European colonial conquest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and Arab/Islamic penetration have influenced the contemporary situation of women.

The material in the book is organized in such a way that it provides an overview on the women of sub-Saharan Africa. It is an introductory interdisciplinary text, written from a number of disciplines but set in a historical context.

The contributions by various writers are divided into three main topics, namely:

(i) African women in the economy
(ii) African women in society and culture
(iii) Women in politics and policy.

The first three chapters address the issue of African women in the economy by describing the activities in which women engage themselves in both in urban and rural areas. The activities are viewed in terms of production, distribution and reproduction. This section provides: first, a summary of the impact of pre-colonial socio-economic structures, colonial changes and post-colonial trends on contemporary women's work and welfare; second, a discussion of contemporary variations in women's rural economic roles and how they are attached to the world economy; thirdly, description of various occupations of urban women in various cities in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The next six chapters provide an investigation into the question of African women in society and culture. This section deals with various factors, such as the changing African family, inheritance law, religion and secular ideology, the arts, African literature, and voluntary associations. This has been done by describing the women's associations and complex

roles within the extended structures in the African customary and kinship organizations as well as the situation in the modem world.

The third topic concerns African women both as active in politics and as objects of public policy. This includes issues relating to the political roles that women have taken in both indigenous and modem societies, their participation in national liberation movements in various countries in the Sub-Saharan region especially from the 1960s when most people in Africa were fighting for political independence, the impact of developmental policies on women, health, and contraception and technological issues. Structural adjustment programmes and their effect on women in the region under discussion have also been included. Illustrations from different countries have been used throughout the book in discussing women's social, economic, health and political issues.

ODAGA Odhiambo and HENEVELD, Ward, (1995) **Girls and**

Schools in Sub-Saharan Africa: From Analysis to Action,
World Bank Technical Paper No. 298, Africa Technical
Department Series, World Bank, Washington D.C.

The central focus of this study is to formulate an operational
gender perspective for reference in educational planning,
programming, management, implementation, and monitoring
and evaluation across Sub-Saharan Africa.

In an effort to achieve this objective, research findings in the
last five (5) years on the constraints that girls experience in
schools in this region have been summarized indicating the
status of female education and factors that generally
constrain girls' education. Under the section dealing with the
status of female education, research findings on access,
persistence, literacy and access to employment are
summarized.

The findings on the factors that affect female education have

been grouped into three, that is: socio-cultural and socio-economic factors; factors related to the school environment; and political and institutional factors. Under the first group, direct cost of schooling, opportunity cost of girls' education, attitude of parents/families on girls' education, initiations and religion are highlighted. With regard to the second group of constraints which concern school environment, the following factors have been outlined: distance to school, teachers' attitude, curricula and learning materials, sexual harassment, pregnancy, girls' expectations and motivation. In the third group, problems dealing with financing and management of education, the limited involvement of women in development initiatives, and political instability are summarized. The above factors have further been grouped into two as: demand-side and supply-side factors. The demand-side factors include the factors that limit the demand for female education, that is, socio-cultural and socio-political factors. The supply-side factors are viewed as those that reinforce gender inequalities

by strengthening stereotypes about female roles and low academic expectations, that is, school related and political and institutional factors.

Key areas that require interventions and research have been noted. The study also offers suggestions and approaches that can be used to reduce the gender gap in access to education, attainment and achievement in the region. An overview of programs and projects that are already in the stage of implementation has been provided.

The importance of moving from analysis to action has also been given prominence. An approach for identifying and planning effective interventions has been offered. Set questions for assessing gender issues in education at the local and national levels have been provided. At the local level the questions are for assessing households, the school, the community, and participant groups, such as students and teachers. At the national level, questions are for assessing

policy and macro-development planning.

BROWNE, A.W. & BARRETT, H.R. (1991) 'Female education in Sub-Saharan Africa: the Key to development ?', **Comparative Education,** 27 (3), p. 275-285.

Browne & Barrett bring together clearly the three themes of this Bibliography in their study of gender, education and development in sub-Saharan Africa. Since improvements in health, nutrition and education are not just ends in themselves but are the catalysts for development and since within the developing world sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest life-expectancy, the highest infant mortality rate and one of the highest levels of illiteracy (World Bank, 1990), the basis for long-term development in the region is undermined. The authors argue that education is "the key to the process of human-centred development", (p275) because of its effects both on health & nutrition & also the key to economic growth, and they present evidence to show that women's education

has a pivotal role in all this.

As far as health is concerned, the authors establish a strong relationship between women's literacy and lower infant mortality rates in sub-Saharan Africa in general and in the Gambia in particular. Secondly, since the region is one of "female farming", it is suggested that "investment in woman's education would yield significant returns in food production and agricultural output, as well as improving nutrition for the household", (p281). Again, this is illustrated by the example of the Gambia where horticultural schemes have succeeded best when led by a <u>literate</u> woman.

It is pointed out that although education can be seen as intrinsic to both human and economic development, the goal of universal primary education is actually receding. The figures for girls' enrolment continue to be lower than those for boys and their drop-out rate higher. Trying to eradicate illiteracy later with adult literacy programmes is fraught with

difficulties, not the least of which is choice of language. Illiteracy among women sets back the process of development still further "because of its particular importance as a generator of both human and economic advancement", (p 284).

The article contains a useful diagram (p. 277), illustrating the relationship between female education and developmental gains in health and agricultural production.

Individual countries

Zimbabwe

GORDON, Rosemary (1994) 'Education policy and gender in Zimbabwe', **Gender and Education,** 6 (2), 131-139.

This article examines the changes and continuities in education policy with reference to gender during the colonial and post-colonial periods. Despite the government's stated

commitment to gender equality, there has been little change to reduce sexual inequalities in education during the years following Independence. Gordon suggests that "gender neutral" policies may allow a particular state to perpetuate discrimination against women.

At Independence in 1980, the position of women in Zimbabwe was "the outcome of a century of patriarchal racist settler colonialism impacting upon indigenous pre-industrial patriarchal societies", (p131). Black girls had very little access to education. The post-colonial government gave black women majority status in law for the first time and created the Ministry of Cooperative and Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCCDWA). As is often the case when governments set up a separate ministry for women's affairs, in Zimbabwe says Gordon, the MCCDWA's projects were neglected and under-resourced. The establishment of the MCCDWA resulted in the neglect of gender issues in other state organs, including the Ministry of

Education. She shows how girls and boys have not benefited equally from the expansion in educational opportunities. At primary level fewer girls enrol and drop-out is higher for girls than for boys; fewer girls make the transition to secondary education and again their attrition rate is higher. The data at all levels of the educational system, says Gordon, suggests that "despite the state's verbal commitment to gender equity, during the period of post-colonial socialist reconstruction, [it] has, through its education policies and practices, continued its gendering and male protecting role", (p135). In other words, gender neutral policies have masked "a strong bias against women", (p136).

Economic structural adjustment since 1989 has made the situation worse. Although macro-economic policies appear to be gender neutral, their impact is gender differentiated. Austerity programmes affect women negatively because of the reduction in their access to employment, the limiting of access to services, and the increase in the demands on their

time and labour to compensate for the gaps created by the cuts in services. These developments lead to more constraints on their daughters' access to education.

