

The Politics of American Education

Fall 2008

GOV-1368 (FAS) and HLE-347 (KSG)

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Class Meetings: Tuesday/Thursday 11:00 AM – 12:00 PM

Class Location: Harvard Hall 201

Sections: Tuesday 3:00 PM – 4:00 PM
Tuesday 4:00 PM – 5:00 PM
Wednesday 2:00 PM – 3:00 PM
Wednesday 3:00 PM – 4:00 PM

Section Leaders: Michael Henderson (Head of Sections)
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Course Website: <http://www.courses.fas.harvard.edu/8971>

Requirements:

1. Mid-Term, In-Class Examination – 20%
2. Term Paper (Topic Assigned) – 20%
Paper Due Dec 16, Beginning of Class
3. Final Examination – 40%
4. Participation in class and section – 20%

Students are expected to attend all classes and sections and are not to regularly arrive late to or leave early from lectures and sections, as this is disruptive for others. Course instructors note frequent absences, late arrivals and early departures.

Reading Material Availability:

Although required reading does not necessarily include the entire work, substantial passages are assigned from the following books **available for purchase at the Harvard Coop:**

1. Gerald Grant, *The World We Created at Hamilton High* (Harvard, 1988). Paperback.
2. Martin R. West and Paul E. Peterson, *The School Money Trials* (Brookings, 2007). Paperback.
3. Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Choice and Competition in American Education* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006). Paperback.
4. Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Battles over School Reform* (Touchstone, 2000). Paperback.
5. Gareth Davies, *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan* (University of Kansas, 2007).

All articles that are available online are linked to their electronic version (some require PIN login to the Harvard Library System). All remaining articles are available in a Course Pack [CP] on reserve at Lamont Library, Fung Library (in CGIS), and the Kennedy School Library. The course pack is also available for purchase at Gnomon Copy on Mass Ave.

Topics and Readings

Part I. Founding the Public School (1790 -1890)

September 16 (Tue.): Introduction: Waves of Reform

September 18 (Thurs.): The Origin, Growth and Significance of Schooling in the United States

Required Readings:

Charles Glenn, *The Myth of the Common School* (Institute for Contemporary Studies, 2002), pp. 63-85 [CP]

Claudia Goldin, "The Human Capital Century." *Education Next* Winter 2003 pp. 73-78.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20031_73.pdf

Eric Hanushek, Dean T. Jamison, Eliot A. Jamison, and Ludger Woessmann.

"Education and Economic Growth: It's not just going to school but learning that matters." *Education Next* Spring 2008, pp. 62-70.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20082_62.pdf

Part II: The Progressive Reformers (1890 – 1960)

September 23 (Tues.): Toward Centralized Organization and Professional Control (1890-1940)

Required Readings:

David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Harvard, 1974). Part II. [CP]

Christopher Berry, “School Inflation: Did the 20th Century Growth in School Size Improve Education?” *Education Next* Fall 2004, pp.56-63.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20044_56.pdf

September 25 (Thurs.): Changing the Curriculum

Required Readings:

Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Battles over School Reform* (Touchstone, 2000), Chapters 4, 5, and 9.

September 30 (Tues.): NO CLASS

Part III. The Democratic Reformers: (1960-1980)

October 2 (Thurs.): Desegregation and Racial Transition in Urban America

Required Readings:

Gareth Davies, *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan* (University of Kansas, 2007). Ch 5.

Gerald Grant, *The World We Created at Hamilton High* (Harvard, 1988), Introduction and Ch. 1, 2, and 3 (pp. 1-76.)

Steven Rivkin and Finis Welch. 2007. Has Racial Desegregation Improved Academic and Economic Outcomes for Blacks? In Eric Hanushek and Finis Welch, *Handbook of the Economics of Education*. Vol. II, Ch. 17. [CP]

October 7 (Tues.): The New Federalism

Required Readings:

Gareth Davies, *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan* (University of Kansas, 2007). Ch 1, 2, 6, 7.

October 9 (Thurs.): Legalization

Required Readings:

Gerald Grant, *The World We Created at Hamilton High* (Harvard, 1988). Ch. 4, 5, and 6 (pp. 77-165.)

Abigail Thernstrom, (1999). "Where Did All the Order Go? School Discipline and the Law," In Diane Ravitch (Ed.), *Brookings Papers on Education Policy* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1999), pp. 299-326. [CP]

Supreme Court Decisions:

Goss v. Lopez, (1974) S.C.

