

Background paper prepared for
the Global Education Monitoring Report

Non-state actors in education

Potential impact of the COVID-19 crisis on Catholic schools and universities: A preliminary assessment

This paper was commissioned by the Global Education Monitoring Report as background information to assist in drafting the 2021/2 GEM Report, Non-state actors in education. It has not been edited by the team. The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and should not be attributed to the Global Education Monitoring Report or to UNESCO. The papers can be cited with the following reference: “Paper commissioned for the 2021/2 Global Education Monitoring Report, Non-state actors in education”. For further information, please contact gemreport@unesco.org.

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2021



ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a major negative impact on children. In addition to health impacts, the crisis is leading to large losses in schooling and learning, including for students in Catholic schools and universities. Some impacts relate to the fact that many schools and universities had to close temporarily or move to online learning. Others relate to the implications of the economic crisis unleashed by the pandemic. Given this context, the focus in this paper is on discussing the impact of the crisis on educational outcomes and education pluralism as two key components that affect the fulfilment of the right to education. For impacts on educational outcomes, the focus is on effects on learning poverty. For impacts on education pluralism, the focus is on whether Catholic schools and universities are disproportionately affected by the crisis. A special focus is placed on impacts on Catholic schools. The preliminary assessment of impacts provided in the paper is followed by a discussion of policies that could help fulfil the right to education and ‘build back better’. The paper is adapted in part from a set of articles published in *Journal of Catholic Education* and analysis conducted for the Global Catholic Education Report 2021.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	1
Introduction	4
Impact on Learning Poverty	7
Impact on Learning in Catholic Schools	9
Impact on Higher Education	13
Impact on Education Pluralism	13
Fulfilling the Right to Education	18
Conclusion	28
Annex 1	30
Annex 2	31
Acknowledgements	32
References	33

1. Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has had a major negative impact on children. Initial analysis based on experiences in previous health crises such as the Ebola outbreak in West Africa suggested that the consequences of the crisis for children could be severe¹. This has since been confirmed (see Box 1 for selected estimates from UNICEF). In addition to health impacts, the crisis is having major negative impacts on students and education systems, including those in Catholic schools and universities. Some impacts relate to the fact that many schools and universities had to close temporarily or move to online learning. Others relate to the implications of the economic crisis unleashed by the pandemic.

Consider first the issue of the economic crisis unleashed by the pandemic. Initial predictions of economic impacts were dire² for both developed³ and developing countries⁴. Over time many projections were further revised downward. The first estimates of impacts on poverty by the World Bank suggested that more than 100 million people might fall into poverty due to the crisis⁵. In the latest estimates⁶, the figure is at 150 million more poor people by 2021. Of those, about half are children. Apart from losses in labour income, many households are suffering from a drop in international remittances⁷. According to the World Food Programme, the number of people suffering from acute hunger may have doubled⁸.

Consider next the impact on learning. Student learning suffers during recessions⁹. For schooling, based on past experiences with crises, girls are especially likely to be affected¹⁰, leading to higher risks of child marriage¹¹ with major implications for the rest of their life¹². Temporary school closures were near universal at the peak of the crisis, affecting 1.6 billion students. Today, hundreds of millions of children are still affected by school closures. According to research in the US¹³, losses in learning can be substantial during the summer when schools are closed, especially for disadvantaged

¹ See United Nations (2020) which mentions the Ebola epidemic in West Africa and research by Bandiera et al. (2019), Ribacke et al. (2016), Wesseh et al. (2017), Kamara et al. (2017), Risso-Grill and Finnegan (2015), and Bardon-O'Fallon et al. (2015).

² International Monetary Fund (2020).

³ For Europe, see European Commission (2020).

⁴ For sub-Saharan Africa, see World Bank (2020a).

⁵ Vos et al. (2020).

⁶ World Bank (2020b).

⁷ World Bank (2020j).

⁸ Food Security Information Network (2020). School lunch programs were also affected. These programs serve many children (World Food Programme, 2013).

⁹ Shores and Steinberg (2019).

¹⁰ See UNDP (2015) and Bandiera et al. (2019). See also World Bank (2020g) for a review, as well as Asfaw (2018) on Ethiopia, Dureya et al. (2007) and Cerutti et al. (2019) on Brazil, and Lim (2000) on the Philippines.

¹¹ Wodon et al. (2017); Kassa et al (2019).

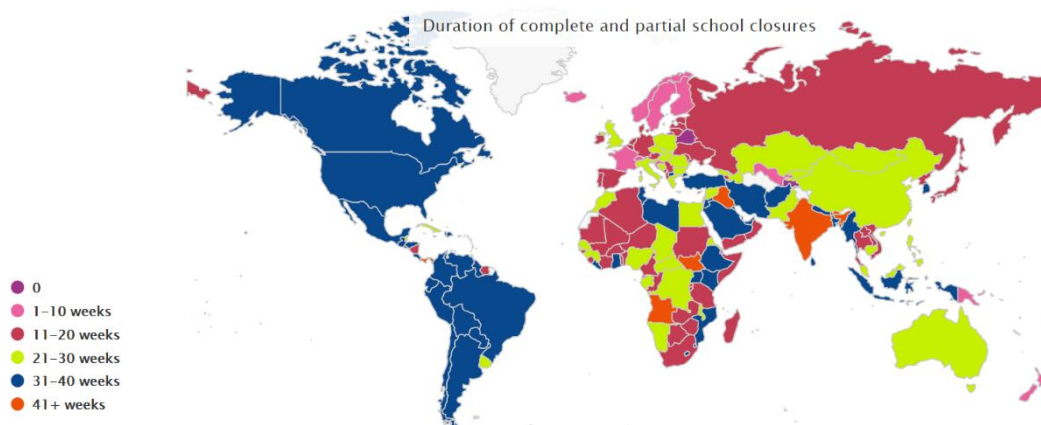
¹² Wodon et al. (2018).

¹³ Cooper et al. (1996); Alexander et al. (2007); Gerhenson (2013); Quinn and Polikoff (2017).

students. The length of the school closures due to the pandemic was much longer than a summer in most countries. Early estimates for the US suggested that the pandemic could lead to large losses in learning¹⁴. Such losses have been confirmed by more recent research especially for the poor.

UNESCO estimates that globally, as of January 2021, schools were fully closed for an average of 3.5 months (14 weeks) since the start the pandemic. However, the estimate increases to 5.5 months (22 weeks) when localized school closures are taken into account, as many countries implemented local closures in areas with particularly high infection rates. This represents two-thirds of a typical school year. The map in Figure 1 shows that the duration of school closures varied between countries and regions. They were longer in Latin America and the Caribbean than in Europe. In Oceania were infection rates are lower, they were even shorter. At their peak in April 2020, national school closures were in effect in 190 countries. This is down at the time of writing to about 30 countries, but localized school closures remain in effect in many countries. How many children may have dropped out of school or not enrolled due to the crisis? It will take some time to know the answer, but simulations by UNICEF suggest that the number of out-of-school children may have increased by 24 million due to the crisis. In addition to children dropping out of school, many more may have been affected adversely in terms of mental health (data from school health surveys suggest that even before the crisis, many students suffered from poor mental health)¹⁵. Finally, many children may have been affected by the loss of school lunches and other programs that matter for nutrition¹⁶. In the US, results from the COVID-19 Impact Survey suggest that the pandemic increased already high levels of food insecurity, making the loss of school lunches especially worrying¹⁷.

Figure 1: Duration of Complete and Partial School Closures by Country (Weeks)



Source: UNESCO interactive monitoring map (data as of January 2021).

¹⁴ Kuhfeld and Tarasawa (2020).

¹⁵ Wodon et al. (2021).

¹⁶ On the importance of school programs, see Alderman and Bundy (2012).

¹⁷ See <https://www.covid-impact.org/results>.

