















# Leapfrogging

- Being the follower instead of the leader can be good: leapfrogging opportunity!
- But can also be bad... worse, even, than if the technology had not been invented.

> Why?

## Investments in children - leaders

• Investments in Education (and Health) are an **optimal response** to innovations and their effects on the returns to human capital.

### Investments in children - followers

- Investments in Education are an **optimal response** to **leaders' innovations** and their effects on children's human capital.
- Investments in Education are a response to external pressure by leaders.

# Investments as Leapfrogging: Consequences

- Technology may not be appropriate
- Technology may not be institutional

# Inappropriate Technology

- Evidence that education linked to supply-side needs can generate very high social returns:
  - > Green Revolution in India
  - > Primary school in Kenya
  - > Vocational school in Brazil
- No evidence that education decoupled from supply-side needs has positive social returns:
  - > High school in Indonesia
  - > Vocational school in Brazil in France

## Conrad Wolfram: "80% of what is learnt in Math class is worthless"

Physicist, well known for a viral TED talk and for changing the way Math is taught, bets on the end of computing by hand.













ANA TORRES MENÁRGUEZ y

3 NOV 2017 - 15:50 CET



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# Inappropriate Technology

 Artificial Intelligence has negative social returns when poorly utilized! NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

# WEAPONS OF MATH DESTRUCTION



HOW BIG DATA INCREASES INEQUALITY

AND THREATENS DEMOCRACY

## CATHY O'NEIL

A NEW YORK TIMES NOTABLE BOOK

# Inappropriate Technology

# Inappropriate Technology

- Machine learning to predict bad teachers:
  - > Insufficient frequency of data to fine-tune algorithm
  - > Inequality increases!

A pin prick on the heel of a newborn baby 48 to 72 hours after birth can be life changing.

**ANALYSIS OF A FEW DROPS** of blood can make all the difference between healthy thriving and debilitating ill health caused by an inherited metabolic disorder that might otherwise go undetected until it is too late.

"Newborn screening is probably the pinnacle of preventative medicine, and international practice recommends testing for all newborns," says Dr Chris Vorster, head of the Centre for Human Metabonomics at the Potchefstroom Campus.

This is so even in developing countries such as Thailand and Brazil, where an estimated 97% and 80% of newborns, respectively, are screened shortly after birth.

The situation is starkly different in South Africa: in 2012 fewer than 1% of newborns were screened. "Newborn screening is not a health priority in South Africa and no legislation or even recommendations exist for testing," says Dr Vorster, a chemical pathologist by profession.

body's ability to process certain nutrients – are perceived as being extremely rare in South Africa. Hence, the thinking is that newborn screening would divert funds from more pressing health priorities.

"There is little evidence to suggest that South Africa is spared from inherited metabolic diseases," says Dr Vorster. "Based on the experience obtained from our own screening programme, it appears that some of these disorders are quite common."

Examples are isovaleric acidemia, propionic acidemia and glutaric acidemia type 1, which impair the body's ability to process certain proteins. This can be lethal. It causes the build-up of harmful substances in the blood and urine, which can lead to mental retardation and early death.

The sheer number of inherited metabolic defects that can be passed on by parents unaware that they are carriers is daunting. To date, as many as 2 000 different defects

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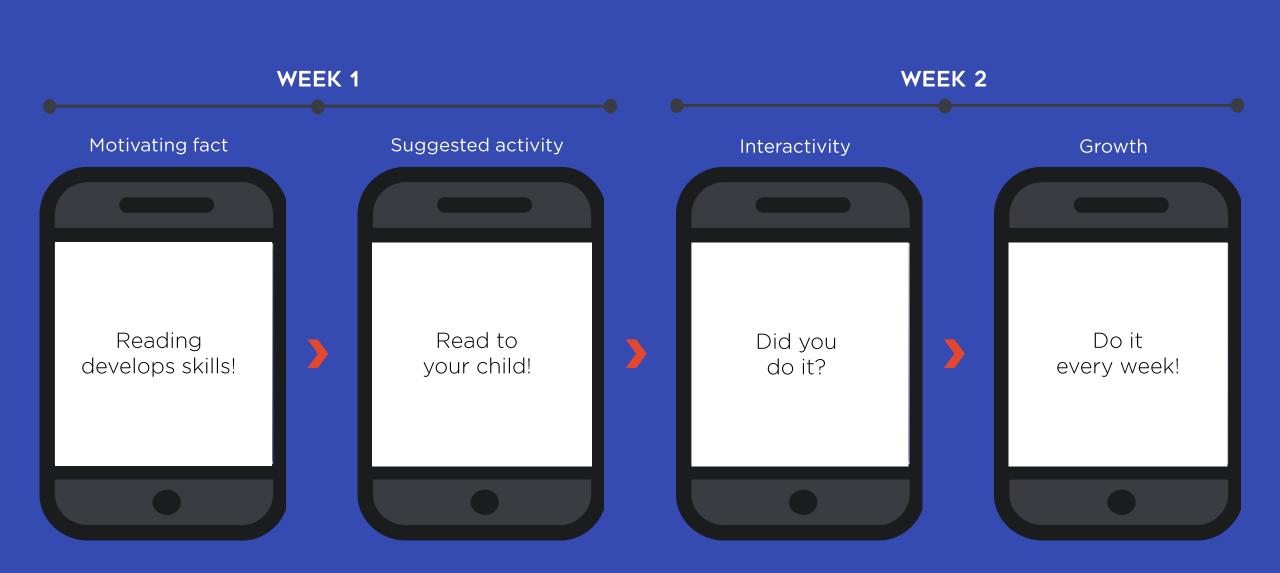
# Non-institutional Technology

- Decisions are not automatic:
  - > Investments in Education are not mandatory
- More decisions to be made:
  - > How to take my child to school?
  - > How to monitor school quality?

