

Valuing Education of the Girl by Different Actors in Tamale Metropolitan Assembly

Grace Abena Bowu
College of Distance Learning: University of Cape Coast, Ghana

Abstract

Despite the efforts being made by the Ghanaian government to mainstream gender in education evidence shows that the result has not been what is expected as the change is rather slow generally and particularly in the Northern Region of Ghana. A number of researches conducted on gender disparity in education have attributed the cause of this situation to different factors including historical legacy, economic, social, cultural norms and the school environment. However one of the main problems may be located in the approach to gender mainstreaming and whether the rationale underlying this approach sufficiently reflects local perspectives on education of the girl. As such the research methodology explored institutionalized discrimination of girls at the basic school by looking at how different actors value education of the girl in Tamale Metropolis.

Keywords: gender disparity, education, discrimination, mainstream, economic, social

Introduction

This research critically examined gender mainstreaming in the education by focusing on the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE). It explored the rationale for gender mainstreaming in education policy by looking at whether different actors (parents and community leaders, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), and the girls share the same value of education of the girl in Tamale Metropolitan Assembly in the Northern Region of Ghana.

FCUBE was initiated as a constitutional derive to provide free education for all Ghanaian children of school going age (Iddrisu, 2016). The rationale for the policy was to take the cost element of education which was identified as one of the hindrances to education particularly girls (OXFAM, 2007; Iddrisu, 2016). FCUBE was therefore seen as gender mainstreaming policy in education with specific aims of increasing enrolment and closing gender disparity in basic education.

Further commitment to girls' education was shown by the establishment of girls' education units in 1997 with offices in all the 110 districts in the country to see to specific needs and challenges of girls.

While these initiatives have yielded some results by improving overall enrolment, there is still more to be desired (Ministry of Education, 2004; Osei- Assibey, 2013; Osei-Fosu, 2011; Donkor and Justice, 2016). The enrolment statistics does not reflect the reality on the ground in most rural areas of northern Ghana (Alhassan and Abubakari, 2016; Iddrisu, 2016; Action Aid Ghana, 2007). The gender gap is also markedly wider in the rural northern region of Ghana. Studies conducted have shown that in Northern region more girls than boys are still not in school (Donkor and Justice, 2016; Iddrisu, 2016; Alhassan, and Abubakari, 2015; Action Aid Ghana 2007). Tamale Metro particularly still remains one among the eight Districts in the region with highest gender Disparity (Iddrisu, 2016; Regional Education Report, 2007).

The situation has been attributed to a number of factors including cultural, economic, and social (Iddrisu, 2016; Takyi and Oheneba-Sakyi, 1994). However, another study revealed that other districts in the region such as East- Gonja, Sabboba –Cheriponi and Guisheigu –Karaga with similar socio-cultural characteristics have attained 100 percent gender parity in enrolment (Azika, 2005). This suggests that socio cultural factors alone cannot explain the situation therefore, the need for further investigation into the girls' education in Tamale Metropolis.

Justification of the study

Efforts of earlier researches have set a pace for further investigation on girls' discrimination in education (Azika, 2005; Iddrisu, 2016; Alhassan and Abubakari, 2015). They depicted a picture about the situation based on information for comparative purposes. However, most of the work is mainly quantitative and only based on enrolment statistics with little qualitative information about the value of the girl child education in Tamale. Gender Mainstreaming lacks specificity and in depth study which is useful for gender policy in education.

This research filled the knowledge gap by providing insights on how different actors value education of the girl in Tamale Metropolis. It provided more qualitative information about the value of education of the girl in Tamale that is useful for gender mainstreaming policy in education. It thus provides a deeper understanding of social values of the people of Tamale and how these values influence their response to government policy on gender mainstreaming in education in Ghana. It brought out more insightful and stimulating issues that can be carried on with further studies on the situation of the girl's education in Tamale Metropolitan Assembly.

Methodology

The research methodology explored the seed of institutionalized discrimination of girls' education at the basic school by looking at how policy makers, community leaders, parents and the girls value education of the girl in Tamale.

In view of this the feminist standpoint theory was employed as it was appropriate to help get the voices of the people (Hardings, 2005). Any approach that looks at a problem from perspective of the privileged leads to partial and even perverse understanding of social life. Therefore social problems should be generated from the perspective of the people (Hardings, 1987).

Based on this rational interview was granted to 10 participants including two girls, two community leaders, two parents, two policy makers, and

two persons from the NGO sector. For the each interview information collected included the value of education of the girl and some hindrances to girls' education. The data was then analyzed by coding the response of the participants to arrive at themes.

