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ROLE OF EDUCATION IN REDUCING CHILD LABOUR: EVIDENCE FROM RURAL BANGLADESH

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Summary. This paper explores the hypothesis that the level of education of children and their parents plays a major role in reducing child labour. Data were generated from a sample survey of 3809 children aged 10–14 years living in 150 villages in two rural districts of Bangladesh. A significant inverse relationship was found between child labour and years of schooling. Age and education of children, parental education, land ownership of household and fathers' occupation were the determinants of child labour force participation. Child's years of schooling is the variable that has most influence on the probability of participation in the labour force, followed by father's and mother's education.

Introduction

Bangladesh is a country of widespread illiteracy and poverty. According to the Human Development Index (HDI), the country ranks 144th among 175 countries and according to the Human Poverty Index (HPI) it ranks 67th among 78 countries (UNDP, 1997). About 40% of rural households are below the poverty line (Rahman, 1995), and nearly a quarter of school-aged children never enrol in or drop out of school (Nath, 1997).

Bangladesh is one of the major signatories of the United Nations Charter on the Rights of the Child. The purpose of this charter is to ensure proper development of children in the context of family, economy and politics. The constitution of Bangladesh also ensures the rights and privileges of children. In recent years, the government of Bangladesh has committed itself to improving education. Compulsory primary education was introduced in 1993 (Government of Bangladesh, 1990). Education for girls is now free up to grade eight in rural areas. Apart from these public efforts several non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have initiated educational programmes for both children and adults. There is no unique law to protect children from child labour; indeed, different labour laws of Bangladesh suggest different minimum age limits for employment (Rahman, 1981). According to the ILO Convention No. 138 of 1973, the minimum age for employment of children is 15. However, no South Asian country has ratified this convention (Crawford, 1995).

Available information at national level suggests that the proportion of children

active in the labour force is increasing in Bangladesh. According to the 1990–1991 labour force survey, conducted by the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, about 5·8 million children aged 5–14 years (18·2% of total) were in the labour force, constituting 11·3% of the total labour force of the country (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 1995). On the other hand, the literacy rate in Bangladesh is very low: 24·6% for all ages and 27·8% for those aged 5 years and above (Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics, 1992). Among the children aged 11–12 years, only a quarter had received basic education in 1993 (Mohsin, Nath & Chowdhury, 1996)

Both developed and developing nations are concerned about child labour (Hilowitz, 1997). There is a conflict between the use of children in the labour market and children's access to education. This increases with the introduction of universal primary and secondary education, as poor parents often want their children to become self-supporting as early as possible (World Bank, 1992). Education plays a major role in determining various achievements in society, and is supposed to increase social and economic equity provided it is equitably distributed. The hypothesis of this study is that the education of children and parents discourages child labour. To test this, parental and child education were assessed, along with other socioeconomic variables, in two rural areas of Bangladesh where a demographic surveillance system had been in operation for a decade.

Methods

Study area and the sample

The Research and Evaluation Division of BRAC (formerly known as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee) launched a demographic surveillance system in three rural unions in its project area in Manikganj district, a central area of Bangladesh which, at that time, consisted of 87 villages with a total population of 51,739. The system was introduced to document the demographic changes induced as a result of a massive and sustained Child Survival Project (CSP) supported by BRAC's Rural Development Programme (RDP). The CSP included oral rehydration therapy, immunization of mothers and children, growth monitoring, a night blindness prevention programme and health education. The registration system was expanded into three more rural unions in Joypurhat district in northern Bangladesh covering 63 villages with a population of 35,708 (in 1987) where no such development intervention was underway. Both central and northern areas were similar in the sense that their economy was largely based on subsistence agriculture, and social institutions were predominantly traditional but different in terms of literacy and fertility behaviour. A total of 17,855 households with a population of 96,420 were visited once a month. The sampling frame of the surveillance system was used for the study.

A survey of labour force participation of children was conducted in all six rural unions in January and February 1995. All children aged 5–14 years of every fifth households were included in the sample as respondents. However, only the children aged 10–14 years were considered for this study. The size of the sample was 3809.

