

## PS 590.03: POLITICS OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

*Irfan Nooruddin*

Fall Term 2005

The Ohio State University

*Time:* T Th 3:30 – 5:18 pm

*Location:* 190 Knowlton Hall

2084 Derby Hall

Office Hours: Th 1:30 – 3:10 pm

“Those who know how to think need not teachers.” – Mahatma Gandhi

“As revolutionaries, we are not afraid of confrontation.”

—Fidel Castro, *Address to the UN General Assembly, 1978.*

What is human development? Why should governments pursue it? How should they do so? These are the fundamental questions addressed in this course. The course will combine lecture and discussion with some combination of participation, papers and “blue book” exams forming the basis for the grade. The only prerequisite is a desire to seek the “truth” about the unknowable.

Over the next two months we will grapple with a number of fascinating intellectual puzzles. At times clear-cut answers will seem nonexistent but in our journey towards understanding we will gain the analytical skills to study issues concerning comparative politics. If there is a cardinal rule for this class, it is simply this: **we do not know the truth**. There is no right or wrong answer *per se*. As political *scientists* our purpose is to examine hypotheses using diverse methodologies in the hope of disproving some and finding stronger evidence for others. All we have is data and all we can do is analyze them. So leave preconceived notions of “how the world works” at the door and enter this classroom with an open mind.

### **The Great Adventure**

“A college is where people of varying degrees of ignorance sit around trying to make their ignorance less”—President Lowry, The College of Wooster, August 1960.

“And so I have always thought that the best way to find out what is right and what is not right, what should be done and what should not be done, is not by giving a sermon, but by talking and discussing, and out of discussion sometimes a little bit of the truth comes out.”—Jawaharlal Nehru, *Glimpses of World History*.

Being relatively few in number, our class sessions will cover less material than the assigned readings; consequently they are even more selective and more interpretative than the readings. The purpose of discussions is to give YOU an opportunity to engage the material and to analyze it immediately, directly, and creatively. Students are *strongly* encouraged to raise questions as they occur to them—to think out loud while the idea is still fresh. Be sure to ask a question whenever a word or concept is unfamiliar to you and to keep them in your notes. Class will generally begin with a chance for you to raise questions based upon the previous reading, discussion, assignment or lecture. If you are puzzled or unsure about something chances are that other members of the class are too! Asking questions is emphatically not an interruption. Rather, it is a crucial and essential feature of a good class. Remember, if you already knew the answers, you wouldn’t need to take the class. **ASKING QUESTIONS IS NOT AN ADMISSION OF IGNORANCE; IT IS AN ATTACK ON IT.**

If this is going to work, you must do **all** the assigned readings **before** we meet for class. There are no exceptions to this expectation. I sincerely encourage you to cultivate the habit of taking good reading notes. While this

greatly increases the amount of time it takes to do the reading, you will find that it enhances your learning and retention of the material. After all, if a book is worth reading, it is worth reading with some care and attention. Of course some of the material will be fairly complex and you may not understand it when you first read through it. Three suggestions: 1) Re-read the piece, 2) Re-reread the piece and 3) Ask questions in class.

## Course Requirements

|            |     |                      |
|------------|-----|----------------------|
| MIDTERM    | 30% | Tuesday, October 18  |
| TERM PAPER | 30% | Tuesday, November 28 |
| FINAL EXAM | 40% | Tuesday, December 06 |

## Policies and Procedures

### *Students with Disabilities*

Students who feel they need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact me privately to discuss their specific needs. Please contact the Office of Disability Services at 614-292-3307 in Room 150 Pomerene Hall to coordinate reasonable accommodations.

### *Attendance*

Since the purpose of our time together is discussion, attendance is a must. You cannot participate if you are not physically in class. If you accumulate three absences during the semester, your participation grade will be docked half a letter grade (i.e., it will be lowered from an A- to a B+, for instance). For each additional absence past three, there will be an additional penalty of the same magnitude.