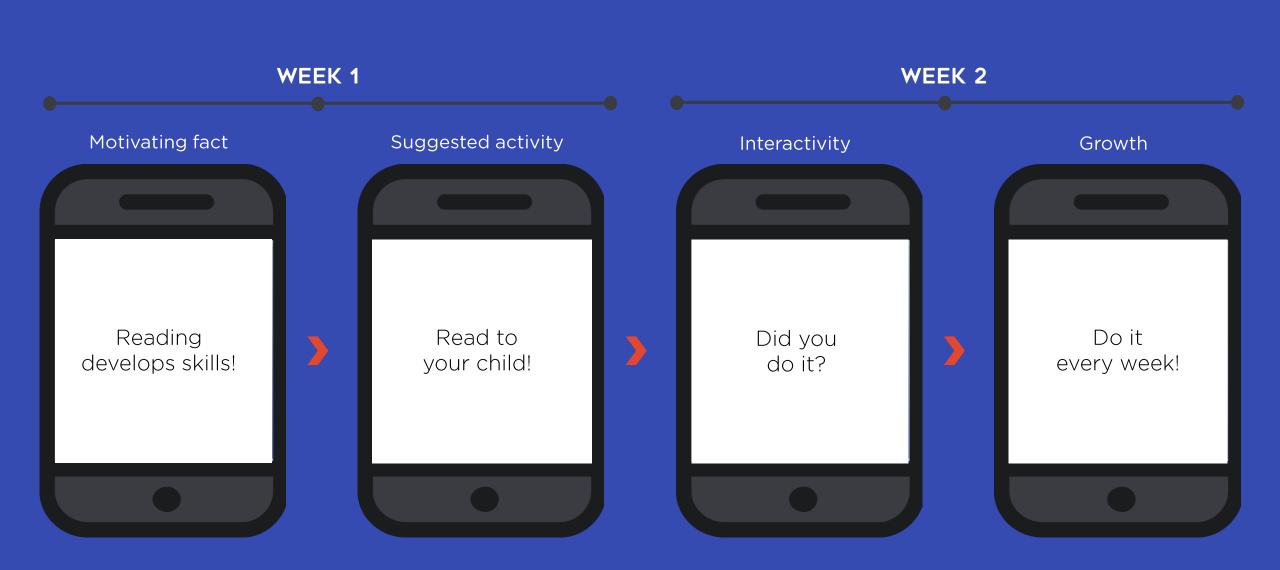
# Non-institutional Technology

 Problem: decisions are complex to everyone, but even more for the poor

#### AN SMS EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

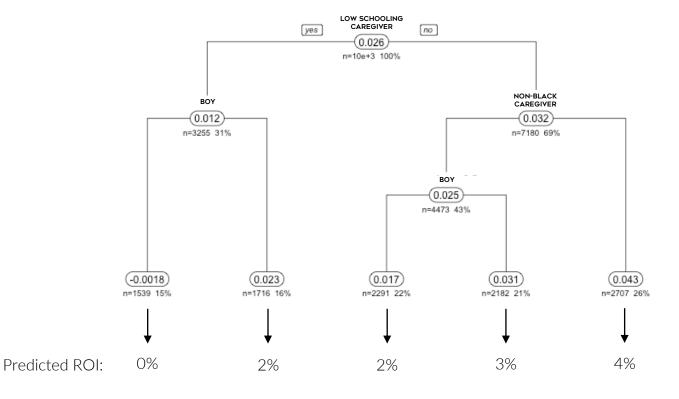


### DO YOU WANT TO BUY IT?



#### PREDICTED RETURNS

On the likelihood of advancing to high school:







