

Chapter 1: Spatial Divisions of Labor and The Search for Jobs

summary:: setting the historical and cultural stage for a deeper understanding of the market forces that drive education. introduction to the adaptability of capitalism through history

- fundamental ?s
 - how are we valued by society + how do we value ourselves?
 - what are the forces that are creating feelings of self + webs of belief?
 - how do children become workers?

- *resource:: Learning to Labor - Paul Willis

- young people in increasingly precarious positions
 - insecurities in economy + labor market → workers → children
- education prepares young people for entry into global society
 - risks are global + highly geographical
- cultural adaptability, lifelong learning > social cohesion/assimilation
 - "flexibility: the ability to nimbly leap between skills and across spaces to capture the open position in the global economy. once again, those who cannot make this leap are left behind, in place."
- what/how children are taught/learn reflect prevailing norms spot. Econ.
 - how norms are produced/contested
 - overarching policy shifts + key struggles
- labor formed by geographical relationships + visions
 - uneven development, inequitable opportunities + relationships
 - works @ different scales
 - education reflects and reproduces tensions of global marketplace
- emphasize geographical basis of educational transformations
 - pedagogies + practices of resistance can help mitigate damage
 - countermapping
 - history of local river

uneven development

- uneven development, inequitable relationships/opportunities
 - reflects spatial production within capitalist system
 - abolishing inequality requires global perspective and application
- work availability
 - used to be constrained by national borders
 - now global
- "capitalism reshapes the world through its inherent dynamism, and also through its own internal contradictions"
 1. labor class vs. owning class
 2. overaccumulation of goods or capital

- *resource:: Limits to Capital - David Harvey

**spatial fix

- overaccumulation can be temporarily fixed by geographical expansion, soaks up unproductive capital
- primary circuit: circuit of commodity production
- secondary circuit: circuit of built environment
 - urban infrastructure
 - office buildings
 - housing

- *resource:: Uneven Development - Neil Smith

- neil smith: entire natural world becomes capitalized and subject to new rounds of uneven development under capitalism
- "challenging these iterative processes and effects must be first and foremost a geographical project as well as a social struggle"
- type and location of jobs are determined by capitalist development

capitalist development and spatial divisions of labor

- earliest division of labor = within factories
 - assembly line style labor specialization
 - "laborers working for a wage could be directed and utilized as factors of production similar to any other factor"
 - ~human resources~

dynamic nature of capitalism

- "the constant reorganization of production to take advantage of these multiple divisions has been one of the greatest means of increasing profitability since the advent of the capitalist system"
- multiple divisions: technical and geographical

- *resource:: Spatial Divisions of Labor - Doreen Massey

- massey - "spatial distribution of employment has to do with the way in which production is organized across space"
 - "contemporary divisions of labor... were themselves established on the basis of prior international relationships and patterns. these included the 'old' international division of labor, where resources were extracted from the colonies and profit was made through the manufacturing process in core european cities"
 - raw materials in colonized places for dirt cheap, main investment in processing labor in core countries
 - swiss chocolatiers

NIDL - new international division of labor

- industrial decline in core countries
 - offshoring of manufacturing
- rapid growth of manufacturing, assembly around the world
 - export-oriented

TNC - transnational corporations

- coordinate assembly/processing of parts, materials globally
- TNCs play off different locations against each other
- force local gov, communities to accept as price for local jobs
 - lower tax rates
 - lower labor protections
 - weakened regulatory oversight
- headquartered in big international cities
 - key nodes of production process
 - command and control functions of management and system coord
- TNC execs search for regions with lowest cost labor/land/taxes/env regulations, outsource parts of their business
 - question:: how to combat labor, etc. exploitation by TNCs?
- have grown a lot over the past 4 decades
- optimize possibilities of NIDL

commodity chain

- linked chain of places and events
- gathering resources -> distribution and exchange of an item

