

How Do Shocks Affect Enrollment in Faith-Based Schools? Evidence from West Africa

Nelly Elmallakh* and Quentin Wodon

World Bank, Washington DC, USA

Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic has renewed concerns about how shocks may affect religious and other private schools in low income countries, especially when they do not benefit from state support. By reducing parental incomes, shocks – not only epidemics, but also natural disasters and conflicts, reduce overall enrollment in school. But they may also lead to a shift from private to public schools with potentially differentiated effects by type of private school depending on context. In addition, household responses to shocks such as migration may lead to a change in the socio-cultural context in which households live, and these changes may also affect school choice. This paper explores the effects of shocks and migration on school choice in West Africa. Results suggest that shocks and migration lead to a shift from private to public schools, but with differentiated effects by type of private schools.

Keywords: shocks, migration, education, religious schools, West Africa, Francophone Africa

*Email: nelmallakh@worldbank.org

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic is having devastating effects for children's education all over the world, but especially so in low income countries. World Bank estimates suggest that the share of 10 year old children who are learning poor and therefore not able to read and understand an age-appropriate text may have increased by up to 10 percentage points globally (Azedevo, 2020)¹. The large increase in learning poverty in the simulations relates in part to a lack of access to distance learning, especially for children who live in poverty and/or in rural areas (UNICEF, 2020). In addition, in low income countries, it is feared that many children may have dropped out of school due to the pandemic. Simulations by UNICEF suggest that the number of out-of-school children may have increased by 24 million (on the potential impacts of the pandemic and policy responses, see World Bank, 2020).

Apart from affecting students, the pandemic may also affect schools, and in particular the sustainability of private schools. Initial estimates of the impacts of the pandemic on poverty suggested that more than 100 million people might fall into poverty. Later estimates raised the figure to 150 million more poor people by 2021, of which half are children (World Bank, 2020b)². By reducing parental incomes, the pandemic is likely to have reduced overall enrollment in school. But it is also likely to have led to a shift in enrollment from private to public schools, with potentially differentiated effects by type of private school. For example, because many religious schools try to reach low income students, they may be disproportionately affected by shocks. By contrast, other private schools who tend to cater to better-off households may be more resilient. On the other hand, parents sending their children to a religious school often have a strong personal commitment to the school. Other private schools may not benefit from the same commitment on the part of parents. It is therefore an empirical question as to which type of private schools may be affected the most by various shocks in terms of enrollment losses. In sub-Saharan Africa, while religious schools do not reach primarily the poor, they often try to reach low income students (Wodon, 2019a, 2020a). They may thus have been disproportionately affected by the pandemic. And yet parents sending their children to religious schools in the region also value strongly the emphasis placed by the schools on values and faith (Gemignani et al. 2014).

Data are starting to emerge to suggest that private schools have been affected more than public schools by the pandemic. In low and middle income countries, during school closures parents often did not pay tuition. As private schools are dependent on tuition revenue to pay teachers, school closures weakened the ability of schools to pay teachers (see Central Square Foundation, 2020, on India, and International Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030, 2020, on the issue of payments to contract teachers in sub-Saharan Africa). Student enrollment may also have dropped. In the United States,

enrollment in Catholic elementary schools dropped by 8.1 percent for the 2020-21 school year, the largest drop in half a century. Nationally, over 200 Catholic schools had to be closed or consolidated (NCEA, 2021, Wodon 2020b). While losses in enrollment in Catholic schools in the United States may be severe, parents have other options to enroll their children in school. In low and lower-middle income countries, this is not always the case. Private schools play an especially important role in those countries because in some areas there may be no public school or they may be of comparatively low quality. In low income countries, one in seven children enrolled in a primary schools is in a Catholic school (Wodon, 2021)³.

