HEART
HEALTH & EDUCATION ADVICE & RESOURCE TEAM

Helpdesk Report: Education in urban contexts

Date: 1 May 2015

Query: Produce a report looking at the following aspects of education in urban areas:

Context – why is this important? What are the key themes? How is urban poverty shaping education opportunities? Look at equality issues

Evidence – what is the evidence saying about the situation in urban slums? In relation to the increasing range of providers, migration, employability and labour markets. What is the evidence and where are there gaps?

Other issues – quality of education, livelihoods, almost humanitarian approach/issues in urban slums, longer term learning outcomes, urban/rural divide e.g. anecdotal acceptance that migrating to urban areas increases learning outcomes and better access to teachers but does the evidence actually say this?

Purpose: To contribute to a think piece on education and urban issues

Content

1. Overview

Context

Studies which find that enrolment rates are higher in urban areas than rural areas are likely to mask the high numbers of children who are out of school in urban areas. Slums often have dense populations where access to education is poor. Education is needed to break the poverty cycle in urban areas and increase employment opportunities. The importance of education for improved health in urban areas has been documented.

Consensus amongst experts is split, with the literature arguing for or against the need for a focus on urban as opposed to rural education development. The share of poverty is higher in rural rather than urban areas, but the number of poor people living in urban areas is rising with increased urbanisation. The concentration of poverty in urban slums means that scaled intervention may be more affordable (Kielland, 2015; UNESCO, 2015).

Cameron (2012) suggests some barriers to education that are particular to the urban rather than rural context. These include:

- Greater inequality and powerlessness.
- Street children, refugees and internally displaced people face high barriers to access due to legal status and lack of paperwork.
- Busy roads and built up areas can make travelling even short distances to school difficult and time-consuming.
- Slum evictions and high population mobility make it risky to invest in education projects: they risk losing all their students and having their buildings demolished.
- The author suggests that the perceived 'urban bias' means that development policy for education in urban areas is neglected in favour of rural areas.

School admission procedures can also be a barrier in urban areas (Tsujita, 2011).

Evidence

The 2015 Education for All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report (GMR) has done some work on disaggregating education data (UNESCO, 2015). Traditionally education statistics tend not to be disaggregated by urban/rural areas. UNESCO interviewed UN and NGO officials on the education situation in urban slums and found the most common response to be: 'we don't know. This is under researched.'(Kielland, 2015).

Cameron (2010) notes the difficulties in gathering reliable data in slum situations. There are logistical difficulties where households move frequently, slums are demolished and rebuilt, and illegal tenants are reluctant to talk to officials. UNICEF multiple indicator cluster surveys have been carried out in slum areas of Kenya and Ghana documenting education statistics. This approach could be useful in other slum areas. Even if the situation is fluid in slums these surveys provide a useful snapshot. A small number of individual studies have highlighted urban/rural differences.

Urban/rural differences identified in the literature:

- In low-income countries, average out-of-school rates are 16% in rural areas compared with 8% in urban areas (UNESCO, 2015).
- Huisman and Smits (2009) analyse data from 30 developing countries and find that enrolment is higher among children living in urban areas.
- Dreher et el. (2008) look at panel data from 96 low- and middle-income countries and find that the degree of urbanisation does not significantly affect overall enrolment at the country level.
- Data from Ethiopia on enrolment rates show a marked difference between urban and rural regions with higher urban rates (Pereznieto & Jones, 2006).
- A study in India found that rural schools tended to have poorer infrastructure, fewer teachers per school and higher drop-out rates (Blum & Diwan, 2007).
- In Pakistan, 17-22 year olds have typically studied for 6 years. Disaggregated the data is 9 years for the wealthiest urban youth, and 3 years and 2 years for urban poor boys and girls respectively (Cameron, 2012). This shows the disparity between the urban rich and poor.
- Cameron (2012) finds 22 low- and middle-income countries where years of education for the urban poor lag behind those for the rural poor.
- The 2015 EFA GMR finds out-of-school rates and learning outcomes to be more favourable in urban areas (UNESCO, 2015).
- A survey in Bangladesh found the education situation in urban slums to be as bad as in some of the poorest rural areas. Data from four slums in Dhaka found 23% of children aged 6-11 were out of school (Cameron, 2010). Applying this rate to the 300,000 primary-age children in Bangladesh slums this would equate to approximately 69,000 out-of-school.

Research on Kenya finds school enrolment is higher in urban non-slum than in urban slum areas, and is higher in slums than in rural areas at younger ages (Mugisha, 2006). However, at age 9 for females and 11 for males enrolment for slum children declines and at a faster rate than in rural schools. In rural schools enrolment declines at 13 years for males and 14 years for females. Suggested factors for this include: poor quality primary education, limited secondary schools, increased vulnerability of sexual coercion, and increased child labour.

A survey of slums in Delhi found just over half of children are in school (Tsujita, 2009). Economic problems were thought to be one of the main reasons why children did not attend school. A survey conducted in informal settlements in Kenya finds 90% of primary age children are attending school (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2009).

Migration

Fear of rural-urban migration in Bangladesh has led to the withdrawal of safety net programmes in urban areas in the past (Cameron, 2010). Tsujita (2011) comments that in India the perception of better educational opportunities encourages those from rural areas to migrate to urban areas. Research also suggests that seasonal or temporary migrant children lack access to education. Research finds that education outcomes are generally better for internal migrants than non-migrants (Harttgen & Klasen, 2009). A study in Bangladesh and Vietnam, however, found lower educational expenditure and attainment for migrant children compared to urban natives (Cameron, 2012).

Kielland (2015) finds that agencies are favouring policy towards rural rather than urban education to reduce rural-urban migration, using education provision to manage demographic change rather than an end in itself (see also Cameron, 2011). Migrants are likely to face bureaucratic obstacles (Cameron, 2012). These include: refusal to admit children in the middle of the year, non-recognition of previous attainment, demands for birth certificates, and lack of household registration.

Governance

Tsujita (2011) suggests that in India there is often a reluctance to regularise slums or informal settlements and provide basic infrastructure and services to such areas because slum dwellers are often regarded as temporary migrants. This makes it difficult to enter the formal education system.

Cameron (2010) comments that the legal status of people living in Dhaka slums is tenuous and they may be vulnerable to politicised violence. This makes it difficult for authorities to engage with them. The government want to deter rural-urban migration. They may also be reluctant to take any action towards legitimising rights to live in slums that were often built illegally, particularly because land prices in Dhaka are very high.

Public spending analysis in the 2015 EFA GMR shows education resourcing is skewed towards urban areas in low-income countries which does not reflect where populations reside.