Conceptual Issues

This research looked at two theoretical concepts to the value of education namely Human Capital (HC) approach and the Capability Approach (CA). The HC approach has an instrumental value for education because it sees education as a tool to develop future human resource (Gene and Rebecca, 2016; Robeyns, 2016; Saito, 2003, Ansell, 2006). The IMF, World Bank and many Governments have this orientation and it suggests the huge investment in education by these institutions (Saito, 2003).

It focuses on knowledge and skills development of the individuals which enable them to contribute to socio economic development of the country. Very often the rate of investment on education is used to calculate the expected outcome of education (Klees, 2016; Unterhalter, 2007). This approach also influences the decision of most parents on the education of their children (Subrahmanian, 2002; Ahiakpor and Swaray, 2015). It fails to recognize the institutions of discrimination that hinder effective acquisition of these skills (Sakiko, 2003). The HC approach has the basic needs development orientation that emphasis on specifying basic needs in terms of supplying services and commodities rather than a capabilities approach which defines human wellbeing (Sakiko, 2003).

The HC approach tends to treat girls education as a means to an end but not an end in itself by considering the rate of return on girls' education (Robeyns, 2003; Gene and Rebecca, 2016). Research has shown that economic return of education on women and girls in most cases is low and this has implication for girls' education (Sinning, 2017; Gyimah and Asiedu, 2015; Ahiakpor and Swaray, 2015). The implication is that parents being rational and basing their decision on the HC approach and its economic returns will prioritize boys' education over girls leading to gender inequality (Unterhalter, 2007). Ahiakpor and Swaray (2015) have indicated that remittance is one of the key reason for household decision on child' education. It is also evidence that when gender and remittances are taken into account male parents are more likely to invest in boys' education than girls' in rural Ghana (Ahiakpor and Swaray, 2015).

On the other hand, research has shown that the social returns on girls' education are higher than boys in the third world (Gene and Rebecca, 2016; UNICEF, 2005 cited in Unterhalter, 2007; Ansell, 2006). Governments who are concerned with population, and other health indicators such maternal and child mortality recognized how education of women provides "silver bullet" to reducing high population growth (Gene and Rebecca, 2016; Unterhalter 2007). This was clearly expressed by the WB statement that educating female yields far reaching benefits for girls and women themselves, their families and society in which they live in (Unterhalter, 2007).

Today the HC approach still remains the most important consideration of the value of education of girls for which huge investment is made (Klees, 2016; Ansell, 2006). Many other policies including Education for all (EFA), Millennium Development Goals (MDG), and post 2015 successor to education have this orientation (Klees, 2016). Specific values of education of girls include contribution to economic growth, reduction in population growth, increase child health, reduced maternal death and infant mortality (Gene and Rebecca, 2016; Leach, 1998).

The HC approach was criticized by Amartyr Sen in 1999, 2009 and later by Nussbaum, 2003. Sen broaden the HC by his Capability Approach which looks at the goal of education to expand freedoms that allow people to function better in society. Better "functionings" according to this approach include being educated, knowledgeable, well-nourished, healthy, safe, and/or having a good job. According to this theory these are achieved by expanding individual's "capabilities" which give one the opportunity to function better. The CA claims education is not only an end in itself, but important to many other "functionings".

Although some people have pointed out the problem of lack of clarity and specificity with the CA, others nevertheless argue that, it is sufficiently designed as an alternative evaluative tool to social cost-benefit analysis, and or to evaluate development policies (Tikly, 2013; Robeyns, 2006). CA approach is thus seen as a way of framing issues and as a starting point for the evaluation of policies (Tikly, 2013).

The CA is thus a paradigm shift in development that sees education as having both intrinsic and instrumental values (Saito, 2003). While HC stress on the knowledge, skills and effort which can be converted into higher functioning, the CA focuses on the opportunities each person has to convert resources into valued personal or economic functioning (Denie, and Mathia, 2005).

However, unlike the HC, the CA is still in its infancy limited currently outside to academia (Tikly and Barrett, 2011). Nevertheless UNESCO and UNICEF are exploring its uses in education. Its application is being made to a variety of educational issues such as literacy, information and communication technologies and higher education (Klees, 2016).

Particularly relevant of the CA to this current study is its claim that social arrangement should aim at expanding people's capabilities and freedom to promote or achieve valuable beings and doings (HDCA). This means that people should have the freedom to do what they want to do and be the person they want to be. Also important is its evaluative conditions under which wider capability set available to boys and girls can be used for higher capabilities (Unterhalter, 2007). The CA recognizes that education gives individual better opportunities and choices to make an informed decision.