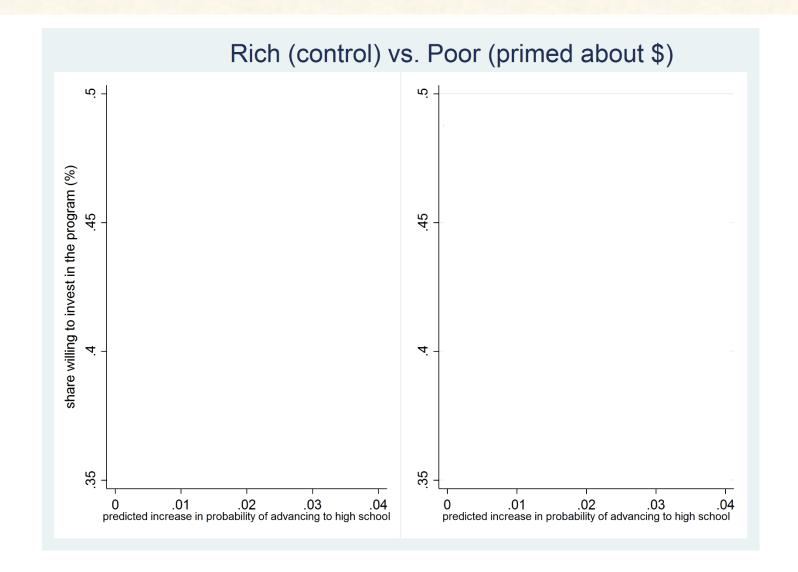
#### INVESTMENT IN CHILDREN'S HK

Investment decision: "You already earned R\$10 in airtime credit by answering this call until the end. Would you rather exchange those R\$10 for 6 months of weekly text messages about your child's school life? If you would like to exchange airtime by the text messages, press 1; if you would like to keep the airtime, press 2; or to listen again, press 9."





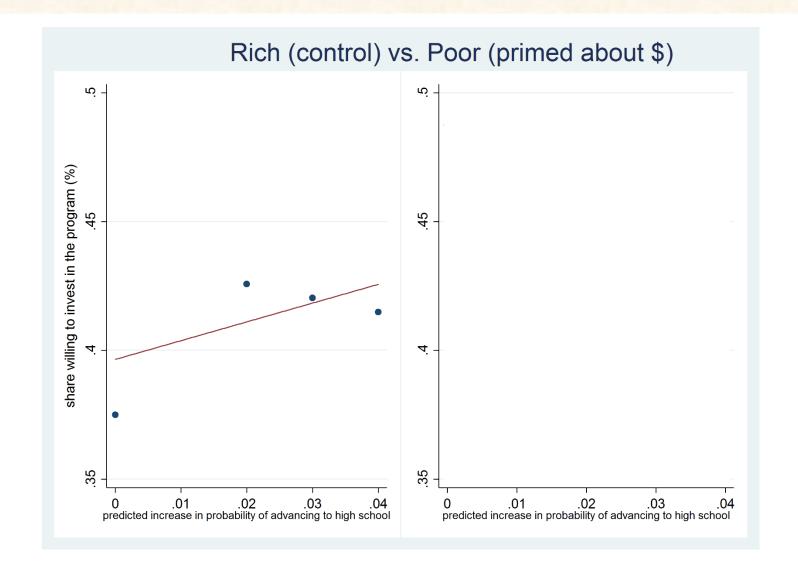
#### RICH VS. POOR







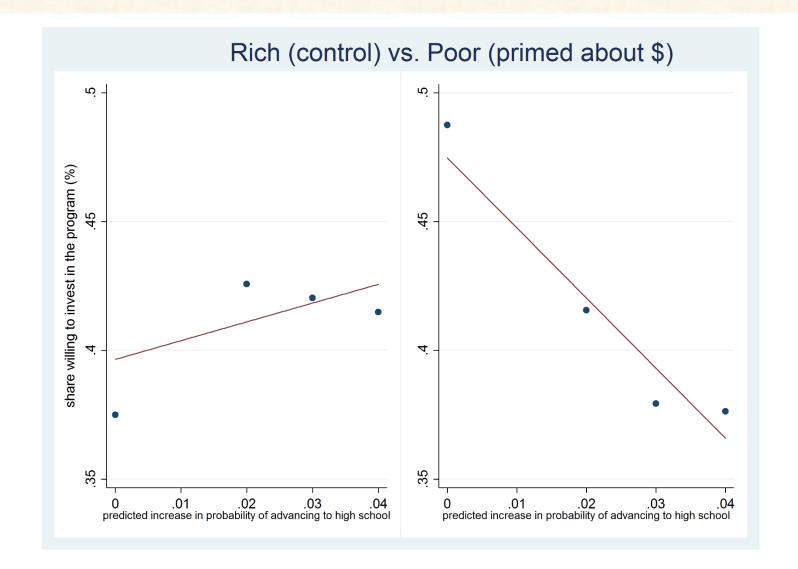
#### RICH VS. POOR







#### RICH VS. POOR







# The RIGHT Technology

- What is the right technology to ensure investments in children's human capital? It must take into consideration that, in developing countries:
  - > Decisions are **not automatic**
  - > Making decisions is harder, and that there are more decisisions to be made
  - > Available technologies may be inappropriate to generate social returns

# A concrete application

- Children have to attend school in order to learn
- But it is hard to ensure that children attend
- Can technology help?
  - >If so, what is the right technology?



# Brazilian schools microchip T-shirts to cut truancy

© 23 March 2012 Latin America & Caribbean



Schools in Brazil have started to place computer chips in school uniforms to keep track of pupils and reduce truancy.

Some 20,000 pupils in the northeastern city of Vitoria da Conquista will have microchips embedded in their school T-shirts.

The parents will get a text message when their children arrive at school, or if they are late for classes.



The authorities say the measure will help teacher-parent relations.

#### SMS alerts

The authorities in Vitoria da Conquista, Bahia state, call the microchipped T-shirts "intelligent uniforms".





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Some 20,000 pupils in the north-



The local government has invested about \$700,000 (£442, 531) to set up the system.

if they are late for classes.

