LEARNING IN A POSTINDUSTRIAL PLACE: READING THE MULTIPLE TEXTS OF THE CITY

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ABSTRACT

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In the second half of the Twentieth Century, many Western industrial cities underwent a gradual process of de-industrialization. This process reached its apex for many U.S. cities in the 1990s. The dramatic economic and social devastation that developed concomitantly with these economic changes left many urban policy makers, service workers, and educators searching for answers. Factory Town, the setting of this study, is one such city. In the past forty years, White flight, disinvestment, widespread poverty, and high crime rates in the city have resulted in the emigration of 50% of Factory Town's residents. Those who remain have inherited a cityscape that resembles a checkerboard of empty lots, abandoned homes, and brownfields. Among the many challenges these changes have presented, providing effective and meaningful education to the city's residents ranks among the highest. Viewing learning as a social process that is tightly linked to the contexts in which and for which it occurs, this dissertation was framed with the following questions in mind. What are the narratives of place that students encounter by virtue of living and learning in a postindustrial city? How do these narratives, as they are interpreted, composed, and expressed in practice serve as processes of place-making, or the active process of grasping one's relationship to the places they inhabit? How do students' experiences of place influence their sense of who they are, where they are in the world, and what is possible for the future? This work contributes to the growing field of place-based education by providing

a complex and critical portrait of the pedagogical power of place in one postindustrial city.

Fifteen high school students and two teachers associated with one urban high school agreed to participate in this project. As ethnography, the study was conducted using reflexive methodologies. It employed participant observation, a series of semi-structured interviews, auto-driven photo-elicited interviewing, and an ongoing analysis of my positionality as a researcher. Analysis and production of data occurred throughout the process from forming the research questions to the final stages of the writing process, heightening when data collection ended. Analysis involved open-coding, two stages of memo-writing, and peer debriefing techniques. Data were analyzed in relationship to theory in critical geography and place-based education.

Places are inscribed with, and reify power relations stabilizing, directing, and organizing "who we are in relationship to *where we are" (Casey, 1993, p. xv).* Students' experiences of Factory Town, for example, stabilized their sense of racial and class divisions as they were inscribed in physical borders that divided the city. On the other hand, *s*tudents' readings of the non-aestheticized places of the postindustrial city, former industrial sites and residential neighborhoods produced a non-linear sense of temporality in which the past, present, and future were simultaneously present. These experiences opened a sense of possibility amidst narratives of decline dominating national and local discourse related to the city. The voices of the participants in this study provide a window into possibilities for place-based educators attempting to encourage students to develop an ethic of care for the places they inhabit.

Lovingly dedicated to Amanda Chapman Bodle

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CHAPTER ONE

Place, Placelessness, and Pedagogy: Situating a Study

"The world is places" (Snyder, 1990 p. 25)

Our sense of who we are is intimately intertwined with the places we inhabit. The built environments of the places we call home are simultaneously the products of human practices, and producers of human experience. As such, they are inscribed with narratives of local politics, which are formed through their interaction with regional and global power relations. Though we are intimately connected to the places we inhabit, humans tend to overlook the power they hold in shaping who we are. Spatial theorists attest, however, that a sense of belonging to a localized community has a profound influence on human identity (Relph, 1976). Still, we tend to speak of place, view place, and experience place as, simply, a "setting," or a vessel for everyday life.

While place is often taken-for granted in the practices of day-to-day life, critical geographers have identified a 'spatial turn' (Kitchens, 2009) in social science research. This shift toward the power of space/place in our lives has stemmed from dramatic changes in spatial relations occurring throughout the second half of the Twentieth Century. The current epoch is profoundly characterized by processes of globalization. Some argue globalization has led to the "flattening" of the world (Friedman, 2005), pulling millions of people out of poverty worldwide. Others argue globalization has only widened the gap between "the haves" and the "have-nots" of the global world (Florida, 2005; Stiglitz, 2007; Stromquist, 2002). Economic, social and technological changes related to globalization have increased the mobility of people, products, and ideas, leading to unprecedented migration across national boundaries. Regardless of one's

view of the flatness or spikiness of the globalized world, it is clear that globalization has brought about dramatic changes in spatial relations, complicating a once-simplistic sense of place as an empty vessel, and drawing attention to the need for rethinking how places, and our attachments to them, inform our sense of who we are, our position in relationship to others, and our possibilities for the future.