Definition of variables

Although there is an ILO definition of child labour, the concept of child labour varies according to culture. Different micro-studies have used different measures of

Table 1. Measurement of the variables used in study

Variables	Measurement
Child labour	Whether the child worked at least 3 hours at the reference day (yes = 1, no = 0)
Area	Area of residence (central = 1, north = 2)
Age	Age of children (10–12 years = 1, 13–14 years = 2)
Sex	Sex of children (boy = 1, girl = 2)
Child education	Years of schooling completed by children (never schooled = 1, 1–5 years = 2, 6+ years = 3)
Mother's education	Years of schooling completed by mother (never schooled = 1, 1–5 years = 2, 6+ years = 3)
Father's education	Years of schooling completed by father (never schooled = 1, 1–5 years = 2, 6+ years = 3)
Father's occupation	Occupation of father (agricultural = 1, non-agricultural = 2)
Land ownership	Households ownership of land in decimal (landless = 1, 1–199 decimals = 2, 200+ decimals = 3)
Manual work status	Whether at least one person of the household sell manual work at least 100 days a year (work = 1, don't work = 2)
Housing condition	Housing condition according to construction material [bad (made by straw, mud etc.) = 1, good (made by brick, tin etc.) = 2]
Religion	Religious belief of the parents (Muslim = 1, non-Muslim = 2)

child labour. Cain (1977) measured child labour as the proportion of children who had ever participated in any kind of work, and did not measure an average rate. On the other hand, Khuda (1980) defined labour force in terms of participation in economic activity for a minimum of 7 hours a week. In the present study, a child aged 10–14 years who participated in any type of work for at least 3 hours on the day prior to the interview was considered to be a child labourer. The labour force participation status of children was the dependent variable for this study. The explanatory variables were: area of residence, age of child, sex of child, child's education, mother's education, father's education, household's land ownership, manual work status, housing condition and parents' religious belief. Brief definitions of the variables and how they were measured are given in Table 1.

Data analysis

To assess the independent contributions of different educational levels of the household population (i.e. self, mother's and father's) on child labour, cross-tabular bivariate analysis was done. Appropriate statistical tests were also performed. To assess the relative influence of education, multivariate logistic regression analysis was considered with the whole set of explanatory variables. The regression model employed in this study was of the following form (Menard, 1995; Hosmer & Lemeshow, 1989):

$$\ln [p/(1-p)] = a + \Sigma b_i x_i,$$

where, p is the probability of a child participating in the labour force;
a is the constant;

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Table 2. Socioeconomic characteristics of the sample children

Mean age (in years)	11·9
Sex ratio*	113·9
Percentage of mothers ever attended school	23·3
Percentage of fathers ever attended school	38·9
Mean years of schooling of children	2·6
Mean years of schooling of mother	1·2
Mean years of schooling of father	2·7
Percentage of households surviving on manual labour	35·9
Percentage of landless households	41·8
Percentage of children with good housing facility	21·7
Percentage non-Muslim	11·6
Percentage of fathers with agriculture as profession	52·3
Mean amount of land (in decimals) per household	106·1

*Number of boys against 100 girls in the sample.

b_i values are estimated regression coefficients; and

x_i values are the socioeconomic and educational characteristics of the children.

The model was estimated by using the software SPSS for Windows 6.0. To identify the best model, a step-wise approach was used and the model was selected by a combination of forward selection and backward elimination. Odds ratios of each of the regression coefficients were calculated to predict child labour. The probability of a particular level of education resulting in a child participating in the labour force was also calculated.

Results

Socioeconomic characteristics of the children

The socioeconomic characteristics of the sample children are displayed in Table 2. The mean age of the children was 11·9 years and the sex ratio was 113·9. The mothers of these children were less educated than their fathers. Less than a quarter of the mothers and 38·9% of the fathers had attended any school. The mean years of schooling of the children and their mothers and fathers were respectively 2·6, 1·2 and 2·7. The proportion of households that survived on the income from manual labour was 35·9%. About 42% of households had no cultivable land and the mean amount of land was 106·1 decimals per household. The housing condition of 21·7% of children was reported to be good. Father's occupation of more than half of the children (52·3%) was classed as agricultural, and the rest as non-agricultural. Only 11·6% of the children came from non-Muslim households.

