

# Education A826/Educational Studies 104: The Politics of Education in the Developing World<sup>1</sup>

Emmerich Davies

Class: MW 10:00-11:15AM

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Office Hours: W 11:30AM-1:30PM

Please contact Wendy and cc Emmerich for office hours appointments with Emmerich. Any other questions, contact Emmerich directly.

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How do teachers' unions impact education policy? What role does democracy have on access to and the quality of education? What is the effect of decentralization on parental participation and educational outcomes? This course will explore these and other questions as we consider the role that political constraints 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 with a project that hones 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.

## COVID

The world is not okay. You may be dealing with illness, or its aftermath. You may know people who have lost their jobs, have become sick, have been hospitalized, or perhaps have even lost their lives. You may have increased work and/or increased family care responsibilities. You may be facing uncertain job prospects, or have lost a job you depended on before coming to Harvard. The pandemic, the U.S. and other government's inept responses to the pandemic, and further cruel migration policies prevented many of you from easily coming to the United States and have made focusing on your academic and professional lives more difficult than normal. Despite our return to campus and the promise of a better tomorrow vaccines have brought, with masks, regular testing, contact tracing, and potential periods in isolation and quarantine to protect our most vulnerable, this looks different to what many

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<sup>1</sup>This course has benefited tremendously from the intellectual labor of Andrew Westover and Rebecca Horwitz-Willis in adapting and immeasurably improving the course assignments. Students who took A826 in the 2016-2017, 2017-2018, 2018-2019, and 2020-2021 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.

of us have been accustomed to. I want you to learn lots of things from this class and be engaged with your peers, but, more importantly, I want you to stay healthy, balanced, and grounded during this crisis. To that end, let's all aim to be flexible and supportive of each other. Please don't hesitate to ask for help if you need it and as a teaching team, we will try support you as best we can. You should also know that HGSE is committed to these same goals and has a number of resources to support students that you can find at <https://osa.gse.harvard.edu/student-support-tips-sheets>.

As part of this effort to help you learn in whatever way helps you be the best student you can be, we will record classroom sessions by default. This is being done to encourage classroom safety and manage excused absences due to the potential for quarantine and isolation due to illness. No one outside of the members of our class and teaching team is or will be permitted to access the videos. No one is permitted to download or make any derivative use of any recording. If you do not wish to be visible in the video, please contact the teaching team.

## Diversity, Equity and Inclusion

HGSE is committed to a diverse, equitable, and inclusive environment. If there are aspects of the design, instruction, and/or experiences within this course that result in barriers to your inclusion or to an accurate assessment of your achievement in the course, please notify the instructor as soon as possible. If you are a student with a disability and wish to request accommodations, please contact KellyAnn Robinson, Ph.D., Associate Director of Student Support Services for an appointment. Because many accommodations require early planning, requests for accommodations should be made as soon as possible.

## Course Structure

The course will be divided into two separate, but equally important, synchronous sections:

1. **Live Course Sessions:** We will meet as a whole class in-person on Monday and Wednesday for an hour and fifteen minutes.
2. **Sections:** The teaching fellows will organize smaller sections of 12 to 16 students where you will form peer-learning communities to work through class assignments and expand on course materials. These sections will meet most, although not all, weeks and attendance is mandatory in the weeks in which they are scheduled. These will be scheduled and assigned once we have a better sense of course enrollment.

In addition, Akshay, Amelia, and I will all hold weekly office hours. If you wish to see:

- **Emmerich:** I will hold office hours on Wednesdays from 1-3PM. Please email [Wendy](#) and cc [Emmerich](#) to schedule a 20 minute slot in that period. If you cannot make those times, please email us and we will work with you to find a time that works for everyone.
- **Akshay:** Akshay's office hours will be held on Wednesdays from 12PM-2PM. You can sign-up for Akshay's office at his [Calendly link](#).
- **Amelia:** Amelia's office hours will be held on Tuesdays from 3-5PM. You can sign-up for Amelia's office hours at her [Calendly link](#).
- **Catherine:** Catherine's office hours will be held on Tuesdays from 12-1PM and Thursdays from 12:30-1:30PM. You can sign-up for Catherine's office hours at her [Calendly link](#).