Economic globalization has produced a handful of "winners"--typically hailing from the Western world--and an increasing number of "losers." While many of the "winners" praise the changes brought on by the global sweep of corporate capitalism, many cities in the West have come out on the losing end. As Smith and Gruenewald put it,

> As multinational corporations constantly relocate in search of cheaper labor and production costs, communities in the United States are left with high rates of under- and unemployment, a shrinking tax base, and, often, environmental decay. Wal-mart and other superstores continue to displace local businesses and depress wages; the pressure to keep prices down leads to a downward spiral of more downsizing, outsourcing, and fewer economic opportunities for struggling communities. (Gruenewald & Smith, 2008 p. xiii)

These processes are maintained by policies, which have been targeted at "global flows of capital," rather than the impact they may have on the economic, cultural, and environmental conditions they create. In short, these policies are "placeless." They are produced without consideration for the situated nature of human existence. The results of these policies, described above by Gruenewald and Smith, have a profound impact upon local communities, but they also impact the policy environments of institutions with

tertiary relationships to economics; namely education. The increasing corporate influence on education has resulted in a common acceptance that the express purpose of schooling is preparing students for active participation in a "global economy." The corporate rhetoric of "efficiency" and "accountability" has taken the place of self-improvement, criticality, and local relevance in the education discourse. State and national standards emphasize the knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary for success in the "21st century" or "global economy." Economic rationales for public education have always dominated school rhetoric at the policy level, and the corporate link to schools has always been tight. Nevertheless, the overarching tone of "placelessness" has never been clearer in the education policy literature (Gruenewald, 2003a, Gruenewlad & Smith, 2008). In short, the standards and accountability movements have created an educational environment which serves economic commitments over commitments to the local, national, and global communities schools serve.

Place-conscious education is one curricular movement which has developed in response to these growing trends. Kitchens (2009) defines "situated pedagogy," a derivative of place-conscious education, as:

> [A pedagogy which] connects the curriculum to the everyday lives of students and is interested in identity and self-formation, but also social-formation and the relationships between the two, and asks students to pay attention to their environment, and listen to what places have to tell us. It also asks students to read the world and to decode it politically, socially, historically, and aesthetically. A situated pedagogy attends to place, not only as the focus of student inquiry or

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academic study, but as spaces for performative action, intervention, and perhaps

transformation. (Kitchens, 2009, p. 240)

Those who practice situated pedagogy attempt to teach students to care about the local

spaces that surround them, in a direct attempt to promote a sense of caring about the

rest of the world—a world made up of countless *places* which work to shape who we

are, how we see ourselves in the world, and our hopes for our future (Noddings, 2005;

Fettes and Judson, 2011).

Overview of the Study and Research Questions

If the world is, indeed, global, why should we care about a growing sense of

"placelessness" in the policy and practice of education? I believe the answer to this

question can be observed in the places that surround us. As a child of the American

Midwest, I spent half a lifetime observing economic and social changes associated with

globalization. As the result of placeless, neoliberal policy which took root in the

economic sector, outsourcing, downsizing, and corporate disinvestment led to

deindustrialization, and the dismantling of local sources of employment and livelihood.

Three decades of this process have led to economic devastation, dramatic increases in

crime, homelessness, and environmental degradation in many Midwestern cities.

Among these cities is Factory Town, the setting of the current study. This ethnographic

study is intended to shed light on the pedagogical power of postindustrial places.

Taking place in 2011 and 2012, the study is based on a six month intensive field

experience with students and teachers in one Factory Town high school, and is

comprised of participant observation, phenomenological interviewing, and photo-elicited

interviewing methods. The study's primary focus of inquiry, which developed

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throughout the course of the study, is the process of place-making (Fettes & Judson, 2011). Fettes and Judson define place-making as "an active, willed process… our mental reaching out to grasp the possibilities of place, its past, its future, its meaning for us, that really shapes [our] relationship [to places]" (p. 124). Two primary questions have shaped this research.

> What are the narratives of place that students encounter by virtue of living and learning in a postindustrial city? How do these narratives, as they are read, re(narrated), composed, and expressed in practice serve as processes of place-making?

A second, but closely related question addresses the implications of place-making for students' sense of who they are and their commitments to their community.

> How do students' experiences of place in one postindustrial city influence their sense of who they are, where they are, and what is possible for the future?