The CA also recognizes that ability to use resources for functioning is often constrained by personal, social¹ and environmental² characteristics normally referred to as conversion factors (Unterhalter, 2007; Robeyns, 2003). The conversion factors are relevant to the condition of girls' education in northern Region. This is because they are not able to take equal opportunities given to them as boys to achieve higher capabilities functions because of physical characteristics and personal or social arrangement (Gyimah- Brepong and Asiedu, 2015; Donkor and Justice, 2016; Ahaikpor and Swaray, 2015).

Gender division of labour and other personal characteristics tend to limit girls from taking equal opportunities as boys (Robeyns, 2003; Unterhalter, 2007). Physical characteristics may also hinder the conversion process for girls. For example, two teenagers from the same poor parents may be attending the same poor school with no toilet facilities. While this condition may be generally bad for the two, the physical characteristics may further worsen the situation for the girl. For example when the girl is menstruating she will not be able to attend school for that period of menstruation. Moreover, the girl can become pregnant and would not be able to continue her education. The CA thus suggests that though these two teenagers have the same amount of resources but the boy will have more opportunities to convert the resources to higher capabilities than the girl (Unterhalter, 2007).

Furthermore, social arrangement resulting in gender division of labour makes girls have a lot of burdens with household chores that take much of their time. Girls for example are made to cook for teachers, clean the compound instead of reading or doing their homework (Rose and Kadzamira, 2003). It is also evident that the social arrangement influences the choice for boys to be sent to school (Rose and Kadzamira, 2003).

CA therefore suggests that education policies should look beyond provision of equal access to evaluating the positive and negative conditions that sustain such provision (Unterhalter, 2007). It also suggests that the individual is taken into account in the normative judgment (Robeyns, 2003). The implication for the capability approach means that some people will require more resources than others be able to convert given opportunities to higher capability functions. CA thus makes us to look at inequality in education beyond just providing access to looking at the complex issues of gender and other social power relations that result in unequal opportunities for boys and girls.

Valuing education of girls in Tamale District

This section explores how different actors involved in the promotion of girls' education value education of the girl in Tamale Metropolitan area in the Northern Region of Ghana. It focused on the basic education level system to identify the commonalities and outline the different levels and sites of diversity and conflicts of the value of education of the girl in Tamale.

Valuing education of the girl: government Perspective

Government and policy makers have the HC approach to girl's education. This was revealed from interview with officials of District Assemblies, key informants from the District education officers and teachers. They often sum up the value of education by saying "if you educate a man, you educate an individual, but if you educate a woman, you educate a whole Nation". The responses from the interview can be analyzed under two themes— economic and social returns of girls' education.

Economic returns

Like the HC perspective, government and its actors see girls' education as important human resource development. Education of the girl is therefore valued in terms of its contribution to the GDP and other

¹ Social characteristics are public policies, social norms, discriminating policies, and gender roles, societal hierarchies, power relations

² Environmental characteristics(climate, infrastructures, institutions public goods

development indicators. This view was expressed by government officials who think educated woman can contribute to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

An Assistant Director of education in the Northern region emphasized the following:

“You know women are less corrupt because of the fear of shame and humiliation so when they are put in the public places they are able to manage resources efficiently to achieve economic growth and national development” (Field interview 2017).

In a similar response, the District Coordinating has this to say:

“The world is changing and any nation that needs development should develop its human resources and this human resources comprises both male and female which must complement each other and hence the need for girls’ education. Women are good human resources because they are good home managers and are able to manage the home with the little available resources and because they have the skill of managing the home well it also makes them better managers of the public resources” (field interview, 2017).

The regional girls’ education officer also has this to say:

“The education of the girl ensures socio-economic development. Women form 51% of the population and a nation cannot develop without including a greater percentage of its people who are women: again, an educated woman will ensure that all her children are educated which means that the government will not spend much money on adult literacy programs, which also means the money being now spend on adult literacy could be used for other development. Besides, education of the girl makes her financially independent and she can take care of herself and her family.”

Social returns

Apart from the economic benefits, actors from the government sector also think education of the girl has social values such as health. Core health indicators such as life expectancy at birth, child and maternal mortality were identified as benefits of girls’ education as expressed from the following quotes;

An assistant Director of education puts this:

“Educated woman takes care of her life and health and also that of her children by applying simple hygiene and seeking medical attention when necessary instead of being superstitious about children sickness.” (Field interview, 2017).