## Assignments and Evaluation

There are three major assignments through which you will be evaluated in this course: your participation in class, a series of reading responses, and the writing of an op-ed. For the op-ed, 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. **Reading Responses:** 20%
3. **Op-Ed:** 60%
  - i. Country or Region Identification: 5%
  - ii. Identification of Actors & Institutions: 5%
  - iii. Country or Region Profile: 10%
  - iv. Issue and Audience Identification: 5%
  - v. Identify Op-Ed Venue: 5%
  - vi. Op-Ed Outline: 5%
  - vii. Op-Ed Peer Review: 10%
  - viii. Final Draft of Op-Ed: 15%

### **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.

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. We will not formally assign these groups. We will, however, assign peer review groups for the writing of your op-eds. Please let us know early in the semester if you have any constraints, but we will otherwise try to make these groups as diverse and inclusive as possible.

Readings are accessible two different ways - via the [Reading List](#) page, and via direct web links. The syllabus indicates where to locate each reading. For the readings available in the reading list, we have embedded persistent links (all you need to do is click on the hyperlink “Reading List”) that should take you directly to the articles via HarvardKey log-in. If a link does not work, which is always a possibility, please let the teaching team know and we will upload the correct link.

If you know you will be absent, please inform me by the end of the first full week of class (Friday, September 10).

### **Reading Responses: 20% of Grade**

Throughout the semester, you will write four reading responses in which you react, respond, and critique one or more of the readings for that class session. The responses should be between **300-500 words**<sup>2</sup>. Responses are due

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<sup>2</sup>This is approximately one page.

at 5PM EST the day before our class session (so 5PM EST on Sunday for a Monday class, and 5PM EST on Tuesday for a Wednesday class). We will grade the responses as submitted or not, and we will not accept late submissions.

You are welcome to use the reading response to reflect on how the readings and class discussions relate to your personal or professional life in education, critique the reading, or comment on issues raised by the readings. You are encouraged to reference more than one reading from that week, and if relevant, issues raised in previous weeks. We providing guiding questions for the readings each week and encourage you to reflect on these in your reading response, although it is not required.

As part of the reading responses, I (Emmerich) will comment on each reading response and return them to you before our class session. In each of my comments, I will make a note on parts of the reading response I want *you* to raise in class. At the designated time, I will call on you to speak for no more than one minute about what you wrote in your reading response. These comments should be concise and designed to move our class conversation forward. This contribution will count towards your class participation grade.

### **Op-Ed: 60% 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 600-1,000 words and grading will be based on the quality of the writing, the clarity 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).

To scaffold the assignment and emphasize the deep contextual knowledge you must have to write a strong op-ed, we will divide the op-ed assignment into eight separate assignments that involves you doing broad research on a country or region you are interested in writing before diving into the specifics of writing an op-ed.

#### **1. Country or Region Identification: 5%**

We will begin this section by identifying a country or region of the world you are interested in working on more for your final op-ed and getting to know a little bit more. Pick a country or region you are interested in working on. Why are you interested in this country or region?

This is due by **5PM EST on Monday, September 20.**

#### **2. Identification of Actors & Institutions: 5%**

From the country or region you identified in the first section, tell us about the actors and institutions in this country or region. Who are the main education interests groups in this country? Is it teachers unions? Is it education

bureaucrats? Is it a particularly powerful school network or association?