It will take some time before data become available to assess the impact of the COVID-19 crisis on enrollment in Catholic and other religious schools in Africa. But data from a perception survey implemented at the beginning of the pandemic among national leaders of Catholic school networks suggest that the crisis may have a large negative effect on enrollment. In many developing countries, and especially in sub-Saharan Africa, Catholic school network leaders are expecting losses in enrollment of 10 percent or more (Wodon, 2020c), which in turn could threaten the financial sustainability of some schools. While similar data are not available for Islamic school, many of these schools are likely to also be affected.

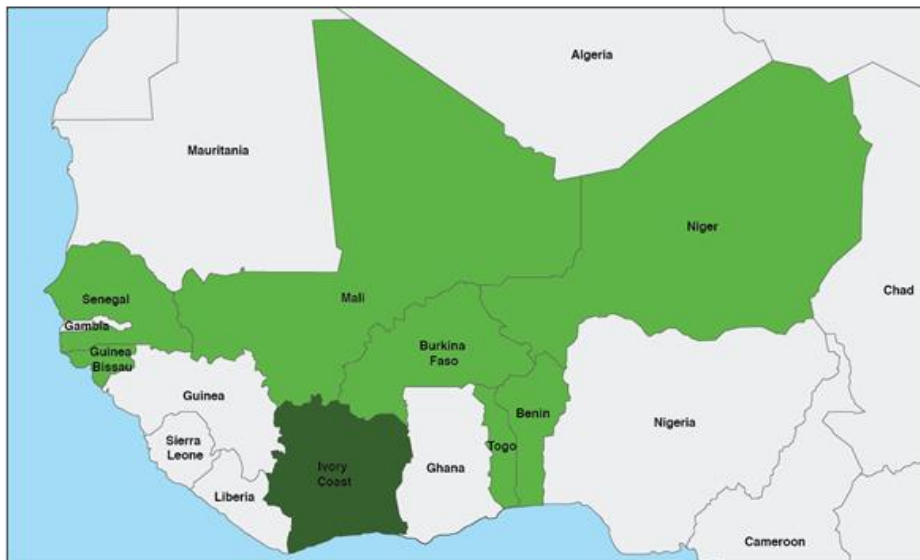
While assessing the effect of the current crisis on enrollment by type of school in sub-Saharan Africa will take some time, household survey data have recently become available in West Africa to assess the impact of past covariate shocks on school choice. In this paper, we rely on the 2018-19 *Enquête Harmonisée sur les Conditions de Vie des Ménages* or EHCVM to assess the impact of shocks on school choice in West Africa. The hypothesis is that by reducing parental incomes, shocks such as droughts and conflicts lead to a shift in enrollment from private to public schools, with as mentioned earlier potentially differentiated effects by type of private school. In addition, household responses to shocks may also affect school choice. In particular, migration as a response to shocks may lead to a change in the socio-cultural context in which migrants live⁴. In turn, this may affect where they send their children to school. In the analysis, we focus on the effect of international migration on school choice because international migration is likely to lead to a larger change in socio-cultural context for migrants than local migration. Overall, we try to assess the potential impacts of school choice of both shocks and responses to shocks with a focus for such responses on international migration.

The paper is structured as follows. The next section describes our data and a few stylized facts. The following section provides results from our regression analysis. A brief conclusion follows.

Data and Stylized Facts

The 2018-19 EHCVM surveys have been implemented in 10 francophone Africa countries. The surveys are nationally representative and provide information on individual socio- demographic characteristics, education, and labor market outcomes among others. The surveys also provide information on individuals' nationality which allows to identify migrants, as well as origin countries. For the analysis of international migration, we focus on Ivory Coast as the main migrant receiving country in the sub-region. Almost one in five individuals living in Ivory Coast is a migrant from other countries from the West Africa Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU). Migrants come mostly from Burkina Faso and Mali, which are adjacent countries to Ivory Coast, but also from other countries in the sub-region. For our analysis, we pool together the EHCVM surveys for 8 countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo. For those not familiar with the region, a map of the countries included in the analysis is provided in Figure 1. For all countries except Ivory Coast, the analysis is based on the full national sample. For Ivory Coast, we restrict our sample to international migrants from the other WAEMU countries in order to be able to compare their school choice to the choice made by other households in the country of origin.