<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?navby=CASE&court=US&vol=419&page=565>

Ingraham v. Wright, (1977) S.C.

<http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?navby=CASE&court=US&vol=430&page=651>

October 14 (Tues.): Collective Bargaining

Required Readings:

Gareth Davies, *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan* (University of Kansas, 2007). Ch. 9.

Martin R. West, "Bargaining with Authority: The Political Origins of Public Sector Unionism" (Program on Education Policy and Governance, 2008).

http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic483560.files/M.R.%20West_BargWA_05-13-08.pdf

Frederick M. Hess and Martin R. West, "A Better Bargain: Overhauling Teacher Collective Bargaining for the 21st Century," PEPG 06-01.

<http://www.hks.harvard.edu/pepg/PDF/Papers/BetterBargain.pdf>

Frederick Hess and Martin R. West, "Strike Phobia: School Boards Need to Drive a Harder Bargain." *Education Next* Summer 2006, pp 38-49.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20063_38.pdf

Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Choice and Competition in American Education* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), Ch. 11 and 12 (Moe; Kerchner).

October 16 (Thurs.): Consequences of Democratic Reforms

Required Readings:

David Grissmer, Ann Flanagan, and Stephanie Williamson, Why Did the Black-White Score Gap Narrow in the 1970s and 1980s? Christopher Jencks and Meredith

Phillips, eds., *The Black-White Test Score Gap* (Brookings 1998). pp. 182-226. [CP]

Paul E. Peterson, "Toward the Elimination of Race Differences in Educational Achievement." Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Generational Change* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), Ch. 1 (pp. 1-25). [CP]

Frederick M. Hess, *Spinning Wheels: The Politics of Urban School Reform* (Washington, D. C.: Brookings, 1999), Ch. 1, Ch. 2, and Ch. 3 (pp. 3-86). [CP]

Part IV. The Excellence Reformers (1980 - present)

October 21 (Tues.): the Beginning: A National Commission

Gareth Davies, *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan* (University of Kansas, 2007). Ch 10.

National Commission on Educational Excellence, *A Nation at Risk*
<http://www.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/risk.html>

A. High-Cost Interventions

October 23 (Thurs.): School Funding and the Adequacy Lawsuit

Required Readings:

Gareth Davies, *See Government Grow: Education Politics from Johnson to Reagan* (University of Kansas, 2007). Ch 8.

Eric A. Hanushek, "School Resources and Student Performance," in Gary Burtless, ed. *Does Money Matter?* (Brookings, 1996), pp. 43-73. [CP]

Richard Briffault, "Adding Adequacy to Equity," in Martin West and Paul E. Peterson, ed. *School Money Trials* (Brookings, 2007).

Christopher Berry, "The Impact of School Finance Judgments on State Fiscal Policy," Marty West and Paul E. Peterson, ed. *School Money Trials* (Brookings, 2007).

October 28 (Tues.): Class Size Reduction

Required Readings:

Eric Hanushek, "The Evidence on Class Size." In Susan E. Mayer and Paul E. Peterson, eds. *Earning & Learning: How Schools Matter* (Brookings. 1999), pp. 131-168. [CP]

Frederick Mosteller, “How Does Class Size Relate to Achievement in Schools?” In Susan E. Mayer and Paul E. Peterson, eds. *Earning & Learning: How Schools Matter* (Brookings, 1999), pp. 117-129. [CP]

Martin R. West and Ludger Woessmann, Ludger. “Crowd Control: Does Reducing Class Size Work?” *Education Next* III(3), Summer 2003, 56-62.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20033_56.pdf

Jennifer King Rice, “Making the Evidence Matter: Implications of the Class Size Debate for Policy Makers.” In Lawrence Mischel and Richard Rothstein, eds. *The Class Size Debate* (Economic Policy Institute), 2002 pp. 89-94.
<http://edpro.stanford.edu/hanushek/admin/pages/files/uploads/classizedebate.full%20volume.pdf#page=98>

Additional Reading:

Alan Krueger, “Experimental Estimates of Educational Production Functions.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 114, no. 2, (1999), pp. 497-532.
http://sfx.hul.harvard.edu/sfx_local?sid=google&auinit=AB&aualast=Krueger&atitle=EXPERIMENTAL+ESTIMATES+OF+EDUCATION+PRODUCTION+FUNCTIONS&id=doi:10.1162/003355399556052