This is due by **5PM EST on Monday, September 27.**

### **3. Country or Region Profile: 10%**

Put together a country or region education profile. Tell us the historical evolution of education in the country or region you are working on. You will at least want to answer the following questions if not more:

- When was mass education expanded? How and why? Was it because of pressure from the international community or domestic constituencies?
- How is education financed? Taxes? International aid?
- What is the share of private education in the country or region? What about religious education?
- Who are the major players in education provision in the country or region?
- At what level are various education services such as teacher hiring, financing, and administration organized? Curriculum design?
- How are bureaucrats hired?
- Where are conversations about education policy happening in the country or region you are interested in? Is it newspapers? Television? Social media? The halls of international organizations? Who are the major voices in these debates?
- What is the quality of education in the country or region you are interested in? Are they part of major international assessments such as PISA?

For this assignment, you may find it useful to explore the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development's PISA website as well as the Ministry or Secretary of Education's website, as well as consult with a Gutman Research Librarian.

This is due by **5PM EST on Monday, October 18.**

### **4. 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 intended audiences are for this topic. Finally, select which audiences should be prioritized and why. What power do they hold? How will an op-ed targeted at them change either their material or intellectual position on an issue?

This is due by **5PM on Monday, October 25.**

### **5. 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. Why is this venue the appropriate venue for changing educational institutions or influencing the actors you care about?

This is due by **5PM on Monday, November 1.**

## **6. 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 **5PM EST on Monday, November 15.**

## **7. 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 **5PM EST on Monday, November 29.**

## **8. 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.

In no more than a paragraph at the end of your op-ed, summarize how you have responded to feedback from your peers. Tell us the key points you have incorporated into your op-ed and justify why have you not incorporated some of their feedback. Do not provide a point-by-point response, but a high-level comment on what was most useful and why you did not incorporate some of their feedback.

This is due by **5PM on Monday, December 13.**

# **Overview of Syllabus**

## **A. Defining the Terms of the Debate**

1. Wednesday, September 8: What are Politics?
2. Monday, September 13: What's at Stake?
3. Wednesday, September 15: Why are Education Politics Different?
4. Monday, September 20: What do we Mean by "Developing" World?

## **B. Political Institutions**

5. Wednesday, September 22: Educational Institutions and Institutional Change
6. Monday, September 27: Educational Institutions and Institutional Stability
7. Wednesday, September 29: State Capacity at the Centre
8. Monday, October 4: State Capacity at the Periphery
9. Wednesday, October 6: Democracy, Autocracy, and Education
10. Wednesday, October 13: Separation of Powers: Decentralization and Federalism
11. Monday, October 18: Modernization: The History of International Institutions Involvement in Education

12. Wednesday, October 20: The International Environment: Ideas, Money, and Standards
13. Monday, October 25: Governing for the Long Term
14. Wednesday, October 27: Policy Feedback: From Institutions to Political Behavior

#### C. Political Actors

15. Monday, November 1: Groups and Identities
16. Wednesday, November 3: Education as a Socializing Force
17. Monday, November 8: Students as Political Agents
18. Wednesday, November 10: Bureaucrats
19. Monday, November 15: Teachers
20. Wednesday, November 17: Business Groups & Employers
21. Monday, November 22: The Politics of Engaging Parents: Possibilities and Limits

#### D. The New Education Panaceas?

22. Monday, November 29: Evidence-Based Policy
23. Wednesday, December 1: The Rise of China...& the Fall of the United States?
24. Monday, December 6: The Private Sector & Wrapping-up

## Defining the Terms of the Debate

### Wednesday, September 8: What are Politics?

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What is power?
- What does it mean to “hold” or “wield” power?
- How does Marion hammer wield power?
- How does power operate in education?

- **By Class:**

- Introduce yourself on the [Canvas class discussion page](#).

- **For Class:**

- Bachrach, Peter, and Morton S. Baratz. 1962. “The Two Faces of Power.” *American Political Science Review* 56 (4): 947-52. [Reading List](#)
- Lukes, Steven. 2005. *Power: A Radical View*. Second Edition. Palgrave Macmillan. Pgs. 4-11. [Reading List](#)
- 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.*

- **After Class:**

- Please complete the Qualtrics survey we sent out over canvas and found [here](#) by **Friday, September 10 by 12PM EST**. The survey should take you approximately ten minutes to complete. The survey includes:

- \* A brief (one or two paragraph) description of what program you are in, your interests in education, and prior work, education, and writing experiences. When discussing your writing experiences, please include what *audience(s)* you have written for.
- \* A sign-up form for which class sessions you want to write a reading response for. As a reminder, you have to write four reading responses throughout the semester and there are 24 class sessions available for which to write a reading response. We cannot guarantee that you will receive your first choice of assigned week, so please rank your choices in order of preference for 8 sessions.