### *Extensions and Make-ups*

Extensions will NOT be granted. You will be informed of all assignments well in advance, so good planning and time management skills will benefit you. Assignments must be handed to **me** in class on the day they are due (or before that date if you want). Late assignments will suffer a penalty of half a letter grade per day it is late. Make-up examinations and quizzes are NOT permitted. Also, there will be NO opportunities for extra credit.

### *Academic Dishonesty*

Academic integrity is essential to maintaining an environment that fosters excellence in teaching, research, and other educational and scholarly activities. Thus, The Ohio State University and the Committee on Academic Misconduct (COAM) expect that all students have read and understand the University's Code of Student Conduct, and that all students will complete all academic and scholarly assignments with fairness and honesty. Students must recognize that failure to follow the rules and guidelines established in the University's Code of Student Conduct and this syllabus may constitute "Academic Misconduct."

The Ohio State University's Code of Student Conduct (Section 3335-23-04) defines academic misconduct as: "Any activity that tends to compromise the academic integrity of the University, or subvert the educational process." Examples of academic misconduct include (but are not limited to) plagiarism, collusion (unauthorized collaboration), copying the work of another student, and possession of unauthorized materials during an examination. Ignorance of the University's Code of Student Conduct is never considered an "excuse" for academic misconduct, so I recommend that you review the Code of Student Conduct and, specifically, the sections dealing with academic misconduct.

If I suspect that a student has committed academic misconduct in this course, I am obligated by University Rules to report my suspicions to the Committee on Academic Misconduct. If COAM determines that you have violated the University's Code of Student Conduct (i.e., committed academic misconduct), the sanctions for the misconduct could include a failing grade in this course and suspension or dismissal from the University. Also, please note that by taking this course, students agree all required papers may be subject to

submission for textual similarity review to Turnitin.com for the detection of plagiarism. All submitted papers will be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism of such papers. Use of the Turnitin.com service is subject to the Terms and Conditions of Use posted on the Turnitin.com site.

If you have any questions about the above policy or what constitutes academic misconduct in this course, please contact me.

Other sources of information on academic misconduct (integrity) to which you can refer include:

- \* The Committee on Academic Misconduct web pages (<http://oaa.osu.edu/coam/home.html>)
- \* Ten Suggestions for Preserving Academic Integrity (<http://oaa.osu.edu/coam/ten-suggestions.html>)
- \* Eight Cardinal Rules of Academic Integrity (<http://www.northwestern.edu/uacc/8cards.html>)

### *Grading*

Grading will be based upon (a) accuracy of factual information; (b) ability to synthesize the appropriate evidence, both theoretical and empirical, from all parts of the course not just rehashing the texts; (c) judgment in separating the important from the trivial, keeping on the subject, critically evaluating all assumptions [including your own and mine]; and (d) effective expression—organization, choice of words, basic grammar, etc. These are the essentials; imagination and true originality are based on them and not a substitute for them.

### **Work Ethic**

“Without struggle, there can be no progress”—Frederick Douglass

From the Faculty Rules (Rule 3355-8-24 A1): “One credit hour shall be assigned for each **three hours** per week of the average student’s time, including class hours, required to earn the average grade of ‘C’ in this class.”

**Be prepared to work in this course.** The value of this class to you will be in direct proportion to the amount of time and effort that you devote to it. If there is a question in your mind as to whether you want to complete all the work in this course you should consider enrolling in another course without delay. I will give you my best effort, and I expect nothing less from you.

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### **Inqilab Zindabad** *Question Assumptions*

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What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty or democracy?

-- Mahatma Gandhi, 1869-1948, “Non-violence in Peace and War.”

## The Smorgasbord

### REQUIRED

[1] A coursepack of readings is available for purchase from SBX. If you have any questions about it, please contact Zip Publishing ([www.zippublishing.com](http://www.zippublishing.com)).

