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Achieving UN Sustainable Development Goals in Education: complementary roles of social policies and families/households to achieve education targets

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1. Introduction

Under the Sustainable Development Goals and Targets, Goal 4 aims to 'Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all.' This has to be put in the context of sustainability 'defined as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.' (UN, 2016) Education and knowledge should be made one of the cornerstone of the issue of sustainability, because of its interaction and complementarity with other SDGs and the importance of for managing planet's limited and depleting resources.

Education and knowledge enhance an individual's ability to improve her/his life chances, and contribute to a reduction in poverty. They would also help with the understanding and adoption of new ideas and technologies in other areas such as health, nutrition and contraception. (World Bank, 1999) Appreciating the complementarity of SDGs and creating synergies among different policies would contribute to reducing the cost of achieving them. To enhance this complementarity and synergies family should become

one of the corner stones of policy programmes to achieve SDGs, the others being national social policies in support of families and international support in aid of national policies.

To achieve the education goal policy makers have to pay attention to its many dimensions: gender equality, level of education, e.g. primary, secondary, technical/vocational, learning outcomes, e.g. such as literacy and numeracy, and global/international support, e.g. such scholarship, international cooperation; and school infrastructure, e.g. suitability for children and people with disability.

In this paper the focus is on the role of family to achieve this goal, but we should bear in mind that family is only one institution among many that are involved given the many dimensions of this goal. Our focus on the role of family has therefor to be put in the broader context of social policies to achieve the SDGs in area of education as well as poverty, hunger, health and gender equality.

The paper begins with a theoretical discussion of what it means to achieve 'equitable quality' education under the SDG4 and the role of family. The paper then turns to policies to achieve these goals by combining social policies and 'new' poverty reduction strategies like 'Conditional Cash Transfers' to support families and promote educational goals such as increasing school attendance, especially of female children. The paper also draws on some of the Time Use Surveys to get a handle on the home support to education by parents. I will also deal with some of the long-term issues such as changing family structures (such as single parenting, low fertility and the move towards smaller nuclear families) and their implications on the contribution of families to education. In the final section, I provide some policy conclusions on how to combine direct support to education under various social policy measures with support to families to increase the potential for achieving SDGs.

2. Education and role of families

Education, in broad terms, is about the process of learning and teaching. A process that involves formal and informal learning and teaching over a lifetime. In this never ending

process, families and households play important direct and indirect roles. Other institutions are also involved, whose role varies a great deal as we go through different stages of our life. In the early years formal pre-school and education system at primary, secondary and tertiary levels play the most important roles, whilst in later periods other forms of education such as employment related training/education, adult education programmes, self-learning and peer-learning become more important.

Families' involvement in education is most prominent during the time children live at home, at least till the end of the secondary school. Over this period, including the pre-school education, it is the ability of the family to provide a safe and nurturing environment to meet a child's physical and psychological needs that would have a significant influence on child's ability to perform well at school. That however would depend not only on families economic resources, but as crucially on their social and cultural resources, such as the education of parents (especially mother), commitment and time devoted to child's informal (what might be referred to as upbringing) and formal education. Besides the immediate family, including the siblings, the extended family of grand parents, uncles and aunts could also play an important role in the education of a child.

In order to get a better perspective on the role of families it is important to unpack **what is meant by 'inclusive and equitable quality education,' the guiding principle of SDG4.** In a survey of equality issues in comparative education, Farrell (2003) refers to several areas of equality:

'1. Equality of access – the probabilities children from different social groupings getting into the school system… 2. Equality of survival [completion]- *the probabilities children from various social groupings staying in the school system to some defined level, usually the end of a complete cycle (primary, secondary, higher). 3 Equality of output – the probabilities children from various social groupings will learn the same things to the same levels a defined point in the schooling system. 4. Equality of outcome – the probabilities children from various social groupings will live relatively similar lives*

subsequent to and as a result of schooling (have equal incomes, have jobs of roughly the same status, have equal access to sites of political power, etc.)'. (Pp. 156 – 157; my emphasis)

Whilst 1 – 3 are concerned with the schooling system, 4 is more about life chances that are dependent on schooling system but also broader social and economic structures, availability of jobs and labour market conditions, importance of meritocracy in any country and transparency of recruitment system, control of elite and privileged groups over the social and economic life of the country, inter-generational transfer of power, inequality and poverty, racial, ethnic and gender discrimination, etc. Families have different roles fulfilling these objectives. We need to address the role of family across all four of these equality issues.