Sudan

BERNAL, Victoria (1994) 'Gender, Culture and Capitalism: Women and the remaking of Islamic "Tradition" in a Sudanese village', **Comparative Studies in Society and History,** 36 (1), 36-67.

The negative view of observers of North African and Middle Eastern societies who generally identify Islam as "the primary determinant of women's status and the obstacle to social and economic changes which might benefit women", (p. 36-37) is described by Bernal as "Islamic determinism", (ibid). She sees this perspective as a misapprehension of Islam and in her in-depth and thought-provoking analysis examines gender and religion in the Muslim world by identifying the links

between "religious transformation, gender relations, and the integration of Muslim communities into the capitalist world system", (p. 37). Bernal argues that contemporary Islamic fundamentalism should be seen as a modem development connected to socio-economic transformations rather than as a return to tradition. Her analysis is illustrated by data from fieldwork in a northern Sudanese village, Wad al Abbas, 1980-1982 and in 1988.

Experiences in Wad al Abbas would seem to indicate that economic changes such as in agriculture & labour migration (mainly to Saudi Arabia), have had unplanned outcomes resulting in new gender relationships and that these relationships are being institutionalised by new religious sensibilities and traditions in the form of Islamic Fundamentalism. Bernal concludes-

"the intensification of social restrictions on women and the emergence of new secular and religious

notions of gender difference are direct results of the community's growing integration into the world economy", (p61).

Niger

WYND, Shona (1995) **Factors affecting girls' access to schooling in Niger**, Final Report to ODA Education Division, Ministry of Overseas Development, London.

This study, based on fieldwork in Niger, sets out to develop "a more rigorous understanding of the relationship between education, the role that it plays within the community, and its potential influence on fertility", (p.i). Niger has a fertility rate of 7.4 and a literacy rate of 14% (9% for females). The overall primary school enrolment rate is 28.5% and only 36% of that figure are girls; in rural areas female enrolment can be as low as 10%. Wynd found that the school system is valued-

"not for the basic skills it aims to provide for its
students, but for the jobs that students, and their
extended families, anticipate upon their graduation
from university or professional school", (ibid).

As far as girls are concerned there is a widespread fear that
schools teach them ways which run counter to local
behavioural norms and that girls may become pregnant as a
result:

"Ironically, rather than looking upon education as
means of ensuring healthier families, the local belief
is that school could actually contribute to increasing
fertility", (p. ii).

The causes of low enrolment figures in rural areas are
examined including the inefficiency of recruitment methods
and the avoidance techniques of parents who do not wish to
send their children to school. The concept of "success" also

affects recruitment: success means securing a position with the civil service after graduation. Children who do not manage to do this are considered to have "failed", and as most children will "fail", it is not considered worthwhile to send them to school, especially if they are daughters. It is also believed that "passes" are given to the children of government employees rather that to those who have earned them. Girls have few educated role models in the villages and in any case Hausa girls are likely to marry at about 12 years of age. It is often the mother who discourage girls from continuing at school, often because of the fear of the risk of pregnancy, and girls sometimes deliberately fail the primary leaving examination because of pressure at home. The question of a girl's education or lack of it is also a factor in the marriage market, and in the loss of labour in the home. All the factors discussed ape supported by verbatim evidence from the interviews conducted in the villages. Wynd concludes:

"The potential gains that a primary school education may currently offer in terms of increased levels of hygiene, or the much sought after government job simply do not outweigh the potential social risks or the loss of labour. While studies suggest that increasing levels of education may lead to lower levels of fertility, that issue cannot begin to be explored until the education system itself is viewed as useful enough to attract girls and their parents......

.........Clearly the system must be changed from one which produces either civil servants or failures, to one which teaches skills and awareness that are valued within the local community", (p. 19-20).

Nigeria

CSAPO, Marg (1981) 'Religious, Social and Economic Factors hindering the education of girls in Northern Nigeria;

Comparative Education, 17, (3) 311-319. and

AKANDE, Bolanle E. (1987) 'Rural-urban comparison of female educational aspirations in South-Western Nigeria', **Comparative Education,** 23 (1), 75-83.

Csapo's article on girls' education in Northern Nigeria only just comes within the date parameters of this Bibliography: published in 1981, it is based on figures from the 1970's. It is however useful in that it examines in some detail the factor of religion as it affects girls' education among the mainly Muslim Hausa of Northern Nigeria. Many of the West African countries normally classified as "Sub-Saharan" do in fact reach towards the Sahara on their northern boundaries and their northern regions have a great deal in common with north Africa because of Islamic influence. Csapo also points out however that these northern regions are not only Islamic as compared with the Christianized southern areas but also have less favourable agricultural conditions: the economic factor is

also important one as far as the education of girls is concerned. Niles' article on parental attitudes to girls' education (1989, q.v) is a later study in the same area which emphasises the urban/rural dichotomy.

Akande's article on girls' educational aspirations in Oyo State, Southern Western Nigeria, also examines the differences between girls from urban & rural backgrounds. Her research found a significant relationship between girls' family locations and their educational aspirations. Urban girls were far more likely to aspire to University (63%) than rural ones (26.3%). Rural girls' highest ambitions tended to be to train as a nurse or a teacher, an interesting result of the role models available in rural areas and of the high status accorded to nurses and teachers in the villages. Akande also found a significant relationship between family location and girls' scholastic performance. Rural girls perform less well overall than urban ones. More rural girls complained of interruption to their homework from household chores and

errands. It is not only the quality of education in rural areas which may affect attainment but the demands of rural life.

Ivory Coast

GRISAY, Aletta (1984) 'Analyse des inégalités de rendement liées au sexe de l'élève dans l'enseignement primaire ivoirien', **International Review of Education,** Vol. 30, p. 25-39.

Research by the *Laboratoire de Pédagoge Experimentale* at the University of Liege into primary education in the Ivory Coast found significant differences in achievement between boys and girls across the curriculum. From the first years boys do better & by the fourth year they have a strong advantage; this advantage lies not only in mathematics, often considered a boys' area, but also in learning French (the medium of instruction in the Ivory Coast). This situation differs from that of industrialised countries where the performance of girls is generally superior to that of boys in subjects linked to

language learning. The author suggests that boys in the Ivory Coast (and in certain other developing countries too) may do better than girls in the speaking, reading and writing skills for a variety of reasons:

- because the cultural image of male and female roles engenders different behaviour expectations of girls in school and because there is less pressure on girls to do well, there is a negative influence on girls' motivation the teaching personnel is largely male

- boys have more chance to use French outside school

- girls gain less from classroom experience because they interact less, ask fewer questions. Cultural patterns demand reserved behaviour from a girl: *"il est malséant pour une fille... de trop parler ou de se faire remarquer; on la considérait comme une*

effrontée", say Ivory Coast teachers. (p. 35)

The author feel that it is the last point - patterns of behaviour in the classroom, which most affects girls' results in the Ivory Coast. Direct participation in the teaching/learning process in the classroom, and frequent opportunities to answer, talk and interact are essential in the acquisition of French which is itself a prerequisite for success in the other disciplines.