The books below are also required and should be available at all local bookstores (I know for sure that SBX has them):

[2] Nussbaum, Martha C. 2001. *Women and Human Development*. Cambridge University Press. (ISBN: 0521003857)

[3] Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. Alfred A. Knopf. (ISBN: 0385720270)

[4] Weiner, Myron. 1990. *The Child and the State in India*. Princeton University Press. (ISBN: 0691018987)

[5] World Bank. 2003. *World Development Report 2004: Making Services Work for Poor People*. World Bank. (ISBN: 082135468X)

### RECOMMENDED:

[1] Allen, John L. 2000. *Student Atlas of World Politics*, 4th edition. New York: Dushkin McGraw-Hill. (ISBN: 0072352159)

[2] Strunk, William, and E.B.White. 2000. *The Elements of Style*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. (ISBN: 020530902X)

## Schedule of Readings

### WEEK ONE

*Thursday, September 22: Introductions*

[1] Bates, Robert H. 1997. "Area Studies and the Discipline: A Useful Controversy," *PS: Political Science and Politics* (June): 166-169.

[2] Wade, Robert Hunter. 2004. "Is Globalization Reducing Poverty and Inequality?" *World Development*, 32 (4): 567-589.

[3] Kenny, Charles. 2005. "Why Are We Worried About Income? Nearly Everything that Matters is Converging," *World Development*, 33 (1): 1-19.

### WEEK TWO

*Tuesday, September 27: Why We Care?*

[1] Anand, Sudhir, and Martin Ravallion. 1993. "Human Development in Poor Countries: On the Role of Private Incomes and Public Services," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 7 (1): 133-150.

[2] Schultz, Theodore W. 1961. "Investment in Human Capital," *American Economic Review*, 51 (1): 1-17.

[3] Schultz, Theodore W. 1965. "Investing in Poor People: An Economist's View," *American Economic Review*, 55 (1/2): 510-520.

[4] IEQ. 2001. "Education and Democracy," (4, Spring): 1-16.

[5] Baum, Matthew, and David Lake. 2003. "The *Political Economy* of Growth: Democracy and Human Capital," *American Journal of Political Science*, 47 (2): 333-347.

[6] Galbraith, John Kenneth. 1962. *Economic Development in Perspective*, Chapter 1, pp. 1-16.

*Thursday, September 29: Amartya Sen*

[1] Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Books, pp. xi-145.

### WEEK THREE

*Tuesday, October 04: Amartya Sen continued*

[1] Amartya Sen. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf Books, pp. 146-298.

*Thursday, October 06: Martha Nussbaum*

[1] Martha C. Nussbaum. 2001. *Women and Human Development*. Cambridge UP, pp. 1-110.

## WEEK FOUR

*Tuesday, October 11: Nussbaum continued*

[1] Martha C. Nussbaum. 2001. *Women and Human Development*. Cambridge UP, pp. 111-304.

[2] Morriison, Christian, and Johannes P. Jütting. 2005. "Women's Discrimination in Developing Countries: A New Data Set for Better Policies," *World Development*, 33 (7): 1065-1081.

*Thursday, October 13: State of the World, Issues*

[1] Basic Education Coalition Handouts.

[2] Whynes, David K. 1993. "Health Care Expenditure." In *The Growth of the Public Sector: Theory and International Evidence*, edited by Norman Gemmill. Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar, pp. 170-183

[3] Ryan, Paul. 1993. "Higher Education Expenditure." In *The Growth of the Public Sector: Theory and International Evidence*, edited by Norman Gemmill. Brookfield, VT: Edward Elgar, pp. 184-200.

[4] Lindert, Peter H. 2004. *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century, vol I*. Cambridge UP, pp. 87-127.

## WEEK FIVE

*Tuesday, October 18: MID-TERM EXAMINATION*

*Thursday, October 20: Explaining Expenditures: Domestic Factors*

[1] Lindert, Peter H. 2004. *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century, vol II*. Cambridge UP, pp. 33-50.

[2] Brown, David S., and Wendy Hunter. 1999. "Democracy and Social Spending in Latin America, 1980-92," *American Political Science Review*, 93(4): 779-790.

[3] Brown, David S., and Wendy Hunter. 2004. "Democracy and Human Capital Formation: Education Spending in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(7): 842-864.

[4] Shugart, Matthew S. 1999. "Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and the Provision of Collective Goods in Less-Developed Countries," *Constitutional Political Economy*, 10(1): 53-83.