Equality of access is a question of availability of schools, at different levels, in the right areas with respect to demand, economic and social circumstances of children to access them, and legal and institutional norms and practices. Over time there has been improvement in school attendance in almost all countries around the world, with the enrollment being closely related to the level of per capita income of a country. Despite achievements of earlier decades there were still 58 million children of primary school age (6 and 11 years of age) who were not enrolled in school in 2012 (UNESCO, 2014),

Enrolment ratios could be high but truancy, dropping out, failure and interruption could all contribute to the poor *'survival' or completion* of an educational cycle (primary or secondary) with very negative impact on children's educational achievements and their life chances. In general the higher a country's rates of per-capita income, the higher are the rates of completion. Whilst in the middle income countries between 80 to 100 per cent of those enrolled complete the primary cycle, in the low-income countries the rate is between 50 and 80 per cent. These rates drop further when it comes to secondary school. (Farrel, 2003). The more recent figures also confirm this trend (see figure 1).

Within countries completion rates are negatively correlated with household income, rural

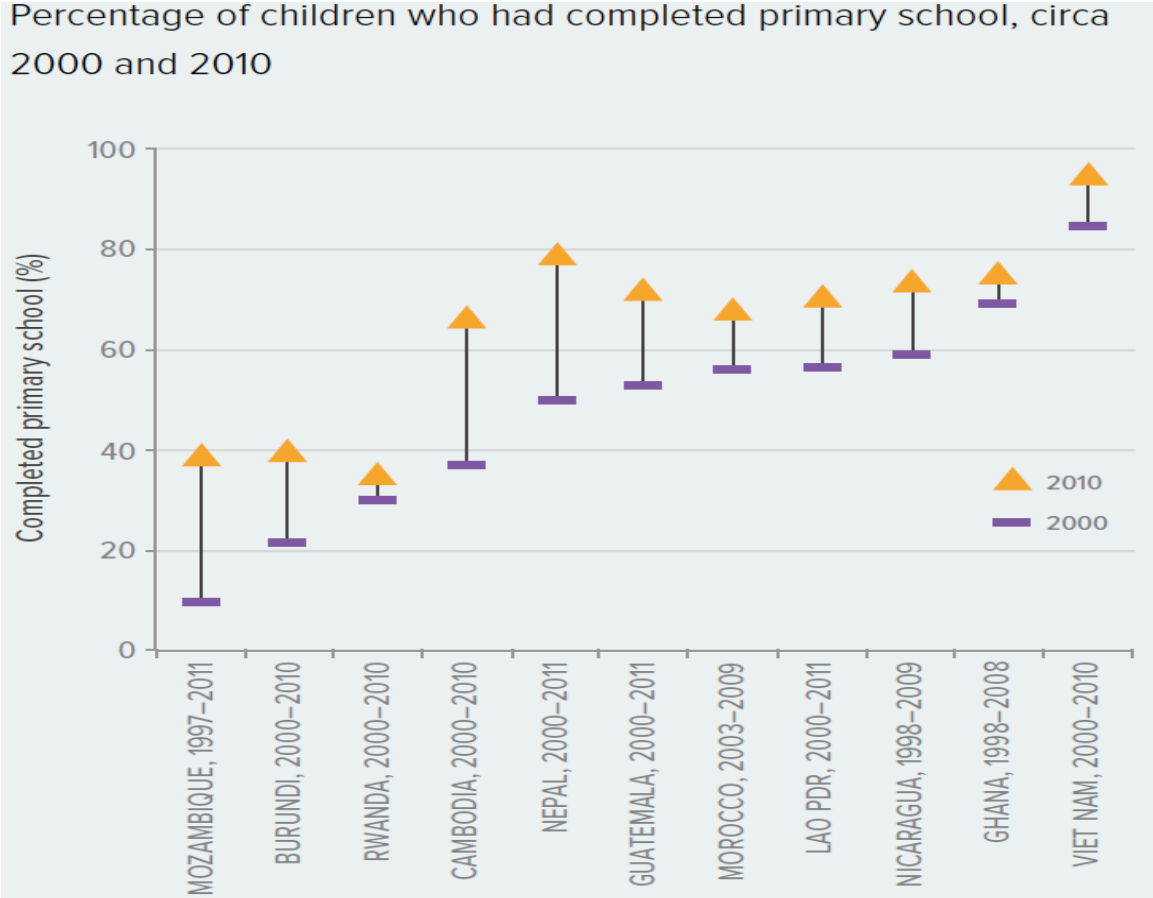
location of children, gender of a child. According to Farrell (2003) two general trends have been observed to explain the gap: national wealth and inequality of income. The richer the country and more unequal its income and resource distribution the higher the completion gap between poor and rich households, boys and girls and rural and urban areas. He draws our attention to the variation of this relationship across countries and cautions on drawing too strong a conclusion on the causation, yet in my view if there is a consistent pattern emerging across large number of countries policy makers and stake holders should be concerned and at a minimum learn from countries that have lowered the gap according to gender, rural and urban areas and household income.