Figure 1 : Map of the Countries of Focus for the Analysis



Source : Map created by the authors.

Households in WAEMU countries are regularly affected by shocks. In the survey, households are asked if they were negatively affected by a wide range of shocks in the 3 years preceding the interview.

In this paper, we focus on the potential impact of school choice of shocks related to conflict and weather-related shocks. Table 1 provides the proportion of individuals aged 6-21 affected by these types of shocks in each of the countries of focus. Droughts or irregular rain are by far the most prevalent shocks. For individuals aged 6-21, the likelihood of being member of a household affected by a drought in the last 3 years ranges from 9.6 percent in Senegal to 38.9 percent in Burkina Faso. Instances of floods, fires, and landslides are also reported. The prevalence of armed conflict, violence, and insecurity is typically lower, although this may have changed in the last couple of years. The EHCVM surveys were implemented before the rise of insecurity due to terrorism recently observed. Overall, in Burkina Faso, almost half (45.4 percent) of individuals aged 6-21 live in a household affected by at least one type of shock. Mali is not far behind, with 43.9 percent of individuals aged 6-21 affected. The lowest proportion is for Ivory Coast where the sample is made on purpose only of international migrants from the other countries. One in six migrants (14.8 percent) were affected by shocks over the last 3 years, and the data suggest that many of them may have been affected by shocks in their country of origin.

Table 1: Proportion of Individuals Aged 6-21 Affected by Various Shocks, by Country

	Drought	Flood	Fire	Landslide	Conflict	Any shock
	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
	(St. Dev.)	(St. Dev.)	(St. Dev.)	(St. Dev.)	(St. Dev.)	(St. Dev.)
Benin	0.132	0.114	0.016	0.004	0.008	0.254
(N=16,002)	(0.339)	(0.318)	(0.127)	(0.067)	(0.091)	(0.435)
Burkina Faso	0.389	0.078	0.008	0.027	0.000	0.454
(N=17,857)	(0.487)	(0.268)	(0.089)	(0.163)	(0.011)	(0.498)
Guinea-Bissau	0.104	0.068	0.048	0.012	0.006	0.202
(N=14,675)	(0.305)	(0.252)	(0.213)	(0.107)	(0.079)	(0.402)
Ivory Coast	0.115	0.028	0.010	0.010	0.002	0.148
(N=3,334)	(0.319)	(0.166)	(0.099)	(0.102)	(0.046)	(0.355)
Mali	0.274	0.107	0.012	0.149	0.002	0.439
(N=16,424)	(0.446)	(0.310)	(0.110)	(0.356)	(0.049)	(0.496)
Niger	0.230	0.086	0.019	0.023	0.004	0.325
(N=10,232)	(0.421)	(0.280)	(0.136)	(0.150)	(0.065)	(0.468)
Senegal	0.096	0.044	0.026	0.002	0.002	0.151
(N=23,485)	(0.294)	(0.205)	(0.159)	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.358)
Togo	0.117	0.055	0.020	0.010	0.000	0.188

(N=9,912) (0.321) (0.228) (0.139) (0.099) (0.020) (0.390)

Source: Estimates from 2018-19 EHCVM. The sample for Ivory Coast is the WAEMU immigrant population. Standard errors in parenthesis.

Tables 2 and 3 provide data on school choice according to whether the individuals currently enrolled live in a household have been affected by shocks (for Table 2) and whether they have migrated to the Ivory Coast (for Table 3). As a reminder, we rely on data on the WAEMU immigrant population in Ivory Coast and data on all households included in the surveys conducted in Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo. Descriptive statistics are reported by migration status. The analysis considers two age groups: children aged 6-11 and children and youth aged 12-21. Although there are some differences between both age groups and by gender, typically three in four children enrolled study in public (government) schools. Among private schools, the largest group is that of private non-religious schools, followed by private religious schools, with community and other schools enrolling a smaller share of students. The last columns in the Tables report the difference in means between migrants and non-migrants, and between individuals from households whether they have been affected by shocks or not, as well as t-tests of whether the difference in means between various groups are statistically significant.

