# Education A826: The Politics of Education in the Developing World<sup>1</sup>

Emmerich Davies Office: Gutman 412 Email: emmerich_davies_escobar@gse.harvard.edu Please contact Wendy and cc Emmerich for office hours appointm contact Emmerich or Andrew directly.	Class: MW 4-5:30PM Class Room: Gutman 305 Office Hours: W 1:30-3:30PM ents with Emmerich. Any other questions, either
Teaching Fellow: Andrew Westover	Email: awestover@g.harvard.edu
Section: Tues 2-3PM; Tues 3-4PM	Class Room: Larsen Go6
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How have globalization and market-oriented reforms impacted efforts to expand education access? How do political constraints influence education expenditures? What is the effect of political and administrative decentralization on parental participation and educational outcomes? This course will explore these and other questions as we consider the role that political institutions, elected leaders, civil society, students, teachers, and bureaucrats play in the provision of education across the developing world. We will ask who the key actors, interests, and incentives are in education politics through individual case studies, political science theory, and empirical examples.

The course will also have a strong emphasis on writing, including two projects that hone students' ability to convey ideas for diverse popular audiences. Through this course, students will learn to identify and critique power relations, the incentives of actors, the options such circumstances present, and how to best engage diverse actors in education policy making. The course emphasizes real-world examples and policies, and students will gain a broader understanding of the incentives and constraints political actors face in the developing world and how to engage such contexts effectively.

# Students with Disabilities

We encourage students needing accommodations in instruction or evaluation to notify us early in the semester. If you have a disability or health concern that may have some impact on your work in this class and for which you may require adjustments or accommodations, please contact Eileen Berger bergerei@gse.harvard.edu, Access and Disability Services (ADS) administrator in Gutman 124. No accommodations can be given without authorization from ADS, or without advance notice. If you already have a Faculty Contact Form for this course from ADS,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This course has benefited tremendously from the intellectual labour of Andrew Westover in adapting and immeasurably improving the course assignments. Students who took A826 in the 2016-2017 and 2017-2018 academic years have provided valuable feedback on readings, assignments, and course structure that have influenced this version of the class. Everything great about the class is likely due to their influence. All errors remain Emmerich's alone.

please provide us with that information privately in our offices so that we can make those adjustments in a timely manner. All inquiries and discussions about accommodations will remain confidential.

## Assignments and Evaluation

There are four major assignments through which you will be evaluated in this course: your participation in class, a midterm, the writing of an op-ed, and the writing of a long-form investigative essay. For the last two, we will have several smaller assignments that will help you build to the final product. The full break-down of these assignments along with their value towards the final grade are presented below.

- 1. Class Participation: 20%
- 2. Midterm: 20%
- 3. **Op-Ed**: 40%
  - i Issue and Audience Identification: 5%
  - ii Identify Op-Ed Venue: 5%
  - iii Op-Ed Outline: 5%
  - iv Op-Ed Peer Review: 10%
  - v Final Draft of Op-Ed: 15%

### 4. Long-Form Essay: 20%

- i Problem Statement: 2%
- ii Outline: 5%
- iii Peer Review: 5%
- iv Final Draft: 8%

### Class Participation: 20% of Grade

You are expected to come to class prepared to discuss the readings in detail. Participation in class provides the opportunity to develop the ability to present ideas effectively as well as the ability to listen to others and identify the main direction of a conversation and contribute in ways that advance it in constructive ways in contrast to the common — and less productive — experience of team members talking past each other or to themselves.

The different perspectives of students in the class will enhance each individual's understanding of each case study. As such, you are encouraged to form teams to discuss the readings together before class and come prepared to discuss the context, actors, and actions taken by all players, as well as potential solutions. I will not formally assign these groups.

Readings are accessible three different ways - via the iPa© page, web links, and via HOLLIS+. The syllabus indicates where to locate each reading. For the readings available in HOLLIS+, we have embedded persistent links (all you need to do is click on the word "link") that should take you directly to the articles via HarvardKey log-in. If a link does not work, which is always a possibility, then you will need to use HOLLIS+ to locate the reading yourself.