[5] Stasavage, David. 2005. "Democracy and Education Spending in Africa," *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(2): 343-358.

## WEEK SIX

*Tuesday, October 25: Explaining Expenditures: External Factors*

[1] 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.

[2] Avelino, George, David S. Brown, and Wendy Hunter. 2005. "The Effects of Capital Mobility, Trade Openness, and Democracy on Social Spending in Latin America, 1980-1999," *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3): 625-641.

[3] Carnoy, Martin. 1995. "Structural Adjustment and the Changing Face of Education," *International Labour Review*, 134(6): 653-673.

[4] Martin, Ricardo, and Alex Segura-Ubiergo. 2004. "Social Spending in IMF-Supported Programs." IMF Independent Evaluation Office Background Paper (BP/04/01).

*Thursday, October 27: Case Study—The United States*

[1] Stout, Robert T., Marilyn Tallerico, and Kent Paredes Scribner. 1995. "Values: The 'what?' of the Politics of Education." In *The Study of Educational Politics*, edited by Jay D. Scribner and Donald H. Layton. New York: The Falmer Press, pp. 5-20.

[2] Stone, Deborah A. 1995. "State Innovation in Health Policy." In *Innovation in American Government: Challenges, Opportunities, and Dilemmas*, edited by Alan A. Altshuler and Robert D. Behn. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 219-245.

- [3] Elmore, Richard F. 1995. "The Paradox of Innovation in Education: Cycles of Reform and the Resilience of Teaching." In *Innovation in American Government: Challenges, Opportunities, and Dilemmas*, edited by Alan A. Altshuler and Robert D. Behn. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 246-273.
- [4] Lindert, Peter H. 2004. *Growing Public: Social Spending and Economic Growth Since the Eighteenth Century, vol I*. Cambridge UP, pp. 128-170.

## WEEK SEVEN

*Tuesday, November 1: Case Study—More United States*

- [1] Kaestle, Carl F. 2001. "Federal Aid to Education Since World War II: Purposes and Politics." In *The Future of the Federal Role in Elementary and Secondary Education*. Washington, DC: Center on Education Policy.
- [2] McCluskey, Neal. 2004. "A Lesson in Waste: Where Does All the Federal Education Money Go?" *Policy Analysis*, No. 518. Washington, DC: Cato Institute.
- [3] Heller, Donald E. 2001. "Trends in the Affordability of Public Colleges and Universities: The Contradiction of Increasing Prices and Increasing Enrollment." In *The States and Public Higher Education: Affordability, Access, and Accountability*, edited by Donald E. Heller. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 11-38.
- [4] Mumper, Michael. 2001. "The Paradox of College Prices: Five Stories with No Clear Lesson." In *The States and Public Higher Education: Affordability, Access, and Accountability*, edited by Donald E. Heller. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 39-63.

*Thursday, November 3: NO CLASS (PEACE SCIENCE SOCIETY, INTERNATIONAL)*

## WEEK EIGHT

*Tuesday, November 8: Case Study—Indian Education*

- [1] Weiner, Myron. 1991. *The Child and the State in India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- [2] Besley, Timothy, and Robin Burgess. 2002. "The Political Economy of Government Responsiveness: Theory and Evidence from India," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 117(4): 1415-1451.

*Thursday, November 10: Case Study—Indian Education*

- [1] Chhibber, Pradeep, Sandeep Shastri, and Richard Sisson. 2004. "Federal Arrangements and the Provision of Public Goods in India," *Asian Survey*, 44 (3): 339-352.
- [2] Pandey, Raghav S. 2000. "Going to Scale with Education Reform: India's District Primary Education Program, 1995-99." World Bank Country Studies, Education Reform and Management Publication Series, 1 (4).
- [3] Banerjee, Abhijit, Shawn Cole, Ester Duflo, and Leigh Linden. 2003. "Remedying Education: Evidence from Two Randomized Experiments in India." Manuscript. Harvard University.
- [4] Andrabi, Tahir, Jishnu Das, Asim Ijaz Khwaja, and Tristan Zajonc. 2005. "Religious School Enrollment in Pakistan: A Look at the Data." KSG Faculty Research Working Paper Series, Harvard University.

