

# NEH Application Cover Sheet (FEL-262159)

## Fellowships

### PROJECT DIRECTOR

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Prof. Cathie Jo Martin

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**Fax:**

**Status:** Senior scholar  
**Field of expertise:** Comparative Politics

### INSTITUTION

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Boston University  
Boston, MA 02215-1403

### APPLICATION INFORMATION

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**Title:** *Imagine All the People: Literature, Society and Education in Britain and Denmark*

**Grant period:** From 2019-01-01 to 2019-06-30  
**Project field(s):** Comparative Politics; Political History; Comparative Literature

**Description of project:** Literary narratives beginning in 1700 illuminate why poor, rural Denmark developed early, public mass primary education and extensive vocational training programs, whereas industrial Britain lagged behind. British authors sought schooling for individual self-growth, first for middle-class and later for working-class youth. As ardent social reformers, they promoted equal access to education. Yet their celebration of self-motivated protagonists who conquer structural challenges made it easier to blame those who fail, and to forget about marginal workers. Danish writers depicted education as an investment to strengthen society; they viewed the neglect of working-class youth as a waste of resources and a threat to the social fabric. High socioeconomic equality was a felicitous but fortuitous side effect of this mandate to educate all the people. Archival, textual and machine learning analyses demonstrate strong linkages among writers and policymakers in these stories of education reform.

### REFERENCE LETTERS

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Jane Mansbridge  
Adams Professor of Political Leadership  
Harvard Kennedy School  
Harvard University  
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Julia Prewitt Brown  
Professor of English  
English Department  
Boston University  
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## I. NARRATIVE: "IMAGINE ALL THE PEOPLE"

In Charles Dickens' classic English Bildungsroman, David Copperfield remains plucky against tremendous adversity, sweet-tempered in the face of foul treatment, and optimistic against all odds. The victim of unjust social structures and laws, he fights back when brutalized and triumphs over the injustices of nineteenth-century Britain. In sharp contrast, the young Valdemar Krone is the architect of his own demise in Herman Ewald's Danish classic, *The Story of Valdemar Krone's Youth*. Unlike David, the hapless Valdemar has only himself to blame for his youthful transgressions, but life improves when he submits to the moral strictures of God, society and the Danish fatherland. In many British novels, the hero's personal struggle enables his eventual triumph, whereas Danish novels more frequently locate success in interventions that guide youth back to societal duties.

The differences in these fictional narratives, I suggest, are associated with a puzzling pattern of education system development in Britain and Denmark. Denmark is a poor, rural and backward country in the early eighteenth-century, yet it becomes a world leader (with Prussia) in developing public, mass primary education and later extensive secondary vocational training (even before it has a large industrial sector). In contrast, Britain – the leader of the industrial revolution – creates public mass schooling quite late and develops few vocational programs. Moreover, despite the exquisite agony felt by the Victorian novelists for their young protagonists, modern Britain shows a shocking disregard for low-skill youth. Yet the backward and illiberal realm of Denmark, which sorts working-class children into vocational programs, ultimately produces a highly equitable society.

*Imagine All the People* explores how fiction writers and their narratives about education, self and society influence the development of mass education in Britain and Denmark. Authors draw from cultural symbols, themes and images when depicting social stresses, policy solutions and institutions such as education. For some (politically-mobilized) writers, education is a central theme of their novels; for others, schools are merely a location for action. Even when portrayals of schooling are marginal to plots, depictions of these institutions influence elite and later public views toward education.

Striking cross-national differences in narratives about education and society are readily apparent. British narratives depict schooling as a boon to individual self-growth, initially for upper class youth. Reformers later demand a uniform upper-secondary educational track. Motivated by conceptions of educational equality, they wish to provide opportunities of self-development even to working class youth, and seek humanistic rather than vocational upper-secondary schooling to prevent a two-tiered educational system. In sharp contrast, Danish narratives portray schooling as a social investment to strengthen society and to enable each citizen to make a contribution. Societal needs motivate both early public school development and strong vocational tracks to meet varied skills requisites, even if two-tiered education reinforces social class. The irony is that Denmark becomes one of the most egalitarian countries in the world, through social investment rather than through redistribution.