There are clear differences in school choice depending on whether the individual has been affected by a shock, or whether the individual belongs to an international migrant household. The share of students enrolled in public schools is larger for individuals affected by shocks and for migrants. By contrast, the share of individuals enrolled in most types of private schools tends to be lower if the individual's household has been affected by a shock or has migrated to Ivory Coast, even if there are a few exceptions (for example for migrants, there is an increase in the reliance on community schools). The question is whether those patterns remain after controlling for a wide range of variables that may affect school choice. In order to test whether this is the case, regression analysis is used in the next section.

Table 2: School Choice According to Whether the Household Has Been Affected by a Shock

	Affected by Shock		Not Affected by Shock		Difference
	Mean	St. Dev.	Mean	St. Dev.	
<i>Girls 6-11 years old</i>					
Public (government)	0.820	0.385	0.694	0.461	0.126***
Private religious	0.066	0.248	0.101	0.302	-0.036***
Private non-religious	0.059	0.236	0.175	0.380	-0.116***
Private international	0.002	0.048	0.003	0.057	-0.001
Community	0.051	0.219	0.025	0.155	0.026***
Other	0.003	0.053	0.002	0.040	0.001
<i>Girls 12-21 years old</i>					
Public (government)	0.816	0.387	0.742	0.438	0.075***
Private religious	0.066	0.249	0.083	0.275	-0.016***
Private non-religious	0.076	0.265	0.157	0.364	-0.081***
Private international	0.003	0.051	0.003	0.057	-0.001
Community	0.036	0.187	0.014	0.116	0.023***
Other	0.002	0.046	0.002	0.043	0.000
<i>Boys 6-11 years old</i>					
Public (government)	0.816	0.388	0.700	0.458	0.116***
Private religious	0.071	0.256	0.099	0.298	-0.028***
Private non-religious	0.058	0.233	0.170	0.375	-0.112***
Private international	0.002	0.046	0.002	0.049	0.000
Community	0.051	0.221	0.028	0.164	0.024***
Other	0.003	0.051	0.002	0.040	0.001
<i>Boys 12-21 years old</i>					
Public (government)	0.820	0.385	0.762	0.426	0.057***
Private religious	0.064	0.245	0.077	0.267	-0.013***
Private non-religious	0.073	0.259	0.139	0.346	-0.067***
Private international	0.001	0.034	0.003	0.054	-0.002**
Community	0.040	0.196	0.016	0.127	0.024***
Other	0.003	0.053	0.002	0.042	0.001

Source: Authors' estimates.

Note: Level of statistical significance of differences in means: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table 3: School Choice According to Whether the Household Has Migrated to Ivory Coast

	International Migrant		Non-migrant		Difference
	Mean	St. Dev.	Mean	St. Dev.	
<i>Girls 6-11 years old</i>					
Public (government)	0.783	0.413	0.723	0.447	0.060***
Private religious	0.066	0.249	0.093	0.291	-0.027*
Private non-religious	0.107	0.310	0.148	0.355	-0.041**
Private international	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.056	-0.003
Community	0.038	0.192	0.031	0.173	0.007
Other	0.005	0.071	0.002	0.042	0.003
<i>Girls 12-21 years old</i>					
Public (government)	0.746	0.436	0.758	0.428	-0.012
Private religious	0.046	0.210	0.080	0.271	-0.034**
Private non-religious	0.183	0.388	0.139	0.346	0.045**
Private international	0.003	0.055	0.003	0.056	0.000
Community	0.009	0.095	0.019	0.136	-0.010
Other	0.012	0.110	0.002	0.041	0.011***
<i>Boys 6-11 years old</i>					
Public (government)	0.821	0.384	0.727	0.445	0.093***
Private religious	0.050	0.219	0.093	0.290	-0.042***
Private non-religious	0.083	0.276	0.143	0.350	-0.060***
Private international	0.002	0.045	0.002	0.048	0.000
Community	0.032	0.177	0.034	0.181	-0.002
Other	0.012	0.109	0.002	0.040	0.011***
<i>Boys 12-21 years old</i>					
Public (government)	0.766	0.424	0.776	0.417	-0.010
Private religious	0.032	0.177	0.075	0.264	-0.043***
Private non-religious	0.185	0.388	0.123	0.328	0.062***
Private international	0.000	0.000	0.003	0.051	-0.003
Community	0.002	0.050	0.022	0.147	-0.020***
Other	0.015	0.122	0.002	0.042	0.013***