If you know you will be absent, please inform me by the end of the first full week of class (Friday, September 7). Beyond that date, all absences will be considered unexcused except for those due to serious illness or death in the family. More than one unexcused absence will negatively affect your grade.

## Midterm: 20% of Grade

We will have an in-class, open book midterm after Part 2 of the class. In section on **Tuesday, October 30**, we will distribute four prompts and you are expected to answer two during the hour of section.

Your answers should make reference to theories and readings from class, conversations and issues raised in class, and your own experiences in the education sector. You may reference lecture slides, class discussions, and readings in your answers.

Your response to each prompt should be *no longer* than two pages with 12 point font. Your submission should include your Harvard ID number. *Do not* include your name on your submission.

If you require accommodations for timed exams, or any other accommodations, please see the "Students with Disabilities" section on the first page of the syllabus for information regarding accommodations. Please let us know with time if you require additional accommodations for the midterm so we can work with you to ensure your success.

Midterms will be uploaded to canvas, so be sure to bring a laptop or tablet in order to type and upload your midterm to canvas.

### **Op-Ed: 40% of Grade**

The major assignment in this class will be the writing, and hopefully submission, of an op-ed written for a public audience for a newspaper or online site. The op-ed should be between 800-1,200 words and grading will be based on the quality of the writing, the clarify of the argument, and how well it is supported by evidence. The op-ed can be on any of the themes of the class and should:

- 1. Draw attention to a current issue
- 2. Make an explicit argument about the issue, or a policy that is or is not working to address the issue
- 3. Build on or critique relevant literature from the course or beyond

Extra credit of an additional half-grade (5% of the total course grade) will be awarded to students who successfully publish their op-eds in local or national newspapers or websites (self-published blogs do not count).

#### 1. Issue and Audience Identification: 5%

First, identify and describe an issue of concern related to the course's topic (politics of education in the developing world). Then, list and describe who the stakeholder audiences are for this topic. Finally, select which audiences should be prioritized and why.

This is due by **4PM on Monday, September 17**.

### 2. Identify Op-Ed Venue: 5%

Identify a venue (journal, periodical, etc.) for publishing your Op-Ed. Justify why this is the best platform to reach your prioritized audiences. If desired, name a back-up publication venue.

This is due by **4PM on Monday, October 1**.

#### 3. Op-Ed First Draft: 5%

Write a first draft of your Op-Ed. Submission will be assessed according to the quality of the rhetoric, clarity of organization, quality of sources/justifications, and overall persuasive character.

This is due by **4PM on Wednesday, October 10**.

### 4. Op-Ed Peer Review: 10%

Review a peer's essay for quality of the rhetoric, clarity of organization, quality of sources/justifications, and overall persuasive character. Annotate the Op-Ed, either manually or using track changes, to indicate your review. Include a brief paragraph at the end of the paper explaining your reasoning and providing suggestions or strengthening the Op-Ed.

This is due by **4PM on Monday, October 15**.

#### 5. Final Draft of Op-Ed: 15%

Incorporate peer revisions and submit a final draft of your Op-Ed, to be graded by the course instructors. Submission will be assessed according to the quality of the rhetoric, clarity of organization, quality of sources/justifications, and overall persuasive character.

This is due by **4PM on Monday, October 22**.

### Long-Form Essay: 20% of Grade

To extend on the skills of writing for a public audience developed in the op-ed assignment, the second writing assignment will be the writing of a long-form essay. The long-form essay will be between 4,000-6,000 words and, like the op-ed, grading will be based on the quality of the writing, the clarify of the argument, and how well it is supported by evidence.

### 1. Problem Statement: 2%

Complete and submit problem statement. Problem statement should be clearly related to the themes of the course, define stakeholders, and identify at least one potential venue for publication. NB: all students must schedule individual office hours with TF this week to finalize the problem statement.