Attitudes towards the education of girls among the largely male teaching personnel appear to be equivocal, judging by a sample surveyed. Although 80 - 90% of the teachers agreed with statements about the necessity for girls to go to school, to stay there longer & even to have the right to go on to University, traditional views surfaced in responses to the following statements (p. 36):

C'est auprès de sa mère et non à l'école qu'une fille reçoît le meilleur de son éducation (54% agree)

Quel que soit son degré d'instruction, une femme ne doit pas se croire l'égale de l'homme . (70% agree)

The author concludes ruefully that if teachers try to develop less passive behaviour in girl pupils, they may be reproached by parents for making girls *"effrontée"* or *"insolente".* The teachers themselves may not really be convinced about encouraging girls to talk more: they may feel that since girls are by nature chatty - *"loin de leur apprendre à ouvrir la bouche, c'est à se taire qu'on devrait les inviter",* (p. 37).

Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe

SWAINSON, Nicola (1995) **Redressing gender inequalities in education: a review of constraints and priorities in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe,** ODA, London

Dr Swainson describes this report as "primarily a desk study": she has gathered together, as indicated in her

Bibliography, not only the usual sources but an enormous number of reports, papers and lectures, often in mimeograph and not easily accessible, to put together this up-to-date and very useful survey.

In the first part of the report she examines the international evidence concerning the benefits of female education and then reviews the literature that outlines the nature and extent of gender disparities in education in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This chapter contains a wealth of information and statistics (so far as they are available) on educational expenditure patterns, enrolments and wastage, performance and attainment, and literacy rates. The first part ends with a chapter which examines factors shaping gender inequalities in education and stresses that-

> "inequalities stem from gender relations in society at large and these are reflected in and played out in the school system itself," (p 16).

Factors covered include economic restraints, the effect of woman's opportunities (or lack of them) in the labour market, the contribution of girls to household tasks, the socio-economic status of families, parental attitudes and influence, initiation practices and early marriage, and sexuality and sexual harassment. Swainson then examines school-based factors such as the school environment, teachers' expectations and attitudes, and single-sex education.

The second part of the report focuses on strategies to promote the education of both girls and women. It examines the policy options such as expanding educational provision and reducing the direct and indirect costs of schooling, improving girls' health and nutrition and recruiting more female teachers. There is a survey of efforts made to reduce direct costs through various scholarship programmes. Chapter 7 examines various types of government and donor intervention and their outcomes.

The final chapter is a succinct and useful list of recommendations. Swainson first suggests research priorities: clearly focussed empirical research is needed so that efforts to improve girls' educational opportunities can be based on evidence. She suggests twelve areas where research is needed such as the impact of female teachers, patterns of attendance, etc. Policy recommendations are divided into two areas: those which are school-based and those which are community based. Both researchers and policy-makers (whether government or NGO) will find useful suggestions on these lists.

◀ ▲ ▶

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Yemen

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| Nayareh (1984) | Motivation of Iranian Boys and Girls' in **Sex-roles,** 11 (5-6), 467-84. |

Iraq

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MOSTAFA, Adnan Yasin (1990)	**Women and Development in an Urban Context: A Study of Women Migrants in Mosil City (Iraq),** Ph.D. Thesis, University of Hull, United Kingdom.

Jordan

Gender	
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Gender and Education

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Libya

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Morocco

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Oman

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WIKAN, Unni (1991)	**Behind the Veil in Arabia: Women in Oman,** University of Chicago Press.

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Qatar

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Gender and Education	
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Saudi Arabia

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Gender and Education

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| Sami (1985) | textbooks', **International Review of Education,** XXXI (3), 335-348. |

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Turkey

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CINAR, E.M.	'Unskilled Urban Migrant Women and

(1994)	Disguised Employment - Home Working Women in Istanbul, Turkey' in **World Development**, 22 (3), 369-380.
GUN, G. (1986)	The Woman in the Dark Room: Contemporary Women Writers in Turkey' in **World Literature Today,** 60 (2), 275-279.
HADLER, Sandra (1993)	**Turkey: Women in Development,** a World Bank Country Paper, World Bank, Washington D. C.
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TEKELI, S. (1992)	'Europe, European Feminism and Turkey' in **Women's Studies International Forum,** 15 (1), 139-143.
UNAT, N. Abadan (et al.) (1981)	**Women in Turkish Society, Social, Economic and Political Studies in the Middle East,** Brill.

Gender and Education

TANSEL,	'Wage Employment, Earnings and Returns to

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United Arab Emirates

Gender	
CREEDON, Pamela. J. (et al.) (1995)	'Women and Public Relations Education and Practice in the United Arab Emirates' in **Public Relations Review,** 21 (1), 59-76.
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SOFFAN, Linda Usra	**The Women of the United Arab Emirates,** Croom Helm, London.

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Gender and Education	
AL-HAMMADI, Abdulaziz A.A. (1995)	**Role conflict among Working Women in the United Arab Emirates and its Relationship with Personality Traits and Socio-economic Factors: A Study of Female Preparatory and Secondary School Teachers,** Ph.D. Thesis, University of Hull, United Kingdom.
CREEDON, Pamela J. (et al.) (1995)	'Women and Public Relations Education and Practice in the United Arab Emirates' in **Public Relations Review,** 21(1), 59-76.

Yemen

Gender	

MAKHLOUF-OBERMEYER, Carla (1979)	**Changing Veils - Women and Modernization in North Yemen,** Croom Helm, London.
MOLYNEUX, Maxine (1982)	**State Policies and the Position of Women Workers in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen,** ILO, Geneva.
MOLYNEUX, M. (1985)	'Legal Reform and Socialist Revolution in Democratic Yemen- Women and the Family' in **International Journal of Sociology of Law,** 13 (2), 147-172.

Gender and Education	
DUBOK, H. (1990)	**The Recruitment of Female Agricultural Extension Agents in Yemen Arab Republic,** M. Phil Thesis, University of Manchester, United Kingdom.

Annotations

General

MALIK, Lynda P. (1995) 'Social and cultural determinants of the gender gap in Higher Education in the Islamic World', **Journal of Asian and African Studies,** Vol. 30, 3-4, p. 181-193

This study analysed gender stratification in higher education in Iran, Turkey and Pakistan and found that cultural factors (particularly religion) were much better predictors than structural factors. Realignments of state-class relations were found to be unrelated to the size of the higher education gender gap, which was maximised by the institutionalisation of Islamic religious codes. Malik chose to focus on three countries which represent significantly different aspects of the Islamic tradition. Although Islam emphasises obedience & the conservative view that the proper role of women is in the

family rather than the public sphere, and although this creates difficulties for women contemplating independent careers in many Islamic societies, "the nature and the severity of the problems faced by professional women vary from one country to another and are influenced by many factors", (p184). Malik lists among these factors the sacred/secular orientation of the government, the literacy of the population, the class structure of the society and the economic conditions prevalent in the country.

Each of these factors is then examined in the case studies of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, which whilst nominally Muslim, differ in fundamental ways. In Turkey the gender gap in higher education is minimal. Pakistan and Iran both have high levels of gender stratification in universities. Malik says that these may be explained by the overall low literacy levels prevailing there as well as by the attempts of religious authorities to limit women's participation in public life.

State/class structure also varies: Turkey experienced revolution without however the existing class system being modified. There the traditional elite remained in place, unlike in Iran. In Pakistan there has been no revolution and the traditional elites have retained their position.

The sacred/secular orientation of the three countries also differs. Turkey is officially secular, Iran is a theocratic state and Pakistan is a democracy where fundamentalists, despite not winning elections, nevertheless influence government to institutionalize their Islamizing programmes.