### Monday, September 13: What's at Stake?

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What are the various goals of education?
- Are there any educational goals raised by Sen, Yew, Smith, or Phule that Labaree does not raise?
- What education goal most resonates with you?
- Are the various education goals inconsistent with each other?

- **For Class:**

- Labaree, David F. 1997. “Public Goods, Private Goods: The American Struggle over Educational Goals.” *American Educational Research Journal* 34(1): 39–81. [Reading List](#). *Read from pgs. 39-58*.
- Sen, Amartya. 2000. *Development as Freedom*. Anchor Books. Chapter 2. [Reading List](#)
- Yew, Lee Kuan. 1966. “Speech by the Prime Minister, Mr. Lee Kuan Yew, When He Opened the Seminar on ‘The Role of Universities in Economic and Social Development’ at the University of Singapore on February 7th, 1966.” [link](#)
- Smith, Zadie. 2012. “The North West London Blues.” NYR Blog. *The New York Review of Books*. [link](#).
- Phule, Savitribai. “Go, Get Education”. [link](#)

- **After Class:**

- **Section:** In this section, you will come together as a smaller group, begin to meet and get to know the members of your section with who you will be working as a peer group to write your op-eds, and begin to outline which country or region you want to work on.

- **Optional:**

- Read the rest of Labaree. **NB:** *His paper is focused on the history of the United States educational system. His goals on education are universal however, and I want you to take this away from the readings. If you are interested in how they have developed in the United States over time, pg. 58-81 will give you a fantastic overview.*

### Wednesday, September 15: Why are Education Politics Different?

- **Guiding Questions:**

- Why are education politics different from say, the politics of water provision? The politics of climate change?
- How do education politics influence material interests?

- How do education politics influence ideational interests?
- What effect does time have on education politics?
- What effect does scale have on education politics?
- Are there differences between the various aspects of education such as expanding access and improving quality?

- **For Class:**

- 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. [Reading List](#)
- Krugman, Paul. 2018. “We Don’t Need No Education.” *The New York Times*. April 23, 2018. [link](#)

## Monday, September 20: What Do We Mean by “Developing” World

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What does it mean for a country to be “developing”? “Developed”?
- Are there important differences in the politics of education if a country is “developing”?

- **For Class:**

- Mkandawire, Thandika. 2001. “Thinking about Developmental States in Africa.” *Cambridge Journal of Economics*. 25: 289-313. [Reading List](#)
- Escobar, Arturo. 2011. *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press. Pgs. 1-14 & Ch. 2. [Reading List](#)
- Ferguson, James, and Larry Lohmann. 1994. “The Anti-Politics Machine: ‘Development’ and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho.” [Reading List](#)
- Podur, Justin. August 19, 2021. “How to Write About Afghanistan” [Twitter link](#).

- **After Class:**

- Op-Ed Assignment 1: Country or Region Identification
- **Section:** In this week’s section, you will begin to outline the various actors in education. You can use Part C of the course as a useful starting point to begin asking the question, “Who holds power in the country and region I care about? And how do they hold this power?” You will also preview the question, “What is an institution and how does it structure the distribution of educational resources?”

- **Optional:**

- Wainana, Binyavanga. 2005. “How to Write About Africa”. *Granta*. 92. [link](#)

## Political Institutions

### Wednesday, September 22: Educational Institutions and Institutional Change

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What is an institution?
- What is an example of an institution in education?