Filling Critical Gaps

In recent literature, educators who make place central to their work associate a place-based approach with outdoor approaches to education (Woodhouse & Knapp, 2000), environmental and ecological education (Orr, 1992, 1994; Sobel, 1996, 2010; Thomashow, 1996), and rural education (Haas & Nachtigal, 1998; Theobald, 1997). One result of these associations has been that little work has been done that documents place-based approaches to education in urban contexts. This study provides a systematic exploration of place-making practices among adolescent students in one high school, in a postindustrial city. The setting, and the study's focus on place-making provide a much needed contribution to the literature in place-based education.

This study also serves as an extension of educational work done in the urban Midwest during the 1990s. Lois Weis, Michelle Fine, and Julia Hall, among others, documented students' experiences of a changing economy during the process of deindustrialization that led to the current postindustrial conditions in cities similar to Factory Town. This study explores the experiences of working-class students in a postindustrial context, and considers their perceptions of their city, and the implications of economic change for their future. Unlike most of this body of work, I emphasize a post-structural approach to thinking about student experiences, and apply a spatial framework to my study. Nevertheless, This study serves a contribution by exploring the generation who has never known a time of prosperity in their rustbelt communities.

Situating the Place of the Study

Given that space and place are central to the theoretical framing of this dissertation, I begin with a description of the community where this research took place.

If you let yourself forget where you are, it would be easy to think that the term "rustbelt" is a misnomer. Lightly rolling farm fields, fencerows, and patches of forest line the 50 bucolic miles of interstate that link my university town and Factory Town, a former automotive powerhouse that has come to signify the "rustbelt" to many Americans. This all changes as you pass under an intersecting interstate highway overpass. The road reminds you of what you had forgotten. When you clear the signage to this massive thoroughfare, they are greeted by the towering white smoke stacks of a General Motors assembly plant, and there is no doubt you are now in Factory Town. The occasional rumble of graffiti-clad freight trains passes between the plant and the interstate, but they are dwarfed by the hulking mass of the only remaining

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assembly plant in Factory Town. At the base of the plant stands "the block," a large

concrete box originally built to house some form of utility infrastructure, but has since

been transformed by local graffiti artists into a public message board. Everything from

wedding proposals to cries for help--some that have been widely distributed via the

Internet--are posted on the block. The rumble of the freight train gives way to nearly

silent freeways--empty of midday traffic but for the occasional late model GM truck or

car making its way down the relatively lonely highways. Traveling further the interstate

infrastructure of ramps and bridges begins to grow, leading motorists to sections of the

downtown area. Though adequate for a city of a quarter of a million, the infrastructure

looms large and feels empty in a city that is half of its former self. Factory Town is the

city that produced the highway generation. General Motors (GM) executives

aggressively lobbied for a highway system that would be populated by their vehicles;

they bought up the Los Angeles transit system, destroyed it, and sold thousands of

buses to the city to replace it. Yet, Factory Town highways are now relatively quiet

reminders of an industrial past and an uncertain future.

Factory Town's interstate highways tell the story of an abandoned city, a ghost

town of sorts. Much like the motorists on the highway I just described, media stories

tend to offer "drive-by" stories of a "city in collapse," or the poster child of the

postindustrial. However, Factory Town is a much more complex community than a trip

on the interstate, a 5 minute news clip, or a 200 page dissertation can explain. There

are many sides to Factory Town, and the same trip I just described tells a different story

when we turn our attention to the other side of the highway.

Down a grassy slope, across the highway from the massive smokestacks of the GM plant, one can see the green of a manicured golf course, and glancing upward and across the golf course reveals several 1920s era Mansions, some beautifully maintained, others with hopelessly overgrown shrubs and boarded up windows. Also atop the hill are two opulent brick school buildings, clearly built in an era of immense prosperity. While most of the wealthy families that once inhabited these spaces are gone, their legacy of wealth and power has carried on. A quick exit from the interstate can take you into neighborhoods, which are almost entirely abandoned, but another exit can take you into a thriving cultural center, which is home to museums, theatres, and libraries. Each building in the cultural center houses exquisite collections of fine art, industrial and political history, or state of the art performing arts venues. Factory Town is a city of contrasts between the wealthy and the impoverished, Black and White, the postindustrial and the bucolic, the past and the present, hope and despair.