Malik's analysis, she feels, points to cultural factors being more important than structural ones in determining gender stratification in higher education. In Pakistan and Iran, both with a high degree of gender stratification, Islamic fundamentalist policies have been institutionalized despite the facts that in Pakistan the traditional elites are in power but in Iran have been replaced. In Turkey the degree of gender

stratification is low, the state is secular, and the elites remain. In the three countries under consideration, "the sacred/secular dimension consistently overrides class/structural considerations", (p191).

MOGHADAM, Valentine M. (1993) **Modernising Women: gender and social change in the Middle East,** Lynne Riener, Boulder.

This book, in the series <u>Women and Change in the Developing World</u>, has rapidly found a place as essential reading on student booklists. It deals with social change in the Middle East, North Africa and Afghanistan and "its impact on women's role and status, and women's responses to, and involvement in, change processes", (p.xiii). This is a study from a sociological perspective and the author states in her preface -

"Myths and stereotypes abound regarding women,

Islam, and the Middle East. This book is intended in part to "normalise" the Middle East by underscoring the salience of structural determinants other than religion. It focuses on the major social-change processes in the region to show how women's lives are shaped not only by "Islam" and "culture", but also by economic development, the state, class location & the world system", (p.xiii).

There are chapters on economic and political development, and Islamist movements, and a whole chapter each is devoted to the women of Iran and Afghanistan in the two detailed case studies.

Education is considered in the chapter dealing with 'Women, Patriarchy and the Changing Family'. Moghadam points out that -

'The persistence or modernisation of patriarchy

notwithstanding, the processes of urbanization, industrialization, proletarianization, and mass schooling - so important to the demographic transition, and the decline of classic patriarchy in the West - are present in the Middle East", (p122).

Factors such as the development of groups of educated middle-class woman and also the rapid growth in numbers of unmarried adolescents (as the age of marriage rises) have had great impact. Education, says Moghadam, seems to be a more important variable in changing the position and self-perception of women than is employment.

She views the social and political changes under way in the Middle East through a "Marxist-feminist sociological lens", (p. 250). Middle-class women with education and jobs are, she feels playing a pivotal role in change. The fundamentalist backlash is directed at this stratum of women "who collectively symbolise social change in the Middle East",

(p250).

Individual countries

Bahrain

Seikaly, May "Women and Social Change in Bahrain", **International Journal of Middle East Studies,** 26, 1994, 415-426.

The dynamics of rapid change in socioeconomic and political structures in the Arab world, especially in the oil-dependent states of the Arabian Gulf such as Bahrain, have created superficially modem-looking societies without solving the

dilemmas which Western modernisation has brought. "Change has come into conflict with the traditional cultural value systems tied to religion that control social behaviour", (p. 416). Seikaly shows how the contradiction between modernisation and cultural/religious authenticity explains the ambivalence shown by political leaders and strategists towards development and how, as a wave of sociopolitical conservation spreads all over the Arab world, Islamic fundamentalist thought is dictating limitations to women's social development.

Women's educational and job opportunities began to grow in the 1970's but Seikaly describes this development as mainly an urban, middle class revolution. In rural areas, there was little change. She sees even the changes in the middle class as very limited as women were unable to establish "practical sociocultural rights for all women, regardless of class", (p421). Modernised young women had unconsciously distanced themselves from the realities of their society and

with a political approach which was often elitist, could not reach all strata of women by traditional mechanisms. The article goes on to examine women's educational and job opportunities and their position as regards personal-status law. It concludes that after the liberalising experience of the 1970's and 1980's, the modem return to tradition is the more striking, particularly as it is starting to attract women who once considered themselves politically radical and socially liberal.

Saudi Arabia

AL-HARIRI, Rafeda (1987) 'Islam's point of view on Women's Education in Saudi Arabia', **Comparative Education,** 23 (1), 51-57.

and

AL RAWAF, Haya Saad and SIMMONS, C (1991) - 'The

education of women in Saudi Arabia', **Comparative Education,** 27 (3), 287 - 295.

These two articles form an interesting pair. Al-Hariri presents the arguments underlying discussion about women's education from a purely Islamic point of view, with supporting quotations from the Quran. She stresses that the Quran encourages rather then forbids the education of women, but that Islam does insist "on keeping women in a position that ensures their stable family life", (p.52). The rapid development of female education in Saudi Arabia since the 1960's has therefore been within a separate educational system directed by the General Presidency for Girls' Education. The economic resources of the country are such that developing parallel systems for boys and girls has not been a financial problem. The rapid development in provision for girls' education is outlined and the author shows how the provision is moulded to be acceptable within an Islamic context:

"the areas of study for male and female students show that the highest number of female students is in the field of humanities, whilst in engineering their number is nil. This indicates that females are taking only subjects which are considered suitable to the nature of Saudi women & in accordance with the basic teaching of Islam", (p.55).

The article by Al Rawaf and Simmons is far fuller and better documented and although it acknowledges the huge growth in the provision of education for girls, it is more objective in pointing out the limitations of that provision in terms of goals and facilities. There are interesting sections on the reinforcement of stereo-typing in textbooks (p. 291) and on Distance Learning for women.

Asia

[Annotation](#)

General	
Gender	
MOMSEN, Janet and	**Different Places, Different Voices: Gender and Development in Africa, Asia and Latin**

KINNAIRD, Vivian (eds) (1993)	**America,** Routledge, London. (Part 3 is South Asia, Part 4 is South East Asia).

Gender and Education	
JAYAWEERA, Swarna (1987)	"Gender and Access to Education in Asia" in **International Review of Education,** 33 (4) 455-466.
MAK, Grace C.L. (ed) (1996)	**Women, Education and Development in Asia: cross-national perspectives;** Garland, New York and London.
SHAH, Madhuri (1986)	**Without Women No Development: Selected Case Studies from Asia of Non-Formal Education for Women,** Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
UNESCO	**A Framework for Improvement of**

(1987)	**Educational and Vocational Guidance Services for Girls and Women in Asia and the Pacific;** PROAP, Bangkok.
UNESCO (1990)	**Functional Literacy and Civic Education among Rural Women,** PROAP, Bangkok.
UNESCO (1992)	**Promotion of Primary Education for Girls and Disadvantaged Groups,** PROAP, Bangkok.
UNESCO (1994)	**Women's Participation in Higher Education: China, Nepal and the Phillipines,** PROAP, Bangkok.

Annotation

MAK Grace C.L. (1996), **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London.

This book is part of a series within the Garland Reference Library, of Social Science known as 'Reference Books in International Education'. It has a very simple structure. Following the editor's Preface there are three parts: East Asia, South-East Asia and South Asia, after which comes an extensive bibliography, list of contributors and index. Its main value lies in being the most recent presentation on this theme in respect of the countries included, and in its straightforward and informative style and format.

The countries included are: The People's Republic of China, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan: Republic of China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. As there is very little regional comment, we have decided to include most of the annotations of these chapters under the individual country headings below. We may note, however, a number of interesting omissions which inevitably diminish the capacity of the book to reflect its full title, notably: the whole of South-West Asia and the former Soviet Central Asia, Pakistan,

Mongolia, the entire region of India-China, Thailand and The Phillipines. There are a number of others too, of course.