Children according to 'activity status'

It was observed that children differed according to their 'activity status'. Some of the sampled children were only labourers, some were only students and some were engaged in both work and school (Table 3). According to the definition set for this study, 39·7% of the children aged 10–14 years worked. This rate was 39·2% among boys

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Table 3. Proportion of children by activity status

Activity status	Proportion of children		
	Boy	Girl	Both
Currently enrolled			
Only student	55·4	52·8	54·2
Both student and labour	28·0	30·7	29·2
Only labour	11·2	9·8	10·5
None	5·5	6·7	6·1

Table 4. Proportion of children participating in labour force by education

Characteristics	Level of education (years)			Remarks
	0	1–5	6+	
Child's education	48·9	38·5	29·4	$p<0·01$
Mother's education	43·5	30·1	21·2	$p<0·01$
Father's education	45·2	38·4	25·2	$p<0·01$

and 40·5% among girls. Slightly over 55% of the boys and 52·8% of the girls were currently enrolled in a school but did not work. Although the current school enrolment rate was 83·4%, more than one-third of these children also worked. Of the children who worked, about a quarter were currently enrolled in school. On the other hand, 10·5% of the children were professional labourers and 6·1% had no profession. This means that 36·6% of the non-enrolled children had no job. It was also observed that nearly half of the child labourers were engaged in livestock/poultry-raising activities, over a quarter were servants or helped cook in the house, and about 18% were engaged in agricultural activities (in production or processing). The rest of the working children were construction workers, transport workers, shopkeepers, non-agricultural workers, small traders or vendors. The boys were mostly engaged in livestock/poultry-raising (58·4%) or agricultural activities (29·4%). On the other hand, the girls were mostly servants/cooking helpers (56·3%) or livestock/poultry workers (38·3%).

Child labour and education

The proportion of children participating in the labour force was found to decrease linearly with increasing levels of education of children and their parents ($p<0·01$) (Table 4). About half of the never-enrolled children were found in the labour force, whereas 38·5% of those with 1–5 years of schooling and 29·4% of those with 6 or more years of schooling worked. About 43·5% of the children of illiterate mothers worked.

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Table 5. Proportion of children participating in labour force by different socioeconomic characteristics and their educational level

Socioeconomic characteristics	Level of education (years)			All
	0	1–5	6+	
Area				
Central***	43·0	40·1	28·2	39·7
North***	57·4	36·3	30·6	39·8
Significance level	$p<0·001$	$p<0·05$	ns	ns
Age (in years)				
10–12***	41·3	32·4	19·4	33·8
13–14***	63·6	50·7	32·8	49·7
Significance level	$p<0·001$	$p<0·001$	$p<0·01$	$p<0·01$
Sex				
Boy***	50·9	36·8	29·2	39·2
Girl***	46·2	40·4	29·7	40·4
Significance level	ns	$p<0·05$	ns	ns
Father's occupation				
Agriculture***	50·9	41·1	32·3	42·4
Non-agriculture***	46·7	35·6	27·1	36·9
Significance level	ns	$p<0·01$	ns	$p<0·01$
Land ownership (in decimals)				
Landless***	52·3	40·6	33·7	43·6
1–199***	43·9	40·8	29·8	40·3
200+**	44·9	27·8	26·0	28·8
Significance level	$p<0·10$	$p<0·001$	ns	$p<0·01$
Manual work status				
Work**	51·9	45·0	39·3	47·1
Don't work***	44·9	35·2	28·6	35·6
Significance level	$p<0·05$	$p<0·001$	ns	$p<0·01$
Housing				
Bad***	47·7	39·7	32·8	41·0
Good***	56·7	34·0	25·0	35·1
Significance level	$p<0·10$	$p<0·05$	$p<0·10$	$p<0·01$
Religion				
Muslim***	49·7	38·5	30·0	40·0
Non-Muslim	43·2	38·4	24·4	38·1
Significance level	ns	ns	ns	ns

*$p<0·10$; **$p<0·05$; ***$p<0·01$; ns = not significant at 10% level.

This rate reduced to 30·1% and 21·1% when mother's education increased to 1–5 years and 6 or more years of schooling, respectively. Among the children of non-educated fathers, 45·2% worked. The rate was 38·4% among those children whose fathers had 1–5 years of schooling, and 25·2% among those whose fathers had more than 5 years of schooling.