- **For Class**

- Pierson, Paul. 2000. “Increasing Returns, Path Dependence, and the Study of Politics.” *American Political Science Review* 94 (2): 251-67. [Reading List](#)
- Sahlberg, Pasi & Jonathan Hasak. 2016. “Why Students Need to Know How to Write an Op-Ed”. [link](#)
- Kingsbury, Kathleen. April 26, 2021. “Why The New York Times Is Retiring the Term ‘Op-Ed’”. [link](#).

### **Monday, September 27: Educational Institutions and Institutional Stability**

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What is a vested interest?
- How do institutions change and how do they stay the same?

- **For Class:**

- Moe, Terry M. 2015. “Vested Interests and Political Institutions.” *Political Science Quarterly* 130 (2): 277-318. [Reading List](#)

- **After Class:**

- Op-ed Assignment 2: Identification of Actors & Institutions

### **Wednesday, September 29: State Capacity at the Center**

- **Guiding Questions:**

- How do Kapur & Perry, and Bearman & Hanuka operationalize state capacity?
- How does state capacity matter for the provision of tertiary education in India and China?

- **For Class:**

- Kapur, Devesh, and Elizabeth J. Perry. 2015. “Higher Education Reform in China and India: The Role of the State.” Yenching Institute. [link](#)
- Bearman, Joshua and Tomer Hanuka. April 2015. “The Rise & Fall of Silk Road. Part I.” *Wired*. [link](#)

### **Monday, October 4: State Capacity at the Periphery**

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What does it mean to have a capable state across the entire geographic region of the country?
- Are there different requirements to have state capacity at the center and state capacity at the periphery?
- What implications does strong state capacity have for the provision for education?

- **For Class:**

- Read either:
  1. Weber, Eugene. 1976. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapter 18. [Reading List](#)

2. Soifer, Hillel David. 2010. "The Sources of Infrastructural Power: Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Chilean Education." *Latin American Research Review* 44(2): 158-80. [Reading List](#)
- 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, October 6: Democracy, Autocracy, and Education

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What does it mean for a country to be "democratic"?
- What does it mean for an education system to be "democratic"?
- Is it important for a country or education system to be "democratic"?

- **For Class:**

- Stasavage, David. 2005. "The Role of Democracy in Uganda's Move to Universal Primary Education." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 43(1): 53-73. [Reading List](#)
- Gruber, Lloyd and Stephen Kosack. 2014. "The Tertiary Tilt: Education and Inequality in the Developing World." *World Development*. 54: 253-272. [Reading List](#). *Feel free to skim Tables 1, 3, and 4, and Figure 1 and the text around those Tables and Figures unless you are confident in your statistics or planning on taking So52.*

- **After Class:**

- Op-Ed Assignment 3: Country or Region Profile

- **Optional:**

- If you are interested on the divisions between urban and rural areas, please read: Harding, Robin. 2020. "Who Is Democracy Good For? Elections, Rural Bias, and Health and Education Outcomes in Sub-Saharan Africa." *The Journal of Politics*. 82(1): 241-254. [Reading List](#)
- If you are interested in the historical expansion of education before democracies were ubiquitous, please read: Paglayan, Agustina S. 2021. "The Non-Democratic Roots of Mass Education: Evidence from 200 Years." *American Political Science Review* 115(1): 179-98.

### Wednesday, October 13: Separation of Powers: Decentralization and Federalism

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What does it mean for power to be decentralized?
- What does it mean for a state to be federal?
- Where do we the locus of power to rest for education systems? Why? Does it vary by education function?

- **For Class:**

- Tillin, Louise, and Anthony W. Pereira. 2017. "Federalism, multi-level elections and social policy in Brazil and India". *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*. 55(3): 328-352. [link](#). *Read pgs. 328-334 and 338-346.*

- Falletti, Tullia G. 2005. “A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective.” *American Political Science Review* 99 (3): 327-46. [Reading List](#)

- **Optional:**

- Read Section 2 of the Tillin & Pereira article.