This is due by **4PM on Monday**, November 5.

#### 2. First Draft: 5%

Once TF or Professor has approved your outline (which itself should be based on your problem statement), write a rough draft of your longform article. Submission will be assessed according to the quality of the narrative, clarity of organization, quality of sources/justifications, and overall persuasiveness and interest.

This is due by **4PM on Wednesday**, November 14.

#### 3. Peer Review: 5%

Review a peer's essay for quality of the narrative, clarity of organization, quality of sources/justifications, and overall persuasiveness and interest. Annotate the essay, either manually or using track changes, to indicate your review. Include a brief paragraph at the end of the paper explaining your reasoning and providing suggestions or strengthening the Op-Ed.

This is due by **4PM on Monday**, November 19.

### 4. Final Draft: 8%

Incorporate peer revisions and submit a final draft of your Op-Ed, to be graded by the course instructors. Submission will be assessed according to quality of the narrative, clarity of organization, quality of sources/justifications, and overall persuasiveness and interest.

This is due by **5PM on Monday, December 10**.

### Late Policy

We do not accept late assignments except for those due to serious illness or death in the family. Any assignments submitted late will automatically receive a o.

## **Overview of Syllabus**

- 1. Defining the Terms of the Debate
  - (a) Wednesday, September 5: Why are Education Politics Different?
  - (b) Monday, September 10: What are Politics?
- 2. Political Institutions
  - (a) Wednesday, September 12 & Monday, September 17: Institutional Change and Stability
  - (b) Wednesday, September 19: State Capacity
  - (c) Monday, September 24: Class canceled
  - (d) Wednesday, September 26: State Capacity
  - (e) Monday, October 1: Decentralization
  - (f) Wednesday, October 3: International Development Organizations
  - (g) Monday, October 8: No Class Indigenous People's Day
  - (h) Wednesday, October 10: International Development Organizations
  - (i) Monday, October 15: Economic Development and Education
  - (j) Wednesday, October 17 & Monday, October 22: From Political Institutions to Political Behavior
- 3. Political Behavior
  - (a) Wednesday, October 24, Monday, October 29, & Wednesday, October 31: Individual Identities and Political Behavior
  - (b) Monday, November 5: Identity
  - (c) Wednesday, November 7: Actors in Education: Bureaucrats
  - (d) Monday, November 12: No Class Veteran's Day
  - (e) Wednesday, November 14, & Monday, November 19: Actors in Education: Teachers & Teachers Unions, & Parents
  - (f) Wednesday, November 21: No Class Thanksgiving Break
- 4. The New Education Panaceas?
  - (a) Monday, November 26: Evidence-Based Policy
  - (b) Wednesday, November 28: Conditional Cash Transfers
  - (c) Monday, December 3: The Private Sector
- 5. Wednesday, December 5: Wrapping-Up

## Defining the Terms of the Debate

## Wednesday, September 5: Why are Education Politics Different?

- For Class:
  - Krugman, Paul. 2018. "We Don't Need No Education." The New York Times. April 23, 2018. link
  - Labaree, David F. 1997. "Public Goods, Private Goods: The American Struggle over Educational Goals." *American Educational Research Journal* 34(1): 39–81. link
  - Ansell, Ben W. 2010. From the Ballot to the Blackboard: The Redistributive Political Economy of Education. New York: Cambridge University Press. pgs. 1-11 or from Section 1.1 to Section 1.2 inclusive. link