time-space compression

- world is easier to cross physically and electronically

gendering of labor

- change of gendered division of labor
 - "while women have always worked, and labor markets have always been segregated by gender to various degrees, the entry of women into new forms of waged labor worldwide has been a marked characteristic of this particular transformation in the spatial division of labor"

neoliberalism, globalization, and work

- *resource:: Introducing Globalization - Matthew Sparke
- sparke - "neoliberalism names an approach to governing capitalism that emphasizes liberalizing markets and making market forces the basis of economic coordination, social distribution, and personal motivation"
 - neoliberalism as an ideological project
 - opposed to welfarism

keynesianism

- "regime of nationally coordinated management, development, and social protections"
- fordism: pre- and post-ww2 interventionist approach in regulation of economy
 - immediately succeeded by rollback of state protections & welfare (neoliberalism)
- free trade agreements
 - NAFTA, WTO
 - "operate mainly to the benefit of wealthier countries and the corporate and business elites within all of the countries involved. moreover, they frequently have a negative impact on workers and the environment"
- "urban environments and residents often absorb the brunt of laws, policies, and programs promoted and financed -- or not financed -- at the national scale"

- "federal policies designed to facilitate the movement of interstate goods, encourage suburban development, and aid homeownership were key factors in the abandonment and deterioration of inner city neighborhoods"
 - national defense and interstate highway act
 - availability of federally subsidized home mortgages to returning veterans (white only) for new homes
 - changing tax codes that encouraged businesses to abandon older structures by giving greater tax benefits for the construction of new buildings on greenfield sites
- "along with other institutional actors such as banks, and in conjunction with widespread racism, federal actions encouraged suburbanization, white flight, and urban disinvestment"
 - racial restrictions on home buying
 - loss of resources for state-funded metropolitan schools
 - "minority populations became trapped in rapidly deteriorating urban environments"
 - "state schools of many major US cities became both poorer and even more highly segregated by race during the late 1960s"
 - resource:: 5-4 episode on de jure vs de facto segregation
- city leaders shifted to market-friendly policies to attract more capital
 - reducing taxes for businesses willing to stay
 - tax incentives to businesses willing to come
 - providing types of labor, infrastructural, env conditions most corpo-friendly
- consequences
 - greater urban socioeconomic inequality
 - social exclusion
 - increased forms of marginalization based on race and class
 - more surveillance and monitoring (glasgow)
 - reduction in unionization/worker benefits/urban services and amenities
- funding
 - gov funding for US higher education -40.2% 1980-2011
 - as big as -69.4% in some states
- tuition cost +164% 1980-2012
 - top state colleges +247%
 - attract knowledge workers
 - resource:: The Rise of the Creative Class - Richard Florida
 - "cities able to attract and engage creative and innovative individuals would benefit enormously, as they would transition into successful postindustrial cities at the vanguard of emerging financial and high-tech economic regimes"

glocalization and worker mobility

- "processes of neoliberal globalization leave workers worldwide in increasingly precarious positions"
 - scaling up financial, etc. control to global institutions and actors
 - responsibility for administering austerity and policing compliance scaled down to city level
 - glocalization
 - links fate of local spaces and institutions to broader financial/political/regulatory systems beyond their control, beyond control of democratically elected representatives

- *resource:: The Neoliberal City - Jason Hackworth

- "board backlash against the negative effects of neoliberal globalization by the poor and middle classes. this anger and resistance, however, has been combined with anti-immigrant and often white supremacist narratives fomented and encouraged by reactionary populists to further their own political ends."
- "actual laws, policies, and people put in place by trump and his followers work to the advantage of the affluent elite and to the detriment of many of those who voted for him"

new labor and the knowledge economy

- "a strong push toward imagining new kinds of labor and ways of being a worker"
 - remote tech worker
 - digital artist
 - influencer
 - traveling nurse
- flexible in education and training, mobile w/ willingness to move where economy is hot
 - not everyone can cash in on knowledge economy no matter amount of education
 - *resource: The Global Auction - Brown, Lauder, and Ashton
- "opportunity trap"
- digital taylorism
 - "involves the translation of various forms of knowledge work into working knowledge that can be digitally distributed worldwide"
 - "highly skilled jobs going to the lowest bidder, just as they have for low-skilled workers for the past several decades"
 - question:: why is manufacturing considered low skill vs. knowledge work?
- "the implicit promise that if you have a college education you will succeed in the knowledge economy is no longer valid. there is too much social congestion worldwide in the competition for white-collar, middle-class jobs. this is now true not just for the advanced economies but also increasingly for semi-developed nations as well"

