Objectives

The purpose of this course is to analyze the intersection among education systems, the welfare state, and the broader political economy, asking three interrelated sets of questions:

First, what is the relationship between the development of mass education systems and broader systems of social protection and economic organization? Over the past two decades, scholars examining the origins of advanced welfare states and their relationship to the broader political economy have conceptualized the nature of social protection in starkly different terms, leading to varying explanatory logics emphasizing redistributive versus insurance demands (which in turn build on longer standing debates examining the relative influence of organized class-based struggles versus cross-class coordination in explaining welfare formation). More recent work applies this logic to the development and expansion of mass educational systems, examining education systems’ redistributive potential and varied role in skill formation across different ‘growth models’. Do these approaches provide us with insights for understanding the varied processes of educational expansion that historically involved a broader set of non-economic actors (e.g. Churches, local governments, international actors), aims (e.g. building and staffing a professional civil service, shaping national culture), and policy structures. How far do ‘workhouse’ political economy models take us in conceptualizing education systems? What can the study of education teach us about social policy?

Second, what characterizes the politics of educational expansion and reform in a post-industrial democracy? One of the defining features of post-industrial economic structures is the changing demand for skills (and occupations employing different types of skills) – indeed, scholars often use the ‘knowledge economy’ interchangeably with post-industrialism in defining the contemporary environment. These shifts have both fed into new demands for educational expansion and changing political coalitions around the traditional social policies. The relationship between these two shifts, however, is matter of debate in political science. Is educational expansion a functional equivalent to redistributive policies in a post-industrial economy? Why have some countries devoted more resources and attention to educational expansion in recent years than others? Do the politics of structural reform in education (marketization, increased centralization of testing and so on) follow the same path?

Finally, the last session investigates the role of education in reshaping social demands. Education is increasingly a new social cleavage, with highly educated voters expressing more socially liberal (but often more economically conservative) values. While much of the debate about the expansion of education on changing political coalitions looks at education as a marker of new class structures, in this final section we further examine the experience of education itself. What about education is shaping this new cleavage? Do the effects of education largely operate through changed labor market opportunities and occupational socialization or does how citizens are educated – or with whom they are educated - matter?

Note: While the focus is largely on advanced industrial democracies, a broader set of literature is referenced in the recommended.

Course requirements.
All participants should read the * readings. The other core readings are discretionary, but useful. The additional readings are for information, and refer to the readings that will be discussed in the lectures.

All participants should write two brief memos over the three day period (2-4 pages) each based on one set sessions (i.e. 1a/b 2a/b etc). The memo should respond to the set questions for the session, but can be more narrow in focus. The purpose of the memos is to stimulate discussion, and they should be circulated prior to the discussion. To be shared by uploading to the folder in course Drive at least evening before discussion.

Day 1: The origins of mass education systems

The morning session examines three basic frameworks for conceptualizing social policy and its expansion in advanced democracies: those conceptualizing the welfare state as a relatively undifferentiated product of economic modernization and democratic demands, those conceptualizing it as a redistributive policy emerging from political class struggles, and those conceptualizing it as insurance supporting different forms of skill formation across varying economic systems. All three perspectives have implications for how we understand educational expansion and the conditions under which it is likely to occur.

The afternoon sessions examines the historical origins of mass education systems. In this session, we ask whether social policy approaches conceptualizing education as part of a democratic or economic logic (either productive or redistributive) have a strong empirical foundation relative to those emphasizing its distinct dynamics as part of broader processes of cultural reproduction, values, and identity formation.

Session 1: The Expansion of Mass Systems of Social Protection

Lecture 1a - What do welfare states do? How do they vary? Why?

- Underlying conceptualization of social programs - redistribution versus risk
- Classic theories of welfare state variation - Power resource approaches and Employer Centred approaches
- Classic theories of welfare state variation – Electoral demand for welfare

Lecture 1b – What does the welfare state teach us about education?