The girl’s education officer at the regional education office relates good health with nutrition when she stressed that:

“The educated woman knows how to choose and combine food staffs to prepare a balanced diet for her children to grow healthy and strong thus reduce child mortality”. (Field interview, 2017).

In another interview with the District Coordinating Director about the social values of education of girls’ he had this to say:

“Education of the girl reduces unhealthy competition in society and focus on community development issues. For example illiterate women spend a lot of their monies on expensive weddings and child naming ceremonies and compete with one another in the community but literate women focus on how to contribute to charity like orphanage homes and other associations who are in need. Education makes the girl confidence and she is able to contribute to development” (field interview, 2017).

The social value of girls’ education was also found by Subbarao and Raney, (1992). They observed that education of the girl is important because it promotes indicators like life expectancy as the educated woman takes care of her life and health and also that of her children. It also confirms the claim made by Gene and Rebecca, 2016 who also said education of girls is important because economic, health and social benefits it has for the country.

From this study one could see that most actors from the government have HC and instrumental view of valuing education of the girl. However, the district girls’ education officer rather expressed a broader view about the value of education of the girl as captured below:

“Education empowers the girl to know her rights; the right time to marry and who to marry, number of children to have and will not be a subordinate to her husband. She can take part in the decisions affecting her life, and even in the public. She will also be able to manage her time more efficiently to the development of her own family. Education also makes the girl financially independent and thus build her self-confidence” (field interview, 2017).

This expression is similar to the CA that looks at education in a broader perspective as expanding individual freedoms that allow people to function better in society (Amartyr, Sen, 1999, 2009; Nussbaum, 2003). Her view about education of the girl may be probably due to her gender activism and hence her exposure to other framework of gender equality and mainstreaming.

Valuing education of the girl; Non-governmental Actors’ Perspective

The NGOs value education of the girl in a more holistic way. Their expression about the value of education of

the girl is categorized under these themes: economic, human rights, and social justice. The participants in the NGO indicated that education is a human right provision which every citizen is entitled to hence denying the girl of education is a form of discrimination and social injustice. Education of the girl is also seen as a tool for empowerment and a means to reducing social injustice. The responses captured can be put into the following themes:

Economic

Looking at education from economic point of view a participant puts it like this:

“Education has both intrinsic and instrumental value. Apart from the socio-economic development, education has intrinsic value which cannot be measured. For example the joy of being an educated person, the ability of the individual to read and write and to argue and communicate in English and to know what to do at what time cannot be measured.”(Field interview, 2017). Similar view was expressed by another person as captured and presented below;

“in spite of the skill and knowledge the girls acquire to contribute to national development; education makes girls financially independent as they earn income to take care of their own self; support their husbands to take care of their children’s education which makes their husbands to appreciate them and treat them as help mates and not sex objects or maid servants” (field interview, 2017).

Also important to the value of education from NGO perspective is the issue of exclusion as a participant from FAWE puts it this way;

“Women have long being marginalized and remain in subordinated position for quite a long time. Before FAWE Ghana was formed in 1992, there was a conference for ministers of education in Harare. In that conference, only four women were among them in the whole of sub-Saharan Africa. So the four women ministers started questioning why only few women were present among many men. These ministers therefore took the initiative to change the trend by promoting girls’ education in their respective countries. The aim of FAWE is therefore to influence government policy so that girls can go to school and will be able to occupy public positions. Education will build the confidence of women to take up high public responsibilities” (field interview, 2017).

Human Rights and social justice

Actors from NGO sector also see education of the girl as a moral and human rights issue. For this reason a participant said:

“Education is important for everybody so boys or girls must all have equal rights to education irrespective of religion, physis, origin, race, and with sex”. Another person also said similar thing like this; *“education is a human right issue for both boys and girls because girls are also human beings just like boys and so both of them should have equal rights to education.*

Revelation from this finding is similar to the CA that sees education as having both extrinsic and intrinsic values (Robeyns, 2006). Also it is

Similar to Amartyr Sen claim that education of girls removes social injustices (Sen, 2009).

Valuing education of the girl: Perspective of girls

The girls have a broader value of education of the girl. In an interview with the selected girls revealed these responses *“I can move in any part of the world and have a lot of exposure”* Another girl said *“I can know my rights and nobody can cheat me”*. Another girl said *“I can have self-confidence and self-esteem”*. While another one said *“I can be employed anywhere and have economic independence”*. Another girl puts it thus *“I can dress neatly and nicely than somebody who is not educated and I can also read and write but the illiterate woman cannot”*.