### **Monday, October 18: Modernization: The History of International Institutions Involvement in Education**

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What role do international institutions have on education politics and policy?
- What role *should* they play?

- **For Class:**

- Revisit Ferguson, James, and Larry Lohmann. 1994. “The Anti-Politics Machine: ‘Development’ and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho.” *The Ecologist* 24, no. 5. [Reading List](#)
- The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. 2000. The Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All: Meeting our Collective Commitments. pgs. 7-10 & 73-77. [link](#)
- Birdsall, Nancy, Ruth Levine, & Amina Ibrahim. 2005. “Towards Universal Primary Education: investments, incentives, and institutions”. *European Journal of Education Research, Development and Policy*. 40(3): 337-349. [link](#).
- Mamdani, Mahmood. 2018. “The African University.” *London Review of Books*. 40 (14): 29-32. July 19, 2018. [link](#)

- **After Class:**

- **Section:** In this week’s section, you will unpack the rhetorical strategies used by op-eds we have read in class so far and ask, “Who is their intended audience? What are they trying to convince their audience of? How do they try to do this?”

### **Wednesday, October 20: International Institutions: Ideas, Money, and Standards**

- **Guiding Questions:**

- How do international institutions and the international environment shape education politics?

- **For Class:**

- Kaufman, Robert R., and Alex Segura-Ubiergo. 2001. “Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Social Spending in Latin America: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis, 1973-97.” *World Politics* 53(4): 553-87. [Reading List](#). *Read pgs. 553-565, 576 to the second full paragraph in 577, and 581-584.*
- D’Arcy, Michelle. 2013. “Non-state actors and universal services in Tanzania and Lesotho: state-building by Alliance”. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. 51(2): 219-247. [link](#).
- Reimers, Fernando. 2016. “Moving on to educate all children well.” *The Huffington Post Personal Blogs*. November 11, 2016. [link](#)

## Monday, October 25: Governing for the Long Term

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What incentives does the long-time frame of education outcomes have for education policy making?

- **For Class:**

- Corrales, Javier. 1999. “The Politics of Education Reform: Bolstering the Supply and Demand; Overcoming Institutional Blocks.” *Country Studies: Education Reform and Management Publication Series*, 1999. [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.* [Reading List](#)

- **After Class:**

- Op-Ed Assignment 4: Issue and Audience Identification
- **Section:** In this week’s section, you will work on identifying appropriate venues for your op-ed and why those venues are appropriate.

## Wednesday, October 27: Policy Feedback: From Institutions to Behavior

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What is policy feedback?
- How does policy feedback operate in education?

- **For Class:**

- MacLean, Lauren M. 2011. “State Retrenchment and the Exercise of Citizenship in Africa.” *Comparative Political Studies* 44 (9): 1238-66. [Reading List](#). *Read pgs. 1238-1248 and pgs. 1254-1258.*
- Habyarimana, James Paul, Ken Ochieng’ Opalo, and Youdi Schipper. 2020. “The Cyclical Electoral Effects of Programmatic Policies: Evidence From Education Reforms in Tanzania.” [link](#). *Read pgs. 1-11 and pgs. 30-34.*
- Galchen, Rivka. 2018. “The Teachers’ Strike and the Democratic Revival in Oklahoma.” *The New Yorker*. June 4 & 11, 2018. [link](#)

- **Optional:**

- Read the remainder of Maclean 2011.
- Read the remainder of Habyariman et al. 2020.

## Political Actors

### Monday, November 1: Groups and Identities

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What is identity?

- How does one come to identify as a member of a group?
- What are the predominant forms of group identification in the educational contexts you are interested in? Why those?
- Are identities natural?

- **For Class:**

- Borland, Elizabeth. 2008. "Class Consciousness." *Encyclopedia of Social Problems, Volume 1*. [link](#).
- Hsu, Hua. 2018. "The Rise and Fall of Affirmative Action." *The New Yorker*. October 15, 2018. [link](#)
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2018. "Go Ahead, Speak for Yourself." *The New York Times*. August 10, 2018. [link](#)

- **Optional:**

- Mochkofsky, Graciela. July 27, 2021. "Why Lorgia García Peña Was Denied Tenure at Harvard". *The New Yorker*. [link](#).