Recent evidence from some low income developing countries reveal that in most countries there are still large gaps between rich and poor boys and girls in relation to the completion of primary school (see figure 2) but what is remarkable is that in some countries like Vietnam and Nicaragua the gap has been reduced substantially over a 10 year period whereas in others the gap (e.g. Mozambique) has increased or has shown a marginal decline (e.g. Morocco).

Some of the reasons for the reduction in gaps in the completion of primary school between rich and poor, and boys and girls could be found in the way families have been supported as well as reducing disparity in the supply of education and discrimination in access. Families may have problems to keep send or keep their children at school because of availability of schools, family resources, the opportunity cost (in terms of loss of labour and possibly income) of sending children to school, religious and cultural prejudice especially in relation to female education, relevance of education in relation to the expectation of parents, and religious, linguistic and ethnic discrimination. The use of conditional cash transfer in several countries (e.g. Mexico, Brazil, Nicaragua) seems to have been instrumental in raising school attendance. So has making the curriculum more relevant to the expectation of parents, as in Vietnam, or teaching in mother tongue, as in Morocco. Increasing the spending on education and reducing conflicts and war (half of the out-of-school children are in war zones, internally displaced or in refugee camps)

have also been important in improving access. (For country evidence on these policies see UNESCO, 2014, pp. 6-10)