School type

Research in Bangladesh and Vietnam finds that rural-urban migrant households live in areas less well served by public schools (Cameron, 2012). The 2015 EFA GMR states that in the absence of adequate government policy and planning, NGOs and the private sector have played a significant role in providing education to slum dwellers (UNESCO, 2015). A study of slums in Dhaka, Bangladesh found a third of the school-going children were in NGO schools (Cameron, 2010). Quality of education appears to be higher in NGO schools in this case, but completion of a basic education in an NGO school face leads to problems in entering the formal secondary education system. Private schools may not be a viable option for expanding to reach those out-of-school as they generally cater to wealthier residents (Cameron, 2011).

NGO and government sector expansion are suggested as the most promising and realistic route in Bangladesh.

In Delhi slum children largely attended government schools, disagreeing with other studies which suggest fee-paying private schools in slum areas were suitable for 'low income families' (Tsujita, 2009). Half of those that were attending private schools were found to have dropped out. This research is six years old so the situation may have changed. The 2015 EFA GMR finds that low-fee private schools have proliferated in urban slums in India, Kenya and Nigeria as well as in other countries (UNESCO, 2015). In Kenya, recent data suggested that over 40% of the poorest students in slums attended private schools, and that this number increased steadily after user fee abolition in 2003.

More research is required in this area.

Conclusion

The literature focused on urban areas is expanding to address issues of conflict/violence, migration/demography, climate, inequality, labour mobility and other areas. However, there seems to be little focus on implications for education.

Argument for or against the greater needs of rural or urban education common in the existing literature seems somewhat futile. Rather, the contextual differences should be recognised and further researched so that policies and development may be better focused on improving schooling in different areas.

There was limited discussion of employability and labour market issues in relation so education in urban context. More research is also needed on the range of providers and how each may contribute to improving education in urban areas.

2. Enrolment

Effects of Household- and District-Level Factors on Primary School Enrollment in 30 Developing Countries
Huisman, J., & Smits, J. (2009). World development, 37(1), 179-193.
http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0305750X08001666

This paper considers degree of modernisation (as indicated by the level of development or degree of urbanisation) as a factor affecting primary school enrolment. In more modern areas, there generally is more impact of globalisation, including the diffusion of value patterns that stress the importance of education and equality among sexes. In urban areas, the road and transport infrastructure is generally better, the state influence is generally stronger and there may be more pressure on parents to send their children to school. Families living in cities may also have moved there because of the better educational opportunities for the children there.

Analysis of data on 220,000 children in 340 districts of 30 developing countries finds enrolment is higher in districts where more men and women work in white collar jobs, and among children living in urban areas.

The research also finds that in rural areas, the benefits that girls derive from being a biological child are less than in urban areas. This indicates that in the city domestic workers are more often non-biological children, whereas in the countryside they are more often relatives.

Does Aid for Education Educate Children? Evidence from Panel Data

Dreher, A., Nunnenkamp, P., & Thiele, R. (2008). The World Bank Economic Review, 22(2), 291-314.
http://wber.oxfordjournals.org/content/22/2/291.short

This paper explores the effect of different variables on net primary school enrolment using panel data from 96 low- and middle-income countries between 1970 and 2004. The fixed-effects model indicates that the degree of urbanisation does not significantly affect enrolment.

Educational choices in Ethiopia: What determines whether poor children go to school?
Pereznieto, P. & Jones, N. (2006). Young Lives.
http://www.younglives.org.uk/publications/PP/education-choices-Ethiopia/educational-choices-in-ethiopia-what-determines-whether-poor-children-go-to-school

Ministry of Education data show a great variation in enrolment ratios between regions in Ethiopia, with a particular contrast between urban regions like Addis Ababa and Harari – with a 94 % enrolment rate – and rural regions such as the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Region (SNNP) trailing by nearly 30 percentage points. The nationwide gap between boys and girls is high but is generally even wider in rural areas. Regional disparities are largely explainable by distance to school: according to statistics from the Ministry of Education, a quarter of the population lives four or more kilometres away from primary schools – implying a very high cost in terms of time, transport, energy and safety for children to attend school on a regular basis.

3. Poverty

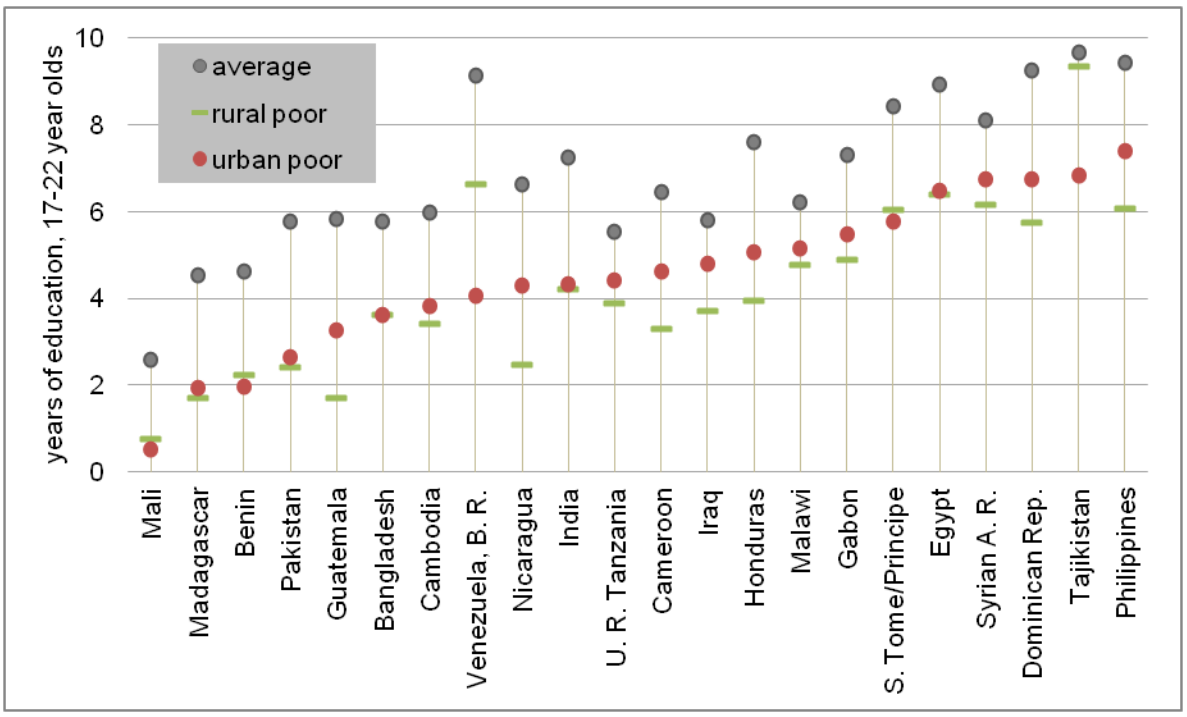
Education and urban poverty: a research agenda (DRAFT)
Cameron, S. (2012). Grey literature.
https://docs.google.com/document/d/1nfWoiRXjayTguAfIcT1Ub-yXk_Hl5hIQF7lG-HpRGoU/edit

The world's population is becoming increasingly urban. Over the next 30 years, virtually all of the world's population growth is expected to occur in the urban areas of low- and middle-income countries.