In the brief preface, the author relates the volume to the international development experience of the last two decades, and especially to the issue of linkage between investment in education and economic development. She links this with Asia's development experience, asking three main questions: 'How do its development strategies affect educational policies and woman's status? In a continent largely patriarchal, how have women responded to the increase in educational opportunities? And how do education and development needs combine to affect women's chances in their subsequent lives? Although the bulk of the book comprises ten case studies, four interrelated aspects of schooling are supposed to be addressed throughout: the development experience and its effect on women's status; the types of opportunity now available to women and their differential take up; has educational opportunity enhanced

women's capacity to operate in, and influence, the public sphere? the impact of education and economic participation on women's domestic status. Grace Mak concludes in respect of the ten contributions that: "The variation among us precisely reflects the different social contexts in which we, grew up and the ideological and material conditions in which we live today", but for all concerned: "The struggle must continue at both the macro-social and daily life levels".

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South Asia

Gender	
CHEN, Martha (1995)	"A Matter of Survival: Women's Right to Employment in India and Bangladesh", in: NUSSBAUM Martha and GLOVER, Jonathan (Eds), **Women, Culture and Development: a study of human capabilities,** Clarenden Press, Oxford, 37-57.
DIXON, Ruth B. (1978)	**Rural Women at Work: strategies for development in South Asia,** John Hopkins, University Press, Baltimore,
RAJU, Saraswati	**Women and Work in South East Asia,** Routledge, London.

and BAGCHI, Deipica (1994)	

Gender and Education	
BHOG, Dipta et al (1994)	"Concreting Concepts: continuing education strategies for women" in **Convergence.** 27 (2/3), 126-137.
JEFFERY, Roger and BASU, Alaka M. (1996)	**Girls' Schooling, Women's Autonomy and Fertility Change in South Asia,** Sage, New Delhi.
KHAN, Shahrukh, R. (1989)	**Barriers to Female Education in South Asia,** World Bank, Washington DC.
NARAYANAN,	**A Critical Analysis of Literature on**

Aparna (1996)	**Gender, Education and Development: Selected Writings on India and Bangladesh,** MSc Dissertation, University of Oxford.
NAYAR, Usha (1988)	**Women Teachers in South Asia: Continuities, Discontinuities and Change,** Chanakya, Delhi.
UNESCO (1985)	**Towards Equality of Educational Opportunity: inter-country exchange of experience** (Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan), PROAP, Bangkok.
UNESCO (1992)	**Promotion of Primary Education for Girls and Disadvantaged Groups:** PROAP, Bangkok.

Individual countries

Afghanistan

Gender	
CHRISTENSEN, Hanne (1990)	**The Reconstruction of Afghanistan: a chance for rural Afghan women.** United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva.
DOUBLEDAY, Veronica (1988)	**Three Women of Herat,** Cape, London.

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Annotations

General

CHEN, Martha (1996) A matter of Survival: Women's Right to Employment in India and Bangladesh, in: NUSSBAUM, Martha and GLOVER, Jonathan (eds). **Women, Culture and Development: a Study of Human Capabilities,** Clarendon Press, Oxford, 37-57.

Martha Chen's contribution to this important volume is a very special one, as it forms a Case Study located as a preliminary to a range of systemic and theoretical discussions on the issue of gender and human capabilities. The wise reader will take the opportunity to digest the realities described and analysed in this case study and set them against the wider discourse.

In the author's own words: 'This paper explores the predicament of poor women in poor economies, like Saleha Begum (Bangladesh) and Metha Bai (India), who must break with tradition and act independently because they lack the security the tradition is supposed to offer. "In communities where women are secluded, perhaps the most conspicuous and yet necessary way for women to break with tradition is to leave their courtyards or homesteads in search of work". Despite the fact that the constitutions of Bangladesh and India guarantee women equal employment opportunities with men, for many of them the system of seclusion denies them

such opportunities.

Martha Chen describes how the 1974 famine in Bangladesh prompted some women to defy tradition and join the work force. The focus is on the increasing phenomenon of female-headed households and their interaction with the wider community and international aid activities. The Indian case is further complicated by immense variety as between castes, where aspiration to (social) status forms an additional constraint on gainful employment outside the home. The author analyses these situations in respect of four issues: the survival imperative; female mortality rates; women's status; human justice. She concludes that: "The demand that women be allowed to abandon seclusion and seek gainful employment outside the home should not be seen as an outside challenge to local culture and tradition but as a local response to changes in local culture and tradition".

Consequently, all women should have a right to gainful and

just employment, especially in marginalised and developing economies. This is an essential human good and should be seen positively by insiders and outsiders alike.

Individual countries

Bangladesh

CHEN, Martha, (1986) **Quiet Revolution: women in transition in rural Bangladesh,** BRAC, Dhaka.

Martha Chen describes and evaluates the efforts of one

agency in Bangladesh to reach poor village women with projects designed to increase their material and social resources. The book details the social and economic roles of these women and conveys with immediacy the empirical base of the BRAC (Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) experience. The growth and development of BRAC's approach to community development are described. The early approach was based on the assumptions that a) the rural masses are passive and need to be conscientised; b) their attitudes can be changed through education and training; c) the village communities, although not homogenous, can be organised to work cooperatively. The lack of success of the programmes prompted BRAC to conduct research analysis based on their collective field experience. Their findings led to a transformation in their approach to community development and to a radically new set of assumptions. It began to understand that the village is not a unified community but a set of sub-groups with conflicting interests. The rural power

structure affects access to power and distribution of resources. The most important policy change in the light of these new findings was that in order to address the rural power structure, the capacities of and institutions for the poor and powerless must be developed through collective socio-economic action. The selection of poor and marginal women as the target group for a particular BRAC project led to the realisation that education is an essential, but not the most crucial, factor in improving the status of these women. Yet the critical importance of education is acknowledged. The changes that the women experienced in their lives after joining BRAC's program are described by the women in informal interviews with the author. These include changes in relationships, in attitudes, in the resources they have access to or control of and, most critically, in their access to and exercise of power. Chen concludes by trying to identify the reason for the poor results of the development efforts of the past two decades. The fact that women were overlooked and

that women's work was not valued may explain the relative lack of success of these efforts. The actual and potential contribution of women to national development should be addressed in development planning and practice.

This remarkable book describes a particular programme of an NGO that has now gained international recognition for the efficacy of its development efforts. Its great strength is the author's own involvement in the designing and implementation of the projects that are described. The BRAC experience is conveyed with immediacy, and this is reinforced by including the women's opinions on key issues in the course of informal group and individual interviews. We are given an insight not only into programmes that succeeded but into earlier approaches which had to be modified because of their shortcomings. The conclusions of the evaluation of the early approaches, most importantly, that the concept of a unified village "community" may have no basis in reality, is of great significance to future development practices. The author

makes an impassioned argument for incorporating a gender perspective into all development planning. There is little doubt that this extremely readable book is useful to the academician and practitioner alike.

WHITE, Sarah C. (1992) **Arguing with the Crocodile: gender and class in Bangladesh,** Zed Books, London.

