

Governing through Patronage

the Bargain for Education in Decentralized Brazil

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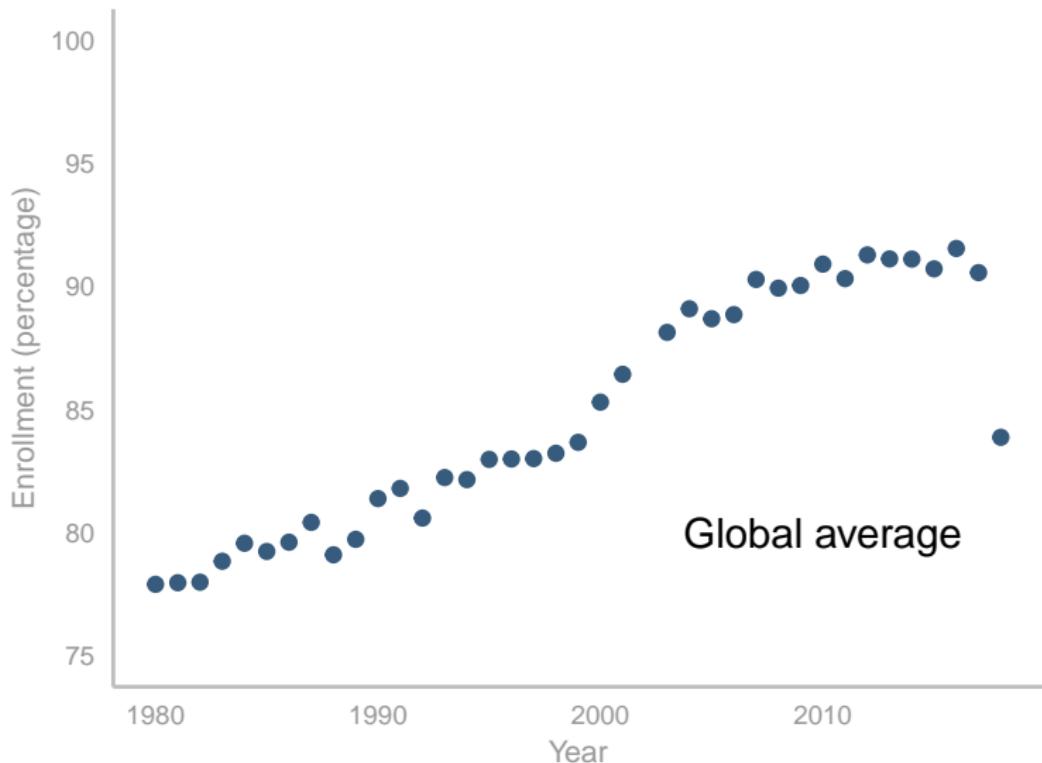
A tale of two schools



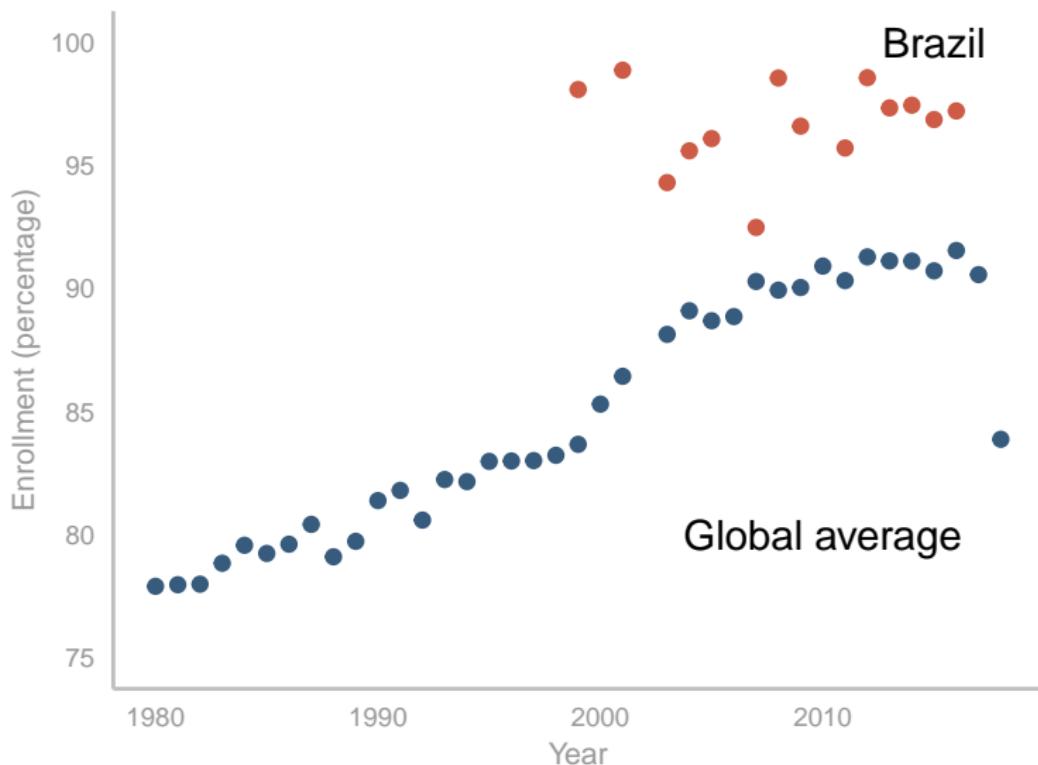
Expansion in public education

- Across the world, children rely on public education.
- Rapid expansion in coverage over the last decades.
- Improvements in *quality* remain a challenge.

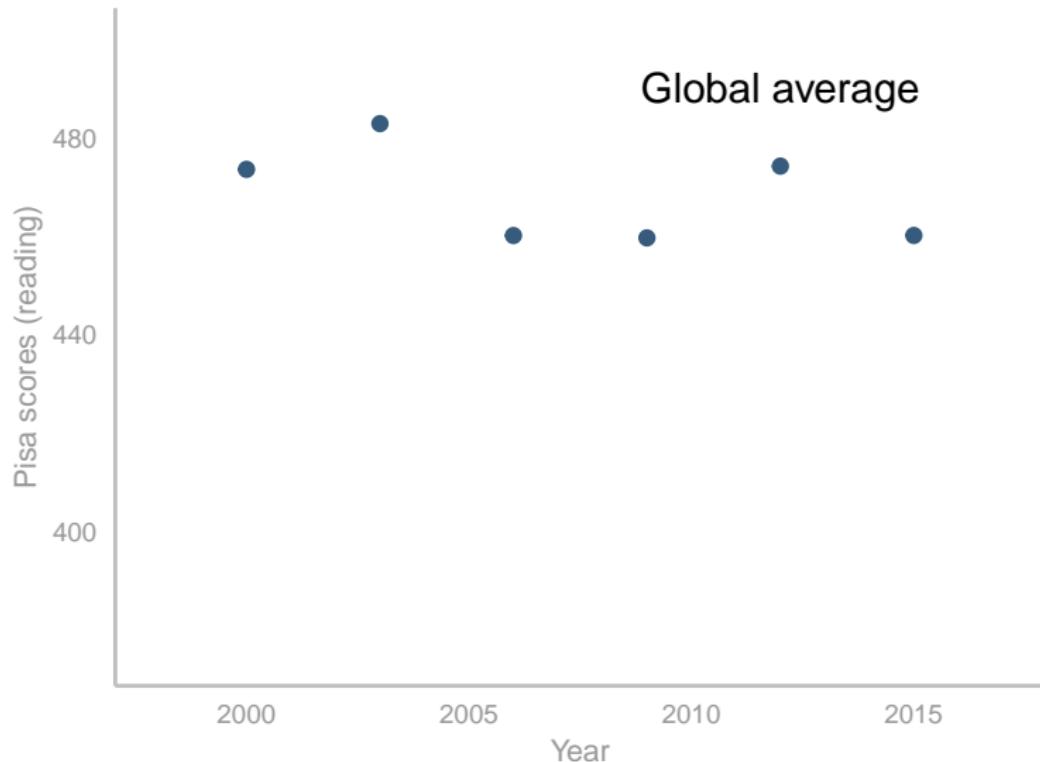
Net primary enrollment rates



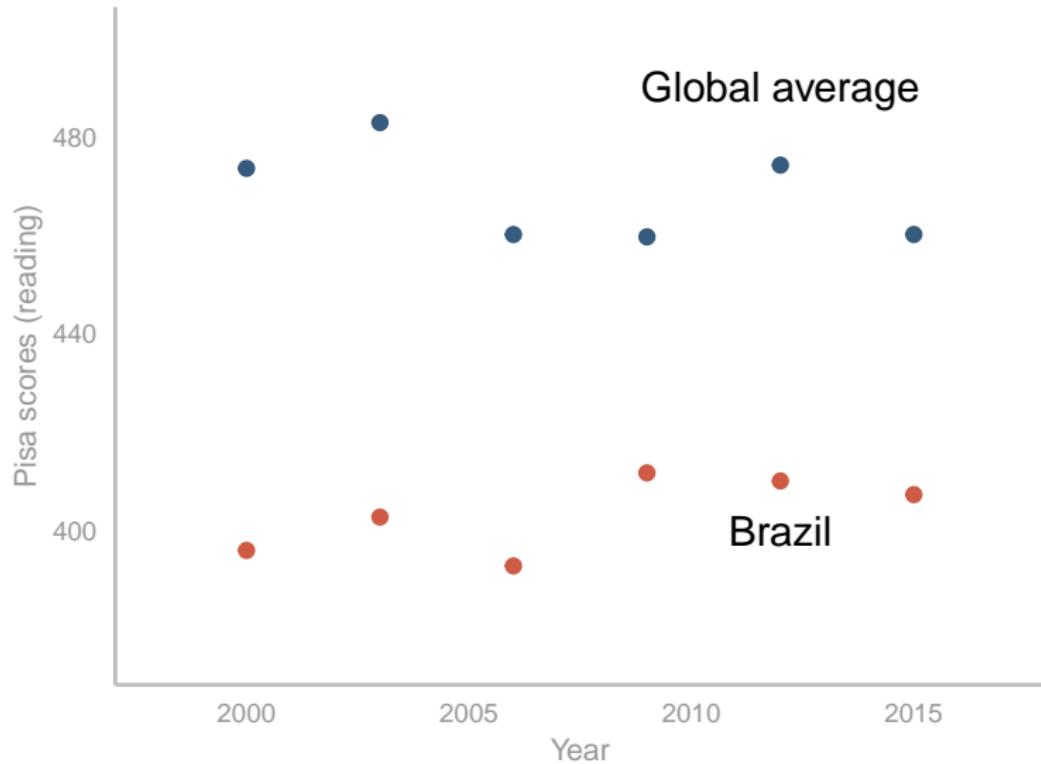
Net primary enrollment rates



Quality of education



Quality of education



A domestic story

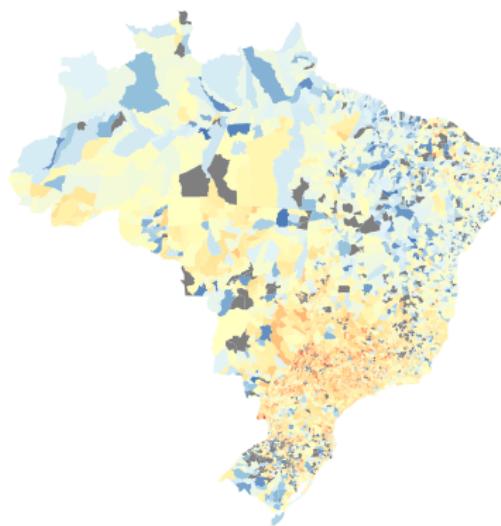


Figure 1: Source: National System for Educational Assessment (SAEB)

Research question

- Why does inequality in the quality of public education persist? Why do some communities have access to better quality education than others?
- How do local actors decide to manage public education? What are the political costs and benefits of improving public education?

Findings

- Bureaucratic staff turnover has negative consequences for student learning.
- Staff positions granted to members of legislative coalition.
- Political fragmentation leads to greater patronage.
- Electoral accountability does not bite: elite game.

Outline

1 Motivation

2 The debate

3 The case

4 The argument

5 Results

Public services provision

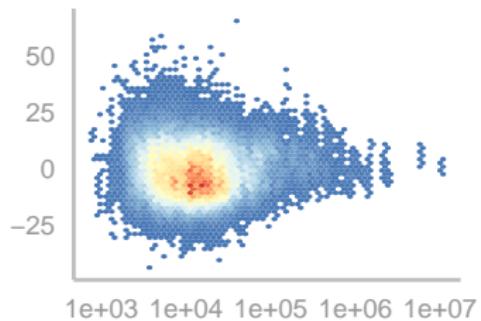
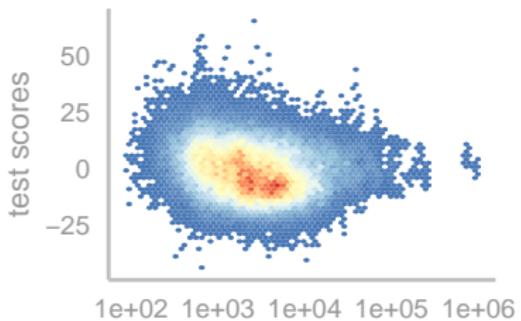
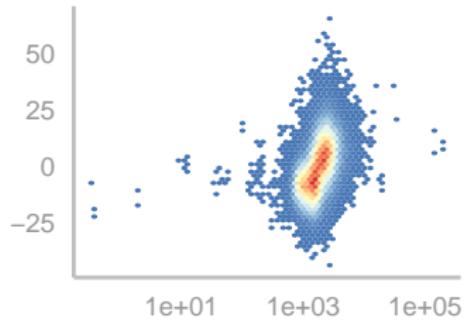
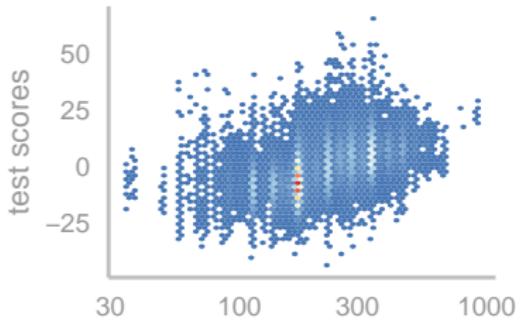
The case: Brazil

- Over 23 million students enrolled in public schools.
- ~12% of GDP spent in education.
- 1.2 million public teachers per year.
- 5.5 thousand municipalities.
- Education is local: municipal governments administer primary education.

Data

- Student learning.
 - National System of Educational Assessment (SAEB)
 - Ceará System of Learning Assessment (SPAECE)
- Educational staff.
 - National School Census
 - Annual Report on Social Information (RAIS)
- Additional covariates.
 - National Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE)
 - FINBRA
 - TSE

Alternative explanations



Movement in two steps

- Quality of student learning decreases with educational staff turnover.
- Teacher and school principals are reshuffled as a result of political turnover.
- Jobs are allocated to coalition members, to maintain legislative support.
- An elite game: electoral accountability does not bite.

Educational staff turnover

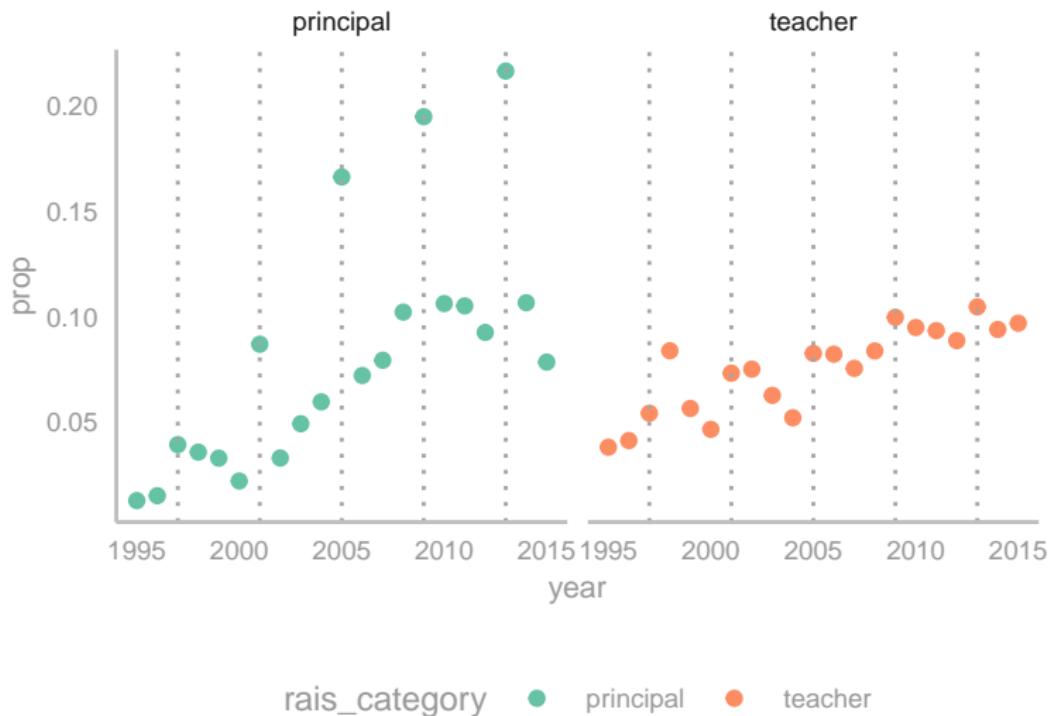
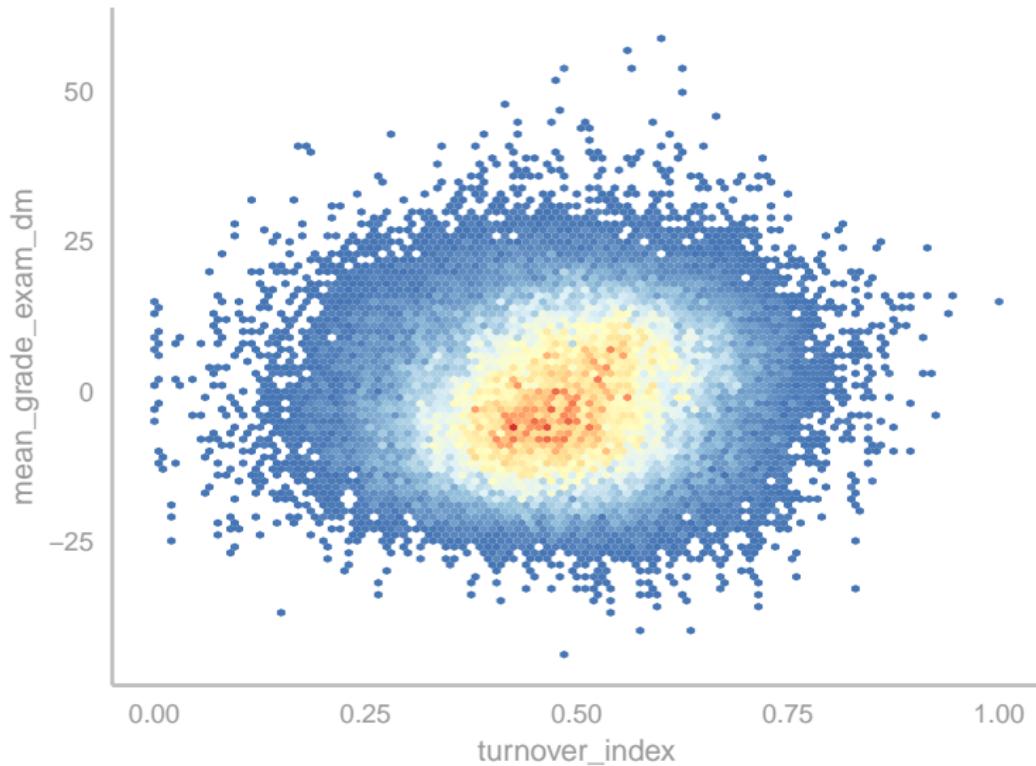


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First stage

Second stage