Although there is huge variation in the lives of people who are poor and live in cities around the world (not to mention the difficulties in defining who these people are), the author tries to join the common threads to make education and urban poverty a meaningful research topic.

Education policy and programmes have not yet caught up with the challenges of growing urban poverty. As with other public services and development programmes, the urban poor are seriously neglected by education systems. In many countries the urban poor are no better educated than the rural poor. In Egypt, urban youth from the poorest wealth quintile have on average only around six years of education, compared to over nine years on average for the country as a whole. In Pakistan, where 17-22 year olds have typically studied for six years and the wealthiest urban youth nine years, amongst the urban poor the figure is around three years for boys and only two years for girls.

Figure 1. Selected countries where the urban poor lag far behind in education



Source: Deprivation and Marginalization in Education data set, various years.

What is special about urban poverty for education?
Poor people in urban areas have difficulty getting their children into school for many of the same reasons as those in rural areas. They face official and unofficial costs that they are unable to afford, and come under financial pressure to withdraw children from school and put them into work (whether paid or within the home). There may not be any school around, and they may lack the power to demand one. But there are also barriers peculiar to the urban environment.

Inequality and powerlessness
Inequality is often higher in cities than in rural areas, and the differences within urban areas in levels of poverty and health are often greater than the rural-urban differences. Modern cosmopolitan zones are often found within a short distance of slums, and yet the people who live in the slums have little access to the modern services enjoyed by their wealthy neighbours. Concentrated poverty, illegal status, and lack of trust makes it hard for marginalised urban populations to mobilise politically to demand services and for their voices to be heard alongside those of the urban elite. The stigma attached to poverty, to living in a slum, or to being part of a marginalised migrant group, can lead to physical and verbal abuse by both teachers and other students.

Street children and migrants are among the most deprived
Children who live on the streets, and refugees and internally displaced people, are among the marginalised groups facing the highest barriers in urban areas. In both cases their legal status and lack of paperwork make it difficult to negotiate the bureaucracy of school admission. In Kenya alone, it is estimated that over there are over 200,000 urban refugees, and very little is known about the education status of refugee children. One study covering seven cities in Pakistan found that fewer than 5% of children living on streets had completed primary education.

Cities can be dangerous for children

In countries such as Botswana and Malaysia, road traffic casualties in urban areas are alarmingly frequent, most of the victims are pedestrians, and children account for more than one third of them. Slums are often built in industrial areas, by busy roads, and in flood zones, making it difficult and time-consuming for children to travel even short distances to school. Parents may also fear abduction or abuse by other adults. In some cases high levels of violence in the area spill into schools. In one study in urban Jamaica 87% of grade 5 students had been punished with a strap, belt or stick and 69% had been involved in a fight. Moreover, having experienced violence was associated with a sharp drop in test scores, even controlling for home background.

NGOs struggle to work in slums

In many countries education NGOs are predominantly rural-focused and are only beginning to grapple with the challenges of working in the urban environment. Slum evictions and high population mobility make it risky to invest in education projects: they risk losing all their students and having their buildings demolished. Problems affecting households in slums – such as exploitatively high rents, charges for informal connections to public water and electricity networks, and poor physical access – also affect NGOs wishing to set up education there.

Development policy still sees the rural poor as its main target

There is a lack of political will to address urban poverty and education for the urban poor. Partly, this derives from a lack of understanding of the magnitude of the issue. International development research continues to be shaped by the idea of an "urban bias" that emphasises the underdevelopment of rural areas, and by average figures showing better development indicators in urban than rural areas. National surveys and censuses fail to cover people who live in slums, illegal migrants, street children and other marginalised urban groups. Governments have no hope of genuinely meeting Education for All goals if they do not have a reasonable idea of how many out of school children and illiterate adults there are in cities.

Poverty reduction strategies and national education plans rarely mention slums or urban poverty. Particularly in the least developed countries, the focus is still largely on rural poverty. Even where plans mention urban poverty, real commitment to action is seldom forthcoming. Similarly, plans to improve the lives of the urban poor make scant mention of education.

Policies often aim to encourage the urban poor to "return" to rural areas

The urban poor are often seen as the "undeserving poor" and as migrants who ought to return to their rural homes. In reality many have been living in the city for a generation or several generations, and are not about to leave. In some cases this denial takes a stark form, for example in China where admission to urban schools is restricted for children of rural migrants by the *hukou* household registration system. Elsewhere, governments evict people in an attempt to clear or upgrade slum areas, disrupting their lives and damaging education initiatives in the area.

Inflexible and over-stretched schooling systems are especially unsuitable for the urban poor

Requiring paperwork for admission, charging official or unofficial entry fees, and a lack of options for overage and working children, all tend to exclude poor urban students. In Kenya, admission fees have been a particular obstacle for refugee children living in urban areas. In Khartoum, the Sudan, where there are around one million internally displaced persons, a lack of identification documents are among the barriers keeping IDP children out of school. Government schools have done equally little to reach out to children who live on the streets. NGOs often do a better job of offering flexible education to marginalised groups, but are usually not coordinated with the government system.

Class sizes are often large in urban areas, and multiple shifts are common. In many cases there are simply insufficient school places to accept the number of children in an area.

Already overcrowded urban schools may take measures to exclude children, such as admissions tests and unofficial fees, even at primary level.

School systems also tend not to acknowledge the wide range of contextual factors that are linked to urban poverty and keep children out of school. Among the most important are poor health and nutrition, the danger of violence or accident, and vulnerability to crises that cause families to pull their children out of school to work.

A RESEARCH AGENDA

The relative scarcity of published research on education and urban poverty does not mean that no research has been carried out. In many countries large numbers of research and evaluation studies have been conducted, by governments, agencies and NGOs, often with the aim of informing their own programming. Studies on health and livelihoods often include education information even if it is not the main focus. Rigorous reviews of the literature are needed, including unpublished literature wherever possible, especially given that conducting new surveys places a burden on participants, who probably have many other things to do with their time.

Access to education and barriers to access

Once something is known about the size of these marginalised groups, triangulation between different data sources can be used to try to compensate for the weaknesses of each, and to try and get a better idea of the barriers to education. For instance, although the urban poor may be under-sampled in national household surveys, it may be possible to identify them based on characteristics such as dwelling type, location and income, and then to examine correlates of educational exclusion.

The scarcity of data that is tailor-made to identify barriers to education means that good theoretical frameworks are essential here. For instance, finding a correlation between poor health and low probability of enrolment does not mean there is a causal link. But it adds to a larger body of evidence that has already identified very plausible mechanisms through which there could be such a causal link. Some surveys explicitly ask parents why children are not in school, although the answers can be difficult to interpret (e.g. 'poverty' is sometimes offered as one of the response categories) and are not always comparable across contexts. Really getting into the process of how people make decisions about schooling requires in-depth qualitative, probably ethnographic, research. There are likely to be tensions within households and even within the minds of individuals that are difficult to examine through surveys.