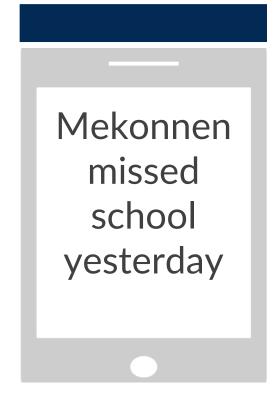
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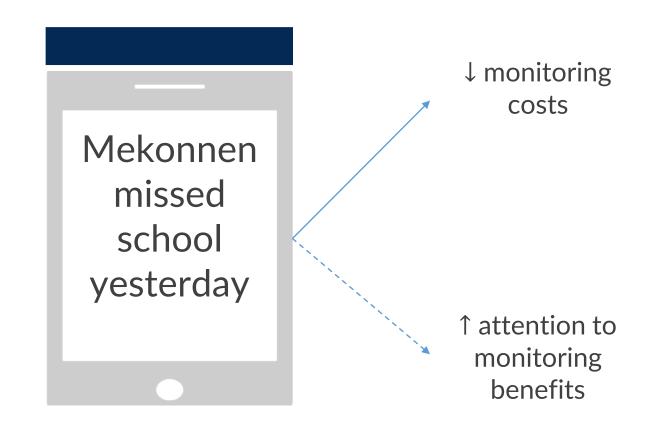
#### MAKING DECISIONS EASIER



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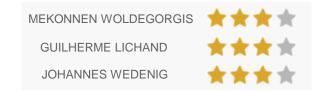


#### MAKING DECISIONS EASIER



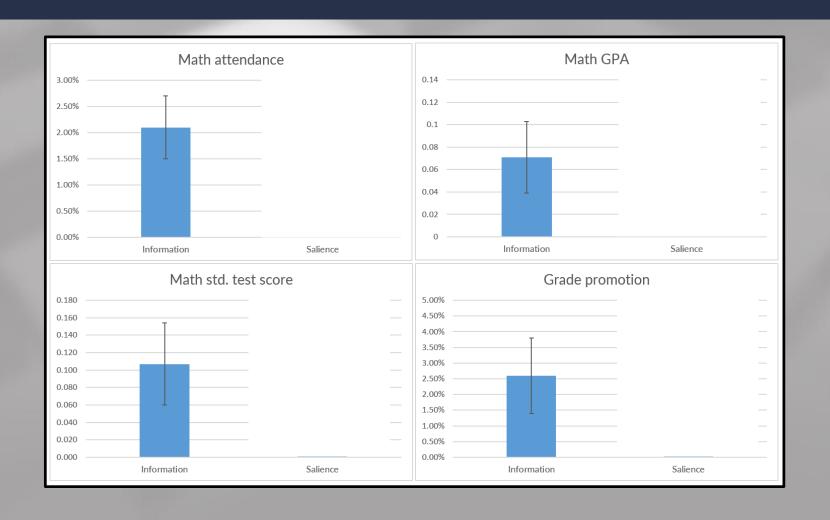
## IS IT ENOUGH TO DRAW ATTENTION?

Cunha, Lichand, Madeira and Bettinger (2018) "What Is It About Communicating With Parents?"

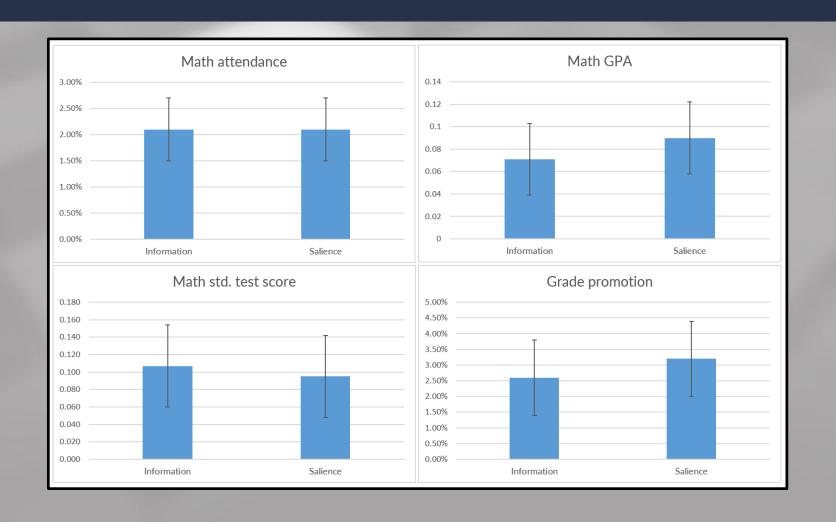


CONTROL	ATTENTION	INFORMATION
	Attending classes every day is important for Johannes's grades.	Mekonnen was absent less than 3 times in the previous 3 weeks