The responses of the girls also revealed both the intrinsic and extrinsic value of education as revealed by Robeyns, (2006). The intrinsic values include the expanded freedom of the individuals that allow them autonomy to function better (Sen, 2009). It also confirms the better functioning notion which in addition to obtaining good job, well-nourished healthy and safe life as educated person, being educated also makes one knowledgeable (Robeyns, 2003; Sen, 2009).

External environment of the school system

Here the emphasis was on parents, community and religious leaders. Different views about the value of education of the girl were expressed.

Parents

Parents with some formal education and professional women hold both intrinsic and instrumental value of education. In other words such parents hold a broader value about education of the girl. They see education as a means for empowerment for the girl to know her rights, and to read and write. One parent expressed that *“girls who go to school know their rights and can choose what they want to do”*. Other words education gives the

individual substantive freedom to become what she wants to be". Another parent said *"girls who go to school can read and write and it eliminates ignorance"*. Therefore the intrinsic value of girls' education depends on the level of education of parents. It was evidence from the research that the intrinsic value of education is only appreciated when one has formal education. Hence the intrinsic value of education is something derived from experience rather than imposed from above.

However, the illiterate parents or parents with no formal education hold very instrumental value of girls' education. They see education as a form of investment which needs to be recouped in the near future. Parents who hold this value are concerned much with the skills and knowledge the child can acquire for the labour market. Education of the individual in this case is seen as family investment which needs to be reaped by the family in the future.

A 45 year old parent puts the value of girl education like this:

"if the child is educated in future the child will be employed and earn money so that when I am old, the child will take care of me; some educated children sometimes build houses for their parents, they treat their parents when they are sick and also they send their parents to pilgrimage (Mecca)"

Parents also consider the issue of job security and other benefits such as social security and retirement benefits which are nonexistence in the informal sector. Parents value job security very much especially illiterate parents probably because of their present experiences.

Another 42 year old female parent comparing herself to me puts it this way:

"Just look at you and us: is there no difference? If I were to go to school I would have also be like you. As for us we only suffer here in the village with the farm work and petty trading which is not sustainable; but you have your regular monthly income if we come to the city without education the only work we do is Kayaye. Are you not better than us? The poverty killing us in the village" (field interview, 2017).

Community and religious leaders

The value of girl's education among this group is conflicting and diverse.

One community leader indicated that boys are the best to invest in. He puts it this way: *"perceived benefits of boys' education are higher because boys work harder than girls. If you go to any department, the 'boss' is a man. Bank managers, accountants, managers of big companies are mostly men. Women are found in lower paid jobs as nurses, and secretaries"*

Another community leader has this to say "politicians, parliamentarians, ministers, doctors are mostly men with few lucky women, and that is enough evidence to conclude that education of the boy is more important and worth investing in than in girls. Girls are naturally not serious because they always have the feeling that one day whether they go to school or not they will get somebody to marry and take care of them. The boys however always know that if they are not serious they will eventually become breadwinners for their families and perhaps the family head of their father's house. This requires much responsibility and hard work which need to start right from the beginning to equip them for that purpose. So when you go to school compounds you only find boys reading but girls do not go for studies.

It is evidence from the research that parents with no formal education, community and religious leaders have very instrumental value of education of girls. This view confirms Ahiakepor and Swaray, (2015) study that most parents consider remittances and rate of returns when taken decision of child education. They concluded that most parents are likely to invest male child education because they expect significant higher returns.

Conclusion

The research tried to found out how different actors value education of the girl and its implication on gender mainstreaming in education policy. The research revealed that different actors have different values of education of the girl. It revealed that people who make decision about the girl's education have different views about the education of the girl from the actors who promote girls' education. The government and the illiterate parents have instrumental value of education of the girl. That is looking at the socio economic benefits of education of girl to the parents and society as a whole. Girls' education from this view is seen as a means to an end. There is still however differences among these actors for example while the government actors are looking at both economic and social values in terms of the contribution of girls' education to national development; some parents are only looking at the economic and rate of returns on investment in education. This means the higher the returns the more willing parents are prepare to invest in their children's education. There are also some commonalities to all stakeholders with regard to the value of education of girls in Tamale Metropolitan assembly. Particularly all stakeholders share a common view about the instrumental value of education of the girl.