Box 1: Selected Impacts of the Crisis on Children

In November 2020, UNICEF released a report with estimates of a range of impacts of the crisis on children. At the time of the report, these estimates including the following:

- Children and adolescents under 20 years of age account for 1 in 9 of COVID-19 infections.
- In part due to fear of infection, in one-third of countries, coverage for health services such as routine vaccinations, outpatient care for childhood infectious diseases, and maternal health services dropped by at least 10percent.
- There is a 40 per cent decline in the coverage of nutrition services for women and children.
- Some 265 million children are missing out on school meals globally and 65 countries reported a decrease in home visits by social workers.
- More than 250 million children under 5 could miss the life-protecting benefits of vitamin A supplementation programs.
- Some 572 million students are affected by school closures (33 percent of all students).
- An estimated 2 million additional child deaths and 200,000 additional stillbirths could occur over a 12-month period with severe interruptions to services and rising malnutrition.
- An additional 6 to 7 million children under the age of 5 will suffer from wasting or acute malnutrition, translating into more than 10,000 additional child deaths per month.
- Globally, the number of children living in multidimensional poverty – without access to education, health, housing, nutrition, sanitation or water – may soar by 15 percent or an additional 150 million children by mid-2020.

Source: UNICEF (2020).

Given the above context, in this paper, the focus is for discussing the impact of the crisis on educational outcomes and education pluralism as two key components that affect the fulfilment of the right to education¹⁸. For the impacts on educational outcomes, the focus is on effects on learning poverty. The crisis is also having negative effects on educational outcomes at the secondary and tertiary levels, but these are discussed more briefly. After discussing impacts on learning poverty, the focus is on impacts on education pluralism at various levels of education. This is followed by a discussion of policies that could help fulfil the right to education and ‘build back better’.

¹⁸ See Wodon (2021a, 2021b, 2021c).

2. Impact on Learning Poverty

The COVID-19 crisis is having a major negative effect on both basic (pre-primary to secondary) and higher education. According to World Bank-United Nations measures, a child is considered to be learning poor if s/he cannot read and understand an age-appropriate text by age 10¹⁹. 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.

The target set by the World Bank in partnership with UN agencies was to reduce learning poverty in half by 2030. Because of the pandemic, that target is unlikely to be achieved²⁰. The magnitude of the impact of the crisis on learning poverty will not be known for some time, but simulations suggest it may be large. Three such simulations were implemented²¹. In all three scenarios, schools are closed for 70 percent of the school year. The differences between the three scenarios related to the ability of education systems to implement mitigation measures to reduce learning losses. Mitigation refers to the ability of governments to provide alternative learning options when schools are closed. This ability is itself a function of whether governments are offering alternative distance learning options and whether households have the ability to benefit from those alternatives, which itself depends on the type of alternatives provided (online resources, radio, television, etc.) and the effectiveness of those alternatives as a function of access by households to various media. In addition, remediation measures are also considered to reflect the potential benefits of programs implemented after schools have reopened, although for simplicity and due to lack of data, remediation parameters in the simulations are the same for all countries within each scenario (they differ between scenarios).

In the optimistic scenario, 60 percent of learning losses during school closures are remediated. As for mitigation, it enables 40 percent of the learning loss to be avoided in high-income countries, while the share is 30 percent for developing countries. In the intermediate scenario, only 30 percent of the learning loss is remediated, and mitigation measures enable countries to avoid only 20 percent of learning losses in high-income and 15 percent in other countries. Finally, in the pessimistic scenario, there is no remediation, and mitigation only reduces learning losses due to school closures by 10

¹⁹ World Bank (2019b).

²⁰ World Bank (2020b).

²¹ Azevedo (2020).

percent in high income countries and 7 percent in the developing world. While these assumptions could be debated, they provide an order of magnitude of the learning losses that may occur.

The estimates are provided in Table 1. Globally, under the pessimistic scenario, learning poverty may increase from 48.0 percent to 57.6 percent, an increase of 9.6 percentage points. Under the intermediate scenario, the increase is at 6.4 points, and under the optimistic scenario, the increase is at 3.2 points. It could be that after a few years, children manage to catch up on the materials that they were not able to learn during school closures. In that case, these estimates of learning losses would be reduced over time. In addition, the learning losses are measured for children who are ten years old today. As the crisis subsides, new cohorts of children reaching 10 years of age in a few years would not have been affected by the crisis, therefore the measures of learning poverty should go back to their steady-state trend fairly quickly. Still, the children who are now in primary school are affected, and not all of them will be able to catch up over time. Older children too are being affected, even if this does not show up in the measures of learning poverty provided in the Table²².

The large increase in learning poverty in some of these simulations relates in part to lack of access to distance learning media, especially for children who live in poverty and/or in rural areas (UNICEF 2020). Without options to learn at home during school closures, disadvantaged children have fallen behind further. The COVID-19 crisis has thus magnified existing educational inequalities not only between countries, but also within countries.

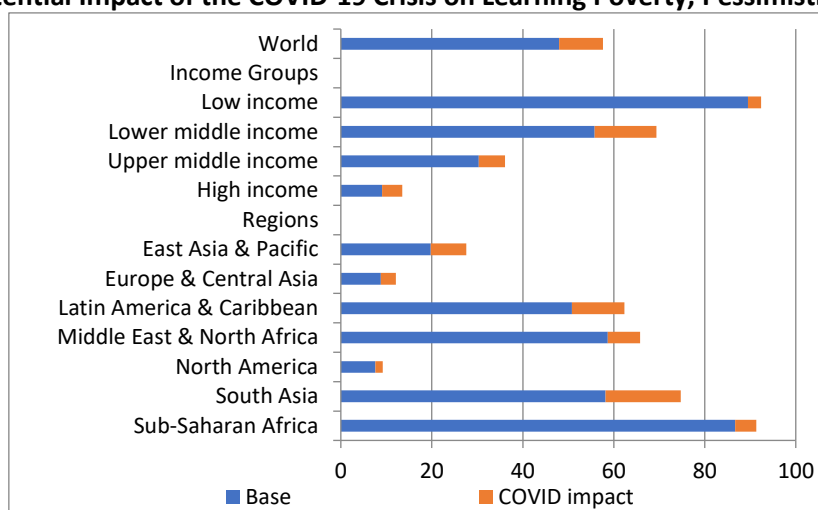
Table 1: Potential Effect of the Crisis on Learning Poverty

Regions and Income Groups	Baseline	Post COVID-19		
		Optimistic	Intermediate	Pessimistic
Regions				
East Asia & Pacific	19.8	21.9	24.6	27.6
Europe & Central Asia	8.8	9.5	10.7	12.1
Latin America & Caribbean	50.8	53.9	58.0	62.3
Middle East & North Africa	58.7	60.6	63.1	65.8
North America	7.6	7.5	8.3	9.2
South Asia	58.2	64.6	70.0	74.7
Sub-Saharan Africa	86.7	88.3	89.8	91.3
Income levels				
Low Income Countries	89.5	90.9	91.6	92.4
Lower-Middle Income Countries	55.8	60.6	65.1	69.4
Upper-Middle Income Countries	30.3	32.0	34.0	36.1
High Income Countries	9.1	9.9	11.5	13.5
World	48.0	51.2	54.4	57.6

Source: Azevedo (2020).

²² For estimates of potential effects of the crisis on the number of years of schooling that children are expected to reach and their learning performance using the learning-adjusted years of schooling approach, see Azevedo et al. (2020).

Figure 2: Potential Impact of the COVID-19 Crisis on Learning Poverty, Pessimistic Scenario (%)



Source: Azevedo (2020).

3. Impact on Learning in Catholic Schools²³

Children in low and lower-middle income countries are especially at risk, including those in Catholic schools. Students in Catholic schools are also affected. Table 2 provides two measures of digital connectivity from the World Bank’s World Development Indicators: the number of mobile cellular subscriptions per 100 people and the share of individuals using the Internet²⁴. Even in low income countries, many individuals have a mobile phone. Yet many of these phones are not “smart” phones, and the share of adults using the internet is low in low income countries at only 16.3 percent. In all likelihood, children have even less access to the internet.

Table 2: Digital Connectivity, 2018

	Mobile cellular subscriptions per 100 people	Share of adults using the internet (%)
Regions		
East Asia & Pacific	122.2	54.9
Europe & Central Asia	123.8	78.9
Latin America & Caribbean	104.5	65.9
Middle East & North Africa	106.0	65.1
North America	125.0	88.5
South Asia	87.4	20.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	82.4	18.7
Income levels		
Low Income Countries	60.8	16.3
Lower-Middle Income Countries	94.3	31.9
Upper-Middle Income Countries	117.3	56.4
High Income Countries	127.6	86.8
World	106.5	49.0

Source: Wodon (2021d).

²³ This section is based in part on Wodon (2021d).

²⁴ Data for both indicators are collected by the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and available in the ITU World Telecommunication/ICT Indicators Database. For most regions and income groups, the latest available data point is for 2018, but in a few cases the data pertain to 2017.