Figure 1

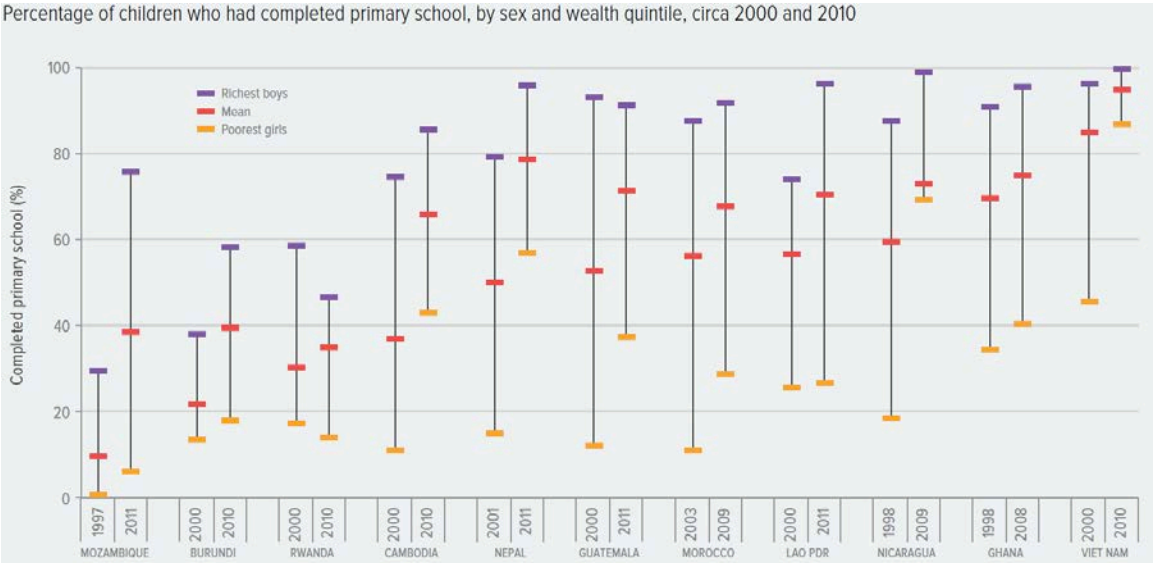


Note: See endnote 2. The figure presents countries with at least 100,000 children out of school in 2000 that more than halved their out-of-school population by 2012.

Source: World Inequality Database in Education (2014)

UNESCO (2014), figure 10, p. 9.

Figure 2



Note: See endnote 2. The figure presents countries with at least 100,000 children out of school in 2000 that more than halved their out-of-school population by 2012.

Source: World Inequality Database in Education (2014)

UNESCO (2014), figure 11, p. 10.

As for the *equality of output* or learning outcomes, the question is why 'children with the same numbers of years of schooling (thus with equal access and equal survival [completion]) may have learned quite different things, or the same subjects to quite different levels.' (Farrell, 2003, p. 161). The evidence according to Farrell suggests that social origin (poverty, gender, rural origin, socially marginal) matters. Yet, the poorer the country 'the less the effect of social origin on learning achievements, and the greater the effect of school related (and thus social policy directed) variables.' (Ibid.) The first point to observe is that in a situation general poverty and lack of schools and educational materials, and low quality of teachers, it is the supply side of the education that matters to equality of outcome more than the social origin of children.

Some authors have also argued that in a poor country in early stages of development and with a mainly rural and agricultural based economy, the population is relatively homogenous in culture and attitude while there are very few jobs in the 'modern' sector and therefore very little incentive to get an education irrespective of social origin. With diversification of the economy and urban development there will be more stratification

among the population and attitude will change towards education. (Foster, 1977) There has been little historical evidence on homogeneity of population of an agrarian based economy in the world, but there is some point to the argument that demand for educated labour is low in a poorly diversified economy and therefore no difference between incentives for education among the poor and well-off families. But as the economy and society diversifies, modern industries and commerce develop and need for an educated labour force emerges that in turn leads to the better off section of population spending more resources on the education of their children.

In most poor countries supply of state provided and free education falls far short of the demand that is driven by the population growth as well as the desire and aspiration for better and more education, and that is when family resources matter and gaps emerge between the learning outcomes of children from rich and poor background as well as that between boys and girls, with the latter differences also driven by gender bias within families. The 1980s debt and economic crisis in most of the developing world and the resulting cuts in social expenditure made the situation worse. Introduction of school and other user charges and general reduction in government subsidy and other neo-liberal economic policies undermined the economic capacity of households and families to devote more resources to education of their children, widening the gaps in access, completion and learning outcomes. The situation was reversed only with the pro-poor economic policies since the mid-1990s; yet as figures 1 and 2 demonstrates there still remains large gaps in access and completion.