This interdisciplinary project builds on the perceptive insights of literary scholars and historians to reveal how writers influence educational development. Literary scholars tell us that the creation of early novels and expansion of reading in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century influence norms and understanding of social problems. Historians record the normative motivations for and historical struggles over education reforms and sometimes highlight the role of authors in these processes. Cultural studies show that fictional narratives shape perceptions of individual and collective identities.

I contribute to these important literatures in several ways. First, my uncommon comparison of British and Danish authors' roles in educational development reveal a subtle irony of writers as social reformers. Even as British writers attack unequal class relations, the individualistic content of their plot

lines reinforce assumptions about individual culpability in society and a blame-the-victim mentality. In contrast, Danish authors hold society accountable for less fortunate members, even while accepting multi-track schooling that reinforces status hierarchies.

Second, I expand our grasp of education system development, by emphasizing both the general contribution of culture and the specific importance of conceptions of individualism and society. Britain and Denmark have distinctive cultural narratives before the development of democratic and industrial institutions. Through dynamic and non-deterministic processes, fictional narratives shape interests and encourage policy choices that resonate with literary constructions of individual, society and class.

Third, my mixed methods shed light on how writers and cultural artifacts provide continuity at moments of institutional change. Confronted with similar exogenous stresses, politicians and rulers in each country forge policies that are oddly familiar to earlier national experiments. Authors use their fiction to shape the expression of problems and solutions at critical junctures. Assumptions embedded in fictional narratives contribute to continuities in *modes* of political action, even when the *goals* of politics change.

I use several methods to reveal the mechanisms by which writers and literary narratives influence educational development. First, a close reading of British and Danish novels between 1700 and 1920 demonstrates differences in the narratives of education, individual, society and social classes. For example, in the early 1700s, Ludvig Holberg, father of Danish literature, imagines a society in which all are educated so that each may offer his/her unique contribution. In his *Niels Klim*: “No one studies more than one science, and thus each gets a full knowledge of his peculiar subject.” Niels is reprimanded by elders for his pride, and when seeking a higher station, is told “Merit ought to be rewarded... [but this is conditional on societal need so] that the State may not suffer” (Holberg 1741).

In contrast, Britain’s Daniel Defoe devotes scant attention to education in both Robinson Crusoe and in his journalism (Marshall 2007). Many view mass literacy as a threat to social stability (Brantlinger). Formal schooling holds no allure for Crusoe, due to “something fatal in that propensity of nature” and a “wandering inclination” (1-2). Only on the desert island does Crusoe learn to create products with preindustrial technology, using his own technical cunning. Society plays no role in Crusoe’s survival, and he feels no shame about abandoning his parents and ignoring social norms: youths “are not ashamed to sin, and yet are ashamed to repent” (11). By 1800, Coleridge and others advocate for education, but do so to inspire for individual self-development and emotional growth: “a man...unblest with a liberal education, should act without attention to the...feelings, of his fellow citizens” (Coleridge 1796).

Second, I explore specific linkages between writers and policy-makers to show how some authors become crucial political activists in struggles over education. Thus Holberg gives his fortune to the Sorø Academy, which hires Holberg’s students and implements his educational philosophy. The Academy educates ministers and estate owners (e.g. Johan Ludvig and Christian Ditlev Reventlow), who become leading members of the Great School Commission that creates the Danish mass education system. One teacher becomes tutor to the crown prince and another starts experiential schools in Germany.

Third, I use computational linguistic analyses (in Python) of corpora of (562) British and (521) Danish works dating from 1700 to 1920 to document cross-national differences in word frequencies and topics in narratives about education. The lists of works are constructed from multiple lists of classic works and full-text files are obtained from HathiTrust and Dansk Arkiv for Litteratur. I construct snippets of text around education words and analyze cross-national differences in words frequencies and topics. The timing of education words grow in advance of significant reforms. The word frequencies and topics show that British and Danish fictional works have dramatically different narratives about education, individual and society. The BU Hariri Institute funded this endeavor and wrote code to enable my analyses.

A NEH fellowship would give me course release to conduct additional archival research in Britain and Denmark. Invitations from European universities and own research budget will fund my travel and living expenses during document collection in Europe. I will spend 6 weeks each in Britain and Denmark, and will research the papers of authors (Holberg, Grundtvig, Ingemann, Oehlenschläger, Andersen, Pontoppidan, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Mill, Dickens, Mill, Hardy) and political actors (e.g. Frederik VI, Reventlow, Brandes, Arnold, Forester, Joseph Chamberlain, Webb, Morant, Mackail). I have already conducted exploratory research in the Oxford Bodleian Library and the Royal Danish Library, and have developed lists of needed papers (largely housed in the British Library and Royal Danish library).