Source: Authors' estimates.

Note: Level of statistical significance of differences in means: *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Regression Analysis

In order to assess whether shocks and migration are associated with differences in school choice, we rely on an OLS linear probability model (results are similar with probit regressions). The dependent variables are dummy variable indicators for the different types of schools in which children are enrolled in the two years preceding the survey in 2016/2017 and 2017/2018. For each sample, six regressions are estimated, one for each of the six types of schools for which data are available in the survey: Public (government), Private religious, Private non-religious, Private international, Community, and Other school. The advantage of using OLS is that linear models imply some useful restrictions in the coefficient estimates which help for interpretation. Controlling for other variables, the sum of the coefficients for the six regressions (the effects for each of the six types of schools) is equal to zero. In other words, the regression coefficients can essentially be interpreted as the potential change in the market shares of the various types of schools for the students that have a specific characteristic.

In terms of explanatory variables, the Migrant variable is a dummy variable indicator equal to 1 for WAEMU immigrants in Ivory Coast and equal to 0 for non-migrants in the WAEMU countries. The Shock variable is a dummy variable indicator equal to 1 if the household reported being negatively affected by shocks in the 3 years preceding the survey. We also look at potential interaction effects between shocks and the decision to migrate in Ivory Coast (Migrant x Shock in the Tables). As mentioned earlier, we focus on shocks related to conflict and weather-related shocks.

In Tables 4 and 5, only results for the coefficients of the main variables of interest are displayed, but additional controls are included in the independent variables. The controls include: age and a dummy for rural residence, as well as household head characteristics such as a dummy variable indicator for male headed households, the head's age, the head's highest level of educational attainment (no education, primary or less, secondary 1, secondary 2, post-secondary and above), dummy variables for the head's religion (Muslim, Christian, Animist, no religion or other religion), and a dummy variable indicator for employed mothers (those engaged in wage work, self-employment and unpaid family work and worked at least one hour in the week preceding the survey or had a job but did not work due to being on vacation, leave, sick leave). Regressions also include country of origin fixed effects for Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo. The analysis is conducted for boys and girls separately as well as for two age groups to assess if there is heterogeneity in effects by gender or age.

Table 4 provides the results for the younger sample. Shocks in the previous three years are associated as expected with a higher probability for students to enroll in public schools. For girls, the probability of enrolling in a public school is 5.6 percentage points higher when the child belongs to a

household affected by a shock. The probability of enrolling in a private religious or non-religious school are lower, with respectively a decline of 1.2 and 6.1 percentage points. There is also a slight increase in the probability to go to a community school, which could indicate a shift to a nearby low-cost school. The results are fairly similar for boys, the main difference being that the coefficient estimate for private religious schools, while negative, is not statistically significant. By and large, international migration does not seem to make a difference for that age group (with the exception of an increase in enrollment in community schools), and the interaction effects between shocks and migration are also not significant.