- **After Class:**

- Op-Ed Assignment 5: Identify Op-Ed Venue

### Wednesday, November 3: Education as a Socializing Force

- **Guiding Questions:**

- Is education always coercive?
- Do we care?

- **For Class:**

- Cantoni, Davide, Yuyu Chen, David Y. Yang, Noam Yuchtman, and Y. Jane Zhang. 2017. "Curriculum and Ideology." *Journal of Political Economy* 125(2):338-392. [Reading List](#). *Read pgs. 338-361 and pgs. 383-389.*
- Gift, Thomas, and Daniel Krcmaric. 2017. "Who Democratizes? Western-Educated Leaders and Regime Transitions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(3): 671-701. [Reading List](#). *Read pgs. 671-673, the bottom of 674 where the "Theory" section begins to 678 and pgs. 690 to 693.*
- Sudworth, John. October 24, 2018. "China's hidden camps: What's happened to the vanished Uighurs of Xinjiang?". *The BBC*. [link](#).

- **Optional:**

- Read the remainder of Cantoni et al.
- Read the remainder of Gift & Krcmaric.

### Monday, November 8: Students as Political Agents

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What interests do students share? What allows them to coalesce as a group?
- What defines the relationship between students and their teachers? And the state?

- What are the conditions that can lead to contentious politics that leads to people becoming active and engaged?
- How can individuals be mobilized absent these conditions?
- Why are U.S. university campuses so relatively peaceful?

- **For Class:**

- Dahlum, Sirianne and Tore Wig. 2020. "Chaos on Campus: Universities and Mass Political Protest." *Comparative Political Studies*. [Reading List](#). Read pgs. 3-13 and 25-28.
- Calhoun, Craig. 1994. *Neither Gods nor Emperors: Students and the Struggle for Democracy in China*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Pgs. 1-24. [Reading List](#)
- This American Life. 2020. *Umbrellas Down*. Prologue, Acts 1 & 5. [link](#).

- **After Class:**

- **Section:** In this class, you will begin to outline your op-ed as a peer group, and by yourself. You will identify successful structures of op-ed we have read and begin to think about what would work for you.

- **Optional:**

- Read the rest of Dahlum and Wig

### Wednesday, November 10: Bureaucrats

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What interests do bureaucrats share? What allows them to coalesce as a group?
- What are special features of the job of a bureaucrat? Pay particular attention to the idea of a front-line functionary.

- **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. [Reading List](#)
- Mangla, Akshay. 2015. "Bureaucratic Norms and State Capacity in India: Implementing Primary Education in the Himalayan Region." *Asian Survey*. 55(5): 882-908. [Reading List](#)

### Monday, November 15: Teachers

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What interests do teachers share? What allows them to coalesce as a group?
- Why are teachers a specific problem for education reform and stability?
- How is the principal-agent problem accentuated in the teaching profession?
- What benefits do teachers have in engaging them in education reform?

- **For Class:**

- Moe, Terry M. 2005. "Political Control and the Power of the Agent." *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 22 (1): 1-29. [Reading List](#)

- Mizala, Alejandra, and Ben Ross Schneider. 2014. “Negotiating Education Reform: Teacher Evaluations and Incentives in Chile (1990-2010).” *Governance* 27 (1): 87-109. [Reading List](#)
- 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. [Reading List](#)
- Boyd, Wesley J. & Emmerich Davies. 2017. “The Urgent Need to Recognize and Value Academic Labor.” *Nature Jobs*. [link](#).

- **After Class:**

- Op-Ed Assignment 6: Op-Ed First Draft
- **Section:** In this week’s section, you will peer review your peers’ op-ed.