### Monday, September 10: What are Politics?

- By Class:
  - Please email Andrew a brief (one or two paragraph) description of what program you are in, your interests in education, and prior work, education, and writing experiences by Friday, September 7 by 12PM EST. When discussing your writing experiences, please include what *audience(s)* you have written for.
- For Class:
  - Lasswell, Harold D. 1936. *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How.* New York: Whittlesey House. Preface & Chapter 1. link
  - Bachrach, Peter, and Morton S. Baratz. 1962. "The Two Faces of Power." *American Political Science Review* 56 (4): 947-52. link
  - Lukes, Steven. 2005. Power: A Radical View. Second Edition. Palgrave Macmillan. Pgs. 4-11. iPa©
- For Section:
  - Smith, Zadie. 2012. "The North West London Blues." NYR Blog. *The New York Review of Books*. link.
  - Spies, Mike. March 5, 2018. "The N.R.A. Lobbyist Behind Florida's Pro-Gun Policies." The New Yorker. link. **NB**: This story was published the week after the Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School shooting in Parkland, FL and deals with, often explicitly and graphically, gun violence. You should read it with that context in mind, but also with the understanding that it is disturbing and provocative as a result.

## **Political Institutions**

### Wednesday, September 12: Educational Institutions and Institutional Change

- For Class
  - North, Douglass C. 1993. "Economic Performance Through Time: The Limits of Knowledge." Nobel Prize Lecture. link
  - Pierson, Paul. 2000. "Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics." *American Political Science Review* 94 (2): 251-67. link

### Monday, September 17: Educational Institutions and Institutional Stability

- By Class:
  - Op-Ed Assignment 1: Identify Issue and Audience
- For Class:
  - Hacker, Jacob S. 2004. "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States." *American Political Science Review* 98 (02): 243-60. link
  - Moe, Terry M. 2015. "Vested Interests and Political Institutions." *Political Science Quarterly* 130 (2): 277-318. link

### Wednesday, September 19: State Capacity at the Centre

- For Class:
  - Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back* In, eds. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. Cambridge University Press Cambridge. iPa©
  - Kapur, Devesh, and Elizabeth J. Perry. 2015. "Higher Education Reform in China and India: The Role of the State." Yenching Institute. link

## Monday, September 24: Class Canceled

- For Section:
  - Bearman, Joshua and Tomer Hanuka. April 2015. "The Rise & Fall of Silk Road. Part I." Wired. link
  - Bearman, Joshua and Tomer Hanuka. May 2015. "The Rise & Fall of Silk Road. Part II." Wired. link
  - Farrell, Henry. February 20, 2015. "Dark Leviathan." Aeon. link

### Wednesday, September 26: State Capacity at the Periphery

- For Class:
  - O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1993. "On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries." World Development 21(8): 1355-69. link
  - Soifer, Hillel David. 2010. "The Sources of Infrastructural Power: Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Chilean Education." *Latin American Research Review* 44(2): 158-80. link

### Monday, October 1: Decentralizing Power

- By Class:
  - Op-Ed Assignment 2: Identify Publication
- For Class:
  - Falleti, Tulia G. 2005. "A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 99 (3): 327-46. link

## Wednesday, October 3: The Domestic Constraints of International Policy Making and the International Constraints of Domestic Policy Making

- For Class:
  - Putnam, Robert D. 1988. "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games." International Organization 42, no. 3: 427-60. link

### Monday, October 8: No Class — Indigenous People's Day

- For Section:
  - Reimers, Fernando. 2016. "Moving on to educate all children well." *The Huffington Post Personal Blogs*. November 11, 2016. link
  - Mamdani, Mahmood. 2018. "The African University." *London Review of Books*. 40 (14): 29-32. July 19, 2018. link

#### Wednesday, October 10: Ideas and Epistemic Communities

- By Class:
  - Op-Ed Assignment 3: Op-Ed First Draft
- For Class:
  - Haas, Peter M. 1992. "Introduction: Epistemic Communities and International Policy Coordination." International Organization 46 (1): 1-35. link