## Cunha, Lichand, Madeira e Bettinger (2018)



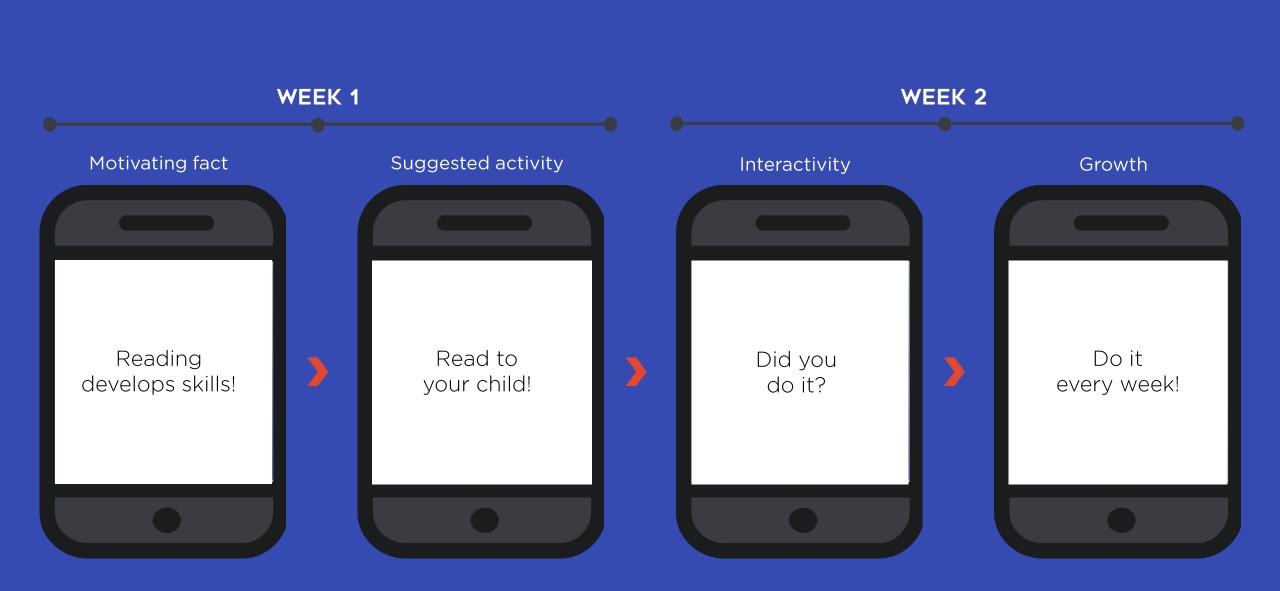
## Cunha, Lichand, Madeira e Bettinger (2018)



## A concrete application (2)

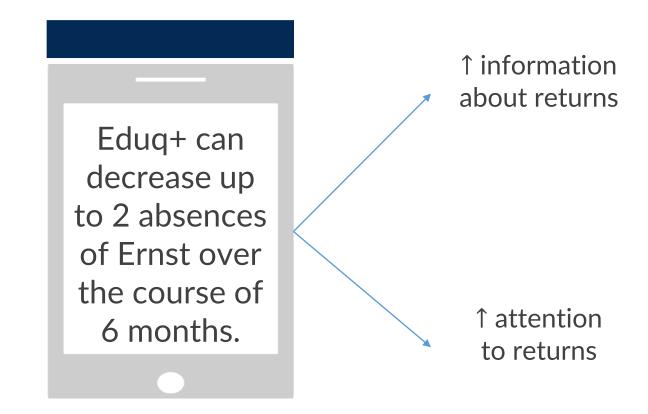
- Poverty leads parents to mess up the evaluation of returns on investments in children
- Can technology help?
  - >If so, what is the right technology?