Table 4: The effect of shocks on children's school types, 6-11 years old

Panel A: Sample of girls						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Public (government)	Private religious	Private non religious	Private international	Community	Other
Migrant × Shock	-0.059 [0.063]	-0.006 [0.030]	0.072 [0.050]	-0.000 [0.001]	-0.000 [0.036]	-0.007 [0.004]
Migrant	-0.024 [0.024]	-0.011 [0.015]	0.010 [0.017]	-0.001 [0.001]	0.021** [0.010]	0.004 [0.004]
Shock	0.056*** [0.007]	-0.012** [0.005]	-0.061*** [0.005]	0.000 [0.001]	0.015*** [0.004]	0.001 [0.001]
Observations	16,075	16,075	16,075	16,075	16,075	16,075
R-squared	0.235	0.069	0.143	0.005	0.073	0.003
Dependent variable mean	0.725	0.093	0.147	0.003	0.031	0.002
Panel B: Sample of boys						
Migrant × Shock	0.010 [0.046]	0.003 [0.027]	0.057 [0.036]	-0.003 [0.003]	-0.053*** [0.011]	-0.015*** [0.006]
Migrant	-0.002 [0.021]	-0.024** [0.012]	-0.003 [0.014]	0.001 [0.002]	0.016* [0.009]	0.013** [0.006]
Shock	0.047*** [0.007]	-0.006 [0.005]	-0.056*** [0.005]	0.000 [0.001]	0.013*** [0.004]	0.001 [0.001]
Observations	16,459	16,459	16,459	16,459	16,459	16,459

R-squared	0.237	0.067	0.157	0.003	0.077	0.005
Dependent variable mean	0.730	0.091	0.141	0.002	0.034	0.002
Individual controls	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Country fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Source: Authors' estimates.

Note: Level of statistical significance of differences in means: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Robust standard errors are reported in brackets.

Table 5 provides the results for the older sample. For the potential effect of shocks on school choice, the results are very similar to those observed for the younger group. Shocks are associated with a higher probability for students to enroll in public schools for boys and girls alike (gain of 4.0 percentage points for girls and 3.4 points for boys in public schools). While effects are not statistically significant for private religious schools, the likelihood to enroll in non-religious private schools is reduced by respectively of 5.3 percentage points for girls and 4.5 points for boys in households affected by shocks. There is again a slight increase in the likelihood of enrolling in a community school for boys and girls alike. One difference between the older and the younger group is the effect of migration, which is associated with a reduction in the likelihood of going to a religious school for boys and girls alike (loss of 3.6 percentage points for girls and 3.9 points for boys in the likelihood of enrolling in private religious school).

Table 5: The effect of shocks on children's school types, 12-21 years old

Panel A: Sample of girls						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Public (government)	Private religious	Private non religious	Private international	Community	Other
Migrant × Shock	-0.004 [0.063]	-0.017 [0.025]	0.074 [0.059]	-0.003 [0.004]	-0.035*** [0.007]	-0.015** [0.007]
Migrant	0.000 [0.028]	-0.036** [0.014]	0.018 [0.024]	0.002 [0.004]	0.005 [0.006]	0.012* [0.007]
Shock	0.040*** [0.007]	-0.004 [0.005]	-0.053*** [0.006]	0.001 [0.001]	0.017*** [0.003]	-0.000 [0.001]
Observations	17,618	17,618	17,618	17,618	17,618	17,618
R-squared	0.111	0.055	0.064	0.003	0.045	0.004
Dependent variable mean	0.758	0.079	0.140	0.003	0.019	0.002
Panel B: Sample of boys						
Migrant × Shock	0.092* [0.053]	-0.026** [0.012]	-0.028 [0.051]	0.001* [0.001]	-0.022*** [0.005]	-0.018*** [0.007]
Migrant	-0.007 [0.025]	-0.039*** [0.011]	0.037* [0.022]	-0.002*** [0.001]	-0.004 [0.003]	0.015** [0.007]
Shock	0.034*** [0.007]	-0.004 [0.005]	-0.045*** [0.005]	-0.001** [0.001]	0.015*** [0.003]	0.001 [0.001]
Observations	18,646	18,646	18,646	18,646	18,646	18,646
R-squared	0.109	0.051	0.065	0.002	0.056	0.005
Dependent variable mean	0.775	0.074	0.124	0.003	0.022	0.002
Individual controls	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Country fixed effects	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

Source: Authors' estimates.