Location in a city often means there is a wide range of education options that are theoretically on offer, but from which the urban poor usually have access only to a subset. Private tuition is often particularly widespread in cities and in several countries large numbers of relatively low-fee private schools have been found. What are the implications of this for the perpetuation of inequality across generations? In this respect it is important not to think of the urban poor as a homogenous group. Depending on the indicator of poverty used, there may be just as much variation within the urban poor as between the poor and non-poor.

Is education a path out of poverty?

Cities are often marked by an abundance of economic opportunities, including jobs that require relatively high levels of skills or qualifications. To what extent are young people from poor urban families able to take advantage of these opportunities? Is education the key factor or just one of many? If these opportunities are available for the educated, do they feed back into household decisions to send a child to school? But how do households cope with the uncertainty surrounding the future macroeconomic climate and, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, increasing numbers of young people competing for limited numbers of jobs? These

questions make it clear that education needs to be examined within the types of framework offered by livelihoods and chronic poverty research.

What happens inside schools for the urban poor?
Urban education is a well-established field in the US and the UK, drawing heavily on the sociology of race, class, social inclusion/exclusion, and identity. To assume without further investigation that the same issues apply in other countries would of course be wrong. The assumption that there is something inherently problematic about urban, as opposed to rural or suburban, education, would be particularly questionable. Nevertheless, there is a common thread of very high inequality within most developing country cities; slum dwellers live side-by-side with the urban elites. In many cases the two groups may attend completely separate school systems. But in others there is likely to be some mixing of different backgrounds within schools. How do the urban poor fare in these cases? Children from the poorest households may be conspicuously marked out from their classmates, through wearing uniforms that are incomplete or in poor condition, through being physically smaller due to worse nutrition and more often sick, and through having greater difficulty arriving on time and finishing homework. In some countries they are disproportionately likely to come from marginalised ethnic, religious or language groups, or have migrated or been displaced from other regions or countries. Are they stigmatised as a result of these differences? Do their relationships with teachers and other children in the school mitigate or worsen their educational disadvantages?

Pedagogy and appropriate services for marginalised groups
Do urban poor children need different types of service provision than others? For instance, education tailored to times when they are less likely to be working? Are teaching methods more important for the poor than for other groups? This may be the case if, for instance, boredom and physical punishment add to other disincentives to schooling (fees, opportunities for children to work). While education NGOs often pride themselves on their teaching and learning outcomes, they tend to remain schools exclusively for the poor, often with little coordination with government or recognised private education. As such the NGO route may have a stigma attached and does not always offer access to higher paid educated jobs. Are there urban NGOs that escape this trap and provide positive models of coordination with formal education systems?

Urban poverty in Nigeria: a case study of Agege area of Lagos State, Nigeria
Poverty perceived: lessons from the poor in increasing income or providing the basics
Osinubi, T. S. (2003). University of Ibadan, Nigeria
http://www.eldis.org/go/home&id=14380&type=Document#.VT41mDZwbhc

Nigeria is experiencing a serious and alarming rise in the levels of urban poverty when compared to rural poverty, so what are its characteristics? This study was carried out in Agege area of Lagos State to determine conditions under which the urban poor live in order to provide information, which will help the city and state administrators, develop more positive policies and actions towards the poor. The paper finds that about 35% of the poor had no formal education while about 65% either had primary, secondary or tertiary education.

The paper concludes that:

- just as ignorance maintains poverty, so also poverty perpetuates ignorance, since the poor cannot think and plan beyond where the next meal is coming from education, household size, occupation, employment, shelter, income and social infrastructural facilities such as health facilities, roads electricity, good schools, accommodation, water can be linked to the occurrence of poverty in the area, therefore, any attempt to improving these factors will be a step in the right direction in alleviating poverty in the region and in Nigeria as a whole
- there is need for government to formulate and carry out thorough implementation of economic development plans and programmes that will provide employment,

housing, education, improved health care facilities among other things specifically for the urban poor the Government Poverty Alleviation Programme should be restructured if not re-designed and should be centred on the 'basic needs' approach, which emphasises the importance of separating generalised increase in income from the more significant attainment of the requirements for a permanent reduction of poverty through the provision of health services, education, housing sanitation, water supply and adequate nutrition

- improving the social services of the poor will be an essential part of any long-term strategy for reducing poverty in the urban slums of Lagos and Nigeria as a whole Anti-inflationary policies are required that will reduce the burden created by current inflation that makes most necessary consumer items unaffordable to the poor, this will help to increase the real wage of the salary earners and other income earning activities.

The study raises a number of questions for further research. The suggestion that many household surveys are missing marginalised urban groups including migrants, including those used to calculate national statistics and for educational planning, is troubling because it would mean that poverty and educational deprivation in urban areas are being underestimated. The pace of population change also means that data is quickly out-dated.

4. Situation in urban slums

Evolution in approaches to improve access to education for children living in urban slums
Kielland, A. (2015). UNESCO EFA BMR Background paper.
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002323/232395e.pdf

'We don't know. This is under researched.' This was among the most common responses received on questions about the education situation in slums during the interview rounds with UN and NGO officials around the world, during the development of this paper. UN-Habitat, in charge of slum development, understandably prioritises housing, water and sanitation as minimum requirements for livelihoods. Their efforts to provide tenure to new slums also enables many slum communities to apply for public services like schools.

The international agencies and many NGOs have prioritised the development of schooling infrastructure in underserved rural areas in their strategies. There is a legitimate fear that infrastructural development in urban slums would accelerate the already staggering rural-to-urban migration rates if no prior investments were made in rural zones. Development programmes thus get a 'rural bias' and education provision easily becomes a means to manage demographic change rather than an end in itself. It is thought provoking that when both the stated goal and success indicator of a programme typically are to 'reduce the rural-urban gap', then urban investments would in fact become outright counterproductive.

But, poverty is urbanising. After 2008, more people live in urban than in rural areas. In 2010, 700 million fewer people were living in extreme poverty than in 1990, but 100 million more people were living in urban slums compared with year 2000. Although the poverty share is still higher in rural than in urban areas, the number of poor people living in urban areas is growing with the pace of urbanisation. In this context, the need to provide children in slums with adequate education is an area that can no longer be ignored. The goal of reducing the urban–rural gap in education should not be reached by a further deterioration of urban education.

On the more practical side, slums represent concentrations of poverty, and that might also create an opportunity for affordable intervention. Urban expansion has a tremendous economic growth potential if the right investments are made and inequality fought. At the heart of this lies education, and expansion can take advantage of cities' economies of scale.