As the profile of most students in Catholic schools in the countries with high enrolment especially in sub-Saharan Africa is not very different from the profile of students in public schools (given the high market share of Catholic schools in those countries), the lack of digital connectivity and the learning losses expected for children in those countries also apply to children in Catholic schools. Even if there are some differences in profiles, they are not likely to be large enough to would fundamentally change this conclusion.

To emphasize this point, consider data in Table 3 for the top 20 countries in terms of combined enrolment in Catholic primary and secondary schools. In many of these countries, and especially in the top 10, the share of adults using the internet is very low. Access rates for children are likely to be even lower. It is thus unlikely that students would have been able to access distance learning materials online, even among comparatively better off households.

Table 3: Digital Connectivity in Countries with High Enrolment in Catholic Schools, 2018

	Combined enrolment in primary and secondary Catholic schools	Share of adults using the internet (%)
India	7,946,026	20.1%
DR Congo	5,873,899	8.6%
Uganda	5,333,379	23.7%
Kenya	3,562,869	22.6%
Malawi	2,008,733	13.8%
United States	1,853,560	88.5%
France	1,765,635	83.3%
Rwanda	1,493,522	21.8%
Philippines	1,179,798	43.0%
Spain	1,160,901	90.7%
Argentina	1,156,175	74.3%
Belgium	1,022,105	90.4%
Mexico	947,548	70.1%
Ireland	938,841	84.5%
Indonesia	828,230	40.7%
Ghana	813,975	37.9%
Brazil	802,776	70.4%
Nigeria	793,114	7.5%
Australia	750,908	86.5%
Canada	746,797	92.7%

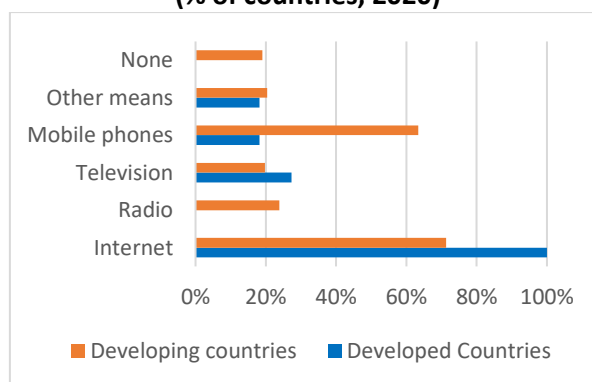
Source: Wodon (2021e).

While other modes of distance learning through radio and television may have helped, even those may not have had universal reach and their effectiveness to mitigate learning losses is likely to have been much smaller. This conclusion is confirmed by findings on the potential impacts of the crisis on Catholic schools. The findings are from a survey implemented with OIEC in April 2020 among national Catholic education associations²⁵. The survey asked leaders of national Catholic school networks

²⁵ Responses were received from 31 countries that account for 58.3 percent of students in Catholic schools globally: 10 high income countries (Belgium with two responses for the two systems, France, Greece, Italy,

if their network had been able to implement distance learning solutions for students, and if so, using which media (options included the internet, radio, television, mobile phones, other means, or none). As shown in Figure 3, developed countries have relied principally on the internet, while developing countries, especially those in Africa, have relied also on other media²⁶. Yet in one in five developing countries, no distance learning solutions had yet been implemented by Catholic schools at the time of the survey.

**Figure 3: Distance Learning Responses
(% of countries, 2020)**



Source: Wodon (2020a).

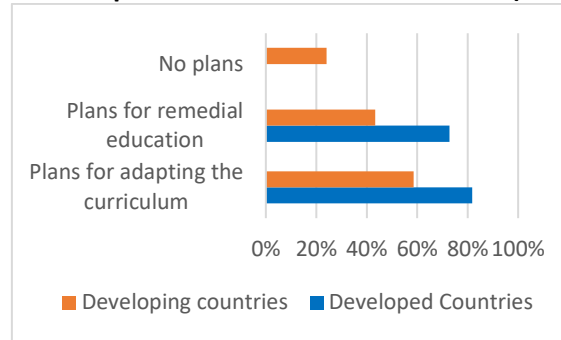
Another question in the survey was about plans to adapt the curriculum or provide remedial education in the next school year to enable students to catch up, given that many will have suffered from losses in learning during school closures. As shown in Figure 4, the ability for Catholic school networks in developing countries to adapt the curriculum and provide remedial education was weaker than in developed countries, especially again in Africa where no such plans were at the time in the works for most countries.

Clearly, Catholic schools and their students face major challenges from the COVID-19 crisis due not only to a lack of access to distance learning options, but also to limited options for remediation and adaptation of the curriculum. The results from the survey implemented in April 2020 were confirmed in a follow up survey sent in October 2020.

Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the US); 11 African countries (Burkina Faso, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Mauritius, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, and South Africa); and 10 other countries (Albania, Bolivia, Brazil, India, Lebanon, Mexico, Nicaragua, Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Ukraine).

²⁶ In the Global Catholic Education Report 2020, estimates from the OIEC survey for developing countries are further disaggregated to provide results for Africa and other countries separately.

Figure 4: Curriculum Adaptation and Remedial Education (% of Countries, 2020)



Source: Wodon (2020a).

Beyond Catholic schools and their students, data from rapid surveys confirm that most students in the developing world have not been able to learn much during the school closures. As just one example, a phone survey in Senegal²⁷ suggests that as early as in April, a third of children were not engaged in any learning activity. The ability of parents to support learning at home varied greatly, as did access to distance learning online or through television. Other surveys since have provided similar results pointing to lack of learning opportunities for children as well as difficulties for governments in developing countries to provide access to distance learning (Box 2).

Box 2: Country Responses to the Crisis

As part of the coordinated global education response to the COVID-19 pandemic, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank are monitoring national education responses to school closures. In a joint report, they analyze the results of the first two rounds of data.

Data were collected on three main areas: (1) Monitoring and mitigating learning losses from school closures (data on the length of school closures, learning assessments, and reopening support to remediate learning loss); (2) Deploying effective distance learning strategies (data on remote learning modes and effectiveness, policies to boost access to online learning, policies to support teachers, and policies to support parents and caregivers); and (3) Reopening school safely for all (data on School reopening plans, health protocols during school reopening, and financing).

In many countries, the surveys suggested that the ability of governments to mitigate the impacts of the crisis is limited.

Source: UNESCO, UNICEF & World Bank (2020).

²⁷ Le Nestour et al. (2020).

4. Impact on Higher Education

There is a fundamental difference in how the COVID-19 crisis may be affecting Catholic schools versus Catholic universities. In basic education, the interaction with the teacher on a daily basis is fundamental. The pandemic has disrupted that interaction, and the losses in learning have been barely patched through distance learning not only because this mode of learning does not work well at a young age, but also because of the increasing concentration of students in Catholic schools in countries where access to the internet remains very limited. As a result, large learning losses are likely to have occurred, as discussed earlier.

The situation in Catholic universities is different. While many students prefer in-person instruction, online learning can be implemented with some success, and universities have been improving their online offerings for more than a decade. In addition, the bulk of students in Catholic higher education live in countries with widespread access to the internet. Many of these students are also from the upper quintiles of the distribution of household income, and thereby tend to have access to online learning. Therefore, losses in learnings may have been more limited, at least in comparisons to losses for students enrolled in basic education.

However, the COVID-19 crisis has exacerbated trends that were already observed and that were threatening for many colleges and universities, including Catholic institutions. Based on analysis by the Foresight Unit of the International Federation of Catholic Universities, five such trends can be highlighted. The trends refer to: (1) the rise of hybrid teaching and learning; (2) the risk of losses in revenues from foreign students due to a reduction in the speed of internationalization; (3) the rising premium for practical skills as opposed to general knowledge; (4) the resulting perceived loss of value of a college degree at least in the United States; and finally (5) the further acceleration of faculty casualization and its implications among others for research. At special risk from the rapidly changing higher education market are small liberal arts Catholic colleges that may not have been well equipped to cope with, and respond to, some of these trends.