As for the *equality of outcome*, in the sense of return to education the evidence is more complicated. Because return to education not only depends on the labour market conditions but equality of access to it as well as family economic and social resources. In a growing and diversified economy those with (and better) education in general have more opportunities, other things being equal, than those without education. But ‘other things being equal’ crucially depends on the institutional framework of ‘equal opportunity’ with respect to gender, racial and ethnic origin, disability, social class, etc. In absence of a meritocratic institutional framework in the job market, social class and

family connection could play an important role in restricting access of those from poor backgrounds to the job market. The situation is even worse when it comes to setting up businesses requiring substantial outlay of initial capital. In the absence of financial infrastructure to assist with start-ups, those from poor background suffer first. Even the financial institutions were to offer indiscriminate support to all, financial rules of collateral for borrowing introduces a level of institutional discrimination against those who do not have the necessary collateral. Inter-generational transmission of poverty and inequality is not simply a matter of education alone but improvement in life chances through employment and setting up businesses.

What emerges from the above discussion is that in order to achieve the objectives of equality of access, completion, learning outcome, and employment/work outcome of education, as a first step a combination of family resources to ensure effective demand (nominal demand backed by economic resources) for education and a stable and improved supply of education are needed. Improving family resources through judicious policy on both demand (e.g. cash transfer and abolition of school fees) and supply side are important. There are also ranges of cultural and social prejudices (e.g. gender, ethnic and religious discrimination) that have to be addressed at the level of family and at national level.

3. Family and inter-generational support to education: some evidence from the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region

Education plays an important role in the inter-generational transfer of education and knowledge within families and in society at large. As far families are concerned they rely on a combination of their own resources (e.g. self/employment, business income, remittances, etc.) and state support (e.g., direct income support or subsidy to basic consumption goods, health and education). But families are far from homogenous and their resource base varies greatly, especially in a heterogeneous region like MENA, where the countries divide along two broad categories of natural resource rich and poor countries. The resource rich countries have been able to provide their nationals (and there

are many non-nationals long term residents of these countries) with good education and general social support in other areas like health. Moreover, family's resource base especially during the high oil price periods is well protected.

In the resource poor countries a combination of high unemployment, low wages, and in general low return to labour have resulted in large scale poverty that has adversely affected family and household's ability to provide for the education of their children.

Using the headcount poverty measure of a-dollar-a-day (or more) poverty is rife in the resource poor countries. But poverty is also present in the large resource rich and industrializing countries of Iran and Algeria (Iqbal, 2005, Messkoub, 2008). The incidence of poverty however is very sensitive to the head count poverty rate. For example in Egypt it rises from less than 5 per cent of population at a-dollar-a-day to above 40 per cent at two-dollar-a-day. (Iqbal, 2005, p. 18) Whatever the merit or otherwise of poverty rate, this reveals the vulnerability of population to small shocks to their resource base. This suggests that traditional headcount poverty rates should be complemented by some indicator of vulnerability when it comes to the assessment of inter-generational support and social policy design. The other aspect of poverty is its regional spread. In all countries referred to in Iqbal's (2005) study, headcount poverty rates are higher in rural than in urban areas.

It should be clear that the in the resource poor countries a great majority of families do not have adequate resources to meet their needs and provide adequate inter-generational support. Given the chronic and structural poverty in the resource poor countries inter-generational support has to go beyond families and take the broader perspective of societal inter-generational relations. Even in the resource rich countries, unequal distribution of income and assets in countries with large populations like Iran, Iraq and Algeria calls into question the inter-generational support within families that in turns demands societal approach to inter-generational relationship. It is in this context that we turn to societal inter-generational support and social policy.

3. 1 Social policy, families and inter-generational support

At micro-level family is the main channel through which various types of inter-generational support are provided, that contributes to production and re-production of at micro and macro levels. Families however are not homogenous and are divided along social and economic lines that determine their capacity to provide inter-generational support. As noted earlier given the high incidence of poverty in many of the MENA countries and inadequacy of family resources there is a need for social policy measures that would supplement family resources and support the broad developmental agenda and ensure societal inter-generational support.