The book will be organized along the following lines: Chapter I presents the puzzle of educational system development and explores how authors contribute to the framing of social problems and solutions. I discuss the different conceptions of educational purposes and methods (see Kleibard) and why depictions of the individual in society matter to policy choices. Chapter II addresses questions about readership, genre, and the use of computational linguistics to augment literary and historical explorations. Chapter III explores writers' narratives about education and political action before 1820, a period in which Enlightenment-era and Romanticism authors shape discourse about schooling. Denmark develops a mass public education system in 1814 and British national societies create some early schools for non-elite children. Chapter IV investigates Victorian-era debates about schools until 1870, when Britain creates a mass education system and Denmark embraces greater pluralism in school options. In Chapter V, early modernist authors worry about global risks and lobby for secondary education. British authors such as Hardy, Wells and Lawrence seek humanistic schooling; whereas Danish ones prefer vocational, technical schools. Chapter VI presents findings from the computational analyses. Chapter VII discusses the persistence of cultural expectations about education in online surveys of 2100 young people in Britain and Denmark.

Chapter VIII reflects on literature's centrality to historical educational development and concludes with implications for social renewal and the future of marginal youth. British writers seek rights and equal access to education; yet their stories justify the neglect of marginal youth. Celebrating protagonists who conquer challenges with self-initiative make it easier to blame those who fail and to dismiss youth that are left behind. Danish authors emphasize societal needs to drive investments in schooling. Neglect of low-skill youth is portrayed as a waste of societal resources and a threat to social fabric. Socioeconomic equality is a felicitous but fortuitous side effect of the mandate to educate all the people.

My qualifications for this research include fluency in Danish and deep connections to universities in Denmark and Britain. I hold associated professor positions at Southern Denmark University and Copenhagen Business School. I have held fellowships or given multiple talks at Oxford, London School of Economics, University College London, Cardiff and Warwick universities in Britain. I have engaged in extensive historical, archival research in Britain and Denmark, for which my last book won the best book prize from the Politics and History section of the American Political Science Association. I am connected to a project on literature and politics at Southern Denmark University and sit on the international advisory board of an Oxford University project on education. The BU Hariri Institute grant helped me develop competencies in computational linguistics. My first article is forthcoming in *World Politics*, the premier journal in comparative politics, and the HathiTrust Email Newsletter is featuring my work.

The book is intended for a broad, multi-disciplinary audience that extends beyond academia. I have enjoyed close interdisciplinary connections, e.g. as a fellow at the Radcliffe Institute, chair of the Council for European Studies, fellow at the BU Humanities Foundation, editorial board member of *Social Science History*, member of a Woodrow Wilson Center working group and director of the BU European Center.

## II. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- \*Wittmann, Reinhard. "Was there a Reading Revolution at the End of the Eighteenth Century?"

### III. RESUME

#### POSITIONS

Professor of Political Science, Boston University, 9/90- present  
Visiting Professor. Political Science Department. Copenhagen University. 9/00-6/01  
Assistant Professor, Political Science Department. Northwestern University, 1/88-7/90  
Post-doc, Commission on Industrial Productivity, Massachusetts Institute of Technology 1/87-12/87  
Ph.D. in Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2/1987.  
Dissertation entitled "Shifting the Burden: the Struggle over Growth and Corporate Taxation."  
M.S.W. Social Work. University of Washington  
B.A. in History, Carleton College

#### SELECTED AWARDS/HONORS

Article prize honorable mention. "Imagine All the People." Council for European Studies. 7/17  
Greenstone Book Prize. Politics and History Section. American Political Science Association. 8/13  
Grant. Boston University Hariri Institute for Computing. 6/16- 6/18  
Grant for exploratory seminar on "Collective Identities and the Good Society." Radcliffe Institute. 3/15  
Fellow. Boston University Humanities Foundation. 9/14-12/14.  
Article Prize. Political Organizations and Parties Section. American Political Science Association 9/10  
Fellow. Institute for Advanced Study. Warwick University. 3/10.  
Grant. Danish Social Science Research Council. 8/08-4/10.  
Fellow. Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. Harvard University. 8/07-6/08.  
Grant. German Marshall Fund. 9/01-12/01.  
Grant. Danish Government Study of Power and Democracy. 9/00-7/01  
Grant. Danish Social Science Research Council. 9/00-7/01.  
Visiting Scholar. Russell Sage Foundation. 9/94-7/95.  
Member of Workshop on Financing the American State. Woodrow Wilson Center. 1/93-4/95  
Grant. Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. 9/92-8/93.  
Grant. National Science Foundation. 1/85-12/85.