### Monday, October 15: Economic Development and Education

- By Class:
  - Op-Ed Assignment 4: Peer Op-Ed Revisions
- For Class:
  - Mangla, Akshay. 2015. "Inclusive Growth in India: The State and Education." Harvard Business School Case Study. Harvard Business School, March 31, 2015. iPa©
  - Musacchio, Aldo, Rafael Di Tella, and Jonathan Schlefer. 2012. "The Korean Model of Shared Growth, 1960-1990." Harvard Business School Case Study. Harvard Business School, 2012. iPa©
- For Section:
  - Dryden-Peterson, Sarah, Negin Dahya, and Wenona Giles. 2013. "Can education be a challenge to terror?" *The Globe and Mail*. October 3, 2013. link

### Wednesday, October 17: Governing for the Long Term

- For Class:
  - Jacobs, Alan M. 2008. "The Politics of When: Redistribution, Investment and Policy Making for the Long Term." *British Journal of Political Science* 38(02): 193-220. link
  - Mani, Anandi, and Sharun Mukand. 2007. "Democracy, Visibility and Public Good Provision." Journal of Development Economics 83(2): 506-29. NB: This paper has a lot of mathematical models. The goal is for you to focus on the intuition behind the models, which I think is explicated well in the writing, not the models themselves. link

#### Monday, October 22: Policy Feedback: From Institutions to Behavior

- By Class:
  - Op-Ed Assignment 5: Op-Ed Final Draft
- For Class:
  - Mettler, Suzanne. 2010. "Reconstituting the Submerged State: The Challenges of Social Policy Reform in the Obama Era." *Perspectives on Politics* 8 (3): 803-24. link
  - MacLean, Lauren M. 2011. "State Retrenchment and the Exercise of Citizenship in Africa." *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (9): 1238-66. link
  - Nolan-García, Kimberly A., and María Inclán. 2017. "Union Affiliation, Socialization, and Political Identities: The Case of Mexico." *Latin American Politics and Society* 59 (2): 53-76. link
- For Section:
  - Galchen, Rivka. 2018. "The Teachers' Strike and the Democratic Revival in Oklahoma." *The New Yorker*. June 4 & 11, 2018. link

## **Political Behavior**

### Wednesday, October 24: Who Votes and Why?

- For Class:
  - Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 89(2): 271-94. link
  - Kasara, Kimuli, and Pavithra Suryanarayan. 2014. "When Do the Rich Vote Less Than the Poor and Why? Explaining Turnout Inequality across the World." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3): 613-27. link

## Monday, October 29: Early Experiences and Political Socialization

- For Class:
  - de Kadt, Daniel. 2017. "Voting Then, Voting Now: The Long-Term Consequences of Participation in South Africa's First Democratic Election." *The Journal of Politics* 79(2):670-687. link
  - Croke, Kevin, Guy Grossman, Horacio A. Larreguy, and John Marshall. 2016. "Deliberate Disengagement: How Education Decreases Political Participation in Electoral Authoritarian Regimes." *American Political Science Review* 110(3): 579-600. link

### • In Section:

- Midterm

### Wednesday, October 31: Social Movements: Students as Political Agents

- For Class:
  - McAdam, Doug. 1999 (1982). *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*. Second Edition. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL. pgs. 36-59. iPa©
  - Calhoun, Craig. 1994. Neither Gods nor Emperors: Students and the Struggle for Democracy in China. Berkeley: University of California Press. Pgs. 1-24. iPa©

### Monday, November 5: The Politics of Identity and Education

## • By Class:

- Longform Assignment 1: Longform Problem Statement
- For Class:
  - Lieberman, Evan S., and Prerna Singh. 2017. "Census Enumeration and Group Conflict." *World Politics* 69(01): 1-53. link
  - Suk Gerson, Jeannie. 2018. "Anti-Asian Bias, Not Affirmative Action, is on Trial in the Harvard Case." The New Yorker. October 11, 2018. link
  - Hsu, Hua. 2018. "The Rise and Fall of Affirmative Action." The New Yorker. October 15, 2018. link
- For Section:
  - Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2018. "Go Ahead, Speak for Yourself." *The New York Times*. August 10, 2018. link

### Wednesday, November 7: Bureaucrats

- For Class:
  - Part I (pg. 3-26) of Lipsky, Michael. 2010. *Street-Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services*. 30th Anniv. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. link
  - Moe, Terry M. 2005. "Political Control and the Power of the Agent." Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization 22 (1): 1-29. link

### Monday, November 12: No Class — Veteran's Day

## • For Section:

- Boyd, Wesley J. & Emmerich Davies. 2017. "The Urgent Need to Recognize and Value Academic Labor." *Nature Jobs*. link.