The most basic objective of any state intervention is to maintain and increase families' resource base. More specifically family budget constraint will be improved by first de-commodifying (through regulation and intervention in the market) the basic necessities of life. De-commodification does not necessarily mean free provision of goods and services. It could take different forms like rent control, subsidized medicine and basic food, free primary schools, free vaccination, etc. Second, by improving the human capital of family through improved health and education, employability and income earning opportunities of the families will increase. Third, by maintaining labour demand through job creation by private and public sector and increasing labour force participation of women families will have more secure earning opportunities through employment.

Implementing the above policies would depend on the resource base of different countries. The resource rich obviously have an advantage over the others by having the financial resources to support their welfare and educational programmes. Here the issue of inter-generational support is not a problem, either at family level or at national level for these countries. Despite the existence of some youth unemployment in these countries, family resources and state spending are sufficient to maintain good standard of living for the young.

However in the resource rich countries with large populations governments have to maintain the real income of families by controlling inflation and cost of two major items

of expenditure – housing and curative health care. This calls for prudent expenditure of the oil money in the country to avoid inflationary pressure, and partial de-commodification of health and housing in order to release resources of the family to support educational expenditure. Another major concern in the medium term is high youth unemployment in these countries that requires active job creation policies, involving both public and private sector. Employment and earning potentials, as noted in section two, are important incentives for sending and keeping children at school. This is one of the structural issues that go beyond education.

Resource poor countries face many more hurdles than the other countries. The human development record in the resource poor countries is varied and depends on the social class – the richer classes enjoy better standard of living and higher human development. These countries face chronic foreign exchange constraints and fiscal problems that would limit their policy space to carry out much needed social policy measures in areas of health and education. Like elsewhere in the MENA region, they also suffer from high youth unemployment. How have families coped with their low living standards, poverty and vulnerability? Migration to richer countries in the region and beyond has helped to improve living standards for migrant sending families. Remittances have been an important contributor to family income. Considering the level of poverty and high unemployment in the region families have limited scope for inter-generational support, without relying on state subsidies to basic foodstuff, education and health. Social policy measures in these countries to ensure family based and societal inter-generational support are no different from the resource rich and labour abundant countries, except that the needs are bigger and finances more limited.

However, states could still do a lot in the resource poor countries by focusing on some key areas like universal and free school level education, preventive and primary health care and de-commodifcation through intervention in the market for post-secondary education curative, health care and housing.

Education and training in the MENA are not just a matter of financial resources. The

region also suffers from a culturally (a combination of religion, patriarchy and tradition) driven gender bias against women when it comes to continuing their education and choice of subjects. Despite the general improvement in female access to education in recent years, girls still perform badly compared with boys. At primary school level the rate of girls repeating grades is high in some countries, or drop out early from the formal schooling. Many also fail to make it into the secondary school, whilst those that do opt for what are socially considered appropriate 'female' field of study, such as humanities and social sciences. (Christina, et al., 2003)

State, civil society and religious establishments have to work together to counter such biases by educating families and empowering women to achieve their educational goals.

3.2 Inter-generational education

Inter-generational support at family/household level has been perceived an important source of informal as well as formal education for children, yet the evidence on the role of family is mixed. In a wide-ranging survey of literature Buchmann and Hannum (2001) found that in the developed world 'family background was more important than school factors in determining children's educational achievement' (p. 82) but in developing countries the reverse was the case. Impact of family structure on educational achievement was another area of difference between the developed and developing countries. For example the evidence in the US suggests that the children in female headed single parent families perform worse than those in which parents live together; that has been attributed to the single parent households having less time, social capital and resources. In some Sub-Saharan African children in female headed households performed better despite their poverty; which has been attributed not only to the investment of monetary resources, time and emotions but also the fact that family is embedded in larger kinship, and can draw on their social and financial resources. Perhaps the breakdown of a marriage or single parenthood gives more roles to the extended family. (Ibid, pp. 82-83) This is similar to the role of the extended families, especially the grand parents, during the AIDS crisis in Africa, a role that is continuing when parents die due to AIDS related illnesses. Similar support of the extended family for children has been observed among families with

migrating parents in China and Philippines and other countries.