Whether and Where to Enrol? Choosing a primary school in the slums of urban Dhaka, Bangladesh
Cameron, S. (2011) International Journal of Educational Development 31(4): 357-366.
http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0738059311000058

Slums account for around a third of the population of Dhaka, Bangladesh, and are thought to be growing rapidly. But there is little in the research literature about education of children who live in slums and it is doubtful whether they are covered in official statistics such as those on enrolment rates. This paper addresses this gap with information from a 2008 survey of around 1600 slum households. Most had incomes of less than US$1 per day per person, and faced problems including flooding, poor housing, and risk of eviction. A wide range of school types provided education to children from the study areas, but this varied a lot between different slums.

The paper focuses on how parents and children made decisions about schooling, in a context where the options on offer are less than ideal. Overall around 70% of children were enrolled in primary school. Most were in government or NGO schools, with minorities in madrasas and private schools. Almost half of the school-going children were supplementing their classes with private tuition. Regression analysis shows that children from wealthier households and with more highly educated parents, were more likely to be in school, more likely to be in a private school rather than other types, and less likely to be in an NGO school. However, location and the range of schools on offer were also important. The paper concludes by considering how government and NGOs could improve provision to the urban poor.

Policies to reduce the overall costs of the education on offer are likely to be effective in improving enrolments in slums. However the fact that private tuition is the main area of expenditure suggests that costs and quality are intertwined. Improving quality of government schools in ways that removed the need for private tuition would have the double effect of lowering costs and improving children's learning outcomes. But serious changes to curriculum, teacher training and examinations would be needed to achieve this.

An additional issue is that lowering the costs (chiefly private tuition) of government schooling would attract children currently in NGO schools, while improving the quality would attract those in private schools. Providing urban school stipends would also attract children currently out of school or in NGO schools. But for the government to cope with this increased demand, it would have to expand faster than it currently is.

Added to these issues are the difficulties of meeting the educational needs of a population who, for the most part, do not exist in official statistics. The government may also fear encouraging more people to migrate from rural areas into the slums. Nonetheless, the government has obligations under the Convention on the Rights of the Child to ensure children's right to education is fulfilled wherever they live.

Private primary schools, while used by a substantial minority in some of the slums, do not hold much promise for expanding the system to accommodate those currently out of school, since they largely cater to the wealthier residents and those who have multiple other schooling options. While they might take pressure off government schools by allowing those who can afford to pay to remove themselves from the government system, they tend not to be set up in places where the need is greatest.

Expansion of the NGO sector and partial integration into, or at least coordination with, the government sector, seem to comprise the most promising and realistic route to a rapid improvement in access to schooling for children living in slums, at least in the short term. At the time that this paper was written, the large NGO BRAC was due to set up a large number

of new schools in urban areas, and several other NGOs were getting to grips with an increased focus on urban areas. The results of this study confirm that an exclusive focus on rural areas by education NGOs and development agencies is not justified. For a long time, efforts have been ongoing to try and achieve “equivalency” between NGO schools and government ones, meaning that graduates of NGO primary schools would be able to access government primary or secondary schools. These efforts are likely to improve the enrolment rates in slums, especially among the poorest who already use NGO schools more, and perhaps at the same time improve the status of the NGO schools so that they are seen less as providers of last resort for the poor.

Kenya Coast Province Mombasa - Informal Settlements. Monitoring the situation of children and women. Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey, 2009.
Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2009). Nairobi: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.
http://mics.unicef.org/surveys

The Mombasa Informal Settlement Survey 2009 is a representative sample survey drawn using the informal settlement classification of 1999 Census Enumeration Areas (EAs) as the sample frame. The classification of 1999 Census EAs was carried out in major cities of Kenya by the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) under a project funded by United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) in 2003. The 45 EAs were sampled using the probability proportional to size (PPS) sampling methodology, and information from a total of 1,080 households were collected using structured questionnaires. The Mombasa informal settlement survey is one of the largest household sample surveys ever conducted exclusively for the informal settlements in Mombasa district.

On education the survey found more than 90 % of the primary school entry age children in Mombasa informal settlement are attending primary school. Primary school attendance among female children is slightly higher than that of male children, 92 % against 90 %. Primary school attendance increases with increasing education of the mother and household wealth index. The secondary school net attendance rate is only 27 %. Little more than one in four (27 %) children of secondary school age are attending primary school when they should be attending secondary school. There is no evidence of gender disparity in secondary school attendance. Female adult literacy rate in Mombasa informal settlements is 84 %.

Factors associated with low achievement among students from Nairobi's urban informal neighborhoods
Ejakait, E. Mutisya, M. Ezeh, A. Oketch, M. Ngware, M. (2011). Urban Education, 46 (5), pp. 1056–1077
http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0042085911400323

This article contributes new evidence on factors associated with low achievement among pupils in urban informal neighbourhoods in Nairobi, Kenya. The authors use three different data sets to examine the effect of residence in particular neighbourhoods, pupil gender, primary school type, and household socioeconomic status on pupil achievement in the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) examination results for 2005 and 2006. Results suggest that residence in Nairobi's informal neighbourhoods of Korogocho and Viwandani, enrolment in a public school, and one's gender, if female, are the strongest explanatory variables for low achievement. Policy implications from the study results are discussed.

School Enrolment among Urban Non-Slum, Slum and Rural Children in Kenya: Is the urban advantage eroding?
Mugisha, F. (2006). International Journal of Educational Development 26(5) 471-482
http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0738059305001288

For a long time, the urban child has been considered to be more likely than his/her rural counterpart in being able to realise the dream of fully participating in school. This observation has mainly been attributed to what is commonly known as the “urban advantage”. This “urban advantage” is associated with increased access to facilities such as schools in urban areas.

This paper explores patterns of school enrolment comparing urban slum, urban non-slum and rural children. The paper uses data from the Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) for 1993, 1998 and 2003. A contrast with school enrolment in Nairobi slums is done using the KDHS-type Nairobi Cross Sectional Slum Survey for 2000. Data from focus group discussions collected in the slums of Nairobi provide the context for discussion. The results suggest that school enrolment is higher in urban non-slum than in urban slum areas, and is higher in slums than in rural areas at younger ages. However, this is only true up to age 9 for females and 11 for males, from which school enrolment for slum children declines and the rate of decline is faster than among their rural counterparts. The corresponding ages at which the enrolment among the rural children begins to visibly decline are 13 years for males and 14 years for females. Factors contributing to these results point to the poor quality of primary schools in slums, limited access to secondary school for slum children, increased vulnerability to coercion into sexual activity and other ills that hinder school participation, disabling environment at home and increased child labour.

Factors that Prevent Children from Gaining Access to Schooling: A study of Delhi slum households.
Tsujita, Y. (2011). Discussion Paper 317. Chiba: Institute of Developing Economies.
http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0738059312001095

This paper examines the factors that prevent slum children aged 5 to 14 from gaining access to schooling in light of the worsening urban poverty and sizable increase in rural-to-urban migration. Bias against social disadvantage in terms of gender and caste is not clearly manifested in schooling, while migrated children are less likely to attend school. The author argues that the lack of preparation for schooling in the pre-schooling ages and school admission procedures are the main obstacles for migrated children. The most important implication for universal elementary education in urban India is raising parental awareness and simplifying the admission procedures.