- Role of education in classic theories?
- Applying redistributive/conflict models and insurance/coordination models to educational development

Recommended Readings (Review if unfamiliar)

Session 2: The Expansion of Mass Education Systems

Lecture 2a - What core features the early movement towards mass education?
- Education and state formation
- Timing, character, and emphasis
- Education systems in the post-war period

Lecture 2b - Can we understand educational expansion in terms of redistributive demands? Did the demand for specific types of skills drive early expansion
- Contribution of the political economy approach
- Limits of the political economy approach

Core Readings

Additional Resources: Note this is a selective (not comprehensive) sampling of literature from a variety of different perspectives on the early expansion of mass education systems, and their role and function in the polity and economy.
  - Classic conceptualization of the early variation in systems, developing a conceptual framework built around the degree of stratification and standardization in education.
  - Applies a redistributive political economy lens, which conceptualizes differential gains across the income spectrum, to educational enrolment expansion and spending.
  - Gary Becker’s classic analysis, which forms an important intellectual core to skill based theories of welfare and growth models.
  - A succinct review of a wide range of literature in sociology, development economic, and historical analysis of the origins of mass education systems, including literature focused on colonial institutions and educational expansion in developing countries.
• Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life.*
  o Classic Marxist interpretation of the role of education in social reproduction.
• Keith Darden and Harris Mylonas. 2015 “Threats to Territorial Integrity, National Mass Schooling, and Linguistic Commonality.” *Comparative Political Studies.* 49 issue: 11, page(s): 1446-1479
  o An historical analysis of the links between territorial conflict and investment in educational structures in the state building period, and contemporary linguistic homogeneity.
  o A theoretical argument bridging both power-resource and Varieties of Capitalism perspectives on welfare state formation with the role of human capital across European welfare states.
  o Quantitative historical analysis of the determinants of public spending and educational expansion.
  o An historical analysis of early expansion of benefits for mothers – including early childhood education – in Europe and the US, emphasizing the explanatory role of religion.
• Kathleen Thelen. 2004. *How institutions evolve: The political economy of skills in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan* Thelen’s classic work on the development and change in institutions of training and vocational training across industrial economies.

**Day 2: Post-industrial welfare state and education**

We first examine the changing perspectives in the field of labor economics and sociology towards skills, inequality and growth. We look at the literature in the United States and Europe focusing on structural changes in demand for skills and the link (or lack thereof) to rising income inequality and changes in the class structure. We then turn to the political science literature on the implications of the changing occupational structure, changing geographic structure, and new welfare and education policy cleavages emerging around education.

In the afternoon session, we turn to the politics of expanding education itself, tracing the ‘social investment’ agenda as part of a general shift to conflict on the ‘supply side’ of the economy. In this section, we ask why social investment has met with varied support, politically and economically, despite the seeming support of voters and policymakers alike for more investments in skills.

**Session 3: The Rise of the Knowledge Economy**

**Lecture 3a – Post-industrial transitions**

• Defining post-industrial shifts
• Skill biased technological changed, job polarization, the rise of superstar firms
• Social, economic and geographic consequences of changes in the skills structure
Lecture 3b – What are the implications of educational upgrading for the political coalitions around social policy?

- Changes in the class structure – dealignment and realignment
- Education as a new social cleavage
- Educational investment as a new attitudinal divide

**Core Reading (skim the first two readings)**


**Additional Resources:** Post-Industrial Structures, Occupational Change, and New Political Actors

  - Important recent work on market concentration and the changing behaviors of firms, which has implications for the education debate. This popular article reflecting on Thomas Piketty’s contribution is also of interest.
  - [http://bostonreview.net/class-inequality/marshall-steinbaum-why-are-economists-giving-piketty-cold-shoulder](http://bostonreview.net/class-inequality/marshall-steinbaum-why-are-economists-giving-piketty-cold-shoulder)
  - Recent work on the politics of nationally variable ‘growth models’ which build on different uses of human capital.
  - Building on some of Kitschelt’s earlier work on occupational socialization and Rehm’s work on risk structures, this paper examining how changing occupational structures feed into different dimensions of political attitudes.
  - Work by Iversen and Soskice on conceptualizing the underlying shifts in the coalition structure between high and low skilled workers in the face of de-industrialization. Forms part of a research agenda leading to a new book length treatment of the topic.
While not focused on education, Rueda’s important work on insider-outsider dynamics, particularly for parties on the left, has crucial implications for the politics of strategies that move away from social consumption approaches.