A recent UNESCO inter-generational life-long learning initiative is an attempt to integrate adult life-long learning and literacy with family support to the education of children. (UNESCO, 2015) Its aim is to 'support the learning that happens in the home and in communities; they seek to break down barriers between learning in different contexts; they provide vital support to parents whose own education has been limited for various reasons; they aim to develop both children's and adult's literacy learning…[noting] that literacy does not just refer to the acquisition of reading and writing skills but also to also language, culture and orality.' (p. 7.) UNESCO has based its work on the wealth of empirical evidence that shows by building children vocabulary and language skills and their general cognitive faculties pre-school 'education' laid strong foundations for learning in later years. Pre-school 'education' could involve variety of activities such as story telling and reading books to children as well as early learning games.

UNESCO suggests four approaches to life-long learning by the provision of: direct broad services to parents and children, direct services to parents to develop their reading and writing skills, direct services to children to improve their reading and writing skills whilst using the parents as 'instruments', develop activities (e.g. awareness raising media campaigns) in the community in order to impact children and parents indirectly. Many programmes have been developed along these lines right across the world in the rich and poor countries alike. (Ibid., p. 8)

Life-long learning programmes in the MENA have been organised in Bahrain and Palestine. (Ibid. pp. 38-46) In Bahrain the Mother-Child Home Education Programme, which is modelled on the Turkish 'Mother Child Education Foundation (ACEV),' was launched in 2000 as an inter-generational educational and empowerment programme. It aims and objectives are: (i) to develop of pre-school/early childhood education for the poor, (ii) fostering functional literacy skills among adults, especially the mothers as the care givers, so that they can support and prepare their children for school, (iii) to

empower families, again especially women, so that they can engage in livelihood activities (e.g. self-employment), (iv) to improve child-rearing skills, (v) to promote social and community network through education, (vi) to empower communities to respond to their social needs. The MOCEP is planned to be complemented by a Father Support Programme, which was piloted in 2009 to improve their parenting skills. The MOCEP outreach is rather limited, it only covers 200 families out of about 200,000 families;[1] that affects poor household who do not have the resources to pay for pre-school education. The sustainability of the MOCEP is also in question because of problems of funding.

A similar programme on early childhood education has been established in Palestine: the Early Childhood, Family and Community Education Programme. It covers Mother-to-Mother with the aim of improving the parenting skills and empowering of mothers and fathers; Learn-by-Play programme which is community based programme to promote life-long learning; and a series of programme on empowerment of women, against domestic violence, teacher training and community child support initiative. Despite the high demand for these programmes and their success, funding and resources have been a major challenge for their maintenance and expansion.

Inter-generational life-long learning programmes promoted by UNESCO is valuable complements to what families are doing at home. To find out what exactly families do at home is not easy, but household/family Time Use Study (TUS) has become an important source of information on the 'unpaid' contribution of family members to the education of children. In TUS family members are asked to record the time that they spent on different activities at home during a typical day. These activities include, inter alia, personal care, leisure, sports and education of children. Using this methodology, the TUS of Iran (TUSI) collected data from 10,000 households in urban areas of Iran in 2008 and 2009 and reported that on average a household head, the great majority of whom were men, spent about s minutes on education of their children at home compared with a

[1] This based on a total population of 1.2 million according to the 2010 census and an average household size of 6 persons.

corresponding figure of 6 minutes for their spouse. Other members of the household, such as siblings, brides and grooms, and grand parents were also involved in the education of children at home. Their combined time was 6 minutes. (TUSI, 2008, 2009)

We estimated the monetary value of unpaid work of married women in educating their children at home using the hourly rate of private tutors in Iran in 2009, and arrived at a figure of US$1,672 million (Table 3). (Messkoub, et al., 2015) This contribution to the economy goes unrecorded in the national income and expenditure account, which is primarily concerned with the monetized sectors of the economy. Such a large contribution could justify adoption of policies, such as those of the UNESCO's inter-generational life-long learning, to enhance and complement household resources to increase their involvement in education.