Tables 5 to 7 show the proportions of children active in the labour force by different

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Table 6. Proportion of children participating in labour force by different socioeconomic characteristics and mother's level of education

Socioeconomic characteristics	Mother's level of education (years)			All
	0	1–5	6+	
Area				
Central***	43·0	28·4	21·7	39·7
North***	44·2	31·7	20·5	39·8
Significance level	ns	ns	ns	ns
Age (in years)				
10–12***	37·1	24·4	19·5	33·8
13–14***	54·2	39·7	24·0	49·7
Significance level	$p<0·001$	$p<0·001$	ns	$p<0·01$
Sex				
Boy***	43·9	25·1	19·0	39·2
Girl***	42·9	35·8	23·6	40·4
Significance level	ns	$p<0·01$	ns	ns
Father's occupation				
Agriculture***	45·5	32·5	24·0	42·4
Non-agriculture***	41·1	27·6	19·5	36·9
Significance level	$p<0·05$	ns	ns	$p<0·01$
Land ownership (in decimals)				
Landless***	46·1	30·5	24·6	43·6
1–199***	43·5	33·1	21·6	40·3
200+***	33·2	25·7	18·3	28·8
Significance level	$p<0·001$	ns	ns	$p<0·01$
Manual work status				
Work**	47·9	40·4	26·7	47·1
Don't work***	40·1	28·2	20·8	35·6
Significance level	$p<0·001$	$p<0·05$	ns	$p<0·01$
Housing				
Bad***	44·1	30·2	21·2	41·0
Good***	40·5	30·0	21·1	35·1
Significance level	ns	ns	ns	$p<0·01$
Religion				
Muslim***	43·6	31·2	21·1	40·0
Non-Muslim***	42·7	20·0	21·9	38·1
Significance level	ns	$p<0·10$	ns	ns

*$p<0·10$; **$p<0·05$; ***$p<0·01$; ns = not significant at 10% level.

socioeconomic characteristics and educational qualifications. These Tables show that for the children of different socioeconomic groups (except Muslims), the proportion of child labour varies significantly with years of schooling of the children and their parents. In addition, they show that the proportion of child labour varies significantly with the child's age and their father's occupation, ownership of land, work status and housing condition of the household.

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Table 7. Proportion of children participating in labour force by different socioeconomic characteristics and father's level of education

Socioeconomic characteristics	Father's level of education (years)			All
	0	1–5	6+	
Area				
Central***	45·9	35·5	21·2	39·7
North***	44·6	41·4	28·9	39·8
Significance level	ns	ns	$p<0·01$	ns
Age (in years)				
10–12***	38·7	31·3	21·2	33·8
13–14***	56·3	49·6	31·5	49·7
Significance level	$p<0·001$	$p<0·001$	$p<0·001$	$p<0·01$
Sex				
Boy***	45·6	36·8	21·8	39·2
Girl***	44·7	40·3	28·7	40·4
Significance level	ns	ns	$p<0·05$	ns
Father's occupation				
Agriculture***	47·5	39·1	29·5	42·4
Non-agriculture***	42·7	37·4	21·1	36·9
Significance level	$p<0·05$	ns	$p<0·01$	$p<0·01$
Land ownership (in decimals)				
Landless***	47·3	38·5	27·1	43·6
1–199***	45·7	39·4	26·0	40·3
200+***	31·8	36·0	22·6	28·8
Significance level	$p<0·001$	ns	ns	$p<0·01$
Manual work status				
Work**	48·5	42·5	35·9	47·1
Don't work***	42·0	37·2	24·0	35·6
Significance level	$p<0·01$	ns	$p<0·05$	$p<0·01$
Housing				
Bad***	45·6	39·8	24·2	41·0
Good***	42·7	35·1	26·8	35·1
Significance level	ns	ns	ns	$p<0·01$
Religion				
Muslim***	45·7	38·2	24·2	40·0
Non-Muslim	40·4	39·6	31·4	38·1
Significance level	ns	ns	ns	ns

*$p<0·10$; **$p<0·05$; ***$p<0·01$; ns = not significant at 10% level.