## WEEK NINE

*Tuesday, November 15: Case Study—Indian Health Care*

- [1] Bajpai, Nirupam, and Sangeeta Goyal. 2004. "Primary Health Care in India: Coverage and Quality Issues." Center on Globalization and Sustainable Development, Columbia University.
- [2] Das Gupta, Monica and Rani, Manju, "India's Public Health System: How Well Does it Function at the National Level?" (November 4, 2004). World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 3447. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=625325>
- [3] Bajpai, Nirupam, and Sangeeta Goyal. 2005. "Financing Health for All in India." Center on Globalization and Sustainable Development, Columbia University.
- [4] Peters, David H., Abdo S. Yazbeck, Rashmi R. Sharma, G.N.V. Ramana, Lant H. Pritchett, and Adam Wagstaff. 2002. *Better Health Systems for India's Poor: Findings, Analysis, and Options*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, chapter 7 (pp. 201-232).
- [5] Gupta, Indrani, and Arup Mitra. 2004. "Economic Growth, Health and Poverty: An Exploratory Study for India," *Development Policy Review*, 22 (2): 193-206.

*Thursday, November 17: Other Developing Country Lessons*

- [1] Adams, Jennifer, and Emily Hannum. 2005. "Children's Social Welfare in China, 1989-1997: Access to Health Insurance and Education," *The China Quarterly*, 100-121.
- [2] Galiani, Sebastian, Paul Gertler, and Ernesto Scharfgrödsky. 2005. "Water for Life: The Impact of the Privatization of Water Services on Child Mortality," *Journal of Political Economy*, 113 (1): 83-120.
- [3] Davis, Jennifer. 2004. "Corruption in Public Service Delivery: Experience from South Asia's Water and Sanitation Sector," *World Development*, 32 (1): 53-71.
- [4] Reinikka, Ritva, and Jakob Svensson. 2004. "Local Capture: Evidence from a Central Government Transfer Program in Uganda," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119(2): 679-705.
- [5] Deininger, Klaus, and Paul Mpuga. 2005. "Does Greater Accountability Improve the Quality of Public Service Delivery? Evidence from Uganda," *World Development*, 33 (1): 171-191.

## **WEEK TEN**

*Tuesday, November 22: What Do We Know about the Political Determinants of Human Development?*

- [1] Bulte, Erwin H., Richard Damania, and Robert T. Deacon. 2005. "Resource Intensity, Institutions, and Development," *World Development*, 33 (7): 1029-1044.
- [2] Fay, Marianne, Danny Leipziger, Quentin Wodon, and Tito Yepes. 2005. "Achieving Child-Health-Related Millennium Development Goals: The Role of Infrastructure," *World Development*, 33(8): 1267-1284.
- [3] Brown, David S. 1999. "Reading, Writing, and Regime Type: Democracy's Impact on Primary School Enrollment," *Political Research Quarterly*, 52 (4): 681-707.
- [4] Lake, David A., and Matthew A. Baum. 2001. "The Invisible Hand of Democracy: Political Control and the Provision of Public Services," *Comparative Political Studies*, 34 (6): 587-621.

*Thursday, November 24: NO CLASS (TURKEY DAY)*

## **WEEK ELEVEN**

*Tuesday, November 29: Looking Ahead, part I*

- [1] UNESCO. 2000. *The Dakar Framework for Action: Education for All: Meeting Our Collective Commitments*. Paris: UNESCO.
- [2] Corrales, Javier. 1999. "The Politics of Education Reform: Bolstering the Supply and Demand; Overcoming Institutional Reform." World Bank Education and Management Series, 11 (1).

*Thursday, December 1: Looking Ahead, part II*

- [1] World Bank. 2003. *World Development Report 2004: Making Services Work for Poor People*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

"It is not communism that is radical;  
it is capitalism."  
-- Bertholt Brecht