5. Impact on Education Pluralism

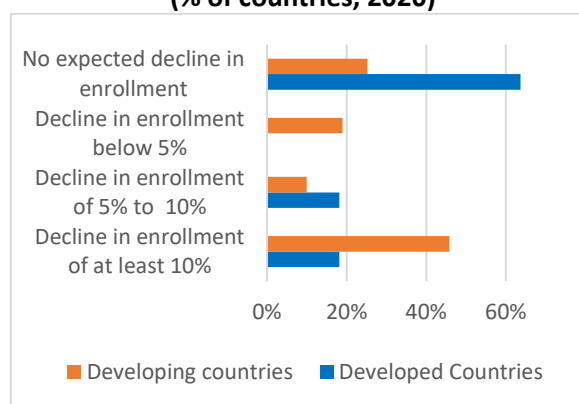
While the COVID-19 crisis may affect enrolment in school as well as learning, it can also affect the market shares of different types of schools and universities especially when the state does not provide funding for private schools, including non-profit faith-based schools. As households lost income, their ability to afford the cost of sending their children to Catholic and other private schools and universities may be reduced. This can lead to shifts in enrolment from those schools and universities towards public institutions, apart from an across the board reduction in enrolment due to

children dropping out or not enrolling. As the pandemic is likely to reduce the market share of Catholic and other private institutions in many countries, it may lead to a reduction in education pluralism.

The pandemic may also lead to a risk of closure for some private schools and universities, including Catholic institutions. As some students drop out and others transfer to public institutions, private institutions are likely to face a reduction in tuition revenues. For public schools as well, there are threats as well, as national budgets are stretched thin, allocations to education sector by governments may be reduced, especially in developing countries where the ability to borrow is limited²⁸. However, the risk of school closures is lower than it is for private institutions.

There are currently no data available across countries to assess the impact of the pandemic on education pluralism. But the fact that there may be a negative impact is clear. In the survey of national Catholic school networks mentioned earlier, respondents were asked if they were anticipating losses in enrolment in the next school year due to the crisis. As shown in Figure 5, while in some countries Catholic school networks did not expect losses in (these are mostly countries where the state pays for much of the cost of enrolment), in many others losses larger than 10 percent were expected, which again could threaten the financial sustainability of some of the schools.

**Figure 5: Expected Decline in Enrolment
(% of countries, 2020)**



Source: Wodon (2020a).

Case Study for the United States

In the United States, detailed data are available on the impact of the crisis on enrolment. This is a country where enrolment in Catholic schools has decreased for some time. In the mid-1960s, 5.2 million students were enrolled in Catholic elementary, middle, and high schools. For the 2020-21

²⁸ Even before the crisis, many developing countries were highly indebted. To protect their population, as governments prioritize funding for measures in health and social protection at a time when their tax base is weakened, indebtedness becomes more of an issue. This is why at G20 and other meetings, efforts have been undertaken to implement a moratorium on debt service payments for poor countries. Yet even with such a moratorium, pressures to cut education budgets may remain.

school year, the estimate is at 1.6 million²⁹. Part of the drop in recent years has been due to a decline in the number of births, but the main reason for the drop is a loss in market share. Each year some Catholic schools are forced to close, but the number of schools that closed this year is much higher than it was in the past. This confirmed expectations as respondents in surveys of teachers and principals about the potential impact of the pandemic were not optimistic about their school's prospects³⁰.

A 'back of the envelope' analysis of the potential impact of the crisis on enrolment in Catholic schools in the United States can be provided³¹. The analysis is based on recent data, including data from the great recession that resulted from the collapse of financial institutions a decade ago. During that recession, enrolment in private schools dropped and never fully recovered. Figure 6 is reproduced from the report. It displays estimates of enrolment growth in the combined enrolment in Catholic primary and secondary schools 1995 using a two-year moving average to smooth the data a little bit. Also shown is the growth rate in GDP per capita two years earlier, again using a two-year moving average. The reason for using lagged GDP growth is that when an economic crisis hits, the effect on school enrolment may not be immediate for various reasons³².

The average growth in enrolment over the period is negative, reflecting the long-term decline that started in the 1960s. Growth in GDP per capita is typically positive, but dips in 2003 when growth was weak and is negative during the great recession. There is a clear relationship in the Figure between economic growth and growth in enrolment in Catholic schools. In hard times, enrolment drops more. When the economy does better, enrolment may drop, but at a smaller rate. When growth is strong, enrolment may even increase.

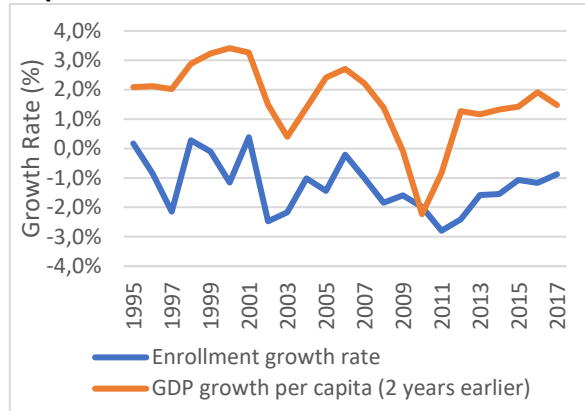
²⁹ Several factors may have contributed to the long-term decline in enrolment in Catholic schools in the United States, but lack of affordability is clearly one of them See Murnane and Reardon (2018) and Wodon (2018c, 2020a), as well as Wodon (2020d) for a comparison with the United Kingdom and Ireland. On private schools in the United States, including Catholic schools, see also Glander (2017), Broughman et al. (2019), and McFarlan et al. (2019).

³⁰ A survey by Hanover Research (2020) suggests concerns for students' families struggling financially and for losing enrolment, especially among respondents working in Catholic schools.

³¹ Wodon (2020a, 2020b).

³² Parents need to wait at least for the end of the school year to shift a child to another school if the Catholic school is not affordable for them anymore. In addition, parents may try to delay such a shift to enable a child to complete a cycle (elementary, middle, or high school) at his/her current school.

Figure 6: Lagged Per Capita GDP Growth and Growth in Enrolment in Catholic Schools, US

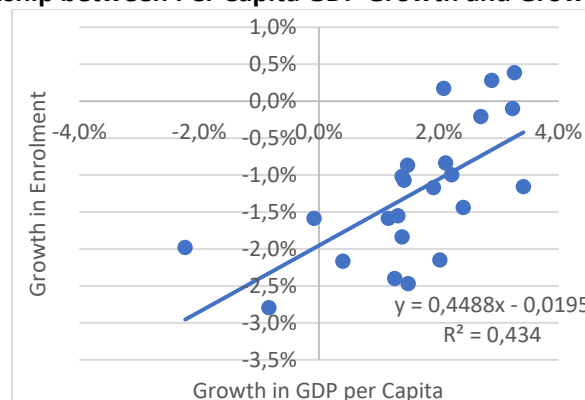


Source: Wodon (2020a).

Figure 7 is based on the data in Figure 6. It provides through a scatter plot a visualization of the relationship between (lagged) per capita GDP growth and the growth in enrolment in Catholic schools. A simple linear trend line through the scatter plot suggests that on average, the growth rate in enrolment in Catholic schools is equal to -1.95 percent plus 0.45 times the growth rate in GDP per capita. This is not in any way a serious econometric analysis, but it is shared to provide some basic intuition on the potential magnitude of the effects at work.

Preliminary estimates suggest that the US economy shrank by 3.5 percent in 2020. Applying this estimate to the trend line suggested in Figure 7 would lead to an expected reduction in enrolment in Catholic schools of -3.5 percentage points. However, the reduction in GDP per capita in the spring at the time parents had to make decisions regarding enrolment of their children for the next school year was much larger. In addition, losses in employment and thereby in disposable income for a large share of the population were much larger than losses in GDP. This would suggest a larger negative impact on enrolment.

Figure 7: Relationship between Per Capita GDP Growth and Growth in Enrolment, US



Source: Author's estimates.

Data just released by the National Catholic Educational Association confirms this was the case (see Annex 1). In a typical year, total enrolment in elementary and secondary schools decreases by

30,000 to 50,000 students. In 2020-21, the loss was 111,006 students or 6.4 percent. Data are also available on enrolment by grade. Not surprisingly, when comparing 2020-21 with 2019-20, enrolment fell the most at the pre-primary level (-26.6 percent for pre-kindergarten and -6.7 percent for kindergarten).

Survey data from the National Catholic Educational Association show that some students transferred into Catholic schools in part because some of the schools were closed for a shorter period of time than public schools. Parents who transferred children in Catholic schools were looking for schools that had in-person classes but in a safe environment, fostered character development, and had challenging academics. These transfers were however mostly from families where parents were Catholic, had fairly high levels of income, and were mostly white. These families were typically less affected by the economic crisis. Unfortunately, many more students left, whether they transferred to public schools, other private schools, or were home schooled.