### DO YOU WANT TO BUY IT?

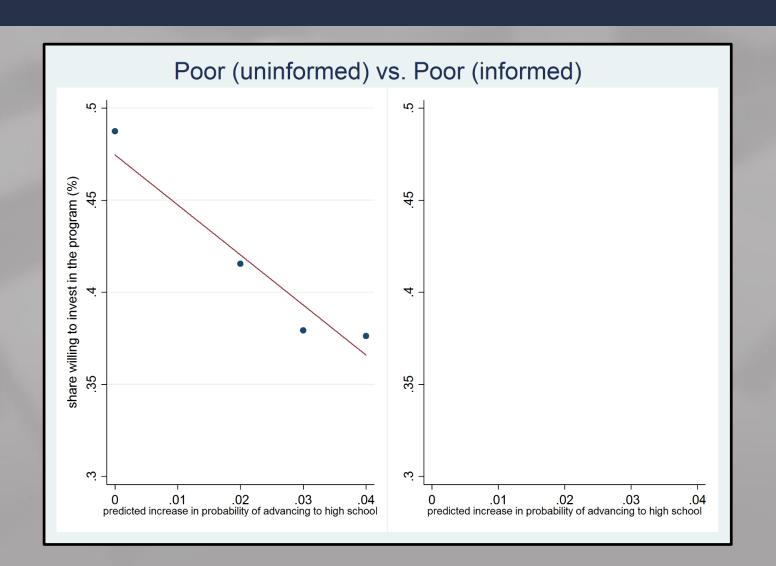


#### MAKING DECISIONS EASIER

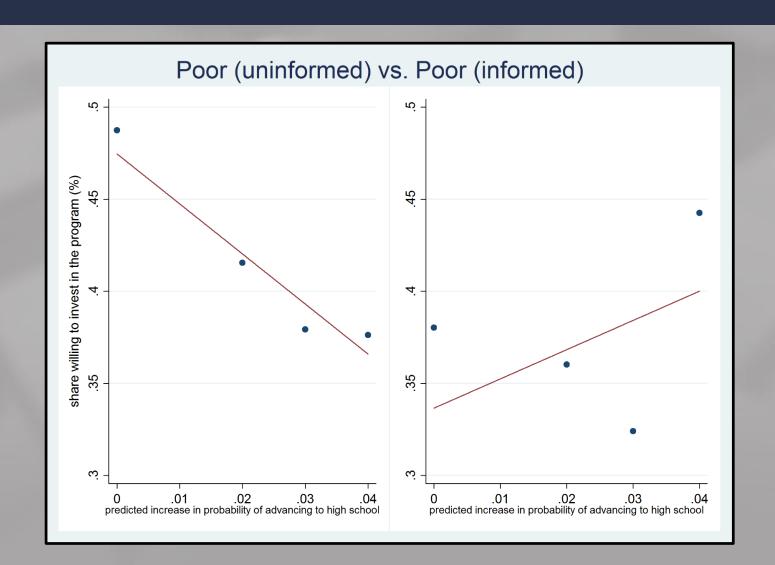
2 days before the decision had to be made:



## Lichand, Bettinger, Cunha e Madeira (2018)



## Lichand, Bettinger, Cunha e Madeira (2018)



## The RIGHT Technology

- Removes restrictions to decisions-making
  - > Simplification
  - > Nudges and reminders
- Makes decisions automatic
  - > Change rules and institutions
- Offers mechanisms for participation and voice
  - > Maximal reach
  - > Incentive compatible



## LEAPFROGGING INEQUALITY

Remaking Education to Help Young People Thrive

**Rebecca Winthrop** 

with

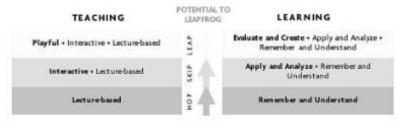
Adam Barton and Eileen McGivney



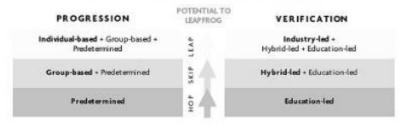
FIGURE 5-1 The Leapfrog Pathway for Education

#### **CORE ELEMENTS**

Teaching and Learning: Increasingly Student-centered



#### Recognition of Learning: Increasingly Individualized



#### SUPPORT ELEMENTS

People and Places: Increasingly Diverse

PEOPLE	LEAPFROG	PLACES
Everyone + Teachers team with others + Licensed teachers	CEAP	In a diversity of contexts + Connected to outside school + h-school
Teachers team with others + Licensed teachers	1 A	Connected to outside school + In-school
Licensed teachers	è 4	In-school

#### Technology and Data: Increasingly Results Oriented

TECHNOLOGY	POTENTIAL TO LEAPFROG	DATA
Modification and redefinition + Augmentation + Substitution	LEAP	Data for transforming learning experiences - Data for program improvement - Data for compliance
Augmentation + Substitution	ž A	Data for program improvement + Data for compliance
Substitution	1 t	Data for compliance

of



cca Winthrop

with

Adam Barton and Eileen McGivney

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Augmentation + Substitution	ž A	Data for program improvement + Data for compliance
Substitution	1 to 1	Data for compliance

of

#### APPLYING THE FRAMEWORK

- 1. Technologies inside the classroom
  - 1.1 Computers
  - 1.2 Internet
  - 1.3 Tablets
- 2. Remote learning technologies
  - 2.1 Video lectures
  - 2.2 Cell-phones
  - 2.3 Digital television
- 3. Technologies to support management
  - 3.1 Comunicating with students and parents
  - 3.2 Monitoring teachers
  - 3.3 Generalizing best practices





Computers

Education Technology: An Evidence-Based Review

Maya Escueta, Vincent Quan, Andre Joshua Nickow, Philip Oreopoulos NBER Working Paper No. 23744, Issued in August 2017

Internet

Videos or tablets (scripted teaching)





#### Make decisions automatic

Remove restrictions to decisions making

Offers mechanisms for participatoin and voice





#### Computers:

- > No systematic impacts on learning...
- > Nuance: for what use?





- Internet:
  - ➤ No systematic impacts on learning...











# WITHOUT A NET

## DIGITAL DIVIDE IN AMERICA

WATCH TRAILER

PREMIERES 9.26.17 10/9C



Presented by Verizon



A NEW DOCUMENTARY FROM ACADEMY AWARD\* NOMINATED DIRECTOR RORY KENNEDY

# EDUCATIONA **CANMAK** OPPORTUNITIES EVEN MORE

THE DIGITAL DIVIDE IN AMERICA

A NET

WATCH TRAILER

PREMIERES 9.26.17 10/9C

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

WITHOUT

Presented by Verizon

#### **UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITIES**

### Today





#### Internet:

- ➤ No systematic impacts on learning...
- > Tripod technology + connectivity + teach training is hard to achieve even in developed countries like the US.
- > As a result, inequality potentially increases!





- Internet:
  - ➤ No systematic impacts on learning...
- INAPPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY nard to > Tripod technology + connectivity achieve even in developed
  - > As a result, inequality





- Videos or tablets (scripted teaching):
  - > It works!
  - > Successfull experiences both in fragile school systems (such sa Kenya and Liberia) and in consolidated school systems (such as Hong Kong).