4. Conclusion and policy discussion

Education in the broadest sense of the term is one of the building blocks of the sustainability debate. As a life-long process education is about acquisition of knowledge and information to improve one's life chances and access information and technologies in areas which are important for a fulfilling life - health, food and nutrition, productive technologies in agriculture and industry, etc. By putting family and households at the centre of this process of education, we can also target other developmental and sustainability goals.

There is a great deal of evidence relating family's and household's social and economic resources to the educational achievements of children. The richer and more educated the household, the better the educational achievements and life chances of children. However, social policies in areas of compulsory education, prohibition of child labour and provision of free education have contributed greatly to people's decision to send and keep their children at school and education.

To achieve the SDG goal of **'inclusive and equitable quality education'** we need to:

- Maintain existing commitments to the stated funded provision of free primary and secondary education in order to increase supply of education, especially in deprived areas;
- Abolish school fees and other 'cost recovery' measures to increase access to education and reduce the financial pressure on families;
- Plan and implement through cooperation with civil society organisations (e.g. trade unions, women's groups, NGOs) the gender equality programmes in education;
- Develop family friendly policies in education by changing the school term in areas where children are important source of seasonal unpaid labour for the family (this is a controversial policy for it may well weaken policies against child labour and for compulsory education);
- Provide and improve education programmes for parents in order to enhance their role in the education of their children;
- Acknowledge the unpaid, yet substantial, contribution of parents, especially mothers, to the education of children at home in order to develop mother/parent - centred policies in national education programmes;
- Use 'cash transfer' programmes to improve access to education among poorer households, but not as a policy of disciplining parents (by imposing conditions) that in turn would harm the interest of children;
- Integrate education, health and nutrition policies by developing inter-ministerial institutions and organisations;
- Support the advocacy roles of NGOs working with children and families;
- Provide incentives to channel remittance money towards education in countries that have substantial flow of migration, either nationally like China or internationally like Philippines and Nepal;
- Establish a 'minimum income guarantee' policy through taxation policy (e.g. tax credit) in order to support families' resource base;
- Use 'vulnerability' as the organizing principle, rather than simple poverty cut-off points, to support families in order to build up their resource base;
- Develop tax incentives to businesses, organisations and activities involved in

education; these include for example abolishing value added tax on school books, material and clothing, etc., reduced income tax for businesses involved school building and infrastructure;

- Develop and revise school curriculum to bring it closer to working needs of children and their parents;
- …

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Appendix Tables

Table 1. Family size and number of children in developing regions by area of residence and education of head of family. (1980s)

	Residence		**Head of family Education**		
Family size	**Urban**	**Rural**	**None**	**Primary**	**Secondary**
Asia	4.9	5.4	5.2	5.2	5.2
L. America	4.6	5.0	4.7	5	4.4
Near East /North Africa	5.4	6.1	5.9	5.7	5.0
S.S. Africa	5.1	5.3	5.2	5.3	5.0
Number of Children					
Asia	2.0	2.5	2.2	2.2	2.3
L. America	1.9	2.5	2.1	2.3	1.9
Near East /North Africa	2.4	3.0	2.8	2.8	2.3
S.S. Africa	2.5	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.5

Source: Adapted from Bongaart (2001), table 4 based on Demographic Health Surveys (1990). HS data files.

Table 2 - Working Poor as a proportion of working population in selected MENA countries (late 1990s)

Country	%
Yemen	74
Egypt	71
Algeria	30
Morocco	23
Jordan	13
Tunisia	12

Source: ILO, 2012.

Table 3 - Average daily time and value of unpaid household activities by married housewives in urban areas in 2009 (Time-Hours:Minutes, Value: US$, million)

	Domestic	Child care	Adult care	Children education	Total
Daily time	05:50	00:36	00:04	00:06	06:36
Estimated Value	24,664	2,448	245	1,672	29,029
% non-oil GDP	7.38	0.73	0.07	0.50	8.69

Source: Authors' calculations based on Time Use Study of Iran, 2008 and 2009. (Messkoub, et al., 2014)