Note: Level of statistical significance of differences in means: *** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$. Robust standard errors are reported in brackets.

Various explanations could be advanced for this effect. It could be that there are fewer religious schools available in Ivory Coast, especially for Muslim students whose parents may want to enroll them in Islamic schools. It could also be that the community pressure for enrolling children in religious school may be lower in Ivory Coast than in the areas of origin (the other countries) where international migrant households resided before. Finally, it is interesting that some of the interaction effects for international migrants who were affected by shocks in the last three years are also statistically significant, especially for boys. When those interaction effects are taken into account, the shift to public schools is larger and there is no net increase in enrollment in community schools for that specific group.

Conclusion

When religious and other private schools do not benefit from state support, or benefit only from limited support, cost recovery requires schools to charge enrollment fees for most parents. As a result, in low income countries such as those of West Africa, when covariate shocks lead to income losses, they may reduce not only overall enrollment in school, but also enrollment in private schools specifically. Which type of school – religious or not, may be most affected by enrollment losses may depend on several factors. As many religious schools aim to provide their services to low income students, they may be disproportionately affected by shocks such as droughts simply because low income households tend to be engaged in subsistence farming and are therefore especially vulnerable to droughts. By contrast, other private schools tend to serve a slightly better-off population whose income sources may be more resilient to weather related and other shocks. On the other hand, parents enrolling their children in religious schools are often committed to the school because of its emphasis on the transmission of values and their faith. This may be less the case for the commitment of parents to other types of private schools. Overall, it is not clear *à priori* which type of private school may be most affected by enrollment losses due to shifts to public schools when households are affected by shocks.

Our analysis for WAEMU countries suggests that there is indeed a shift towards enrollment in public schools when households are affected by shocks. The likelihood of being enrolled in a public school increased by three to six percentage points depending on the age group and gender. The likelihood of being enrolled in the other types of schools decreases by that amount, but a larger decline is observed for private non-religious schools than for private religious schools. The effects on community and other schools are smaller, but their market share is also smaller. Enrollment in community schools increases among households affected by shocks possibly because the schools are nearby and low cost.

The paper also documented the effect of migration as a potential response to shocks on school choice. As is the case for shocks, migration is again associated with an increase in enrollment in public schools. For private school, the largest drop in enrollment is observed for religious schools. One needs to be careful in interpreting this result as it pertains solely to international migrants in Ivory Coast. It could be that there are fewer religious schools available in that country for (typically) Muslim households who migrated from the other countries. Or it could be that community pressure for enrolling children in religious school may be lower than in the country of origin in comparison to the place of destination. Overall, taking also into account estimates of interaction effects between shocks and migration, there are clear indications that both shocks and migration lead to a shift from private to public schools.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The authors are with the World Bank. The analysis and views expressed in this paper are those of the authors only and may not reflect the views of the World Bank, its Executive Director, or the countries they represent. This work was conducted in part for the program “Building the Evidence on Protracted Forced Displacement: A Multi-Stakeholder Partnership” funded by UK aid from the United Kingdom's Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO). The program is managed by the World Bank Group (WBG) and was established in partnership with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The scope of the program is to expand the global knowledge on forced displacement by funding quality research and disseminating results for the use of practitioners and policy makers. We further thank FCDO for additional funding support through its Knowledge for Change (KCP) program. The work does not necessarily reflect the views of FCDO, the WBG or UNHCR.

NOTES

¹ Estimates of learning poverty are based on two main data sources: (1) the performance of students who are in school on international student assessments; and (2) the share of students who are out of schools and therefore assumed to be learning-poor. The pandemic is likely to have affected both components of the measure. On the learning crisis more generally, see World Bank (2018) and for sub-Saharan Africa, see Bashir et al. (2018).

² On impacts on sub-Saharan Africa, see also World Bank (2020c).