## Wednesday, November 14: Teachers

- By Class:
  - Longform Assignment 2: Longform First Draft
- For Class:
  - Mizala, Alejandra, and Ben Ross Schneider. 2014. "Negotiating Education Reform: Teacher Evaluations and Incentives in Chile (1990-2010): Negotiating Education Reform." *Governance* 27 (1): 87-109. link
  - Béteille, Tara. 2015. "Fixers in Indias Teacher Labor Markets: Behind the Scenes." *Asian Survey* 55 (5): 942-68. link
  - Kremer, Michael, Karthik Muralidharan, Nazmul Chaudhury, Jeffrey Hammer, and F Halsey Rogers.
    2005. "Teacher Absence in India: A Snapshot." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 3 (2-3): 658-67. link

## Monday, November 19: The Politics of Engaging Parents: Possibilities and Limits

- By Class:
  - Longform Assignment 3: Longform Peer Revisions
- For Class:
  - Corrales, Javier. 2006. "Does Parental Participation in Schools Empower or Strain Civil Society? The Case of Community-Managed Schools in Central America." Social Policy & Administration 40 (4): 450-470. link
  - Pradhan, Menno et al. 2014. "Improving Educational Quality through Enhancing Community Participation: Results from a Randomized Field Experiment in Indonesia." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 6(2): 105-26. link

## Wednesday, November 21: No Class — Thanksgiving Break

## The New Education Panaceas?

## Monday, November 26: Evidence-Based Policy

- For Class:
  - Banerjee, Abhijit V., and Esther Duflo. 2009. "The Experimental Approach to Development Economics." *The Annual Review of Economics*, no. 1. link
  - Castillo, Nathan M., and Daniel A. Wagner. 2014. "Gold Standard? The Use of Randomized Controlled Trials for International Educational Policy." *Comparative Education Review* 58 (1): 166-173. link
- For Section:
  - Dreze, Jean. August 3, 2018. "Evidence, policy, and politics." Ideas for India. link

## Wednesday, November 28: Conditional Cash Transfers

- For Class:
  - Parker, Susan, and Tom Vogl. 2018. Do Conditional Cash Transfers Improve Economic Outcomes in the Next Generation? Evidence from Mexico. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research. NBER Working Paper. link
  - De La O, Ana Lorena. 2015. Crafting Policies to End Poverty in Latin America: The Quiet Transformation. Pgs. 1-16 & 72-95. iPa©

## Monday, December 3: The Private Sector

- For Class:
  - Pritchett, Lant. June 2003. "When Will They Ever Learn? Why All Governments Produce Schooling." BREAD Working Paper Number 31. Bureau for Research in Economic Analysis of Development. link
  - Romero, Mauricio, Justin Sandefur, and Wayne Aaron Sandholtz. 2018. "Outsourcing Service Delivery in a Fragile State: Experimental Evidence from Liberia." Working Paper. University of California San Diego. link
- For Section:
  - Krueger, Alan B. May 2, 2002. "A Model for Evaluating the Use of Development Dollars, South of the Border." *The New York Times*. link
  - Bajaj, Vikas, and Jim Yardley. December 30, 2011. "Many of India's Poor Turn to Private Schools." *The New York Times*. link

## Wednesday, December 5: Wrapping-Up

• No Assigned Readings for Class

### Monday, December 10, 5PM

• Longform Assigment 4: Longform Final Draft