Multivariate analysis

Multivariate logistic regression analysis was employed to understand the relative influence of the socioeconomic and educational variables considered in the study. The regression coefficients of the best model are displayed in Table 8, along with the standard errors of the coefficients and their respective odds ratios. Of the eleven

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Table 8. Regression coefficients and odds ratios of best model to predict the probability of child labour

Variable	Regression coefficient	Standard error	Odds ratio
Age			
10–12 years	0·00	—	1·00
13–14 years	0·77***	0·07	2·16
Child education			
Never schooled	0·00	—	1·00
1–5 years	−0·25***	0·09	0·78
6+ years	−0·62***	0·15	0·54
Mother's education			
Never schooled	0·00	—	1·00
1–5 years	−0·24**	0·10	0·79
6+ years	−0·42**	0·18	0·66
Father's education			
Never schooled	0·00	—	1·00
1–5 years	−0·17*	0·09	0·84
6+ years	−0·54***	0·11	0·58
Land ownership			
Landless	0·00	—	1·00
1–199 decimals	−0·09	0·08	0·91
200+ decimals	−0·44***	0·11	0·64
Father's occupation			
Agricultural	0·00	—	1·00
Non-agricultural	−0·26***	0·07	0·77
Constant	−0·05	0·09	

*$p < 0{\cdot}10$; **$p < 0{\cdot}05$; ***$p < 0{\cdot}01$.

socioeconomic characteristics described earlier, the model included only six as explanatory variables: age, child's education, mother's education, father's education, land ownership of the household, and father's occupation. The effects of the explanatory characteristics can best be summarized through odds ratios.

Older children (aged 13–14 years) were 116% more likely to work than younger children (aged 10–12 years) if all other variables remained constant. Educational qualifications were negatively associated with children's participation in the labour force. Children with 1–5 years of education were 22%, and children with more than 5 years of schooling were 46% less likely to work than those who had never been to school. The children of mothers with 1–5 years of schooling were 21%, and of mothers with 6 or more years of schooling were 34% less likely to work than the children of mothers with no education. The children of fathers with 1–5 years of schooling were 16%, and those of fathers with 6 or more years of schooling were 42% less likely to work than the children of illiterate fathers.

Household land ownership was also negatively associated with child labour. Children of households with less than 200 decimals of land were 9%, and those with

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Table 9. Estimated probabilities of children participating in labour force

Characteristics	Estimated probability
Age 13–14 years; no education of children, mother and father; landless household; father's occupation is agriculture	0·67
Age 10–12 years; more than 5 years of schooling of the child, mother and father; 200+ decimals of land; father's profession is non-agriculture	0·09
Children aged 10–12, landless household and father's occupation is agriculture	
Child no schooling, mother no schooling, father no schooling	0·49
Child no schooling, mother 6+ years of schooling, father no schooling	0·38
Child no schooling, mother no schooling, father 6+ years of schooling	0·36
Child 6+ years of schooling, mother no schooling, father no schooling	0·34
Child 1–5 years of schooling, mother 1–5 years of schooling, father 1–5 years of schooling	0·33
Child no schooling, mother's 6+ years of schooling, father 6+ years of schooling	0·27
Child 6+ years of schooling, mother 6+ years of schooling, father no schooling	0·25
Child 6+ years of schooling, mother no schooling, father 6+ years of schooling	0·23
Child 6+ years of schooling, mother 6+ years of schooling, father 6+ years of schooling	0·16

Above probabilities are calculated from the estimated regression coefficients of Table 8 by using the following equation: $p = \exp(a + \Sigma b_i x_i)/[1 + \exp(a + \Sigma b_i x_i)]$.

over 200 decimals of land were 36% less likely to work than the children of landless households. Children of fathers with non-agricultural professions were 23% less likely to work than those of fathers with agricultural professions.

Probability estimation

The probability of children with particular characteristics participating in the labour force was calculated (Table 9). For the different socioeconomic groups, the probability of a child working ranged from 0·09 to 0·67. The highest probability of a child working was not very high, suggesting that there might be other socioeconomic characteristics of children that need to be explored and included in the analysis to determine increased probability of participation in the labour force. The probabilities estimated for a group of children aged 10–12 years, whose fathers' profession was agriculture and whose household had no land, clearly show a negative linear relationship between level of education and child labour. If the children and their parents had more than primary level education the probability of child labour was 0·16; this was doubled (0·33) when the education of each was reduced to 1–5 years of schooling. On the other hand, when parents and child were non-educated the chance of child labour rose to 0·49. When one of them had more than primary level education and the other two had no education, the probability ranged from 0·34 to

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0·38. Again, if two of them had more than primary level education and the other had no education, the probability became 0·23–0·27. In both cases, the probability of child labour was less if the children were educated.