The issue of social stratification is exhibited by gender and by class, and its relevance to development policy. It is based on field research in a village called Kumirpur in Bangladesh including case studies of thirty households. The book involves a comparative study of men and women's contribution to households' socio-economic relations. Aspects of the daily life of the people are examined, including women's relationship with men and other women, employment relations between women, the organisation of the family household, and other forms of interaction. The principal argument of the book is that it is untrue that gender relations are set, as many

"women and development" approaches assume. Rather gender is a "contested image". This approach to gender shifts the focus from women as an exclusive group, to the actual ways in which women and men manipulate definitions of identity according to their own interests. An important outcome of this approach is that women are no longer conceived of as passive victims, and the study of gender relations is opened up to examine women's exercise of power. The study of access to, and exercise of, power is critical to an understanding of social relations. White's research looks in detail at what happens in the home, how women conceive of their own interests and how notions of gender figure in interpersonal negotiations of power. Relationships between classes and between gender groups are not always based on conflict but show complex negotiations of mutual gain and shared interest. The notion of flexible identities is most clearly seen in family household and patron-client relationships. The family household gives people

a common identity and common interests, but also divides them into specific roles and places in the hierarchy. Similarly, patron-client relationships (between men, between women, and between men and women) show elements of contradiction and solidarity. The implication of this is that future gender-oriented research requires a more sensitive comparative approach that includes both sexes in its analysis of social relations. White emphasises that it is not enough to simply classify societies as more or less equal depending on the status of women, but to explore the complexities of the nature of differentiation:

White's book makes important contributions to the gender and development discourse. Her field work in Kumirpur and detailed case studies of thirty households gives her a unique perspective on the subject of gender relations in rural Bangladesh. The stereotype of a monolithic female identity is undermined, and the fact that relations between members of the same class or gender group are often characterised by

conflict is highlighted. The most critical insight that this book provides is that future gender-oriented research cannot look at the question of female status in isolation from that of males. Her observations relating to "the flexibility of identity" show that women have the room to manoeuvre around cultural prescriptions relating to gender norms. A comparative approach that integrates the relative position of men and women in the social order will help us to identify not only the differences between gender norms, but between norms and practice, and within gender identities. Such an approach reveals that women are not always the passive victims they are often depicted as. The issue of gender identity and its impact on socio-economic relations cannot be understood through convenient generalisations. It is a noteworthy addition to the literature on gender and development.

India

AGGARWAL, J.C. (1987) **Indian Women: Education and**

Status, Arya Book Depot, New Delhi.

Aggarwal relies on political documents to trace the history of women's education in India. This historical survey focuses on central government efforts in the post-dependence period to tackle the issues relating to women's education. Thus, it describes the findings and recommendations of centrally appointed committees on women's status and education, including the National Committee on Women's Education (1959); the Committee on Differentiation of Curricula for Girls and Boys (1961); the Committee to look into the Causes for lack of Public Support particularly in rural areas for Girls' Education and to enlist Public Cooperation (1963); Committee on the Status of Women in India (1971); and the National Committee on Co-education (1974). Lastly it examines the chapter of the National Policy on Education and Programme of Action (1986) devoted to education for women's equality. The National Policy on Education envisages that education will be used as a strategy for

achieving a basic change in the status of women. The national education system will, therefore, play a positive interventionist role in the empowerment of women; contribute towards the development of new values through redesigned curricula and textbooks; promote women's studies as a part of various courses; and widen the access of women in programmes of vocational, technical and professional education.

Aggarwal's book gives a factual account of government policy towards women's education in the post-Independence era. The title of the book is, however, rather misleading. A descriptive review of the reports of various committees cannot be said to discuss the issue of Indian women's education and status. The book does not explore the interaction between the educational levels of women and their socio-economic status. This is a complex issue with important consequences for policy-makers but the book fails to address it. It offers no real insight into how the status of women

determines their access to educational pursuits, or into how access to education has influenced their position in society. It is not within the scope of a historical survey of committee reports to address issues of such complexity. The choice of title for the book is, therefore, perplexing. A less factual and more analytical approach would have illuminated the issue of female education in India in a more meaningful way. As it is, the book only serves the purpose of familiarising the reader with governmental reports relating to Indian women's education.

CHANANA, Karuna (ed) (1988) **Socialisation, Education and Women: explorations in gender identity,** Sangam Books, London.

This is a collection of essays that explores the effect of education and socialisation on the changing status of Indian women. The various articles in the volume reveal that not only do Indian family and social structure socialise women in

keeping with tradition, "patriarchal" norms, but that this socialisation is reinforced by the educational system itself. Leela Dube writes in "On the Construction of Gender: Hindu girls in patrilineal India", that Hindu rituals, ceremonies, language and practices inculcate in young girls the notions of self-restraint, self-denial, service of temporary membership within the natal home. Similarly, Zarina Bhatty's article "Socialising of the Female Muslim Child in Uttar Pradesh" points out that the legal and social inequalities of Muslim women in reflected in the socialisation of Muslim female children in India from an early age to the established norms and practices. This socialisation is often reinforced by the educational system. Karuna Chanana's essay "Social Change or Social Reform: women, education and family in pre-independence India", states that supporters of women's education promoted the idea of traditional role reinforcement through the curricula - women were to receive an education largely to be better wives and mothers. In "Women's Nature

and Access to Education in Bengal", Malvika Karlekar shows how traditional notions on the constitution of "women's nature" have circumscribed female access to education from its beginnings in the 19th century up to date. There is a commonality of views among policy makers that there is a potential conflict between the demands of education and what they perceive as the "essential nature" of women.

This collection of essays by Indian writers is a valuable addition to the literature on gender and education in India. It not only analyses the sociology of female education in India, but also critically examines the contribution of education to improving women's status in India. The essays indicate that patriarchal structures severely retard the options and opportunities available to women. The point about the negative influence of patriarchal ideology and its attendant socio-religious customs on female education is made by virtually every writer in this collection of essays. Unlike many books on gender and education in India, it does not

unquestioningly accept education of women as the panacea to the ills that beset Indian society. Rather than challenging the traditional socialisation of young women by family and community, education has often served to reinforce the status quo. There are, however, two noticeable omissions in the book. The observations on the socialisation of girls and young women would have been strengthened by some information on that of boys and young men. Secondly, more concrete micro-level data would have strengthened the arguments about the nature of socialisation of Indian women and the role of education in reinforcing traditional stereotypes. As it stands, many of the articles owe more to historical records and personal experience, and less to empirical research and case studies. The book, however, highlights the problematic nature of female education in India which makes it a valuable addition to the existing literature in this area.

MUKHOPADHYAY, C.C. and SEYMOUR, Susan (eds) (1994) **Women, Education and Family Structure in India,**

Westview, Colorado.