  - An account for the changed nature of the coalitions around production (including skill formation) and distribution have drifted apart in some contexts.
  - Provides an overview of how structural changes associated with the rise of the service sector have altered the underlying models of advanced political economies

Session 4: Electoral and Distributive politics of Social Investment

Lecture 4a – What is social investment?
- What is social investment?
- Expansion of higher education
- Voters and the politics of social investment

Lecture 4b - Do the politics of education reform differ in systems with strong and weak teachers’ unions?
- Interest groups in education
- New actors – philanthropists, private firms, and non-state actors

Core Readings:

Additional Reading
  - A theoretical analysis of the redistributive political dynamics of extending higher education.
  - An analysis of the demography and structural determinants of education spending.
- An examination of age and education effects in shaping public attitudes.
  - A theorization of different systems of higher education and skill production in the contemporary era.
  - An analysis of the demography and structural determinants of education spending.
  - An analysis of different ‘worlds’ of
  - An examination of the attitudes of higher-skilled labor market outsiders, an increasingly important economic and political group.
  - A comprehensive review of social investment policies in the framework of broader welfare reform across Europe.
  - Empirically examines the claims in that public sector unions inflate budget size through a careful study of US states.
- Sarah Reckhow. *Follow the money: How foundation dollars change public school politics*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 1
  - An analysis of the growth of private philanthropy in American education.
  - A provocative piece, arguing that investment suffers under periods of austerity in ways that often do not recover.

**Day 3: Education Reform and Downstream Consequences**

We start by continuing the discussion of educational reform. We turn to two areas of increasing importance – structural reforms in the organization of educational systems and attention to educational equality. Over the past decade, many countries have engaged in a mix of seemingly contradictory reforms, both expanding school autonomy and competition and increasing central control over inspection, curriculum and testing. More recently, the question of equity (a perennial concern in education politics) has re-emerged in new ways, as the link between trends in the labor market, parental sorting, migration, and marketizing reforms have raised questions about the nature of equal education in contemporary politics. This lecture looks at the varied attention to these issues, and choices of reform paths. We then turn to examining the question of equality of opportunity from another angle, focusing on youth inclusion. Here we look at the regulatory-welfare-education nexus around youth inclusion, asking what factors shape varying school-to-work transitions among young people.

In the final session we return to questions we first encountered the previous – the changing nature of political cleavages. Here, however, we revisit the question of downstream effects of
changing structures of education from the perspective of educational experiences rather than class dynamics. We ask whether education itself exerts long-run effects on citizen attitudes.

Session 5: Quality and Equality in Education

Lecture 5a- Why has educational quality emerged as a major issue?
- NPM agenda
- More autonomy more rules?
- Educational inclusion in an era of growing inequality

Lecture 5b – Why do young people with high and low skills fare differently across places?
- Welfare-Training nexus for young people
- What explains variation?
- Youth as a political force

Core Reading

Additional Reading on Education Reform
  o A theoretically grounded analysis of education reform in the UK and beyond.
  o An analysis of varying forms of marketization in primary and secondary education.
  o Classic argument about alternative modes of creating responsiveness within organizations.
An analysis of politics of choice based reforms in Europe.

  - An argument for using different models of public sector management.

**Session 6: Education, Education Policies, and Individual Attitudes**

- **Lecture 6a and 6b**: – Does education have a direct effect on attitudes or behaviors?

**Core Reading**


**Additional Reading**

  - An interesting case of the long-run effects of punitive treatment in schools on political participation.
  - An overview of the literature on mass feedbacks from policy.
  - A revisiting of Dalton’s classic argument about cognitive mobilization in the US case.
  - An examination of literature on the causal effect of education on participation.
  - An examination of the effects of the social aspects of college education on economic conservatism.
  - An examination of the effects of college education on cultural liberalism.
- Two studies examining the effects of expanding compulsory schooling on long-run economic conservatism.