The available data also suggest a substantial drop in enrolment in higher education due to the crisis in the United States. Estimates from the National Student Clearinghouse Centre suggest that post-secondary enrolment declined by 2.5 percent in the fall of 2020. This is nearly twice the rate reported a year earlier. The drop was mostly due to a decrease in undergraduate enrolment with a loss of 3.6 percent or over 560,200 students. The data are disaggregated in Figure 8 according to various types of universities.

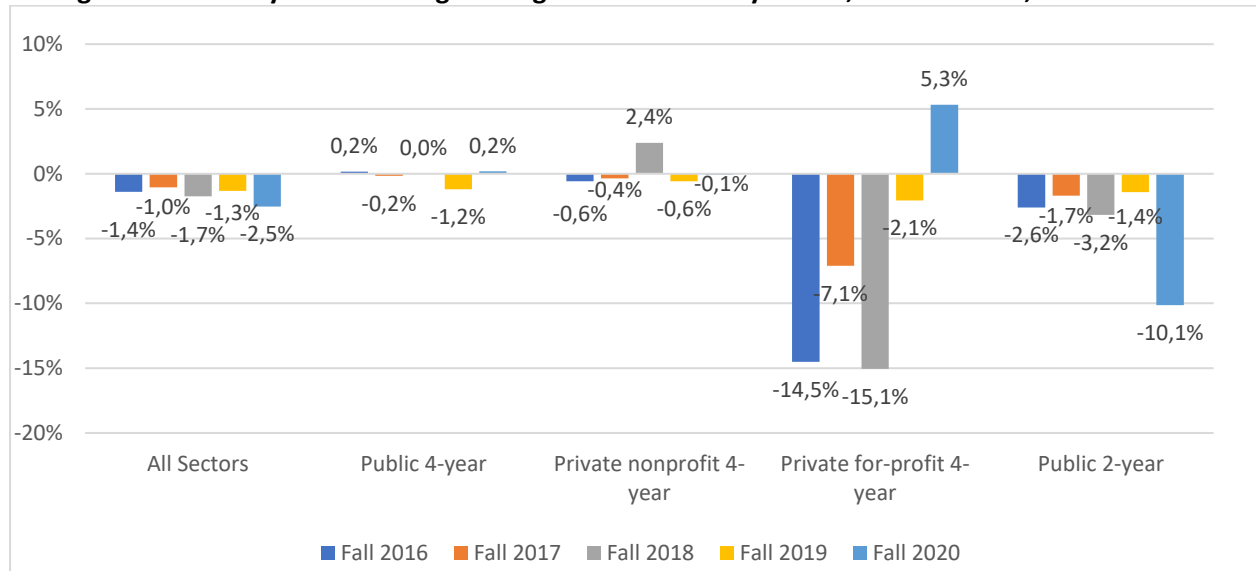
Enrolment in 4-year public colleges dropped more than in private 4-year colleges. Therefore Catholic colleges and universities may not have suffered the most (they are included in the 4-year private non-profit category). But many have been weakened by the crisis. As a result, education pluralism is likely to be affected. In the medium term, public colleges and universities are likely to survive, but some of the private colleges that have been affected the most may not. There have been stories in the media about Catholic colleges and universities closing because of the additional financial stress brought about by the pandemic.

The largest drop in enrolment was observed in the 2-year public sector (associate degrees) which serves more disadvantaged groups. Importantly, the estimates in Figure 8 do not represent the full magnitude of potential future losses. When looking at freshmen, losses were much higher than for total enrolment (loss of over 327,500 students or -13.1 percent). While those who had started their higher education before may have felt that the cost of dropping out was too large, many freshmen postponed enrolment. If these decisions were to become permanent, they could have a large impact for (four) years down the road.

Again, while the estimates in Figure 8 suggest that private non-profit 4-year colleges were

perhaps less affected by the crisis than other colleges, the broader competitive pressures faced by Catholic universities remain as outlined earlier. The five trends mentioned earlier identified by the International Federation of Catholic universities (hybrid teaching, drop in revenues from internationalization, premium for skills versus knowledge, loss in the value of college, and faculty casualization) all tend to put additional stress on a weakened sector.

Figure 8: Year-to-year Percentage Change in Enrolment by Sector, United States, 2016-2020



Source: National Student Clearinghouse Research Center (2020).

6. Fulfilling the Right to Education

The above discussion makes it clear that the crisis has led to an increase in learning poverty (as well as other educational outcomes at the secondary and tertiary levels) and is likely to reduce education pluralism. In order to fulfil the right to education at various levels of education, the first challenge today is to respond to the COVID-19 crisis. As the crisis is multi-dimensional, responses are needed not only in the education sector³³, but also in health³⁴, social protection and labour markets³⁵, and other sectors³⁶. This section discusses selected policies needed in education.

Beyond the immediate response to the crisis, education systems, including networks of Catholic schools will need to ‘build back better.’ Suggestions can be made on how to improve educational outcomes and increase education pluralism. In so doing, one of the objectives is to make Catholic educators aware of some of the analytical work recently conducted on these issues by international organizations, and in particular the World Bank.

³³ A useful review of options for education systems is World Bank (2020g).

³⁴ World Health Organization (2020).

³⁵ Gentilini et al. (2020).

³⁶ World Bank (2020e).

Responding to the COVID-19 Crisis

Guidance has been provided by multiple organizations on how education systems can respond to the COVID-19 crisis³⁷. A first step to mitigate the impact of the current crisis and potential future crises is to provide distance learning options during school closures. For developing country contexts, the World Bank³⁸ suggested a dozen practical action steps for planning and implementing multi-faceted remote learning. The steps are: (1) Develop remote learning plans with stakeholders; (2) Create an inventory of content to be deployed; (3) Organize available content to align with curricula; (4) Create a virtual helpdesk for parents, teachers, and students; (5) Promote offline learning, e.g. through distribution of printed material for home; (6) Use radio and television for lessons and edutainment; (7) Increase access to digital resources; (8) Provide a one-stop-shop to access online materials; (9) Make content available through a variety of devices; (10) Support low bandwidth solutions; (11) Provide assistance to use/access remote learning content; and (12) Use multimedia to share information across platforms. In implementing these steps, television³⁹ and radio⁴⁰ offer alternatives to online materials.

While the guidance from the World Bank targets low and middle income countries, resources have also been curated that apply to high income countries. As one example, HundrED⁴¹ identified ten websites with resources curated in a useful way and provided other useful tools and resources. Catholic organizations have also put together resources for school principals and teachers⁴². Importantly, as research⁴³ suggests that before the pandemic many teachers were not ready for distance learning, including in high income countries, training must be provided, whether in developing or developed countries⁴⁴.

Reopening schools is a priority both to stem learning losses and to enable parents to work with fewer disruptions or return to work if they had to leave their job to take care of their children. Reducing the risk that opening schools may spread infections is essential. Guidance has been provided by UNESCO, UNICEF, the World Bank, and the World Food Programme⁴⁵.

³⁷ See Wodon (2020a, 2020b, 2020c).

³⁸ World Bank (2020d). See also World Bank (2020g).

³⁹ On Telesecundaria in Mexico, see Navarro-Sola (2019) and Fabregas (2019).

⁴⁰ Education Development Center (2020).

⁴¹ HundrED (2020)

⁴² For dioceses, see San Diego and Imperial Valley Catholic Schools (2020). For Catholic school in Europe, See <http://www.ceec.be/>. On independent schools, see also Scafidi and Wearne (2020).

⁴³ OECD (2018a, 2018b), Moreno and Gortazar (2020).

⁴⁴ See Reimers et al (2020) for a synthesis of guidance on supporting the continuation of teaching and learning from different organizations.

⁴⁵ UNESCO et al. (2020). See also Center for Disease Control (2020), and Bailey and Hess (2020).

As schools reopen, re-enrolment campaigns may be needed for some students to come back to school⁴⁶. This is more likely to be needed in low income contexts. Such campaigns should be participatory, involving when feasible local and faith leaders⁴⁷. Incentives (waiving fees and/or providing cash transfers, school lunches or free school uniforms) may help, especially when targeting the most vulnerable. Community-based early warning systems to prevent drop-outs may also help⁴⁸. Care must be applied on how to manage examinations, especially if they are high stake⁴⁹.