This collection explores the linkages between women's participation in formal education and the fundamental institutions of family, kinship and marriage. They comment that there is in India an ongoing tension between pressures that increase the desirability of education for women and traditional structures that constrain women's education in order to preserve a set of social institutions that they term patrifocal family structure and ideology. This collection of essays reveals that male-oriented structures and beliefs profoundly affect women's lives and, hence, their access to education and educational achievement. They examine the reciprocal relationship between patrifocal family system and ideology, and women's educational participation and achievement. Steve Derme's essay, "Arranging Marriages: how fathers' concerns limit women's educational achievements" explores how Indian fathers' concerns with their daughters' marriageability effectively limit their

daughters' educational aspirations. Carol Mukhopadhyay's article, "Family Structure and Indian Women's Participation in Science and Engineering", finds that the different obligations of sons versus daughters towards their natal families leads to differences in how families view educational achievements, especially in scientific fields, for girls and boys. In "Schooling for What? The Cultural and Social Context of Women's Education in a South Indian Muslim Family", by Sylvia Vatuk shows that women played a pivotal role in accessing education for other females in the family. In this family, cross-age and inter-generational female support networks promoted schooling for girls, whether supplementing the efforts of those males who also favoured education for women or providing opposition to those who resisted. The essay by Susan Seymour, "Women, Marriage and Educational Change in Bhubaneshwar, India: a twenty-five year perspective", shows that middle and upper status residents of Bhubaneshwar responded very positively to the

new educational opportunities for women and men. Even among middle and upper status families change has been more dramatic where a more class-based system of social stratification exists. Residence in traditional caste-based neighbourhoods with large extended patrifocal families has kept the forces of change that female education could potentially produce, under control.

This volume provides remarkable insight into the ways in which variations in family structure influence the issue of female access to, and achievement in, education. Contributors explore the impact that the cultural norms of a patrifocal society have on girls' schooling. The male bias in patrifocal norms and ideology are translated into educational approaches that favour sons. The education of girls beyond a certain level is seen as socially problematic, and concerns about "marriageability" limit the educational choices available to women. The shortcoming of the book is that the ethnographic data is almost exclusively taken from urban and

upper class/caste samples. The research findings would have been strengthened if data from rural and lower class/caste families had been utilised to see what light they shed in the linkages between family structure and female education. The anthropological-sociological approach, however, will be indispensable in informing future research on the issue of gender and education.

MUKHOPADHYAY, Maitrayee (1984) **Silver Shackles: women and development in India,** Oxfam, Oxford.

Mukhopadhyay makes the case that the definition and content of development programmes should be re-examined. Her analysis of development policies in India shows that with the attempt at rapid 'modernisation', and the neglect of integrated rural development, women have lost their productive role in the economy and have been displaced from the process of development. The issues that Mukhopadhyay discusses in relation to the status of women are social

organisations, population ratios, access to education, economic contribution, non-governmental organisations and public policy. She argues that the social structure derives its resilience to change from the cultural norms that sustain it, and so there remains a gap between the changes that are planned and the changes that have resulted. The aspects of social organisation which have hindered the process of social change in the role of women are discussed; and these include patriarchy, the joint family system, socialisation of the young, marriage, marriage rites, dowry polygamy and religion. The book discusses at length the issue of women's education and employment, and their impact on women's status. Mukhopadhyay observes that the problem of illiteracy in India is primarily a problem of female illiteracy; and female illiteracy is basically a problem of illiteracy among rural women, particularly those from scheduled caste and tribal families. The majority of women are beyond the ambit of formal education, and the only alternative is to involve them in non-

formal education. She criticises formal education as it exists in India today as elitist. In a critique of women's role in the economy, it is pointed out that lack of education and skill denies women access to employment which results in their displacement from the labour market. Also, the course of economic development in the past two decades has eroded the economic role of women. Technological innovation in both the organised and unorganised sectors of the economy has not been sensitive to women's roles and needs, and has instead tended to increase women's displacement from the process of development. Mukhopadhyay's analysis shows that public policy betrays an essentially middle-class bias which assumes women are primarily home-workers. Programmes to "integrate women in the development process" ignore the reality that most women already contribute a large amount to development but their contribution is not recognised.

Mukhopadhyay's book is a small but nevertheless significant

addition to the literature on gender and development in India. The arguments of the book are sustained both by statistical evidence and interviews with individual women. It details the causes of the deteriorating status of the majority of Indian women, discusses the reasons behind this and puts forward recommendations for the future. The major strength of the book is the critique of certain so-called development practices that have, in fact, had a negative impact on women. It emphasises that development programmes should be more sensitive to the needs of women. This slim text discusses in a thought-provoking manner the major issues relating to women's development in India. It also indicates the policy changes that are requires to rid women of the shackles that have bound them for so long.

GHOSH, Ratna and TALBANI, Abdulaziz (1996), India in: MAK, Grace C.L. **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London, 165-186.

The position of women in India is complex because of regional, cultural, and religious differences and sharp socioeconomic disparities. A very small number of women are educated and visible in positions of power and prestige, while the vast majority, whose basic concern is survival, are illiterate, powerless and vulnerable. Despite a fair degree of freedom long ago in the Vedic age, it was not until the immediate post-independence period of 1947 that any modem impetus was evident in support of opportunities for women, whether economic or educational. Only about 8 per cent of females were literate in 1947. The Constitution of 1950 began to recognise human rights, but neither this nor the education system strikes at the structures of patriarchal subordination. It is not so much an issue of educational opportunity here as one of keeping women in their traditional social roles.

Despite the massive expansion of popular education since

1947, in 1990 the female literacy rate had only reached about 25 per cent nationally and 18 per cent in rural areas. This chapter goes on to detail the situation of gender and education in India according to standard indeces: enrolment at different levels, wastage, distribution by field of study etc. Very few women are in the workforce in official terms but a minority hold high and prestigious positions in academia. In the Civil Service, though, they represent only about 6 per cent of employees.

Although there are enormous disparities in respect of girls' education in India, it is generally the case that lack of special facilities is often a key factor in enrolment. Norms that disapprove of co-education lead to the withdrawal of girls, while lack of safe access constrains participation even when it is condoned. Within this generally negative scene there are areas of high participation and achievement where several factors (eg. matriarchy, mission legacies and socialism) come together (eg. Kerala, Meghalaya and North Punjab).

Outside of these areas, the minority of women who have higher education use it to improve their social position in the present structure without changing the hierarchical structure itself. They go into the teaching profession in large numbers because, particularly at the lower levels, this is an extension of their traditional roles: a convenient combination of domestic and occupational spheres. The majority of women do not, or cannot, exercise their rights in education and society because social and structural changes produced by modernization and the egalitarian ideology since independence have not been accompanied by parallel changes in values and attitudes towards women.

Pakistan

THE BRITISH COUNCIL (1993) **Workshops on Female Access to Primary Schooling in Pakistan: Programme, Materials and Recommendations,** Islamabad.

This report arises from a national workshop convened by The British Council in collaboration with the Pakistan Ministry of Education and NORAD. It is organised under a number of sub-heads and sections: general papers; cultural and social influences on girls participation in primary education; co-education at primary level; appropriate infrastructures for the fostering of girls' education; the role of NGOs and the private sector in respect of female education. Overall there are 33 papers in this report, distributed fairly evenly over the five sections identified above. Of these 33 papers, only four are contributed by outsiders - all from the UK - so that the bulk of the report is indigenous and derives from the personal experiences and critical observations of the leading female scholars and professionals of the country itself.

It is not possible to summarise all the papers here, or even the key ones, but it is possible to identify major themes that are strongly represented or tend to recur. One of these is the issue of adult education and the significance of maternal

literacy. While progress needs to be made in providing more schooling opportunities for girls, there must be a parallel effort to promote appropriate forms of literacy for mothers of today's young children. Ideally, as Fayyaz Bager's paper shows, there needs to be created a sustainable model for universal female literacy, and that the most crucial factor within this is the availability of local teachers. If this issue, and it is concerned with female teachers, can be successfully addressed then much of the cultural and social constraint will be overcome. This is linked with the contentious issue of co-education. Five papers discuss how far it can be applied to primary schooling in Pakistan. The paper by Humala Khalid argues for its promotion and therefore for reversing the current pattern of male teachers at this level - they represent some 70 per cent of the primary teachers in Pakistan.