These contrasts have come to define the postindustrial city in the era of globalization. In Factory Town, a city profoundly influenced by changes in the global economy, even the retraction of the auto industry, by all accounts a global process, maintains local meanings for the young people and their teachers who participated in this study. To purchase a foreign car is still viewed as an act against your community, and supporting the farmers market is a way of keeping resources close to home. Factory Town is a city facing countless economic and social challenges. For many, these challenges have galvanized a powerful sense of responsibility to the local community, and the fight for a better tomorrow. For others, the city has become a place to overcome, an obstacle course to desires for social mobility. All of these aspects of

the city make it a deeply rich context for exploring the processes of place-making, which shape the community and Factory Towners' perceptions of it.

Throughout the study, I remained keenly interested in students' experiences of their city and how, through practices of place-making, they shaped their perspectives of who they are, where they are from, and the possibilities they had for the future. However, I was also able to observe the teachers I worked with as they engaged in infusing place-conscious perspectives into their American History curriculum. They never used the academic terminology of the field, though the curriculum they wrote had multiple similarities to Gruenwald's 2003 fusion of critical pedagogy and place-based education, which is described in greater detail in Chapter Two. The close relationships and shared trust I built with students and teachers during my time as part of daily life in the school and the community served as avenues for understanding student experiences of the curricula of place inside and outside the classroom, as well as teachers' attempts to support student learning associated with their home town in the American History classroom.

Whose Stories Contribute to Mine?

I attempted to negotiate entrée into three school communities in the Factory Town area before the staff and faculty at Workman High School (WHS) welcomed me. Each school or teacher I had approached in my attempts was hesitant for a number of reasons. Because of its economic collapse, Factory Town has a long history of being represented as a failure, a loss, a disaster, or a tragedy. Therefore, school professionals who are working with students as they learn and grow in a challenging context could easily meet a university researcher interested in the postindustrial aspects

of the community with distrust. However, in my third attempt at making a lasting research connection, I met Dan Carpenter, a Caucasian male, and his co-teaching partner Amy Miller, a Caucasian female; their peers identified both teachers as veterans, and their practices supported this label. After a brief meeting in which Dan and I talked about our backgrounds and my research interests, he agreed to participate and subsequently connected me with other participants inside and outside of Workman High School (WHS).

Dan came to teaching through a powerful experience he had as a high school student. The son of a General Motors executive Dan grew up in a wealthy bedroom community not far from Factory Town. During his junior year of high school, Dan had a confrontation with the assistant principal, which ultimately led to his expulsion. Facing few alternatives, he enrolled for his senior year at WHS, where he now works as a U.S. and World History teacher. Though he has degrees from two highly respected universities, including a master's degree from an Ivy League university that is globally recognized as a world leader in education, he credits his senior year at WHS as being the most significant of his educational career. He argues that Factory Town taught him how to be "real" and to see past the boundaries we place around one another, racially and economically. He has carried this valuable lesson into the classroom and places it at the center of his pedagogy as an educator dedicated to infusing critical perspectives into his practice.

My connection with Amy Miller progressed more slowly than with Dan. Amy was not part of the initial conversation I had with Dan, and I did not get to know her well until after I had observed in her classroom and we had several conversations as well as

formal, and informal interviews. That gave us the chance to connect more completely

over time. As Amy began to open up with me, she shared that her life had been

different than Dan's. It was clear, however, that each teacher's path had led them to

becoming a critically-minded educator with a passion for helping students see

themselves as agents of change in the local community. Amy grew up in Factory Town,

the daughter of two GM line workers, and throughout her childhood faced times of

extreme poverty and hardship. She credits the Factory Town school system with

identifying her strengths and supporting her passion for theatre, which ultimately led her

to a local university where she completed a bachelor's degree in theatre arts. After

making the jump to teaching, she worked in an exclusive private school for the students

of the wealthiest families in Factory Town. This experience helped her to recognize that

schools were not equal, and some students were gaining access to higher quality

education than others. After meeting the school's principal, who eventually opened

Workman High School, she was invited to join the staff in 1992, its inaugural year.

Since then Amy has dedicated her career to enacting critical perspectives with her

students, emphasizing feminist theories, drawing upon critical theory to support

students' awareness of injustice, and to arm them with the skills and knowledge

necessary to recognize how forms of power and oppression operate at societal,

structural, and institutional levels.