The growth of urban populations is accelerating in many developing countries. Urbanisation is often perceived as being at least partially driven by the advantages provided by infrastructure and the accessibility of services, including education. The perception of urban advantages leads to a belief in the advantages of migration. The related belief in the superior quality of education at a person's urban destination leads many to propose that migrants can enhance their children's educational opportunities at their urban destination. The limited studies undertaken in several developing countries, however, show that seasonal or temporary migrant children lack access to education in both circumstances: children who leave rural schools miss long periods of schooling before they are able to enrol in urban schools and may be unable to join or complete school at their urban destination.

It is also recognised that the urban advantage does not apply to all children in urban areas, particularly those who grow up in urban slums in developing countries. There is often a reluctance to regularise slums or informal settlements and provide basic infrastructure and services to such areas because slum dwellers are often regarded as temporary migrants. Research has argued that the urban poor might be denied access to basic services because they lack political clout, though recently there has been some expansion and improvement of basic services for these people. However, the recent trend of outsourcing the provision of basic services to the private sector under the name of private and public partnership and the growth in the number of private providers might prevent the equitable accessibility and lower

the quality of services provided to certain groups that lack economic clout. Slum dwellers might have no alternative but to share a limited and often degraded infrastructure or even to depend upon informal channels as substitutes for government services. For instance, they may come to rely on non-state providers, such as low-fee private schools, for education.

In Kenyan slums, it is reported that a child's access to schooling diminishes as he or she ages. Limited information suggests that the determinants of access to primary education in Bangladesh slums are a household's wealth, location and parental education level. In India, where the populations of the slums account for nearly a quarter of the total population in metropolitan cities, the limited number of previous ad hoc attempts at slum studies has not been able to successfully examine children's education. The limited research that currently exists on slum children is generally confined to school-based analyses and focuses on case studies of slum children in a few select slums. As a result, the factors that prevent slum children from gaining access to schooling are under-researched.

This paper explored the factors that prevent slum children ages 5–14 from gaining access to schooling under the recent worsening conditions of urban poverty and the sizable increase in rural-to-urban migration in Delhi, India. Overall school attendance in slums is much lower than in Delhi as a whole. Even among the children going to school, being over age because of late admission is common. Among the non-attending children, those who have never attended school far outnumber those who have dropped out. By considering these aspects of schooling in slums and the existing literature on the determinants of schooling, this study focused on whether and how being underprivileged in terms of caste, gender, religion and migration affects school attendance.

This paper finds that a bias against gender and caste is not clearly manifested in slum children's access to schooling. However, it seems that structural obstacles do prevent Muslim children from accessing schooling. Migration also adversely affects school attendance. In particular, migrant girls and Muslim children are disadvantaged. As opposed to the existing literature that suggests that occasional visits to migrant slum dwellers' places of origin and educational language barriers are major obstacles in schooling, the finding in this paper is that migrant children face further and greater hurdles in regard to admission to school because of a lack of preparation for schooling at the pre-school age and because of complex school admission procedures.

In situations where urban poverty has recently worsened and there has been a sizeable increase in rural-to-urban migration, universal elementary education in urban areas can be achieved by tackling education while simultaneously preparing pre-school-aged children by emphasising the importance of pre-primary education and birth registration. The most important underlying implication seems to be to increase parental awareness of schooling even before children are admitted to school and to simplify the admission procedures or help slum children enrol in school.

Access to and Exclusion from Primary Education in Slums of Dhaka, Bangladesh
Cameron, S. (2010). CREATE.
http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/ImpAccess_RPC/PTA45.pdf

Bangladesh's urban population is rising fast. In the capital, Dhaka, some four million people live in slums. They are lacking in wealth, power and social connections; probably undercounted in national surveys; and under-served by both government and non-government organisations (NGOs), many of whom still see poverty as a rural issue or see the urban poor as less deserving of help. This paper draws on primary research conducted by a team at BRAC University Institute of Educational Development in 2008 as part of the CREATE programme. Focusing on four slums in Dhaka, it examines what school options were available and what the barriers are. Using the CREATE zones of exclusion framework

and survey data from the four slums, it looks at how many children were never enrolled in school, how many dropped out from primary, how many were 'virtually excluded' (attending school but not learning), and how many finished primary but were not able to make the transition to secondary. Using statistical analysis and other information from interviews it also assesses what household and individual factors are associated with each type of exclusion.

The results of this survey suggest that the education situation in slums of Dhaka is as bad as for some of the poorest rural areas of Bangladesh. 23% of children aged 6-11 were out of school. There are something like 300,000 primary-school aged children living in slums in central Dhaka. If the situation in the slums in this study is typical, then tens of thousands of these children must be out of school – perhaps enough to fill a hundred new schools.

In official data, Bangladesh has achieved impressively high enrolment rates while spending only 2.4% of its GDP on education – very little even by South Asian standards. Arguably, though, it is over-reliant on NGOs to reach disadvantaged groups. In this study, a full third of the school-going children were in NGO schools. Quality of education appears often to be higher in NGO schools, but children who complete a basic education in an NGO school currently face difficulty in entering the formal system to get a secondary education and formal qualifications.

Neither government nor NGOs address the needs of the urban poor as fully as they should. Poverty is still seen as a rural issue and the rural poor may also be seen as more deserving than the urban poor. Fear of rural-urban migration has also led to the withdrawal of safety net programmes in urban areas in the past. Major NGOs acknowledged that urban poverty is important – but were still struggling to work out what to do in response. Meanwhile there is still a tendency for research to examine education and poverty through a rural/urban lens, usually finding that urban residents are better off in every way, and obscuring the huge urban poverty issue that lies behind the averages.

A key constraint to providing for children in slums must be a lack of reliable data on their numbers and educational status. There are logistical difficulties: households move frequently; slums are demolished; new ones appear; and people who are not legal tenants are reluctant to talk to official surveyors.

The tenuous legal status of people living in slums, and their vulnerability to politicised violence, makes it difficult for authorities to engage with them. As well as wishing to deter rural-urban migration, the government may be reluctant to take any action that would be seen as giving legitimacy to the rights of slum dwellers to live in slums that were often built illegally, particularly because land prices in Dhaka are very high.

Deprivation of Education: A Study of Slum Children in Delhi, India
Tsujita, Y. (2009). UNESCO EFA GMA Background paper.
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001865/186592e.pdf

A household survey in slum areas shows that only just over half the children are in school. It also shows that a high over-age and dropout ratio exists among slum children. Over-age is often the outcome of late admission to school. Late admission is caused both by demand side (migration from rural areas to slums) and by supply side (lack of school capacity for all children, a short period of admission, requirement of birth certificate etc.). School availability at a short distance does not explain why quite a large number of slum children are still less educated. Economic problems were one of the main reasons why children did not attend school.