Financial relief for schools. During recessions, public funding for schools often declines with negative impacts especially for disadvantaged students⁵⁰. Providing relief to schools and universities, including those from the private sector, can help ensure that they remain afloat. One good example is the Education Stabilization Fund under the CARES Act in the United States. In addition, Catholic and other private schools/universities were able to apply for the Paycheck Protection Program from the Small Business Administration.

Data and monitoring. Schools should closely monitor how students are doing in order to be able to help as needed. Simple surveys can also help in assessing whether schools are doing well, or not. One example from Belgium was a survey by the French-speaking Catholic school network to assess school and teacher readiness to implement distance learning⁵¹. The survey identified actions taken by schools and constraints faced by households to access resources, and the frequency of interactions between schools, teachers, and students.

The above list of potential interventions is by no means exhaustive. As mentioned earlier, multiple responses from education systems are needed to respond to the crisis. The question then emerges as to how to integrate these various responses into a coherent strategy. As an example of how to integrate multiple responses into an overall plan, Annex 2 provides an example of project funded by the Global Partnership for Education and implemented by the World Bank with Ministries of Education in Benin⁵². The objectives of the project are to: (1) ensure continuity of teaching during and after the COVID -19 pandemic, particularly in deprived communes; and (2) increase preparedness to mitigate the effects of future crises.

To achieve those objectives, the project has three components. The first component aims to ensure safe reopening of schools and return of students, particularly in deprived communes. It

⁴⁶ See UNICEF (2013) for examples.

⁴⁷ For Ebola in West A, faith leaders played an important role (Christian Aid et al., 2015; Greyling et al., 2016).

⁴⁸ Adelman et al. (2017).

⁴⁹ Liberman et al. (2020).

⁵⁰ Jackson et al. (2018).

⁵¹ Devel (2020).

⁵² World Bank (2020m).

includes three sub-components: (i) Media campaign and community sensitization for returning to school and disease control and prevention; (ii) Ensuring schools are safe for re-opening mostly through WASH interventions to be implemented by UNICEF; and (iii) Ensuring continuity of teaching and tracking of student progress, including through remedial education for students, compensation of part of incidental costs paid for school canteens in deprived communes, and the provision of school kits for deprived communes and children with disabilities. The second component aims to improving preparedness to mitigate the effects of future crises. A first sub-component is to expanding sustainable remote learning opportunities by setting up an enabling environment for distance learning, providing teacher training for distance learning, and developing distance learning program contents. A second sub-component aims to build system capacity at the Ministries of Education to anticipate and cope with future shocks in education. Finally the last component is about monitoring, management, and coordination. While the project is a government response to the crisis, many of its ideas could apply to Catholic school networks as well⁵³.

Improving Educational Outcomes

Beyond the immediate response to the crisis, there is also a need to build back better. The learning crisis has worsened. A range of programs and policies will be needed to improve educational outcomes, including achieve the target that had been adopted before the pandemic of reducing learning poverty by half by 2030. In December 2020, the World Bank published a report or blueprint to outline how this could be done⁵⁴. The vision is ‘learning with joy, purpose, and rigor for everyone, everywhere. Priorities are identified for five inter-related pillars (Figure 9):

1. Learners are prepared and motivated to learn—with a stronger emphasis on whole-child development and support to learning continuity beyond the school.
2. Teachers are effective and valued—and ready to take on an increasingly complex role of facilitators of learning at and beyond the school with use of education technology.
3. Learning resources, including curricula, are diverse and high-quality—to support good pedagogical practices and personalized learning.
4. Schools are safe and inclusive spaces—with a whole-and-beyond-the-school approach to prevent and address violence and leave no child behind.

⁵³ Six main indicators are used to monitor progress: (i) Children previously enrolled in schools who return to school once they re-open; (ii) Students benefiting from direct interventions to enhance learning in targeted communes; (iii) Girls benefiting from these direct interventions; (iv) Schools equipped with minimum hygiene standards for prevention of COVID-19; (v) Schools offering remediation programs in deprived communes; and (vi) whether a National strategy for continuity of learning for all children has been developed and disseminated.

⁵⁴ World Bank (2020k).

5. Education systems are well-managed—with school leaders who spur more effective pedagogy and a competent educational bureaucracy adept at using technology, data, and evidence.

For each pillar, specific policy actions are recommended based on an in-depth review of the literature. For example, to keep learners engaged, four key actions are suggested: (i) increase the provision of early childhood development services; (ii) remove demand-side barriers; (iii) put conditions in place for learning to occur with joy, rigor and purpose; and (iv) bolster the role of the family and communities. Similar actions are outlined for the other four pillars in the framework. Or to support teachers, education systems should focus on the following four actions: (i) Establish the teaching profession as a meritocratic, socially valued career; (ii) Expand engagement in pre-service training; (iii) Invest in at-scale in-service professional development; and (iv) Give teachers tools and techniques for effective teaching⁵⁵. Similarly, policy actions are suggested for the other three pillars.

In addition to policy actions in each of the five pillars, five core principles to guide reform efforts are also suggested: (1) Pursue systemic reform supported by political commitment to learning for all children; (2) Focus on equity and inclusion through a progressive path toward universalism; (3) Focus on results and use evidence to keep improving; (4) Ensure financial commitment commensurate with what is needed to provide basic services to all; and finally (5) Invest wisely in technology.

Many of the policy actions proposed in the World Bank report could apply to Catholic school networks as well. While the framework targets low and middle income countries, the core principles as well as many of the policy actions are also valid for high income countries, especially for school networks serving disadvantaged groups (in some countries, there is only one national integrated network of schools; but in other countries education policy is decentralized – in the United States, there are a total of 13,000 school districts, each with substantial autonomy). The framework is less applicable to Catholic universities, but it can help guide the work that many of these universities perform in service to K12 schools.

⁵⁵ On how to improve teaching, see also Evans and Popova (2016) and Beteille and Evans (2018).

Figure 9: World Bank Framework for Realizing the Future of Learning

(a) Five inter-related pillars



(b) Five Core Principles to Guide Reform Efforts



Source: World Bank (2020f).

Another useful and shorter report recently published by the World Bank provides recommendations for cost-effective approaches to improve learning. These recommendations were made by the Global Education Evidence Advisory Panel convened by the World Bank and the UK Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office and hosted by the Building Evidence in Education Global Group. The mandate of the panel is to provide succinct, usable, and policy-focused recommendations to support decision-making on education investments in low- and middle-income countries. In its first report, in order to provide guidance on what to do, and what not to do, the panel classified interventions that have been tried to improve learning in low and middle income countries into four classes⁵⁶. These classes with examples of interventions that fall into each of them are as follows:

- Great buys: the most cost-effective interventions, like providing families with information on education returns and quality;
- Good buys: other highly cost-effective interventions, such as: structured pedagogy combined with teacher training and learning materials; programs to teach children at the right skill level; and pre-primary education;
- Promising low-evidence interventions: programs that appear to improve learning cost-effectively, but where more rigorous evidence is needed, like providing early stimulation to young children and involving communities in school management;
- Bad buys: interventions that (as typically implemented) have been shown to be either not effective or not cost-effective; these include investing in computer hardware or other inputs without making complementary changes (like teacher training or better school management) to use those inputs effectively.

Box 3: Catholic School Responses

World Bank reports mentioned in this section target public school networks in low and middle income countries for the most part. For Catholic schools in high income countries, an interesting compilation of analyses on the impact of the crisis and school responses mostly in the United States is available in a special issue of *Journal of Catholic Education*⁵⁷.

⁵⁶ World Bank (2020).

⁵⁷ See https://digitalcommons.lmu.edu/ce_covid/.