#### BOOKS

\* with Duane Swank. ***The Political Construction of Business Interests*** Cambridge University Press. 2012  
\* With Jane Mansbridge. ***Negotiating Agreement in Politics***. APSA presidential task force report. 2013.  
Published 2015 by Brookings Institution as ***Political Negotiation***.  
\* ***Stuck in Neutral: Business and the Politics of Human Capital Investment Policy***. Princeton U Press. 2000  
\* ***Shifting the Burden: the Struggle Over Growth and Corporate Taxation***. 1991. U of Chicago Press.  
\* ***Aktivering af arbejdsgiverne***: Aarhus University Press. 2004. (in Danish).

#### SELECTED ARTICLES

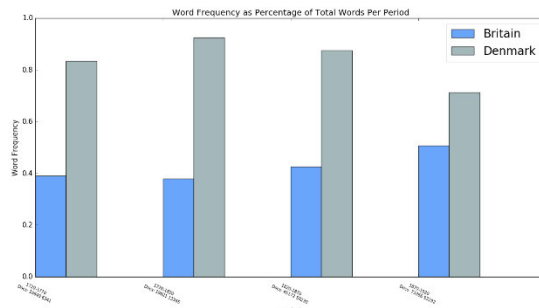
\* "Imagine All the People: Literature, Society...Education Systems." ***World Politics***. July 2018  
\* with Alex Hertel-Fernandez. "How Employers and Conservatives Shaped the Modern Tax State." In Elliot Brownlee and Gisela Hürlimann eds. ***Worlds of Taxation*** Palgrave. 2018.  
\* "Skill Builders: the Evolution of National Vocational Training Systems." In Warhurst, C., Mayhew, K., Finegold, D. and Buchanan, J. (eds). ***Oxford Handbook of Skills and Training***. Oxford U Press. 2017.  
\* "Economic Prosperity Is in High Demand." ***Politics & Society*** 44(2). 2016.  
\* With Hao Chen. "Political Institutions, Industrial Relations Systems and the Origins of Vocational Training Systems." (in Chinese). ***Peking University Education Review*** 14 (3) 2016.  
\* "Stand by Me." Brian Balogh & Bruce Schulman. ***Recapturing the Oval Office*** Cornell. 2015.  
\* "Labor Market Coordination and the Evolution of Tax Regimes." ***Socio-Economic Review*** 13. 2014.  
\* "Party Politics and the Default Move from Coordination to Liberalism." ***Business History Review***. 2013  
"Neoliberalism and the Working Class Hero." Schmidt & Thatcher eds. ***Resilient Liberalism***. Oxford. 2013.  
\* "Twenty-First Century Breakdown." ***Capital and Class*** 37 (1 February) 2013.