Videos or tablets (scripted teaching):









- Video lectures
- Cell-phones
- Digital TV





Make decisions automatic

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- Video lectures:
  - > Scripted learning works!
  - Experiences in North of Brazil is considered amongst the best in the world: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=maO6bXYwcBc







#### Cell-phones:

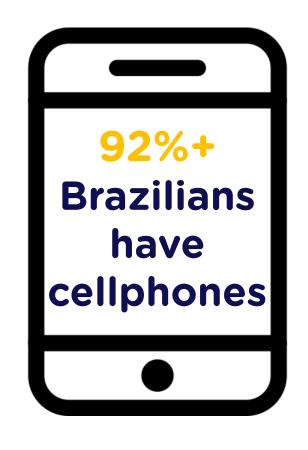
- ➤ It is already possible to allow students to learn directly through their cell-phones (with or without teacher mediation)
- > Opportunities and challenges...





Cellphones are

## everywhere



40%+ of stock are already smartphones



Rapid growth through low-cost Androids

But not everyone is

## connected



Brazil has the most expensive phone costs in the world



Cheapest data plan is about 10 CHF/month

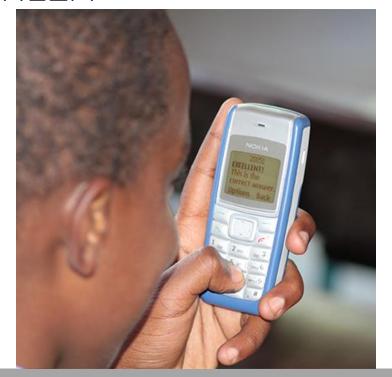
#### **UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITIES**

### Today





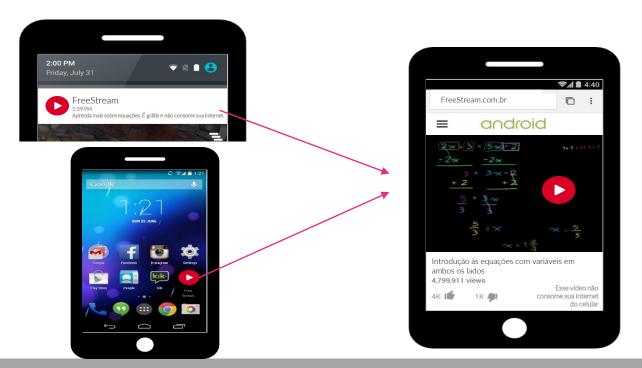
- Cell-phones:
  - ➤ It is already possible to allow students to learn directly through their cell-phones (with or without teacher mediation)
  - > Offline model: ENEZA







- Cell-phones:
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  - > Online model (zero rating): needs testing

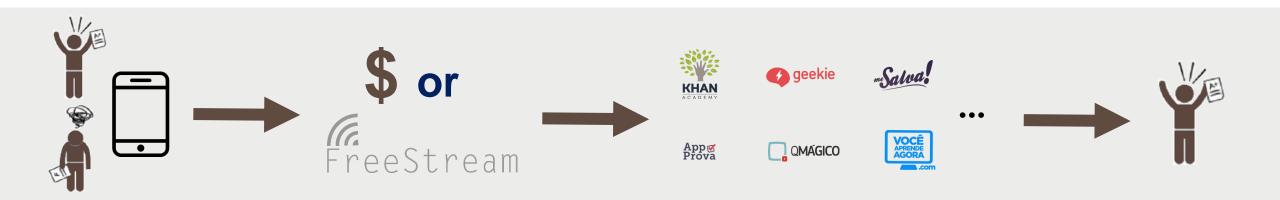






#### A **DISRUPTIVE** SOLUTION

#### The future



FREE CONNECTIVITY EARMARKED
TO ACCESS CONTENT MADE
AVAILABLE THROUGH FREESTREAM

LIKE **AIRPORT WI-FI... BUT**NO SPECIFIC LOCATIONS OR VENDORS;
RATHER, A SPECIFIC **TARGET AUDIENCE** 

- Digital TV:
  - > In Brazil, every household has a digital conversor!

#### Programa de Distribuição de Kits

O kit gratuito com antena e conversor é destinado aos beneficiários de Programas Sociais do Governo Federal como Bolsa Família, Minha Casa Minha Vida, Tarifa Social de Energia Elétrica e muitos outros. A sua TV vai ter muito mais qualidade de imagem e som com a TV Digital.

AGENDE JÁ A RETIRADA DO SEU KIT GRATUITO





#### • Digital TV:

- > Unique media to send information and survey, directly inside the household.
- > Hardware is available... software needs testing





#### TECHNOLOGIES TO SUPPORT MANAGEMENT

- Communication with students and parents
- Monitoring teachers
- Generalizing best practices





Make decisions automatic

Remove restrictions to decisions making

Offers mechanisms for participatoin and voice





- Communication with students and parents:
  - > About aspirations and mindset





#### MINDSET MATTERS

- Growth mindset: agreement with statements about whether intelligence can be changed.
- Strong correlation between performance and mindset.
- Interventions that manipulate mindset also have important effects on challenge seeking, math performance and grade progression (Yeager et al., 2017).





#### RESULTS FROM SMS PILOT WITH PARENTS

Parents of 6-15 year-old children in public schools across Petrolina (PE) and Jacareí (SP) randomly assigned to 2 SMS/week over 3 months, focused on either parental engagement messages (Cunha et al., 2018) or growth mindset messages.