Increasing Education Pluralism

The World Bank framework for realizing the future of learning is comprehensive, but it does not discuss the role of the private sector and how governments could collaborate with private providers⁵⁸. Similarly, the pros and cons of private provision in education were not discussed in detail in the World Development Report on the learning crisis⁵⁹. Analysis and guidance should however become available in UNESCO's upcoming 2021 Global Education Monitoring Report on non-state actors. In the meantime, some guidance for governments on how to 'engage the private sector' is available from the SABER-EPS framework⁶⁰. SABER-EPS is part of a series of diagnostic tools used for benchmarking education policies against good practice. Recognizing the role that private schools already play in many countries, SABER-EPS assesses whether laws, regulations, and policies towards the private sector are likely to achieve four policy goals. These four goals are listed below together with their rationale as defined in the SABER-EPS paper:

1. *Encouraging innovation by education providers*: Local decision-making and fiscal decentralization can have positive effects on school and student outcomes. Most high-achieving countries allow schools autonomy in managing resources including personnel and educational content. Local school autonomy can improve the ability of disadvantaged populations to determine how local schools operate.
2. *Holding schools accountable*: If schools are given autonomy over decision making, they must be held accountable for learning outcomes. Increases in autonomy should be accompanied by standards and interventions that increase access and improve quality. The state must hold all providers accountable to the same high standard.
3. *Empowering all parents, students, and communities*: When parents and students have access to information on relative school quality, they can have the power to hold schools accountable and the voice to lobby governments for better-quality services. For empowerment to work equitably, options for parents and students should not depend on wealth or student ability.

⁵⁸ The private education sector is briefly mentioned four times, once each with reference to (i) private sector employers; (ii) private and non-profit educational publishers and providers of literacy materials; (ii) innovative public-private partnerships that can help increase the use of EdTech; and (iv) education systems in which the private sector plays a critical role. That reference reads: "In systems in which the private sector plays a critical role in providing services, the regulatory role of the state is complex (and unavoidable)." No additional analysis or recommendations are provided.

⁵⁹ See World Bank (2018). That report had one box on the pros and cons of private provision.

⁶⁰ Baum et al. (2014).

4. *Promoting diversity of supply*: By facilitating market entry for a diverse set of providers, governments can increase responsibility for results, as providers become directly accountable to citizens as well as to the state.

For each policy goal, policy levers are identified to assess the quality of existing policies. These levers are analysed through a detailed questionnaire assessing the regulatory frameworks for four types of schools: (i) Independent private schools (owned and operated by non-government providers and financed privately, typically through fees); (ii) Government-funded private schools (owned and operated by non-government providers, but receiving government funding); (iii) Privately managed schools (owned and financed by the government, but operated by non-government providers); and (iv) Voucher schools (attended by students who choose to do so with government-provided funding⁶¹).

A rubric generates ratings for policies on a four-level scale. The lowest rating is latent. Progressively better sets of policies are rated as emerging, established, or advanced. An established rating indicates sustained good performance, while an advanced rating suggests that a country is at the frontier of what the literature suggests are good policies.

The SABER-EPS framework recognizes that private provision may be beneficial for education system, but it is not without critics⁶². It was inspired in part by the World Development Report on Making Services Work for Poor People⁶³. That report suggested that for service providers to be responsive to the needs of citizens, and especially the poor, accountability is required. One approach to accountability is ‘the long route’ whereby citizens hold the state accountable for the delivery of basic services through the political process, with the state in turn holding various service providers – public or private, accountable. This route is long because several steps and conditions are needed for it to work in practice. The alternative is the ‘short route’ whereby service providers are held accountable by their clientele. This requires among others information to be available on the quality of the services being provided, and mechanisms to make the services accessible and affordable.

Relying on the SABER-EPS framework, a study is being prepared with data collected with the International Office of Catholic Education to assess perceptions of national regulatory frameworks among national Catholic education networks. The data predates the COVID-19 crisis, but it is clear that the crisis has weakened private provision including by Catholic schools and universities in countries where they do not benefit from (much) state support.

During crises, as national budgets are stretched thin, there is little appetite to support private

⁶¹ Voucher schools can be operated by the government or non-government providers or both, depending on the education system.

⁶² Oxfam (2019).

⁶³ World Bank (2003).

education provision. Yet ensuring that the private sector can continue to play its role towards fulfilling the right to education may require some form of support by national governments. The cost for governments of a weakening of sector could be larger than that of supporting it (see Box 4).

Box 4: Economic Contributions of Catholic Schools and Universities: Budgets and Wealth

Two of the economic contributions of Catholic schools and universities relate to the savings they provide for state budgets when they receive no or only partial state funding, and the wealth that their alumni create thanks to the education that they have acquired.

Estimates for 38 OECD and partner countries suggest that budget savings from Catholic schools in these countries could be valued at US\$ 63 billion per year in purchasing power parity terms⁶⁴. Catholic schools account for 35.4 percent of total budget savings from private schools at the primary level, and 19.2 percent at the secondary level. The country that accounts for the largest budget savings is the United States. Similar analysis for Catholic colleges and universities suggests that they may generate another \$43 billion in savings for state budgets versus a situation in which the students were to enrol in public institutions instead⁶⁵.

Another contribution of Catholic (and other) schools is through the human capital wealth they create. Estimates suggest that human capital wealth accounts for two thirds of global wealth, a much larger proportion than natural capital and produced capital⁶⁶. Education is a key contributor to human capital wealth. Estimates suggest that Catholic schools and universities may contribute globally US\$ 12 trillion to the changing wealth of nations⁶⁷.

The main objectives of Catholic schools and universities are not economic, but their contributions to development are large. It could be argued that the cost for governments of a collapse of the private education sector could be larger than the cost of supporting it.

⁶⁴ The estimates are based on budget data for 2014 and enrolment data for 2016. See Wodon (2019f).

⁶⁵ Wodon (2018).

⁶⁶ Lange et al. (2018).

⁶⁷ Wodon (2019d).

CONCLUSION

This paper has provided a preliminary assessment of the potential impact of the COVID-19 crisis on education systems, and in particular Catholic schools and their students. Some of the impacts of the crisis relate to the fact that many schools and universities had to close temporarily or move to online learning. Others relate to the economic crisis unleashed by the pandemic. Estimates suggest that the crisis could increase learning poverty globally by 9.6 percentage points in a pessimistic scenario. Under an intermediate scenario, the increase is at 6.4 points, and under an optimistic scenario, it is at 3.2 points. Children in low and lower-middle income countries are especially at risk, in part due to lack of connectivity for distance learning.

Students in Catholic schools are not immune from these effects as most live in countries where access to distance learning is limited. In addition, the ability of Catholic schools in those countries to adapt their curriculum and provide remedial education is also weaker than in developed countries. This is especially the case in sub-Saharan Africa.

While the focus of much of the discussion in this paper has been on basic education given its relevance for learning poverty measures, Catholic universities have also been affected in a major way by the crisis. Recent trends affecting higher education globally have been exacerbated by the crisis. Small liberal arts colleges may be especially at risk as their ability to adapt to the rapidly changing higher education market is limited.

The COVID-19 crisis is also affecting education pluralism as the market shares of private providers is likely to fall. In many countries, Catholic school networks are expecting large losses in enrolment which could threaten the financial sustainability of some schools and universities. In the United States, enrolment in Catholic K12 schools for 2020-2021 fell by an unprecedented drop of -6.4 percent. In higher education, Catholic colleges and universities may not have suffered as much in the short term. But many colleges have been weakened by the crisis and education pluralism is again likely to be affected at least in the medium term.

The last section of the paper suggested ways to deal with the crisis and build back better, including through priorities suggested in a new World Bank report on realizing the future of learning were outlined. The report recommends policy actions in five inter-related pillars related to learners, teachers, learning resources, safety and inclusion, and the management of education systems. It also suggests five core principles to guide reform efforts.