Caroline M. Hoxby, “The Effects of Class Size on Student Achievement: New Evidence from Population Variation.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 115, no. 4 (2000), pp. 1239-85.
http://sfx.hul.harvard.edu/sfx_local?sid=google&auinit=CM&aualast=Hoxby&atitle=THE+EFFECTS+OF+CLASS+SIZE+ON+STUDENT+ACHIEVEMENT:+NEW+EVIDENCE+FROM+POPULATION+VARIATION&id=doi:10.1162/003355300555060

B. Accountability

October 30 (Thurs.): Mid-Term Examination

November 4 (Tues): The Origins and Enactment of No Child Left Behind

Required Readings:

Andrew Rudalevige, “No Child Left Behind: Forging a Congressional Compromise,” Paul E. Peterson and Martin R. West, ed., *No Child Left Behind?* (Brookings, 2003), Chapter 2. [CP]

Frederick M. Hess, “Refining or Retreating? High-Stakes Accountability in the States,” in Paul E. Peterson and Martin R. West, ed., *No Child Left Behind?* (Brookings, 2003). Chapter 3.[CP]

November 6 (Thurs.): The Consequences of No Child Left Behind

Required Readings:

James Peyser and Robert Costrell, "Exploring the Costs of Accountability,"

Education Next Spring 2004, pp. 23-29.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20042_22.pdf

Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Choice and Competition in American Education* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006). Ch. 22 (Howell).

Paul E. Peterson, "Making up the Rules as you Play the Game," *Education Next*

Fall 2005, pp. 42-48.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20054_42.pdf

Paul E. Peterson and Frederick Hess, "Few States Set World-Class Standards."

Education Next Summer 2008. pp. 70-73.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20083_70.pdf

Frederick M. Hess and Chester E. Finn, Jr., "Crash Course," *Education Next* Fall

2007, pp. 40-45.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20074_40.pdf

Paul E. Peterson, "A Lens That Distorts," *Education Next* Fall 2007, pp. 46-51.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20074_46.pdf

Michael J. Petrilli, "Testing the Limits of NCLB," *Education Next* Fall 2007, pp. 52-56.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20074_52.pdf

Dianne Piche, "Basically a Good Model," *Education Next* Fall 2007, pp. 57-59.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20074_57.pdf

November 11 (Tues.): Veterans Day

November 13 (Thurs): Screening of "The Merrow Report – In School We Trust"

November 18 (Tues.): Elections and Public Opinion

Required Readings:

Christopher R. Berry and William G. Howell, "Accountability Lost," *Education Next* Winter 2008, pp. 66-72.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20081_66.pdf

Terry M. Moe, "The Union Label on the Ballot Box: How School Employees Help Choose their Bosses," *Education Next* Summer 2006, pp. 58-66.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20063_58.pdf

William G. Howell and Martin R. West, "Is The Price is Right?" *Education Next* Summer 2008, pp. 36-41.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20083_36a.pdf

William Howell, Martin West and Paul Peterson, "The 2008 *Education Next*–PEPG Survey" *Education Next* Fall 2008, pp. 12-26.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20084_12to27.pdf

November 20 (Thurs.): Holding Students Accountable

Required Readings:

TheodoreSizer, *Horace's Compromise* (Houghton Mifflin, 2004), pp. 59-68, 154-171. [CP]

James S. Coleman, "The Adolescent Society," *Education Next* Winter 2006, pp. 40-43.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20061_40.pdf

John H. Bishop, "A Steeper, Better Road to Graduation," *Education Next* Winter 2001, pp. 56-61.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20014_56.pdf

Ludger Woessman, "Why Students in Some Countries Do Better," *Education Next* Summer 2001, pp. 67-74.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20012_67.pdf

Philip J. Cook and Jens Ludwig, "The Burden of "Acting White": Do Black Adolescents Academic Achievement" In Christopher Jencks and Meredith Philipps, *The Black-White Test Score Gap* (Brookings 1998), Ch. 10, pp. 375-400. [CP]

Roland Fryer, "Acting White," *Education Next* Winter 2006, pp. 52-59.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20061_52.pdf

C. Kirabo Jackson, "Cash for Test Scores: The impact of the Texas Advanced Placement Incentive Program," *Education Next* Fall 2008, pp. 70-77.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20084_70.pdf

C. Deregulating the Education Profession

November 25 (Tues.): Deregulating Recruitment and Retention

Required Readings:

Thomas J. Kane, Jonah E. Rockoff, & Douglas O. Staiger, “Photo Finish: Teacher Certification Doesn't Guarantee a Winner.” *Education Next* Winter 2007, pp. 60-67.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20071_60.pdf

Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Choice and Competition in American Education* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), Ch. 3-6 (Hess; Diez; Hess; Russo.).