Chapter 2: Creating the Entrepreneurial Child

summary:: how neoliberal educational reform shifted the general perspective towards childhood. how neoliberal policies affect the spaces children exist

- neoliberalism is ideological & regulatory as well as economic
- governance/governmentally: rationalities of thought, not specific entities
 - liberalism: rights of individuals vs. gov encroachment
 - neoliberalism: same + development of individuals as self-inventing entrepreneurs
- neoliberalism sets field of action so informed individuals can conduct cost-benefit analysis
 - government's responsibility to incentivize individual entrepreneurial behavior
 - indiv's choices to take risks + be accountable for own choices
- neoliberal governance in education
 - increasing imperative to make educational choices
 - structural constraints limit the choices people can make
 - also affects & choices constrained by
 - how children are raised & educated
 - how they come to value their own labor
 - how/why they become certain kinds of students + workers
- foucault: knowledge not universal + neutral
 - historically + geographically contingent, laden w/power relations
 - individuals became governable because they consent to expert intervention
- imperative to gain knowledge + care for self exists in relation to others' efforts
 - projects of self-care made possible by inequity + exploitation
 - austerity cuts limit research → limit informed choice making
- youth in many societies (incl. global south) ↑ market-oriented ideas of self-worth
 - optimizing life trajectory from younger + younger age
 - mindset is developed over a lifetime

changing spaces & strategies of 21st century childhood

- few remaining spaces for children to play; drop in funding for public spaces
- rollback of welfare state under reagan
 - impacted poor & minority children the most
- gentrification appropriated public spaces where poor children could play
- "stranger danger" propaganda → closer parental supervision
 - oblivious/resistant parents subject to state intervention
- loss of free time; increase in study time-scheduled activities
- increasing alienation from natural world
 - corporatized play spaces, edutainment
- middle-class children: more productive pursuits in highly regulated environments
 - trying to maximize human capital
- parents experience more economic anxiety → more ads abt commercial ed products
- increasing pressure to produce children who can succeed academically
- divergent cultural attitudes about child rearing

consuming schools & curricula

- growing consumer orientation towards schools & curricula
- successful programs
 - strong tech orientation
 - gifted
 - bilingual
 - globally focused
- strong shift in perspective regarding multilingualism
 - used to be discouraged among immigrants
 - now considered important to success in global market
- international ed programs use strong discourse of national security
 - economic competitiveness, military preparedness
- efforts to gain comparative advantage through schooling now global

Chapter 3: From Multicultural Citizen to Global Businessman

summary:: how the ideology of multiculturalism is connected to neoliberal state formation

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- most national systems of state-funded education started in 19th century
 - neoliberal restructuring of state: regulatory -> promotional role
 - # political economy, state formation, & systems of education
 - public education developed to sustain capitalist systems of accumulation
 - content of early schooling *not* directly linked to industrial workforce skills
 - twin processes of social reproduction & state formation
 - educating in social norms & citizenship ideals
 - changing global economy = changing skill sets & attitudes toward work, nation