- \* With Duane Swank. "Gonna Party Like It's 1899." *World Politics* 63 (1 January) 2011.
- \* "Vocational Training and the Origins of Coordination." in Marius Busemeyer & Christine Trampusch, eds. *The Comparative Political Economy of Collective Skill Systems*. Oxford University Press. 2011.
- \* With Jette Steen Knudsen. "Scenes from a Mall" *Regulation & Governance* 4(3 Sep). 2010.
- "Business and Social Policy" Coen, Grant & Wilson *Handbook of Business and Government*. Oxford 2009
- \* with Duane Swank, "The Political Origins of Coordinated Capitalism" *Am Political Science Rev* 2008
- \* with Kathleen Thelen, "The State and Coordinated Capitalism." *World Politics* 60 (1 Oct). 2007.
- \* "Sectional Parties, Divided Business," *Studies in American Political Development* 20 (2 Fall) 2006.
- \* "Corporatism from the Firm Perspective." *British Journal of Political Science* 35 (1 January) 2005.
- \* with Duane Swank. "Does the Organization of Capital Matter?" *American Political Science Rev* 2004
- \* "Reinventing Welfare Regimes." *World Politics* 57 (1 October) 2004.
- \* "Employers: Passive Purchasers or Provocateurs." *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 2003.
- \* with Duane Swank. "Employers and the Welfare State," *Comparative Political Studies* (October) 2001.
- \* "Business and the Politics of Human Capital Investment Policy," *Polity* (Winter) 1999.
- \* "Inviting Business to the Party" in Margaret Weir ed. *Social Divide*, Russell Sage & Brookings 1998.
- \* "Mandating Social Change: the Business Struggle over National Health Reform," *Governance* 10. 1997.
- \* "Markets, Medicare, and Making Do" *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 22 (2) 1997.
- \* "Nature or Nurture? Sources of Firm Preference for National Health Reform" *Am Pol Science Rev* 1995
- \* "American Business and the Taxing State," in Elliot Brownlee ed., *Funding the Modern American State, 1941-1995*, Cambridge University Press and Woodrow Wilson Press. 1995.
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- \* "Business and the New Economic Activism." *Polity* 27 (1 Fall) 1994.
- \* "Together Again," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 18 (2 Summer), 1993.
- \* "Growth Strategies and Corporate Taxation" *Research in Corporate Social Perform. and Policy*. 1993
- \* "Corporate Taxation in Pursuit of Growth," *American Politics Quarterly* 19 (4 Oct) 1991.
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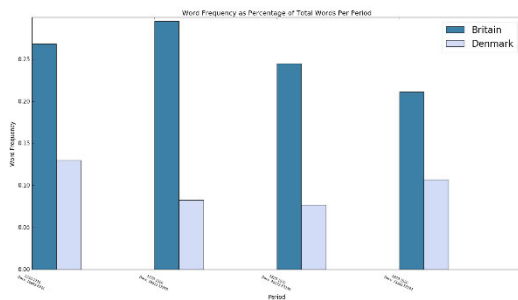
#### **SELECTED PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

- \* President of the Comparative Politics Section. American Political Science Association. 9/17-
  - \* Director. Center for the Study of Europe. Boston University. 1/17-
  - \* International Scientific Advisory Board, Max-Planck Institute, Cologne, Germany 1/18-12/23.
  - \* Research Professor. Center for Welfare State Studies. University of Southern Denmark. 5/16-present.
  - \* International Advisory Board for Secretariat for Education project on Vocational training. Switzerland.
  - \* International Advisory Board for "State-Making...in the Long 19<sup>th</sup> Century." Lund University
  - \* International Advisory Board for Oxford University (UK). 6/17-present.
  - \* Co-chair. American Political Science Association Presidential Task Force on Pol. Negotiation. 9/11-9/13.
  - \* Chair, Council for European Studies. 1/09-6/11.
  - \* Selection Committee, Dissertation Proposal Development. Social Science Research Council. 9/10-9/13
  - \* International Mentor for "Changing Role of Employers' Organisations," Cardiff Business School. 9/14-
  - \* Program Co-Chair. Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics 8/08-7/09.
  - \* Visiting Professor (Appointed Position). Copenhagen Business School. 5/05 – 6/18
  - \* Program Chair. Politics & History Section, American Political Science Association. 9/94-9/95.
  - \* Executive Committee member for Politics & History, Comparative Politics, European Politics and Society, and Political Economy sections of the American Political Science Association.
  - \* Strategic Advisory Board, Danish National Institute for Social Science Research 8/03-9/16
  - \* International Advisory Board for Cardiff Business School (UK), Oxford University (UK)
  - \* Editorial board of *Social Science History*, *Business History Review*, *Socio-Economic Review*, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, *Polity*, *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law*
- Language:** Native English, Fluent in Danish, Advanced proficiency in French

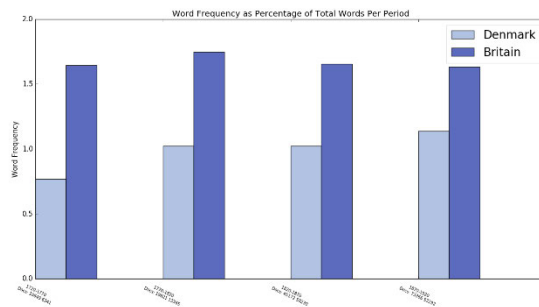
**SOCIETY WORDS** (in fifty-word snippets of text surrounding education words)