November 27 (Thurs.): Thanksgiving Day

December 2 (Tues.): Deregulating Compensation

Required Readings:

Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Choice and Competition in American Education* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), Ch. 7-10 (Podgursky; Temin; Solmon; Hoxby and Leigh).

Jacob Vigdor, “Scrap the Sacrosanct Salary Schedule: How about more pay for new teachers?” *Education Next* Fall 2008, pp. 36-42.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20084_36Vigdor.pdf

Robert Costrell and Michael Podgursky, “Peaks, Cliffs, and Valleys: The Peculiar Incentives of Teachers Pensions,” *Education Next* Winter 2008, pp. 22-28.
http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20081_22.pdf

Karthik Muralidharan and Venkatesh Sundararaman. “Teacher Performance Pay: Experimental Evidence from India.” Harvard University.
http://www.hks.harvard.edu/pepg/PDF/Papers/Muralidaran_Sundararaman_PEPG08-16.pdf

D. School Choice

December 4 (Thurs.) School Choice: Theories and Counter-theories

Required Readings:

John E. Chubb and Terry Moe, *Politics, Markets and America's Schools* (Brookings, 1990), Ch. 2, pp. 26-68. [CP]

Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Choice and Competition in American Education* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), Ch. 1-2 (Peterson; Chubb; Levin).

Anthony S. Bryk, Valerie E. Lee and Peter B Holland, *Catholic Schools and the Common Good* (Harvard, 1993), Ch. 12, pp. 297-327. [CP]

Jeffrey R. Henig, "School Choice Outcomes," in Stephen D. Sugarman and Frank R. Kemerer, eds, *School Choice and Social Controversy* (Brookings, 1999), Ch. 3, pp. 68-107. [CP]

December 9 (Tues.): School Vouchers: What is Known from Practice

Required Readings:

Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Choice and Competition in American Education* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), Ch. 16-20 (Howell, Wolf, Peterson and Campbell; Hoxby; Campbell, Hsu).

Paul E. Peterson, "School Choice in Milwaukee Fifteen Years Later." In Paul T. Hill (Ed.), *Charter Schools Against the Odds* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2006), pp.71-101. [CP]

Cecilia Elena Rouse, et al, "Feeling the Florida Heat? How Do Failing Schools Respond to the Threat of Vouchers or High Stakes Testing Pressure?"

http://www.caldercenter.org/PDF/1001116_Florida_Heat.pdf

December 11 (Thurs.) Charter Schools: Theory and Experimentation

Required Readings:

Paul E. Peterson, ed., *Choice and Competition in American Education* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), Ch. 13-15 (Hassel; Manno; and Sizer and Sizer).

Julie Bennett, "Brand-Name Charters: The Franchise Model Applied to Schools" *Education Next* Summer 2008, pp. 28-34.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20083_28.pdf

Caroline M. Hoxby and Jonah E. Rockoff, "Findings from the City of Big Shoulders," *Education Next* Fall 2005, pp. 52-58.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20054_52.pdf

Robert Bifulco and Helen F. Ladd, "Results from the Tar Heel State," *Education Next* Fall 2005, pp. 60-66.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext20054_60.pdf

Caroline Hoxby and Sonali Murarka, "New York City Charter Schools," *Education Next* Summer 2008, pp. 54-61.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20083_54.pdf

December 16 (Tues). Review and Conclusions

TERM PAPER DUE

Required Readings:

Clayton M. Christensen and Michael B. Horn, “How Do We Transform our Schools? Use Technologies that Compete Against Nothing,” *Education Next* Summer 2008, pp. 12-19.

http://media.hoover.org/documents/ednext_20083_12.pdf

Final Examination Date: TBA

Note that Fall Exam Period begins on Tuesday, January 13, and ends on Thursday, January 22. Monday, January 19, is a holiday (Martin Luther King Day).