Female participation in primary education is also constrained by inadequate infrastructures. For some of the papers in this section this also means the provision of appropriate teachers,

but there is also discussion of such aspects as the state of the buildings, the provision of acceptable sanitation facilities, school walls, roads and forms of communication. With rural areas of Pakistan being among the poorest in the world, these physical factors are very influential one way or the other in affecting parental decisions. Finally, several papers outline interesting innovations and projects in specific areas, mostly involving **NGOs** but also the private sector.

With the size of the population of Pakistan being what it is, and the rate of increase being maintained, both private and public sectors must work together in addressing the problem of female participation, along with the crucial contribution of both external and local NGOs.

AFTAB, Tahera (1994), Fighting Illiteracy: What Works and What Doesn't: A Case Study of Female Literacy in Pakistan, **Convergence** 27 (4), 25-34.

This was one of the most significant papers presented at the Cairo Conference of 1994. The author states that since independence in 1947 there has been an underinvestment in people in Pakistan, and especially in females. She presents the paper ". to study the complex, often subtle, ways in which norms and traditions deprive women of the autonomy to which all human beings are entitled, and on which social and economic development ultimately depends."

Illiteracy is highlighted as a major problem. For the women of Pakistan, illiteracy means segregation, the creation of a separate world doomed by poverty, deprivation and oppression. By 1990, the female literacy rate was only 22 per cent. A major cause, for male and female alike, of high rates of illiteracy is the accessibility of schooling, but for social and cultural reasons this constrains girls more than boys. Even once enrolled in primary schools, about 60-70 per cent of girls drop out in the face of the pressures of parental concern, economic need for their contribution to survival, and

direct discrimination.

At the adult education level, the gender constricted position of women in Pakistan varies over an extremely wide range of programmes and skills, but it is always evident. Why is the growth of female literacy in Pakistan so slow? The author identifies the following factors by way of explanation: negative attitudes of the family at birth; low societal status; continued feudalism; patriarchy; an obscurantist view of Islam which supports male vested interests; restricted mobility; low perception of female potential leading to low enrolments in schools (where they exist) and high wastage rates; poor quality literacy materials, again, where they exist at all. Working from an earlier (1991) study of the causative factors of female illiteracy, the author illustrates that among the sample studied (c 1000) from low income localities in Karachi, most girls- c 76 per cent - had never been to school. Major factors were identified as: poverty; cultural blockages; the opposition of fathers to daughter's schooling; lack of

interest among girls in education.

Despite this picture of widespread low self-esteem and low ascribed status the Karachi study showed that at least 70 per cent of the girls wanted to study and hope to do so one day through acquiring literacy skills. Clearly in Pakistan the combination of rural and the urban poor in one of the world's least developed economies represents a massive challenge for the young of both sexes, but in trying to respond they begin from different starting lines - the girls having to do more to reach the goal.

CHOWDHURY, Kowsar P. (1996) Pakistan, in: MAK, Grace C.L. **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New York and London, 187-215.

Like India, Pakistan inherited its modem education system on independence in 1947, by which time ancient traditions of

educational opportunity for females had been drastically eroded. This situation has been further enhanced by increasing economic disparity between rich and poor, urban and rural and to some extent between ethnic groups. Within this generally worsening situation for the poorer sections of society the welfare and productivity of women in Pakistan rank almost the lowest in the world.

This chapter recognises four main categories of indicators of women's welfare, productivity and therefore, status: mortality rate and life expectancy; human resources development - including education; women's role in lowering the birth rate; participation in the economy and contribution to household income. In summary, and put together, these four indices show a picture of a strikingly negative sex ratio in female terms due to dire health circumstances; very low educational status, therefore virtually no human resource development; inability to help reduce the birth rate or to make any telling contribution to economic growth, even at local level.

The situation had not been addressed in any significant way until the Sixth Five Year Plan (1983-88) which officially endorsed the integration of women into national development. Targets were set to increase female participation in primary education to 60 per cent, and the female literacy rate to nearly 50 per cent. In practice these targets have not been achieved. Subsequent plans and measures have also, in general, failed to make a significant impact.

This chapter proceeds to detail the various areas in which female disadvantage is normally evident (enrolment, participation, wastage etc), and identifies negative socio-cultural attitudes and widespread grinding poverty as the main causes for the patterns of inequality that continue to exist. Some of the barriers could be overcome if culturally acceptable facilities existed that were accessible to girls. In short: "... girls do not enrol in schools because there are no schools for them" (p 119). It is the lack of schools rather than cultural inhibitions that is the single most important reason for

the low rate of female enrolment in Pakistan. Negative parental attitudes (mothers as well as fathers), and poverty are cited as the next most important factors.

The chapter goes on to examine female participation in the labour force, in parenting and in politics, with evidence, not surprisingly of the constraining effect of lack of education in all areas. By highlighting this situation, the author is anxious not to undermine the importance of education, and concludes that female access and attainment must be enhanced. It is not only because women's education increases social and economic returns, but also because it is a fundamental human right.

Sri Lanka

JAYAWEERA, Swarna (1996), Sri Lanka in: MAK, Grace C.L. (ed) **Women, Education and Development in Asia: Cross-National Perspectives,** Garland Publishing, New

York and London, 217-244.

This review of education and development in Sri Lanka from a gender perspective takes into account a number of social science theories by exploring three facets of the education and development interface as it affects women: gender based distribution of educational opportunity, the relationship between education and female labour force participation, and the impact of education on gender roles and relations within the family.

After a description of the phases of Sri Lankan development: traditional, colonial and postcolonial, this article details the progress of education in recent decades. Since the 1960s educational and social policies have been implemented without gender differentiation. For example, the percentage of women students in the universities increased from 10 per cent in 1942 to 44 per cent in 1970. By 1918 literacy rates for females were 83 per cent as compared with 90 per cent

for males. Distance from school is no problem, and the vast majority of schools are co-educational. There is an absence of oppressive social practices, but poverty continues to be a barrier to educational opportunity, Structural adjustment policies have resulted in a deterioration in the quality of education in the 1980s and 1990s.

Although access and enrolment have remained relatively equal, there has been an increasing disparity in quality as between the rural and urban areas. District-wide disparities in education participation also underscore the disadvantaged situation of girls in remote and plantation locations. Social class is the major determinant of access but this in turn relates to gender. Nonetheless the participation of females at all levels has maintained an impressive profile wherever socio-economic circumstances permit.

Despite such a record there is one area of education where female disadvantage is evident, namely technical and

vocational training. This derives from gender-specific curricular demarcation at school level and leads on to influence the labour market, so that high levels of achievement be girls do not relate positively to human resource development. Indeed unemployment rates among women have risen higher than those of men in the last two decades.

The author summarizes the current situation in the following terms: "A dichotomous perception of social and economic development has eroded some of the benefits of education that should have accrued to women in the labour force and in the family environment. Nevertheless, education has been perceived often in Sir Lanka as a basic human right as well as an instrument of gender equity and social justice."