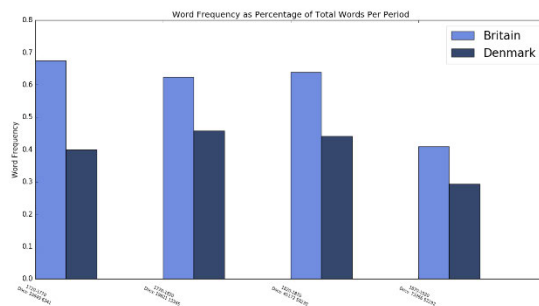
**INDIVIDUALISM WORDS** (in fifty-word snippets of text surrounding education words)



**FEELING WORDS** (in fifty-word snippets of text surrounding education words)



**UPPER-CLASS WORDS** (in fifty-word snippets of text surrounding education words)





Reference Letter for FEL-262159  
Julia Prewitt Brown  
Professor Emerita  
Boston University

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April 30, 2018

To whom it may concern,

I am writing in support of Cathie Jo Martin, who is a colleague of mine in the College of Arts and Sciences at Boston University. I met Cathie in 2011 when we participated in an interdisciplinary seminar sponsored by the Humanities Foundation. We have maintained regular contact since then to share and discuss ideas related to our scholarship. It happened that my work on the English Bildungsroman and her work on the presuppositions underlying political and educational policy in England and Denmark intersected in profound and surprising ways.

When we first met Cathie described with great passion the differences between the lives of young people in Britain and Denmark today. Unemployment and crime rates among youth in Denmark are significantly lower than in Britain; somehow Danish institutions are succeeding in serving youth in ways that British institutions are not. The fundamental differences between the educational and political systems in these countries account for the disparity, she explained, but she pushed this point further by calling up different national narratives of coming of age, dating to the eighteenth century, to explain the often unconscious assumptions historically influencing policy in both countries.

I found her discourse absolutely riveting. As an English professor, I had been teaching English and European Bildungsromane for many years and had often emphasized the deep cultural contrasts at work between, say, Balzac's vision of the process of maturation in Père Goriot and that of Dickens in Great Expectations. It had not occurred to me that a political scientist might take up these differences and bring them to bear on the fates of young people today. The article I was working on at the time, "The Moral Scope of the English Bildungsroman," has since appeared in The Oxford Handbook of the Victorian Novel. It stresses the uniquely English moral perspective of the English Bildungsroman. My conversations with Cathie have been critical to my developing awareness of national differences of perspective. These broad differences point to specific national scripts of coming of age that have had lasting consequences in terms of policy.

Building on insights from political science, comparative literature, cultural

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sociology, and history, and using methods from computational linguistics, history, and political science, Cathie aims to show that British and Danish educational reforms were allied to very different cultural narratives about the individual in society, social class, political institutions, and the role of education. British narratives highlight individual self-development whereas Danish narratives justified schooling as a social investment. The contrast is apparent when we compare the classics Cathie mentions in her proposal: Dickens' *David Copperfield* and Ewald's *The Story of Vlademar Krone's Youth*. Dickens's hero is an image of personal triumph over adversity, whereas Ewald's young man must bow to theological and national imperatives if he is to succeed in life. David develops his individualism and becomes a successful writer, whereas Ewald subdues his individualist impulses and submits to social institutions.

Cathie brilliantly unfolds the lasting implications of these differences in national perspective. She analyzes archival sources to reconstruct relations among writers, politicians, and bureaucrats. She uses survey research to evaluate whether cultural views of education, the individual, society, and class continue to resonate (and differ cross-nationally) among young people today. Although the research tools and methods of political scientists are unfamiliar to me, the conclusions that Cathie draws from literary narratives have always struck me as completely convincing. Drawing on a corpora of 561 British novels, poems, and plays, she sees works of literature in much broader terms than I am in the habit of seeing them, but I never feel that she is making ham-handed generalizations—a common complaint of English professors about the use of literature in other disciplines. For example, when she writes of the role of education in British narratives, she emphasizes how her data shows that these narratives highlight the benefits of schooling for individual growth (for the upper and middle classes). This generalization holds up very well with coming of age novels that at first glance may seem too different from one another to justify so comprehensive a statement. For example, to be denied schooling is the worst of fates in novels as different as *David Copperfield* and Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* not because it isolates the hero from others, but because it retards his personal development; bad schoolrooms in Dickens and Charlotte Brontë are bad most of all because of teachers that suppress individuality. Collectively, these very different English narratives suggest a consistent view of education as a force that ideally develops the individual more than one that advances the larger social good.