multiculturalism in education

- instrument of state management
 - national narrative of coherence
 - management & control of differences
 - harmony between white citizens & nonwhite/immigrants
 - image of calm amidst unrest
 - dilute/defer stronger expressions of group-based cultural identity
 - corporate cover for conducting business as usual
- neoliberal pressure -> decline in state promotion of multiculturalism
- canada
 - education system central to developing new unified national identity
 - school governance: school boards -> provincial control
 - increased privatization & market oriented activity
 - decreased federal funding & promotion of multiculturalism
- england
 - high decentralized education system, stratified between public & private
 - served to reproduce & legitimize dominant class relations
 - not involved in state formation until post-WWII
 - standardization & homogenization of curriculum
 - reformist movement suppressed by Thatcher & neoliberal movement
 - parental responsibility > systemic reform
- US
 - conflict over degree of local vs. federal control
 - children taught ultimate freedom of the individual & responsibility of upright citizens
 - racial disenfranchisement hindered export of liberalism/capitalism
 - desegregation/pluralism connected to imperial ambitions
 - neoliberal idea that academic excellence hindered by equality

Chapter 4: Geographies of Lifelong Learning and the Knowledge Economy

summary:: lifelong learning and its impact on the economy

- lifelong learning = both traditional schooling & informal
 - adults improve skills for better employment
 - as governing concept, neg impacts on workers + society
 - led to deskilling of majority of population
 - promote standardization + homogenization of educational skills
 - production of "learning society" ↑ levels of external mgmt
- # freedom & necessity in lifelong learning
- NIDL & offshored manufacturing = many newly unemployed laborers
 - lifelong learning as newly conceptualized human right
 - shifted from personal development → economic necessity for survival
 - liberal idealist analysis; capitalist shaped LL from the start
 - LL as way of creating a reserve army of labor
 - downward pressure on wages
 - OECD report: large scale economic incentives and emphasis on indiv choice
 - 1990s: erosion of gov safety net → indiv responsibility
 - esp. evident in education
 - personal fulfillment, ability to sell labor conflated
 - canada - can loan from retirement savings to pay for higher ed
 - USA - need-based programs → higher ed tax subsidies
 - attempt to transition to knowledge economy
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- promotion of creativity, flexibility, tolerance of "new economy" misleading
 - inequality, immobility, injustice remain
 - structural imbalances are characterized as psychological issues
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- knowledge econ → explosion of professional-managerial class (PMC)
 - abstraction + interchangeability of labor
 - managers as all-knowing gurus, visionary leaders
 - gramsci - knowledge weaponized along class lines as cultural hegemony

Chapter 5: Global Restructuring and Challenges to Citizenship

summary:: the evolution of citizenship and how it affects different groups

- ideas abt citizenship, learning not uniformly enforced
 - often contested by other actors
- early citizenship defined by maleness & location
- citizenship mutable (not static)
- political freedoms/sights expand w/socioeconomic inequality
 - liberal: inevitably fixed via econ. redistribution + expansion of citizenship
 - radical: problems inherent to capitalism
- expansion of citizenship manifests state tech of management + control
 - deliberate ruling-class strategies under capitalism
- Michael Mann: origin & dev of citizenship in relation to class
 - citizenship as governance upholding inequality
 - citizenship, national belonging integral to capitalist social repro
 - social stratification by race/ethnicity creates in-groups & out-groups

cultural citizenship & contested belonging

- cultural citizenship = social belonging + solidarity
- aihwa ong: asian diaspora positioned via class, country of origin, race
 - immigrants "whitened" or "blackened"
- shifting processes of belonging; deterritorialization
- international education/global economic competence vs. nationalism
 - only privileged subset can access opportunities
- poor/immigrant/etc groups worse education, housing, international mobility
- people also educate themselves; important to look @ how
- traditional vs. modern schooling
 - shift focus from citizenship ideal to learning styles
- individual actors have agency!!
- responses to educational policies + assumptions multiple, divergent, contradictory

Chapter 6: Market Philanthropy in Education

summary:: how philanthropic foundations influence education administration. history & current impact