Some recent studies indicate that fee-paying private schooling prevalent in slum areas increased and catered for the need of "low income" families. Slum children in this household

study, however, except for a few, attend government school. What is worse, half of private school-going-children dropped out. The improvement of quality and quantity of government schools remains an important policy agenda for children in the lower echelons of society, who have no choice but to attend government schools. Some policy and practice amendments, such as collaboration with anganwadi, extension of subsidy for stationery, books etc., are recommended to improve admission, retention and completion of compulsory education.

Promoting the Right to Free Quality Primary Education for all children living within the urban slums in Kenya
Karamesi, J. (2010). Urban Margins, UN OCHA bulletin
https://urbanhealthupdates.files.wordpress.com/2010/04/urban_margins2010.pdf

Anecdotal Evidence

Many children of school going age living in the urban informal settlements are either not enrolled in any school at all; or are struggling to attend non-state schools with very minimal support from the government of Kenya. The Urban Slums Basic Education Campaign is a Thematic Group of Elimu Yetu (Our education) Coalition consisting of organisations advocating for the Right to Free Quality Primary Education for all children living within the urban slums in Kenya.

This article documents:

- Lack of public schools in urban slums (60% of the population being served by 33% of schools)
- Non-formal schools receive significantly less financial support
- The Ministry of Education currently does not have comprehensive guidelines for registration of non-formal schools operation in the urban informal settlements

Advocacy strategies have achieved some success in changing policy. Further campaigns were planned for 2010.

Slum education: present scenario and future need
Singh, S & Depan, K. (Undated). Grey literature.
https://www.academia.edu/3196699/SLUM_EDUCATION_PRESENT_SCENARIO_AND_FUTURE_NEED

Children from poor urban neighborhoods are among the least likely to attend school. A survey in Delhi, India, found a primary school attendance rate of 54.5 % among children living in slums in 2004 - 2005, compared with 90 % for the city as a whole. The quality of available schooling options in poor urban areas is another issue to consider. While data tend to focus on access, enrolment and retention, these are linked to the perceived quality and benefits of available education. Overcrowding and a lack of appropriate facilities such as toilets are among the factors that undermine the quality of education. Access to education for poor and marginalised children, including the provision of quality schooling in informal settlements, is of paramount importance. Other forms of training, such as vocational courses, can be particularly useful for adolescents seeking to secure future livelihoods in the urban context. Whether through classroom or on-the-job training, apprenticeships or skill-specific courses such as language or computer training, vocational initiatives should aim to increase young people's employability.

Accelerated learning programs are a practical solution for children who may have had their schooling disrupted, whether by emergency or circumstance. Such programs offer students the opportunity to follow certified education courses on the basis of competency, not age or previous grade.

Education, training and work amongst youth living in slums of Nairobi, Kenya
Oketch, M. & Mutisya, M. (2012) UNESCO EFA GMR background paper
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002178/217885e.pdf

As noted by the African Development Indicators report of 2008/09, the youth in Africa are its potential, its problem and its promise. This report provides a snap shot analytical description of the youth challenge in Kenya. It does this by profiling the education, training and work amongst youth living in the slums of Nairobi, Kenya. The data used is mainly based on African Population and Health Research Centre (APHRC) Demographic Surveillance System (DSS) collected longitudinally from Korogocho and Viwandani slums of Nairobi. These slums were selected because they were the poorest of the slums in Kenya based on poverty survey that had been conducted by the government of Kenya prior to the launch of the APHRC DSS. Brief comparison is made with two non-slum areas in terms of training opportunities and the utilisation of skills acquired. Overall, over 20% of the youth in Kenya are aged 15-24 years. The youth account for approximately 80% of the unemployed 40% of the population, and the youth aged 18-20 form the largest group of youth in the urban areas. Opportunities for training are lacking and majority of youth in the slums have limited likelihood of access to secondary education. Kenya's chance of tackling poverty will depend on the extent to which there is expanded opportunity for secondary education and skills training for youth ages 15-24 years.

5. Migration

A Human Development Index by Internal Migrational Status.
Harttgen, K., & Klasen, S. (2009). UNDP
http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/hdrp_2009_54.pdf

The empirical literature shows a diverse picture on the educational outcome of migrants. It is often assumed to be the factors and consequences of migration that undermines children's educational opportunities through taking them out of school. However, the linkage between migration and education is very context specific. Migration can improve access to education and educational outcomes. Families can decide to move to provide a better life and education for their children. Higher income earning opportunities may then also lead to higher enrolment and literacy rates.

A migration specific education index was calculated. The largest differences in educational achievement between internal migrants and non-migrants are found for Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, and Uganda. Internal migrants in Guinea show a substantially higher index than the non-migrants (0.493 compared to 0.310) resulting in a ratio of internal migrants and non-migrants of 1.589. Guatemala, and Zambia show a reverse finding. Whereas the differences in the education index are small in Zambia, in Guatemala, non-migrants show a considerably higher education index than internal migrants (0.804 compared to 0.671). All other countries reflect the foregoing picture that the human development is higher for internal migrants than non-migrants. In sum, almost all countries show a higher education index for internal migrants than for non-migrants.

Since enrolment can be seen as an ex-post aspect of migration as families might be better able to send their children to school, and since literacy can be seen as an ex-ante aspect of migration as low levels of education motivates people to move, it is interesting to see whether there are differences between these two components of the education index between migrants and non-migrants. Data show that for several countries the differences between internal migrants and non-migrants have different directions between enrolment and literacy. For example, whereas only in Guatemala and Zambia the adult literacy rates are higher for the non-migrants than for the internal migrants, higher enrolment rates for the non-migrants

compared to the internal migrants are observed for Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guatemala, Paraguay, Peru, Vietnam, and Zambia.

Education, urban poverty and migration: evidence from Bangladesh and Vietnam
Cameron, S. (2012). 'Education, Urban Poverty and Migration: Evidence from Bangladesh and Vietnam', *Working Paper 2012-15*, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence.
www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/iwp_2012_15.pdf

Despite the acknowledged importance and large scale of rural-urban migration in many developing countries, few studies have compared education outcomes of migrants to those for people born in the city. This paper uses recent data from Dhaka, Bangladesh, and Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi, Vietnam, to examine educational expenditure and children's grade attainment, with a focus on poor households.