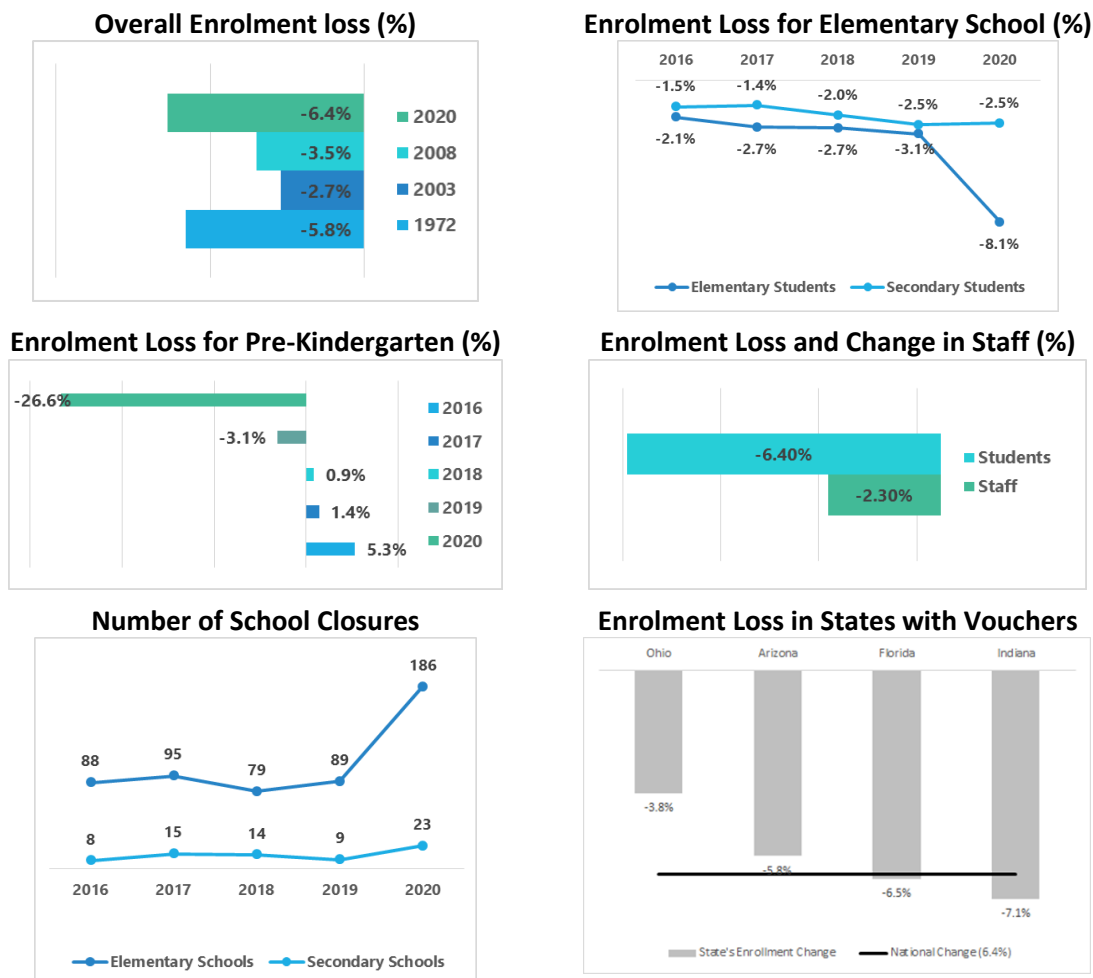
The new World Bank report on realizing the future of learning is comprehensive, but it does not provide guidance on how governments could engage with private education providers.

Analysis should become available in UNESCO's upcoming 2021 Global Education Monitoring Report on non-state actors. In the meantime, some guidance was provided using the SABER initiative framework. To conclude, improving educational outcomes is essential, but promoting education pluralism also matters to fulfill the right to education. In some countries, Catholic education institutions have been weakened by the crisis and may need support. For governments not to provide support when needed may actually be the costly strategy.

ANNEX 1: IMPACT OF THE COVID-19 CRISIS ON CATHOLIC K12 EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

The loss in enrolment in the United States in 2020-21 was the largest single year decline in 50 years, well above losses during the clergy sex abuse crisis (2003: -2.7%) and the great recession (2008: -3.5%, see Figure 10). Enrolment dropped by 8.1 percent in elementary schools, which may affect future enrolment in secondary schools. Pre-Kindergarten enrolment declined by 26.6 percent. Only 10 of the 174 Catholic school dioceses saw an increase of one percent or more in enrolment. Nationally, over 200 schools closed or consolidated. Availability of state-funded parental choice (voucher) programs did not seem to make a major difference. While Arizona and to a lesser extent Ohio did better, Indiana and Florida did not.

Figure 10: Selected Impacts of the COVID-19 Crisis on Catholic K12 Schools in the US

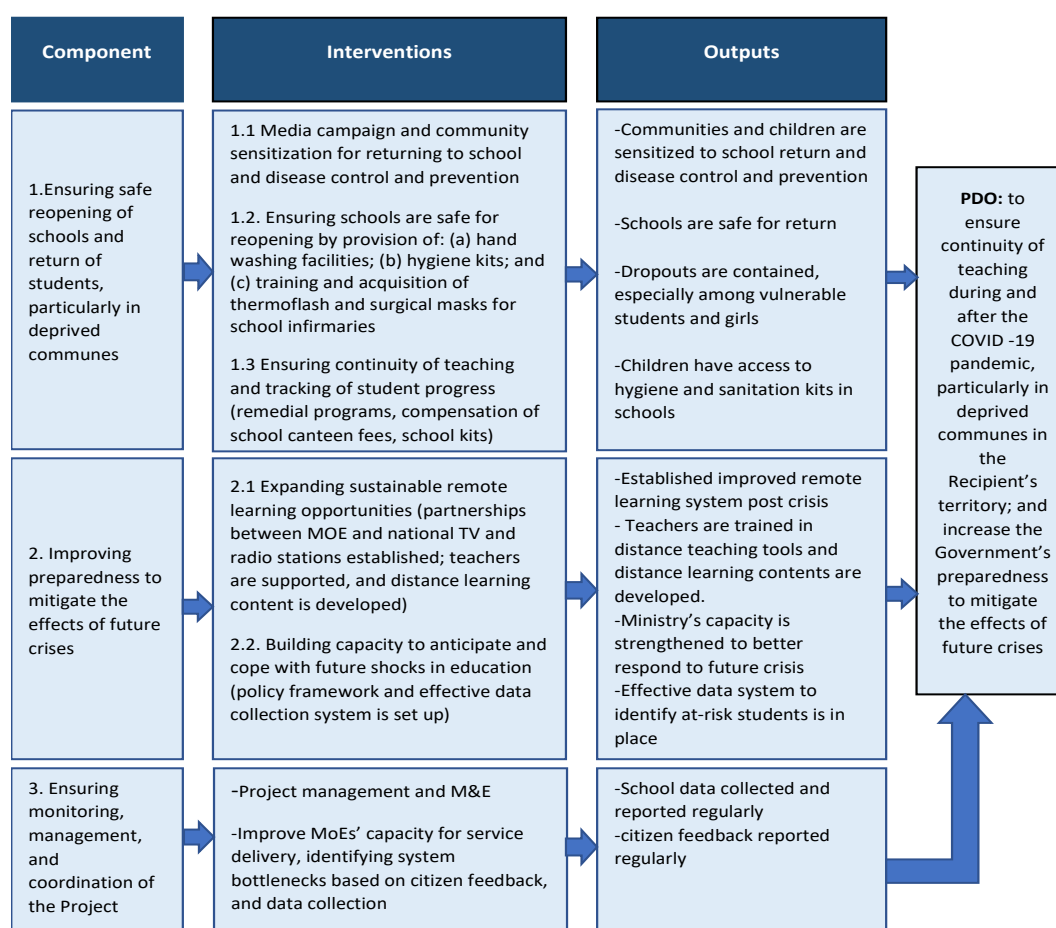


Source: NCEA (2021).

ANNEX 2: RESPONDING TO THE COVID-19 CRISIS – AN EXAMPLE FROM BENIN

Following school closures in the spring, the Government of Benin created a task force to mitigate the impacts of the pandemic and prepare the country to be able to respond in the future. To support these efforts, the World Bank is implementing with Education Ministries a project funded by the Global Partnership for Education. The project has three components. The first aims to ensure safe reopening of schools and return of students, particularly in deprived communes. The second component aims to improving preparedness to mitigate the effects of future crises. The third component aims to ensure monitoring, management, and coordination of the project. Details on the project’s components and sub-components and their overall logic are provided in Figure 11.

Figure 11: Results Chain for the COVID-19 Education Project in Benin



Source: World Bank (2020h). See also Wodon, Male, and Nayihouba (2021).

Note: PDO = Project Development Objective.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author works at the World Bank, but this work should not be seen in any way as representing the views of the World Bank, its Executive Directors, or the countries they represent. The paper is adapted in large part from the Global Catholic Education Report 2021 written for the volunteer-led Global Catholic Education project. The project aims to contribute to Catholic education and integral human development globally with a range of resources, including a blog, events, guidance on good practices, publications, and data. The author is grateful to Philippe Richard, François Mabilie, José Ramon Batiste, and Giovanni Perrone, for encouragement and advice, and to Anna Cristina D'Addio from the UNESCO team preparing the Global Education Monitoring Report for encouragement in adapting the analysis for this background paper. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this paper are solely those of the author.

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