### Wednesday, November 17: Business Groups & Employers

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What interests do business groups and employers share? What allows them to coalesce as a group?
- What interests do business groups have in education politics?
- Are the interests of business groups contrary to providing quality education for all?

- **For Class:**

- Francis, Megan Ming. 2019. “The Price of Civil Rights: Black Lives, White Funding, and Movement Capture.” *Law & Society Review* 53(1): 275-309. [Reading List](#)
- Deyo, Fredric C. 2016. “Productivity, Education, and the Economic Inclusion of Workers and Small Firms in East Asian Development.” in Foxley, Alejandro, and Barbara Stallings, eds. 2016. *Innovation and Inclusion in Latin America: Strategies to Avoid the Middle Income Trap*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US. [Reading List](#)

### Monday, November 22: The Politics of Engaging Parents: Possibilities and Limits

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What interests do parents share? What allows them to coalesce as a group?
- Under what conditions can parents have an important role to play in education?

- **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. [Reading List](#)
- 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. [Reading List](#). *Read pgs. 105-113 and 124-125*

- **Optional:**

- Read the rest of Pradhan et al.

## The New Education Panaceas?

### Monday, November 29: Evidence-Based Policy

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What potential objections could someone have to evidence-based policy?
- Are randomized control trials the gold standard?

- **For Class:**

- Esther Duflo. 2020. “Field Experiments and the Practice of Policy.” *American Economic Review*, 110(7): 1952-1973. [Reading List](#)
- 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. [Reading List](#)
- Dreze, Jean. August 3, 2018. “Evidence, policy, and politics.” *Ideas for India*. [link](#)

### Wednesday, December 1: The Rise of China...& the Fall of the United States?

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What interests does the United States have in the international arena? What interests does China have in the international arena?
- Do U.S. interests or Chinese interests resonate with you more?

- **For Class:**

- Truman, Harry S. 1947. “Special Message to the Congress on Greece and Turkey: The Truman Doctrine”. [link](#).
- Jinping, Xi. 2014. *The Governance of China*. Beijing: Foreign Language Press. pgs. 333-359.
- Reilly, James. 2015 “The Role of China as an Education Aid Donor.” Background Paper Prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2015. UNESCO.
- Tooze, Adam. 2021. *Shutdown: How Covid Shook the World's Economy*. Viking Press. Chapter 10, China: Momentum, pgs. 193-214.
- Dryden-Peterson, Sarah, Negin Dahya, and Wenona Giles. 2013. “Can education be a challenge to terror?” *The Globe and Mail*. October 3, 2013. [link](#)

- **After Class:**

- Op-Ed Assignment 7: Op-Ed Peer Review

### Monday, December 6: The Private Sector

- **Guiding Questions:**

- What is the appropriate role of markets in the provision of education?
- What is the appropriate role for the state in the provision of education?

- **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. 2020. “Outsourcing Education: Experimental Evidence from Liberia.” *American Economic Review* 110(2): 364–400. [Reading List](#). *Read pgs. 364-379, 390-396.*
- Kuo, Lily, and Yomi Kazeem. 2018. “The controversial Silicon Valley-funded quest to educate the world’s poorest kids.” *Quartz*. [link](#)
- Bajaj, Vikas, and Jim Yardley. December 30, 2011. “Many of India’s Poor Turn to Private Schools.” *The New York Times*. [link](#)
- Roy, Ananya, Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales, Kweku Opoku-Agyemang, and Clare Talwalker. 2016. *Encountering Poverty: Thinking and Acting in an Unequal World*. 1 edition. Oakland, California: University of California Press. Pgs. 32-49 & 149-176. [Reading List](#)
- Chávez, Kerry, and Kristina M. W. Mitchell. 2020. “Exploring Bias in Student Evaluations: Gender, Race, and Ethnicity”. *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 53(2): 270-274. [Reading List](#)

- **Optional:**

- Read the rest of Romero, Sandefur, and Sandholtz.

**Monday, December 13, 5PM**

- Op-Ed Assignment 8: Final Draft of Op-Ed