The theoretical ambition of this project, as Cathie writes, is “to further our understanding of how cultural influences, and particularly narratives, contribute to political struggle and institutional evolution.” Cathie is all too aware of how complicated the interplay between literary influences and political change can be

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over time, as her statement demonstrates. She knows that she has caught a big fish, but she is at a point in her career when she can reel it in. In conversation with her, I am often struck not only by her brilliance and the power of her imagination, but by her steadiness, thoroughness, willingness to question her own assumptions, and precise way of building ideas. She is the ideal scholar to be undertaking a project of this intellectual magnitude and complexity and deserves the full support of the NEH.

Sincerely,

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May 9, 2018

To the National Endowment for the Humanities:

I am writing with strong support for Cathie Martin's application to the NEH for her project, "Imagine All the People: Literature, Society and Education in Britain and Denmark."

Martin is a brilliantly innovative scholar, whose past research has been extraordinarily insightful and who has turned her tools and intelligence to a highly original study that will have a considerable impact.

She is in the final stages of this project; the NEH fellowship would allow her to finish the book.

The topic is of the greatest importance. The future of the working class in the industrialized democracies will have significant consequences for domestic peace, pluralist politics, and a robust economy, both in Europe and the US. This project suggests that a culture of openness to particularity and educational systems that foster particularity and pluralism can particularly help working class boys in the elementary and secondary educational systems.

In this study Martin examines the different educational policies in two otherwise similar countries, Denmark and the UK, and the different cultures that produced these policies. Her studies of the literature for children in both countries reveal, in galvanizing detail, a focus on helping society in Denmark and a focus on individual achievement in the UK. Her original surveys then show that in Denmark, in contrast to the UK, teenage working class boys are more likely to see the educational system as meeting their needs and giving them skills that will serve them well in the adult world they want to join. Her aggregate data, finally, show that when those teenage working class boys graduate from

the secondary school system in Denmark they are more likely than in the UK to be in the formal labor force or pursuing further education. Martin traces the roots of this greater success in Denmark proximately to a Danish school system that emphasizes and values diversity, and more distantly to a long-standing culture that values working-class skills for the ways they contribute to the larger social and economic fabric.

Martin is a leader in the field of comparative politics, specializing in the political economy of advanced industrial democracies. Her life's work has investigated the ways that advanced economies of different countries are embedded in, create, and are created by their surrounding social and political arrangements. She has been particularly interested in the conditions for egalitarian, productive societies and the sources of social preferences.

These two themes intersected most recently in Martin's prizewinning 2012 book (with Duane Swank), *The Political Construction of Business Interests*. That book analyses employers' positive and negative preferences for welfare state policies as those policies have evolved in Denmark, Great Britain, Germany, and the US. The analysis asks why begins by asking why business ever cooperates with labor in the countries that depend for their economic success on labor market coordination.

Part of the answer is historical accident. In the Progressive Era in the U.S., the National Association of Manufacturers came surprisingly close to creating the kind of "peak association" that in Europe today makes labor market coordination between business and labor possible. If the history of the N.A.M. had developed differently, relations between business and labor in the U.S. today might look more like those in Europe.

Another part of the answer is a chain of causation that begins with electoral systems based on Proportional Representation. Such electoral systems, common in Europe, produce multiple parties. Multiparty systems in turn produce relatively pure business parties. Pure business parties cannot by themselves become a majority in the legislature. Therefore business interests tend to look outside the political system for organizational influence and consequently form peak associations.

*The Political Construction of Business Interests* recounts employers' struggles to define their collective social identities at various turning points in capitalist development in the US, the UK, Germany, and Denmark. The book beautifully brings together archival analysis; a quantitative cross-national analysis of 18 developed capitalist democracies; four detailed case studies, based on primary and secondary sources, of the formation of employers' associations in Denmark, Britain, the US and Germany; and interviews with people in 107 randomly-selected firms in Denmark and the United States.