This has implication for gender mainstreaming policy in education in the Metropolis. The task of gender mainstreaming education policy will involve working towards taking that seed of discrimination of girl's education. Instead of prescribing a general policy based on common assumption, gender mainstreaming must relate to the motivation of the individuals involved as well as dealing with the fears the community to lose their social values. It also means that gender mainstreaming should have different engagement strategies for different

stakeholders about girls' education in Tamale Metropolitan Assembly.

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge the Dutch government for the financial support for this research work. I also acknowledge the contribution and criticisms of Dr ThanhDam Thruong Institute of Social studies who took her time in guiding me through the research paper. Without her efforts I could not have come out with this paper. I am also thankful to my Dr Nahda Younis also from Institute of Social Studies for her useful critics and contribution to this paper.

Reference

- Action Aid Ghana (2007). A Report on the state of girl child Education in Tamale Metropolis 1997- 2007.
- Ahiakpor, F., & Swaray, R. (2015). Parental expectations and school enrolment decisions: Evidence from rural Ghana. *Review of Development Economics*, 19(1), 132-142.
- Al-Hassan, S., & Abubakari, A. (2015). Child rights, child labour and Islam: the case of Muslims in the Tamale metropolis, Ghana.
- Alhassan, E., & Odame, F. S. (2015). Gender Inequality in Basic Education in the Northern Region of Ghana: Household and Contextual Factors in Perspectives. *Ghana Journal of Development Studies*, 12(1-2), 125-141.
- Azzika Y.T. (2005). Causes of gender gap in education: A case in Northern Region of Ghana, A research paper presented by Tanko Yussif Azzika /MDS2004/05 Th 121
- Deneulin and Mathai (2005). Human Development and Capability Association. *Newsletter*, 3,
- Donkor, A. K., & Justice, D. K. (2016). Girls education in science: the challenges in northern Ghana. *Journal of Education & Social Policy*, 3 (1
- Gyimah-Brempong, K., & Asiedu, E. (2015). Remittances and investment in education: Evidence from Ghana. *The journal of international trade & economic development*, 24(2), 173-200.
- Hardings, S.(2005) 'Rethinking Standpoint Epistemology: "What is Strong Objectivity"?' In Cudd, A. E. and Anderson R.O. (eds.) *Feminist Theory. A Philosophical Anthology*. Black well Publishing.
- Kadzamira, E. and Rose, P (2003). Can Free Primary Education meet the needs of the poor? : Evidence from Malawi. *International Journal of Educational Development*. 23, 501-516
- Klees, S. J. (2016). Human capital and rates of return: brilliant ideas or ideological dead ends? *Comparative education review*, 60(4), 644-672.
- Ministry of Education- Ghana, Enrolment statistics 2004/2005 National profile.
- Osei-Assibey, E. & Grey, S.K., 2013. 2010 Population & Housing Census Report.
- Osei-Fosu, A.K., 2011. Evaluating the impact of the Capitation grant and the school feeding programme on enrollment , attendance and retention in schools: The case of Weweso Circuit. *Journal of Science and Technology*, 31(1).
- Robeyns, I. (2016). Capabilities. *Journal of Human development and capabilities*, 397-414.
- Robeyns, I. (2003). 'Sen's Capability Approach and Gender inequality: Selecting Relevant Capabilities; Feminist Economics 9, 61- 72.
- Saito, (2003). Amartya Sen's capability approach to education: a critical exploration. *Journal of Philosophy of education* 37 (1) pp 17-33
- Sinning, M. (2017). Gender differences in costs and returns to higher education. *Crown and Sword: Executive power and the use of force by the Australian Defence Force*, 227.
- Sperling, G. B., & Winthrop, R. (2015). *What works in girls' education: Evidence for the world's best investment*. Brookings Institution Press
- Subramanian, R. (2002). Gender and education: A review of issues for Policy in Social policy and Development: Social Policy and Development Programme Paper number 9 United Nations Research Institute For Social Development.
- Tikly, L. (2013). Reconceptualizing TVET and development: a human capability and social justice approach. *Revisiting global trends in TVET: Reflections on theory and practice*, 1-40.
- Takyi, K. & Yaw Oheneba-Sakyi (199). Customs, Practices, family and marriages in contemporary, Ghana West Africa.
- Tikly, L., & Barrett, A. M. (2011). Social justice, capabilities and the quality of education in low income countries. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31(1), 3-14.
- Unterhalter, E (2007). Gender Equality, Education, and the capability approach. In Walker, M. and Unterhalter, E (eds.) *Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan