

## STEPHEN KOSACK

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### EDUCATION

Yale University

M.A. and M.Phil, 2004

Ph.D. in Political Science, with Distinction, 2008

Committee: Susan Rose-Ackerman (chair), Gustav Ranis, and Frances Rosenbluth

Miami University (Ohio)

B.A. in Economics and Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs, 2001, *summa cum laude*

### EMPLOYMENT

- 2013 – Assistant Professor of Public Affairs, Evans School of Public Affairs, University of Washington, Seattle
- 2013 – Senior Research Fellow, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
- 2013 – Senior Research Fellow, Center for International Development, Harvard University
- 2010 – 2013 Assistant Professor of Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
- 2009 – 2010 Lecturer (UK assistant professor), Department of International Development, London School of Economics
- 2008 – 2009 Visiting Fellow, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University
- 2007 – 2008 Research Fellow, Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institution
- 2006 Visiting Scholar, Institute of European and American Studies, Academia Sinica, Taipei, Taiwan (Republic of China)
- 2006 Visiting Scholar, Escola de Economia de São Paulo (School of Economics), Fundação Getulio Vargas, São Paulo, Brasil
- 2004 – 2005 Economic Policy Advisor to Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Ranking Democratic Member, U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

## PUBLICATIONS

### ***Books***

*The Education of Nations: How the Political Organization of the Poor, not Democracy, Led Governments to Invest in Mass Education*, Oxford University Press, 2012.

Best Book award from the Higher Education section of the Comparative and International Education Society

*From the Ground Up: Improving Government Performance with Independent Monitoring Organizations*, Brookings Institution Press, 2010. With Charles Griffin and Courtney Tolmie.

### ***Journal Articles***

“Which Countries’ Citizens are Better Off With Trade?,” *World Development*, forthcoming. With Jennifer Tobin.

“Does Transparency Improve Governance?,” *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol 17, 2014, pp. 65-87. With Archon Fung.

“The Logic of Pro-Poor Policymaking: Political Entrepreneurship and Mass Education,” *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol 44(2), 2014, 409-444.

“The Tertiary Tilt: Education and Inequality in the Developing World,” *World Development*, Vol 54, 2014, pp. 253-272. With Lloyd Gruber.

“Realizing Education For All: Defining and Using the Political Will to Invest in Primary Education,” *Comparative Education*, vol 45(4), 2009, pp. 495-523.

“Capital Flows for Development from Japan and the United States,” *Singapore Economic Review*, vol 54(4), 2009, pp. 489-527. With Gustav Ranis.

“Funding Self-Sustaining Development: the Role of Aid, FDI, and Government in Economic Success,” *International Organization*, vol 60, Winter 2006, pp. 205-243. With Jennifer Tobin.

“Effective Aid: How Democracy Allows Development Aid to Improve the Quality of Life.” *World Development*, vol 31(1), 2003, pp. 1-22.

### ***Edited Volumes***

*Globalization and the Nation State: The Impact of the IMF and the World Bank*, London: Routledge, 2006. Co-editor, with Gustav Ranis and James Vreeland.

### ***Book Chapters and Policy Papers***

“On Incentivizing Useful Budget Transparency,” Global Initiative for Fiscal Transparency, International Budget Partnership, *forthcoming*.

“Linking Think Tank, Performance, Decisions, and Context,” Results for Development Institute report for the Think Tank Initiative. With Elizabeth Brown, Aprille Knox, Courtney Tolmie, Mary Kay Gugerty, and Ashley Fabrizio.

“A New Model of Foreign Aid, from the Experiences of Japan and the United States,” in Koichi Hamada, Keijiro Otsuka, Gustav Ranis, and Ken Togo, eds, *Miraculous Growth and Stagnation in Post-War Japan*, London: Routledge, 2011; and in Japanese (新しい援助モデル：日米の経験から) in Koichi Hamada, Keijiro Otsuka, and Ken Togo, eds, *模倣型経済の躍進と足踏み (The Boom and Halt of the Imitation Economy)*, Kyoto: Nakanishiya, 2010. With Gustav Ranis and Ken Togo.

“Directing Foreign Aid for Basic Education: Taking Account of Political Will,” *Brookings Global Economy and Development Policy Brief No. 4*, Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, May 2008.

*Trade for Poverty Reduction: The Role of Trade Policy in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers*, Geneva: United Nations Development Programme, 2008

“Aid and Foreign Direct Investment,” in Michael Dauderstädt, ed., *Towards a Prosperous Wider Europe: Macroeconomic Policies for a Growing Neighborhood*, Bonn: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2005.

*Growth and Human Development in Cuba’s Transition*, Miami, FL: Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami, 2004. With Gustav Ranis.

### **FELLOWSHIPS AND HONORS**

Distinction in Political Science, Yale University, 2008

Brookings Research Fellowship, Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institution, 2007-2008

Robert M. Leylan Prize Dissertation Writing Fellowship, Yale University, 2006-2007

Graduate Research Fellowship, National Science Foundation, 2003-2006

Yale University Graduate Fellowship, 2001-2006

Phi Beta Kappa, Miami University, 2002

## GRANTS

Minerva Research Initiative, Office of Naval Research  
“Understanding the Origin, Characteristics, and Implications of Mass Political Movements”  
2014-2017, \$1,287,911

Hewlett Foundation, Gates Foundation, and DFID  
“Transparency for Development: From Transparency to Accountability, Delivery, and Impact”  
2013-2018, \$ 8,211,195  
(Co-PIs: Archon Fung, Dan Levy, Jean Arkedis)

Results for Development Institute and Think Tank Initiative  
“Linking Think Tank Performance, Decisions, and Context”  
2013-2014, \$120,000  
(Co-PI; PI: Mary Kay Gugerty)

DFID/Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre, University of Manchester  
“Understanding Government Commitment to Inclusive Development: The Role of Mass Movements”  
2012-2014, Direct Costs: \$104,743

Harvard Weatherhead Center for International Affairs  
“Mass Movements and Responsive Governance”  
2012-2013, Direct costs: \$16,500

National Science Foundation  
“Using Web Crawling and Complex Network Analysis to Understand Government Activity and Connectivity”  
2012-2015, \$124,220  
(Co-PI: Ricardo Hausmann)

Transparency and Accountability Initiative  
“Impact of Transparency and Accountability Interventions” (Evaluation Planning Grant)  
2012, Direct costs: \$157,000  
(Co-PIs: Archon Fung, Dan Levy, Jean Arkedis, Courtney Tolmie)

Harvard Medical School William F. Milton Research Award  
“The Role of Mass Movements in Policymaking and Institutional Change”  
2012-2013, Direct costs: \$39,200

Harvard Weatherhead Center for International Affairs Research Incubation Award  
“The Role of Mass Movements in Policymaking and Institutional Change”  
2011-2012, Direct costs: \$30,000

Harvard Kennedy School Dean's Research Fund Seed Grant  
"The Role of Mass Movements in Policymaking and Institutional Change"  
2011, Direct costs: \$5,000

LSE Research Committee Seed Fund Award  
"Political Entrepreneurship and the Roots of Pro-Poor Policymaking"  
2009, Direct costs: £9,000

Brookings Research Fellowship  
2007-2008, Direct costs: \$23,500

Yale Leyland Fellowship  
2006-2007, Direct costs: \$23,000

Yale Center for International and Area Studies Dissertation Research Grant  
"How Governments Decide to Produce Human Capital"  
2005, Direct costs: \$12,500

Yale George Leitner Program in International and Comparative Political Economy Grant  
"How Governments Decide to Produce Human Capital"  
2005, Direct costs: \$3,000  
2007, Direct costs: \$2,000

National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship  
2003-2006, Direct costs: \$85,000

## **INVITED TALKS**

*"Beyond the Silver Bullet: Understanding how Context Shapes Transparency Programs,"* presented at the DFID Governance and Conflict Professional Development Conference, Brighton, UK, November 12, 2014.

Invited Participant in the International Transparency and Accountability Workshop, American University, Washington, DC from May 2-3, 2014.

*"The Emergence and Political Consequences of Mass Movements in the Middle East,"* Solvay Brussels School of Economics and Management, Brussels, June 18, 2013.

*"Does Transparency Improve Governance? Information, Action, and Improved Public Services,"* Watson Institute, Brown University, October 8, 2013. With Archon Fung.

“*Civil Society and Improving Public Services*,” Civil Society and Governance Symposium, Shanghai, China, May 17, 2012.

“*The Arab Awakening in Comparative Perspective*,” conference on the Political Economy of the Arab Awakening, Economic Research Forum, Cairo, March 24, 2012.

“*Trade for Poverty Reduction: The Role of Trade Policy in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers*,” presented at the World Trade Organization, Geneva, November 7, 2008.

“*Trade for Poverty Reduction: The Role of Trade Policy in Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers*,” presented at the United Nations Development Programme, New York, August 13, 2008.

“*The Education of Nations: How Governments Decide to Produce Human Capital*,” presented at the Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, November 19, 2007.

“*Capital Flows for Development: Japan and the U.S. Compared*,” presented at the Toyota Conference on the Legacies of Japan’s Development Experience, Tokyo, Japan, May 30, 2007. With Gustav Ranis.

“*The Politics that Built Taiwanese Education*,” presented at National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan (ROC), March 2006.

“*Aid and Foreign Direct Investment*,” presented at the Macroeconomics of Neighborhood Policy Conference, Lisbon, Portugal, November 2004.

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

“*Transparency, Participation, Accountability: What do we know, what should we ask?*,” organizer of panel discussion at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 31, 2013. With Archon Fung, James McGuire, and Lily Tsai.

“*Trade and Human Development: A Race to the Bottom or the Top?*,” presented at the annual meeting of the International Political Economy Society, Charlottesville, November 2012. With Jennifer Tobin.

“*Trade and Human Development: A Race to the Bottom or the Top?*,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Seattle, September 3, 2011. With Jennifer Tobin.

“*The Tertiary Tilt: Education, Inequality, and the Politics of Development*,” presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, September 3, 2010. With Lloyd Gruber.

*“The Spending Skew: Why Increasing Primary Enrollment may Increase Inequality in Developing Countries,”* presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, April, 2010. With Lloyd Gruber.

*“Political Entrepreneurship and the Organizational Roots of Pro-Poor Policies,”* presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 5, 2009.

*“The Vital Constituency,”* presented at the annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 28, 2008.

*“The Weakness of Democratic Institutions and the Strength of Political Entrepreneurship in Fostering Pro-Poor Policymaking: A Theory and Suggestive Evidence,”* presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 5, 2008. With Jennifer Tobin.

*“Realizing Education For All: Defining and Using the Political Will to Invest in Primary Education,”* presented at the World Congress of Comparative Education Societies, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, September 3-7, 2007.

*“Do Democracies Serve the Poor? The Organizational Foundations of Pro-Poor Policy, with Evidence from Education Policies in Taiwan, Ghana, and Brazil,”* presented at the Conference on the Comparative Politics of Inequality and Redistribution, Princeton University, May 11-12, 2007.

*“The Education of Nations: How Governments Decide to Produce Human Capital in Taiwan, Ghana, and Brazil,”* presented at the annual meetings of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 12-15, 2007.

*“The Education of Nations: How Governments Decide to Produce Human Capital in Taiwan, Ghana, and Brazil,”* presented at the Comparative Politics Workshop, Yale University, and the George Leitner Political Economy Seminar, Yale University, December 2003.

*“Funding Self-Sustaining Development: the Role of Aid, FDI, and Government in Economic Success,”* presented at the George Leitner Political Economy Seminar, Yale University, December 2003. With Jennifer Tobin.

*“Apartheid’s Manipulation of the Labor Market and Economic Development in South Africa,”* presented at the Society for Comparative Research, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, May 2003.

## **PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES**

Journal Reviewer: *American Political Science Review*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *World Development*, *Journal of Development Studies*, *Governance*, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, *Development Policy Review*, *Democratization*, *European Journal of Development Research*

Evans School Faculty Affairs Committee, 2013-14, 2014-15

Evans School Representative to University of Washington Faculty Senate, 2014-15

Evans School International Development Certificate Program, 2013-14

Harvard Kennedy School PhD Placement Director for Political Science, 2012-2013

Harvard Kennedy School MPP Admissions Committee, 2010-2012

LSE MPA Admissions Committee, 2009-2010

Convener, LSE Friday Speaker Series, 2009-2010

Consultant for United Nations Development Program, 2008, 2010-2011

Member:

American Political Science Association  
Midwest Political Science Association

## **CURRENT RESEARCH PROJECTS**

“Transparency for Development: From Transparency to Accountability, Delivery, and Impact” (with Archon Fung and Dan Levy of the Harvard Kennedy School and Courtney Tolmie and Jean Arkedis of the Results for Development Institute in Washington, DC). This project is a multi-stage, multi-country evaluation of whether, how, and in what contexts transparency and accountability (T/A) interventions, such as community score cards and social audits, improve health care and health outcomes. The project is co-funded by the Hewlett Foundation, the Gates Foundation, and the UK Department for International Development. It will involve development of a new T/A intervention, co-designed with several local CSO partners; an initial phase in which we evaluate the intervention in Indonesia and Tanzania with randomized controlled trials integrated with extensive qualitative evaluation, so as to understand the impact of the new intervention, the mechanisms behind this impact, and the complex relationship between these mechanisms and contextual factors; and a second phase with between one and four additional mixed-method evaluations, which will explore the generalizability of both our first phase results and the theoretical implications of them for



mechanisms and the role of context. The goals of the project are to provide the empirical basis for a theory of the impact of T/A on development and a range of new tools for practitioners, both of T/A as well as sectoral health experts considering using T/A interventions.

“The Role of Mass Movements in Policymaking and Institutional Change.” I am leading a research team that is developing the first comprehensive dataset of mass movements, covering the nature and characteristics of all movements of more than 1,000 participants over the last two centuries in all countries worldwide. The dataset will permit the first cross-national analyses of the role of mass movements in democratization and in increasing provision of public goods such as health care and education, to the benefit of lower socioeconomic groups. Second, it will allow for testing theories about the origin and success of mass movements that have until now been examined only in specific cases, including the role of political, material, and social deprivation, the availability of resources either from within the movement or from outside, and political institutions. Finally, it will allow examination of how movement characteristics shape their capacity for action, their likelihood of surviving repression, and their ability to produce political change.

“Using Web Crawling and Complex Network Analysis to Understand Government Activity and Connectivity” (with Michele Coscia, postdoctoral fellow, and Ricardo Hausmann, director of the Center for International Development). This project involves the development of novel methods for community discovery, graph mining, and analytical web crawling that will be used to transform the information in government websites and their linkages into cross-national data on government activity and connectivity from both the developed and developing worlds. The result will be comprehensive data on the functions governments perform and on how they organize and interact with their societies to execute these functions and gain feedback on their performance. We will use these data to investigate the nature, evolution, and implications of the activity and connectivity of governments across the world for public policy, relations with business and society, and economic productivity and success.

“Trade and Welfare.” (With Jennifer Tobin, Georgetown University) This project is a series of papers exploring the relationships between trade and welfare. The first working paper is a cross-national large-N study of the association between decreased barriers to trade and subsequent changes in the rate of human development. We attempt to reconcile two common competing arguments: that openness leads to lower average citizen welfare through a race to the bottom; and that openness leads to higher welfare by increasing incentives and resources for households to invest in productivity-enhancing human capital. We find that which dynamic a country experiences depends on its existing level of human capital. In countries that already have workforces with high human capital, openness reinforces human development, and the average citizen is better off than they would be with closed borders. But in many countries, including most developing countries, the workforce has not yet developed such capacities; and in these countries, openness is associated with human development that is slower than it would otherwise be. A second working paper will use a gravity model of trade to explore the degree of trade between two countries that can be explained by differences in their human development.