These results imply that institutional education directly reduces child labour. The analysis suggests that schooling of children has most influence on child labour, followed by fathers' and mothers' education respectively.

Discussion and conclusion

There has been a growing awareness since the 1980s, in both developed and developing nations, of the use of child labour (Hilowitz, 1997). Child labour conflicts directly with children's access to education, and this has become more marked with the increased provision of universal primary and secondary education. In many countries child labour became less prevalent with the economic gains of the 20th century (Lansky, 1997). However, the education of children has obvious effects on the economics of the family (World Bank, 1992). Although, in Bangladesh, government and some non-government agencies do not charge students fees up to grade five, families do need to spend money on related educational activities (such as examination fees, annual sports, religious festivals, etc.). Thus, education increases the cost of raising children, as well as delaying the age at which they become self-supporting. In Bangladesh, the enrolment of children in school is increasing, but their participation in the labour force remains obvious (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 1995a, b). This paper examines the relationship between child labour and level of education (of both children and parents) among the rural population of Bangladesh.

Of the children interviewed, 83·4% were currently enrolled in school and 37·9% were working, indicating that many children were engaged in both schooling and the labour market. Although a large proportion of children were found to be currently at school, the average years of schooling was very low, only 2·6 years. In addition, children were not in the right classes for their age. Most currently enrolled children were at primary level, although they were beyond primary school age. This could have been because parents delayed admitting their children to school. Efforts should be made to enrol children in primary schools at the correct age (i.e. at age 6, according to the Compulsory Primary Education Act 1990) and keep them at school at least to age 10. This would help children attain a minimum level of education. Should they then engage in work after the age of ten, they would at least have had a basic education. A recent education commission of the Government of Bangladesh has suggested an extension of the length of compulsory primary education provision from 5 to 8 years. This might also help to keep children in school for longer.

There is an inverse relationship between labour force participation and education. The findings of this study clearly show that as years of schooling of children and their parents increases, the tendency of children to participate in the labour force decreases. An Indian study, carried out in rural Karnataka, also observed a significant negative reciprocal relationship between child labour and child schooling (Kanbargi & Kulkarni, 1986). Khuda's 1991 study in Bangladesh found that school-going children worked about half the time of non-school-going children. Again, Ahmad & Quasem (1991) found that enrolment of children in school was one of the statistically significant

(negatively associated) factors predicting child labour. All these findings indicate that education played a major role in reducing child labour. Like Ahmad & Quasem (1991), this study found that household economy had a significant influence on children's participation in the labour force. Both bivariate and multivariate analyses indicated that the children of better-off households (i.e. with a higher amount of land ownership, and father in a non-agricultural profession) were less likely to work than those of poor households. However, there is a contradiction with the contribution of parental education: Ahmad & Quasem (1991) did not see any direct effect of parental education on child labour. No logical reason could be found for this dissimilarity between the two studies. However, it is more logical that educated parents would be more interested in keeping their children in school for more years. Moreover, it is educated parents who enjoy a better chance of being economically well off than non-educated parents.

Education in Bangladesh is free and compulsory up to grade five for all children and grade eight only for rural girls. Non-government organizations (NGOs) are also contributing to raising school enrolment and literacy through non-formal primary education programmes. Obviously, these public and private efforts have increased enrolment in recent years, but this has not been sufficient to reduce child labour. National level estimates show that school enrolment and labour force participation rates of children aged 10–14 years were respectively 27·6% and 42% in 1990–91 (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 1995a, b). However, this study shows a huge increment in enrolment rate and only a slight reduction in labour force participation rate. This introduces the question of dropout. To enrol all children in school is not enough to reduce child labour. Regular attendance at school, and how much time in a day they engage in education, might be factors that influence child labour. An increase in school contact hours might be considered. Another factor might be the age of first enrolment in school. Enrolment should be ensured at the beginning of schooling age and dropout should be strictly reduced. Programmes designed to increase parents' motivation towards education could also be considered. Schools should be within easy reach of children, and a pleasant learning environment would reduce dropout. Furthermore, given the poor economic status of many families, co-existence of schooling and part-time work could be considered, especially for older children. The introduction of these measures would require a joint effort by parents, educational authorities, employers, trade unions and the public in general.

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