- philanthropists have made huge impact on US education
- ideas about neoliberal governance not singularly or uniformly developed
 - divergent neoliberal constructions across space-time
- philanthropists largely acquired wealth from postindustrial activities
 - computers, patents, telecom, insurance, finance, real estate
 - foundations oriented toward same business logic
 - intellectual copyright
 - targeted, short-term financial investment + leveraging
 - pilot trials, quick exits, rapid ROI
- way of viewing social investment has deeply affected education dev
 - target failures in social welfare
 - emphasize quasi-private or public-private partnerships
 - expected to have short-term ROI
- push for assessment + accountability increase exponentially
 - quantitative metrics favored
 - business logic of human capital dev, entrepreneurial behavior, ROI
- reduces forms of human sociality to cost-benefit calculations
 - quantification of social value not always accurate or possible

human capital development in philanthropy

- modern philanthropy similar to 1900s in many ways
 - cost-effectiveness, top-down deployment of technical solutions
 - moral arguments: human rights to education & productivity
- racially differentiated from the beginning
 - funders + foundations limit what Black children & adults "should" learn
- modern: even more than before, emphasize individual responsibility-potential
 - providing opportunities + expert knowledge so people can fix themselves
 - cost-benefit analysis oriented toward inclusion in global capitalist markets
 - recipients partners rather than grantees (think shark tank)
- risk management
 - before: ideally provide funds for tackling causes of risk
 - now: risk as inevitable; offloaded onto partners + govt
 - risk-taking encouraged through microfinance programs
- microfinance + contemp philanthropy operate @ minor macro sealer
 - recipients often marginalized
 - viewing market as solution to patriarchy, racism, etc.
 - projects constantly monitored
 - evidence-based investment as post-political

assessment + the cult of accountability

- negative student outcomes highly publicized
 - blamed on bad teachers, large schools/unions, lack of modern tech
 - ignore poverty-racism
- push for educational reform
 - no child left behind (2001)

- a nation at risk (1983)
- third way-Clinton (1990s)
- public education shift → highly authoritarian, business-style logic
 - undermine principals, deskill + demoralize teachers
 - in the name of social justice & closing the achievement gap
- NCLB
 - mandated yearly standardized testing
 - 5 years of inadequate (unattainable) progress = forced restructuring
 - major changes to staffing, governance, form
 - e. g. convert to charter or private management
 - waning interest in teacher input
 - increasing hostility to teachers' unions
- led to "teaching to the test"

militarized education + the war on youth

- principals @ risk of school closure if performance does not improve
 - pushing out underperforming students
 - dropout rates ↑ for students of color & ESL
- high-stakes testing + zero tolerance for behavioral infractions
 - militarization of public high schools
- from reagan to obama: goal of education explicitly as labor competitiveness
- mayoral control of school districts vs. elected school boards
 - former enables faster top-down decision making by shipping democracy
 - cities w/mayoral control favored by philanthropists
- short-term, easy-exit reform projects sealed up/relocated/ended quickly
- pilot "failures" destabilize schools + students
 - adds to narrative of public school failure; further justifies intervention

the gates foundation and neoliberal up-scaling

- billions of dollars flowing into public schools for lot programs
 - clawed back if program doesn't produce results
 - major changes, unfunded logistical challenges, high turnover
- gates foundation paid little attn to data provided by education researchers
- not enough time for reforms to take hold, no teacher buy-in
- spatial & political shift of grant distribution
 - no longer awarded directly to districts
 - intermediary - coalition for essential schools (CES)
 - intransigent local actors → handpicked national male sycophants

the broad foundation + the corporatization of leadership

- the broad foundation leadership training programs
- school problems blamed on bad management, lack of choice
- supports deregulation + privatization of teacher preparation
- supports expansion + entrenchment of charter schools
- training produces authoritarian leadership
- closure of existing schools instead of trying to fix them
- churn: strategy of fomenting chaos to induce change
 - weakens opposition
- ongoing targeting of communities of color

Chapter 7: The Choice Machine and the Road to Privatization

summary:: how the school choice campaign was developed. how school choice became the primary intermediary to privatizing education