Martin's experiences in the Danish interviews with firm owners' feelings of social solidarity have led her to think more broadly about identity and individualism. She now has selected for study an arena that has been until this moment almost completely unstudied: the reaction of different societies to the relatively new phenomenon of

stronger school performance among young women and thus, in many societies, the improved labor market prospects of young working class women compared to young working class men. This trend has combined with the move of manufacturing jobs to less advanced industrial societies and a consequent move of economies in Europe and the US from manufacturing to service. Not only is the focus on working class boys innovative; so are the methods. In this study Martin looks not only at archival and quantitative data on social programs for helping low-skilled boys, but also uses both quantitative and qualitative methods to measure the changing ways that this group has been portrayed in literature.

Martin's examples from books for boys are both moving and analytically telling. The individualism of the English narratives and the social solidarity of the Danish ones might perhaps have been expected. What I did not expect was the Danish emphasis, over and over, on the point that everyone has something to contribute to society, so that one should develop the talents that one has, versus the British emphasis on competition, with the implication and sometimes the overt lesson that only succeeding in competition counts.

The book will be thought-provoking and its insights undoubtedly compelling.

I came to know Martin's acute insight and intelligence at first hand after I had asked her to co-chair with me the Presidential Task Force that I initiated while president of the American Political Science Association in 2012-13. In that Task Force a group of more than 50 scholars investigated how institutions and the implicit and explicit "rules of collective political engagement" (Martin's term) encourage participants in negotiation to embrace "pie-expanding" deals in negotiation or discourage them from doing so. It turns out that many of the factors Martin and Swank had identified as making coordinated labor policies possible also made it easier for opposing political parties to negotiate successfully in legislatures.

One such factor, a cultural emphasis on the value of society as well as the development of the individual, now illuminates Martin's current project. She argues now, I believe extremely persuasively, that citizens who view the educational system from an overall societal perspective rather than an individualist one are more likely to recognize that increasing the skills of marginal groups such as working-class boys benefits society.

Industrial decline, slower economic growth, and increased global competition today make it hard for all of the industrialized countries to attend to marginal groups such as these low-skilled boys. The problem is exacerbated in the Nordic countries by the policies for this group falling outside of the traditional core concerns of the "social partners" (business and labor). Yet Denmark, but not Britain, has managed to put in place such policies. Martin's use of literary depictions of working class boys and her analysis of the kinds of people who write those depictions reveal the critical role that culture plays in shaping the policy environment. Martin's concept of culture is not static and steeped in stereotype but rather dynamic and often counter-stereotypical. The

standard stereotypes of Nordic culture, for example, have little explanatory effect, because the Nordic countries differ greatly in whether or not they have addressed the problems of low-skilled boys.

Professor Martin, a prolific scholar, is recognized in our profession for the quality of her scholarship. She is the author of four books and more than forty peer-reviewed articles and book chapters, three of them appearing in the premier journal of our field, the *American Political Science Review*. Her most recent book, *The Political Construction of Business Interests: Coordination, Growth and Equality* received the David Greenstone Book Prize from the Politics and History Section of the American Political Science Association and was the subject of a symposium in *Socio-Economic Review*. An associated article won the Jack L. Walker, Jr. Outstanding Article Award from the Organized Section on Political Organizations and Parties of the American Political Science Association. Martin has been chosen as a fellow at the Radcliffe Institute (2007-8), a fellow at the Russell Sage Foundation (1994-5), a visiting professor at Copenhagen University (2000-2001), and a long-term guest professor at Copenhagen Business School (2005 to the present). She has received grants from the German Marshall Fund, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Danish Social Science Research Council, Danish National Power and Democracy Study, and National Science Foundation. She served for two and a half years as chair of the Council for European Studies. She is an active member of the executive committees of the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics and the Danish National Institute for Social Science Research, has been on the executive committee of multiple APSA sections, and is on the editorial boards of several journals. She was co-chair with me of the American Political Science Association Presidential Task Force on Negotiating Agreement in Politics. One can see from her record, and I can attest from my own experience, that Martin is someone of great insight. She also does what she says she will do.

Martin's current project addresses an important and neglected topic, deploys brilliant new and interdisciplinary methods, and has great practical relevance. I recommend this project enthusiastically and without reservation.

Yours truly,

Jane Mansbridge

Charles F. Adams Professor of Political Leadership and Democratic Values  
John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

President, American Political Science Association, 2012-13  
Johan Skytte Prize, 2018