This paper reports on a small but growing literature that has documented the extent of educational disadvantage for children from poor urban households in developing countries. What is less clear from the existing literature is the interrelationship among rural-urban migration, urban poverty and education. There are studies comparing migrants to those who stay in their place of origin, but few that compare rural-urban migrants to urban natives or recent migrants to longer-settled migrants, in terms of educational outcomes or poverty. In some countries, rural-urban migrants have been specifically excluded from some forms of public education provision, notably through the household registration systems operating in China and Vietnam. But worse educational outcomes for rural-urban migrants can also happen because they are poorer, live in worse-served areas, have lower social status or are stigmatised, have less well-educated parents, or because the act of migrating itself disrupts schooling. Schools and school systems may be poorly equipped to deal with mobile populations, and may depend for planning on population data and surveys that fail properly to cover marginalised urban groups.

This paper uses recent data from Dhaka, Bangladesh, and Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi, Vietnam, to examine educational expenditure and children's grade attainment, with a focus on poor households. It finds that rural-urban migrant households live in areas less well served by public schools, and contain adults with lower educational levels than for urban native households. Even conditional on these household characteristics, educational expenditure and grade attainment were both lower for children from migrant households than urban natives. The findings are consistent with migrant children's education being impeded by bureaucratic obstacles such as the household registration system in Vietnam.

What, then, are the implications for policy? Are special measures needed for rural-urban migrant households? Evidence from elsewhere has suggested that rural-urban migrants often have better access to education than people who stay in rural areas. Rural-urban migration may have positive effects on educational attainment for a country as a whole. But migrants were still at a substantial disadvantage compared to urban natives, in the cases studied here. The analysis suggests that some, but not all of the educational deprivation experienced by children from migrant households can be explained in terms of their poverty, even compared to other poor urban households. Much of the policy recommended for rural-urban migrants is therefore similar to that needed for other poor urban households, and likely includes removing remaining school fees; dealing with the pervasiveness and expensiveness of private tuition, for instance through free clubs before or after school hours for households that cannot pay for a private tutor; and coordinating services better between government and the non-government organisations that are often the first to serve poor urban areas.

Migrants may face bureaucratic obstacles, such as a refusal to admit children in the middle of a year, non-recognition of education attained in the rural place of origin, demands for birth or examination certificates that migrant families may not have, and selective admission based

on household registration. These need to be addressed while acknowledging the strain that urban government schools can come under when the local population grows or changes rapidly. Population growth is often simply not met by a corresponding growth in classrooms and teachers. Circular or short-term migration, as appeared to be the case for a substantial number of households at least in Vietnam, may pose particular difficulties in terms of disruption of education, possibly requiring programmes that supplement the main school system. In India, for example, policies for internally migrating children have included “mobile schools, examinations on demand, bridge courses, residential camps and drop-in centres for street and slum children” to make education more accessible to children who (alone or with families) engage in circular or temporary migration. But a first step would be to ensure that migrants benefit from existing programmes designed to help the most disadvantaged households, such as school fee waivers and stipends. Haughton and Loan (2011) note that this was not happening in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi.

6. Other useful resources

EDUCATION FOR ALL 2000-2015: achievements and challenges
UNESCO. (2015). UNESCO.
http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0023/002322/232205e.pdf

The percentage of the total population living in urban areas increased from 43% in 1990 to 47% in 2000 and 52% in 2010. Education provision in urban areas tends to be less costly and more efficient, thus easier to expand.

Recent reports of average out-of-school rates are 16% in rural areas compared with 8% in urban areas. The rural–urban gap in the percentage of children who had never been to school declined from about 31 percentage points (59% in rural areas, 27% in urban areas) in 2000 to about 8 percentage points (19% in rural areas, 11% in urban areas) in 2010. Data on secondary attainment show higher attainment in urban areas compared to rural areas. Data shows that the rural-urban gap in learning outcomes improved between 2006 and 2013.

In the absence of adequate government policy and planning, NGOs and the private sector have played a significant role in providing education to slum dwellers. Low-fee private schools have proliferated in urban slums in India, Kenya and Nigeria as well as in other countries.

Private schools in urban slums typically have low fees, are not aided by the government and may be invisible in official records. They are usually underfinanced, have difficulty collecting funds from parents and lack resources to meet expensive regulations. Large-scale data collection in slum areas found that only 35% of children from low income families in Hyderabad, India, and 25% of slum children in Lagos, Nigeria, attended government schools. In Kenya, more recent data suggested that over 40% of the poorest students in slums attended private schools, and that this number increased steadily after user fee abolition in 2003. Similarly, a study of a Lagos slum found only 3 public primary schools, all in the same building on the periphery of the area, but 35 private schools, of which only 4 were government approved.

The largest migration in human history has occurred since Dakar, involving hundreds of millions of Chinese people moving from the rural interior to China’s cities (Chan, 2013). The scale of this movement has had profound implications for equitable opportunities for rural children. At the time of the Dakar Forum, rural migrants faced severe challenges due to China’s household registration system (hukou), but the country has taken steps to promote their schooling in recent years.

Public spending analysis shows education resourcing is skewed towards urban areas in low-income countries which does not reflect where the population reside. For example In Rwanda, 83% of the population resides in rural areas and yet receives 51% of total education resources.

Small, Multigrade Schools and Increasing Access to Primary Education in India: National Context and NGO Initiatives
Blum, N. & Diwan, R. (2007) CREATE
http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/1865/1/PTA17.pdf

Available data on the situation in India reveals a significant rural-urban divide, with rural schools tending to have poorer resources such as school infrastructure, fewer teachers per school, and higher drop-out rates. Of the total number of primary schools in the nation without a building, for example, almost 92% are located in rural areas.

Teacher availability differs between urban and rural areas. 19% of schools in rural areas have only one teacher compared to 8% in urban areas. 62% of rural schools have either two or three teachers to cover all five grades, this is 37% for urban areas.

The percentage of girls' enrolment in rural primary schools in 2005 was found to be almost equal to that of their urban counterparts (47.75% and 47.87% respectively).

Drinking water availability and teaching resources were at similar levels in both urban and rural schools. However toilet facilities and electricity availability were better in urban schools.

Women's Reproductive Health in Slum Populations in India: Evidence From NFHS-3
Hazarika, I. (2010). Journal of Urban Health, 87(2), 264-277.
http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11524-009-9421-0

This study tried to document the sociodemographic factors that influence the utilisation of these services among women in the slum communities. All analyses were stratified by slum/non-slum residence, and multivariate logistic regression was used to analyse the strength of association between key reproductive health services and relevant sociodemographic factors. Use of contraceptives depended on the age, level of education, parity, and the knowledge of contraceptive methods ($p < 0.05$). There were significant differences in the two populations based on the timing and frequency of antenatal visits. The probability of ANC visits depended significantly on the level of education and economic status ($p < 0.05$). The use of skilled delivery care was found to be significantly associated with age, level of education, economic status, parity, and prior antenatal visits ($p < 0.05$).

Education and poverty reduction in Tanzania
Wedgwood, R. (2007). International Journal of Educational Development, 27(4), 383-396.
http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0738059306001209

More educated women are more likely to come from, or migrate to, urban environments and it is the urban environment rather than schooling per se that impacts on their fertility.

7. Additional information

Author
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