³ In sub-Saharan Africa, the number of students in catholic schools is much larger in Central Africa (especially in the Democratic Republic of Congo) and Eastern Africa (especially in Kenya, Malawi, and Uganda) and even to some

extent in Southern Africa than in West Africa, in part because in some of these countries, most Catholic schools are in fact part of the public school network, which may in turn affect performance – see Wodon and Tsimpo (2001) in the case of Uganda.

⁴ In the case of female genital mutilation, Diabate and Mesplé-Somps (2019) show that migration may affect social norms.

References

Azevedo, J. P. 2020. Learning Poverty: Measures and Simulations. Policy Research Working Paper No. 9446. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Azevedo, J. P., A. Hasan, D. Goldemberg, S. A. Iqbal, and M. K. Geven. 2020. Simulating the Potential Impacts of COVID-19 School Closures on Schooling and Learning Outcomes: A Set of Global Estimates. World Bank Policy Research Paper 9284. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Bashir, S., M. Lockheed, E. Ninan, and J. P. Tan, 2018. Facing Forward: Schooling for Learning in Africa. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Central Square Foundation. 2020. *State of the Sector Report on Private Schools in India*. New Delhi: Central Square Foundation.

Diabate, I., and S. Mesplé-Somps. 2019. Female Genital Mutilation and Migration in Mali: Do Return Migrants Transfer Social Norms? *Journal of Population Economics* 32: 1125–1170.

Gemignani, R., M. Sojo, and Q. Wodon. 2014. What Drives the Choice of Faith-inspired Schools by Households? Qualitative Evidence from Two African Countries, *Review of Faith & International Affairs* 12(2): 66-76.

International Task Force on Teachers for Education 2030. 2020. *A Review of the Use of Contract Teachers in sub-Saharan Africa*. Paris: UNESCO.

National Catholic Education Association. 2021. Media Brief: Catholic School Enrollment and School Closures, Post COVID-19. Washington, DC: NCEA.

United Nations. 2020a. *Policy Brief: The Impact of COVID-19 on Children*. New York: United Nations.

Wodon Q. 2019a. How Well Do Catholic and Other Faith-based Schools Serve the Poor? A Study with Special Reference to Africa, Part I: Schooling. *International Studies on Catholic Education* 11 (1): 4-23.

Wodon, Q. 2019b. Pluralism, the Public Purse, and Education: An International Estimate of Savings to State Budgets from K-12 Catholic Schools, *Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 17(2): 76-86.

Wodon Q., 2020a. How Well Do Catholic and Other Faith-based Schools Serve the Poor? A Study with Special Reference to Africa, Part II: Learning. *International Studies on Catholic Education* 12 (1): 3-20.

Wodon, Q. 2020b. Covid-19 Crisis, Impacts on Catholic Schools, and Potential Responses, Part I: Developed Countries with Focus on the United States, *Journal of Catholic Education*, 23(2): 13-50.

Wodon, Q. 2020c. Covid-19 Crisis, Impacts on Catholic Schools, and Potential Responses, Part II: Developing Countries with Focus on sub-Saharan Africa, *Journal of Catholic Education*, 23(2): 51-86.

Wodon, Q. 2021a. *Global Catholic Education Report 2021: Learning Poverty, Education Pluralism, and the Right to Education*. Washington, DC: Global catholic Education, OIEC, IFCU, OMAEC, and UMECV-WUCT.

Wodon, Q. 2021b. Measuring Education Pluralism Globally. *Review of Faith & International Affairs*, forthcoming.

Wodon, Q. 2021c. Does Pluralism Matter for Fulfillment of the Right to Education? Exploring New Indices. *Review of Faith & International Affairs*, forthcoming.

World Bank. 2018. *World Development Report 2018: Learning to Realize Education's Promise*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank. 2020a. *The COVID-19 Pandemic: Shocks to Education and Policy Responses*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank. 2020b. *Poverty and Shared Prosperity 2020: Reversals of Fortune*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

World Bank. 2020c. *Africa's Pulse, No. 21, Spring 2020 : An Analysis of Issues Shaping Africa's Economic Future*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.