- popular media & reports/statistics funded by private foundations to encourage parents to advocate for reforms
- milton friedman
 - state-funded schools = monopolistic, socialistic
 - should be broken up & privatized
 - parents as consumers can influence through choice
 - force schools to improve through competition
- parents have to know how to choose better school
 - metrics/standardized testing established
 - parents, educators, etc. converted to rational actors
- foundation grants fund
 - choice options: charter schools, charter management orgs, politicians
 - educational expertise: advocacy orgs, think tanks, consultants
 - parent groups

promoting choice through media & politics

- funding parent groups
 - portrayed as spontaneous grassroots organizing
- propaganda films
 - blaming recession on uneducated workforce
- promotion + support of politicians who support educational reform
 - including governors & mayors taking control from school boards
- alliances between venture capitalists, philanthropists, politicians
 - manufacturing consent for reform
 - geographically strategic
- results of market-mediated schooling very uneven
 - some better than public, many worse
- charter schools succeed at expense of public schools

inculcating choice through expert knowledge

- education research w/objectivity (metrics) > anecdotes (teacher exp)
 - units in think tanks & universities e. g. CRPE
- if liberal ideal (freedom, choice, opp) fails, because of "bad implementation"
 - inherent violence in system actively hidden
- privatization → corps get public sector payouts while harming public
 - similar to prisons

school closures and urban dispossession

- closure of "failing" local schools in poor/segregated areas
- parents as investors wrt school choice
- choices disappear w/closure of neighborhood school

- effects of school closures
 - destabilizing communities
 - loss of unionized jobs (mostly Black teachers)
 - empty buildings-vandalism, crime
- neighborhoods → targets of predatory speculative capitalism
- accumulation by dispossession
 - public land → private development
 - recent iteration of primitive accumulation
- crucial to understand connections bit
 - education reform agenda
 - privatization of public resources
 - neoliberal urban restructuring

choice, learning academies, & privatization in the UK

- expansion of parental choice regardless of party in power
- 1988 education reform act
 - marketization of education
 - bypass local institutions + get funding directly from govt
 - standardized testing, school rankings
- city technology colleges-public private partnerships
- academies program started in 2000
 - basically anyone can run one
 - lots of leeway wrt curricula
 - 2016: 2075/3381 secondary schools (61.3%), 2440/16766 primary schools (14.5%)
 - perform worse than local-authority-controlled schools
- creation of surplus value = improvement of indep. life chances, advancement over others
 - depends on creating winners + losers among children

Chapter 8: Taking Back Our Schools and Cities

Chapter 9/Conclusion: Paying Deep Attention

summary:: the process to undoing & moving beyond the harm of neoliberal education

- althusser linked ideological production + formation of subjectivity
- social institutions = ideological apparatuses aiding repro of production
 - including education
 - emphasis of relative autonomy of apparatuses
- althusser also missed some fundamental aspects
 - most social repro conducted by slaves + descendants, immigrants, women
- need to investigate how individual, group, societal understandings of schools, work, & value are ideologically produced in specific material conditions
 - spatial imperative of subjectivity
 - individuals thinking, feeling, acting subjects in specific places
- subjectivity = product/process of practices constrained by normative astump.
- kinds of spaces that are okay for some people/practices but not others
- geography of gender-sexuality
 - how specific spaces are gendered + sexed
 - how spaces produce ideologies of masculinity + femininity
 - same w/ race
- political subjectivity & visibility + voice come through claiming space
 - construction of space in moments of crisis
- spatial crisis creates political actors
 - acts of resistance create political spaces
- mapping us. counter mapping
 - brian halley: maps used as tools of domination
 - to codify, to legitimate, to promote worldviews prevalent in diff times/spaces
 - can be produced in alternate ways for counter hegemonic purposes
 - highly visual nature important for underprivileged communities
 - democratization of knowledge + decision making
- understanding children's spatial awareness
 1. blaut: mapping ability innate
 2. piaget: mapping ability learned
 3. vygotsky (based on): mapping ability social process
- new counter hegemonic pedagogy
 - strongly spatially oriented, hands-on projects
 - help children develop own understanding