SMS endline survey (no differential response rates):

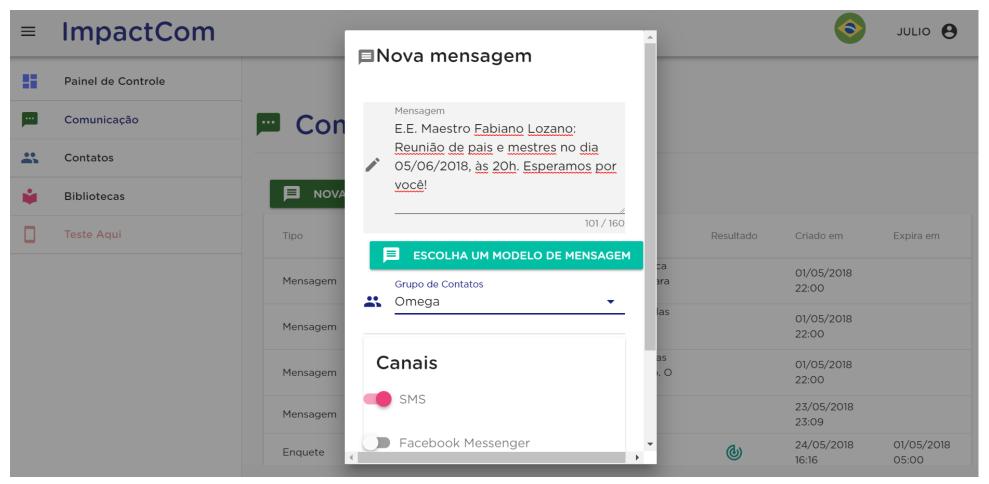
	Disagrees with:						
	"Your intelligence is something about you that you can't change very much"		"Being a 'math person' or not is something that you really can't change. Some people are good at math and other people aren't"		be good at that subject		
	(1)	$(2)  \boxed{0.6}$	67 s.d. (3)	(4) <b>0.5</b>	9 s.d. (5)	(6) <b>y</b> <sup>0.1</sup>	16 s.d.
Growth mindset SMS	0.0363	0.0334	0.0202	0.0294	0.0767*	0.0739*	
	[0.0456]	[0.0457]	[0.0453]	[0.0451]	[0.0414]	[0.0400]	
Constant	0.521***	0.522***	0.433***	0.429***	0.652***	0.653***	
	[0.0321]	[0.0319]	[0.0317]	[0.0314]	[0.0292]	[0.0282]	
Municipality-age fixed effect	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	
Observations	479	479	483	483	497	497	
R-squared	0.001	0.044	0.000	0.039	0.007	0.093	





- Communication with students and parents:
  - Information about **attendance and school behavior**: increases attendance by 15%, learning by at least one additional quarter in school, and decreases grade repetition rates by 1/3
  - ➤ Nudges for making children's school life top-of-mind: increases attendance by 15%, learning by up to three additional quarters in school, and drecreaes grade repetition rates by 1/3









- Communication with students and parents:
  - Caveat 1: Parents may be illiterate, or not understand the official language
    - > In Cote d'Ivoire, ongoing study testing voice messages, and dialects
  - ➤ Caveat 2: In Ghana, communication with parents has proven to be harmful – increased demand for teachers to physically punish students, reversing the positive effects of a teacher training intervention
    - In Cote d'Ivoire, ongoing study trying to engage parents while dispelling such negative effects





- Communication with students and parents:
  - ➤ Caveat 3: When teachers are so often not in classroom (60% of the time, in Ghana), maybe engaging parents is not enough to boost learning





- Monitoring teachers:
  - Class pictures
  - > Proven impacts on attendance and learning in Kenya





- Monitoring teachers:
  - > Teacher training
  - Proven impacts on teacher attendance, burnout and quality in Ghana







- Generalizing best practices:
  - > Learning from what works systematically elsewhere
    - > Teacher training
    - Scripted learning
    - > Tracking: Teaching at the Right Level





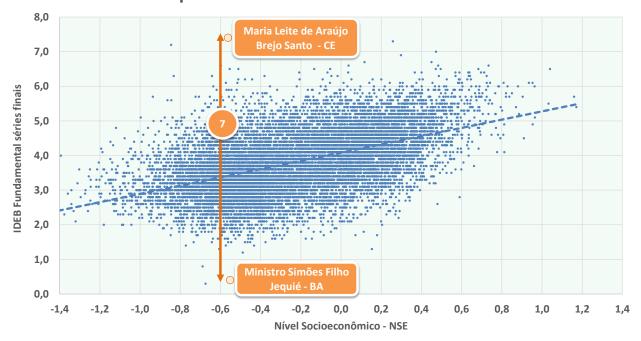
- Generalizing best practices:
  - > Learning from what works systematically in Malawi





Generalizing best practices:

Relação entre o IDB-Fundamental Séries Finais das Escolas Municipais e o Nível Socioeconômico dos Alunos







- Generalizing best practices:
  - > Learning from what works systematically in Malawi
    - > Collect systematic high-quality data on school outcomes
    - Algorithm can find clusters of schools, and match schools within clusters for sharing best practices





# Thank you!

www.ccwd.uzh.ch