Throughout the process of data collection I also developed close, trusting, and

lasting connections with the 15 students who agreed to participate in the study. I came

to know most of them through our interactions in their social studies courses, through a

network of their peers, or chance encounters in the school or on a nearby college

campus. All of them hailed from Factory Town or surrounding communities, and as we shared conversations during and after class sessions I came to learn more about them and their lives. Most of our interactions took place in the school setting, though I occasionally spent time with students who were taking a break from class in the areas surrounding the school. I learned in my early conversations with most of the students that the school and the campus were places where they felt safe. In fact, several of the students would meet their friends on campus and spend time laughing and talking at a campus "food court."

The nature of my relationship with students was largely shaped by my involvement with their school context. Therefore, I chose to conduct our interviews on campus, as this space was comfortable for them, and a place where they felt comfortable with me. The relationships I developed with students revealed that they felt closely tied to their community, despite their frustrations with the social and economic troubles it has faced in their lifetimes. Like their teachers, students' senses of who they are were deeply embedded in their relationship to the local community, and to varying degrees its relationship to the people and places beyond the city limits.

Plan of Dissertation

Chapter Two is a two-part chapter. It provides readers with a map of the conceptual terrain of this study as well as my research methodology. In Part One, I situate the study within the core literature in place-conscious education, place-based education, situated pedagogy, and critical geography, while simultaneously considering its implications for curriculum theory more broadly. Part One also provides an overview of the theoretical and methodological elements of the study, lays out a "theoretical

framework," and describes the methods I used to produce data. Part one also introduces three key "texts" which emerged as co-constructions—developed through engagement with participants--during the field portion of the study, through the process of data analysis and peer review. Each "research text" has informed the current state of my thinking about the work presented in this dissertation, and was used as an analytical tool during data analysis.

They include the following:

1. Narrative and phenomenological texts, or students recounting of their experiences in Factory Town, and their perceptions of the postindustrial city.

2. Global education texts, or the ways in which my observations and conversations with students and teachers align with current theory in global education.

3. Critical and civic texts, or inscriptions of race, class, and power in the places and discourses of the postindustrial city, and their implications for students' perceptions of themselves in relationship to Factory Town.

These texts provide a frame of reference for the data analysis chapters, Chapters Three and Four. In Part Two of Chapter Two, I provide descriptive snapshots of the community and the school where this study took place, the participants in this work, and a detailed description of daily life inside the classroom.

Chapters Three through Five lay out the argument that, students' perceptions of the space and places they inhabit are deeply intertwined with their perceptions of themselves and their hopes for the future. Furthermore, I argue students' processes of

place-making offer fertile ground for promoting critical thinking, civic participation, and social action in schools, practices which could lead to social transformation in postindustrial places.

In Chapter Three: (Not so) Distant Memories: Longing, Nostalgia, and Possibility in Postindustrial Place-making, I draw from Svetlana Boym's (2001) theorizations of nostalgia (2001), and Willinger's (2007) explanation of "longing" as well as spatial theories (Harvey, 2006; Lefebvre, 1976; Soja, 1996) to explore how students' perceptions of social change in their local community influence how they see themselves in connection to temporality. I theorize a spatial and temporal curriculum of the postindustrial city, which consistently produces questions about the past, present, and future of students' communities, but also their lives. Sites inside and outside the classroom frame this exploration.

Chapter Four: A Curriculum of Boundaries: Contested Geographies of Self and Other, explores the policing of racial, class and geographic boundaries in the city of Factory Town. Drawing from literature in diversity education, global education, and post-modern feminism, I explore the power of difference in how students' perceive of, challenge, and maintain boundaries between themselves and "others." Students' narratives of these tensions illustrate the power of local places in producing students' sense of identity, and their position in the world.

The concluding chapter, Chapter Five: Toward a Globally-conscious Place-based Education addresses the theoretical, pedagogical, and curricular implications for those interested in the power of place-making for informing students' sense of who they are. Looking back across the chapters I consider the implications of how students in

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postindustrial communities come to learn about who they are and how they are

produced, and how they produce the places they inhabit. I draw connections between

the narratives that emerged as central concepts in this study and those that are

maintained in the place-based education and global education curricula at the levels of

policy and practice. I close by considering possibilities for blurring the boundaries

between global education and place-conscious education in K-12 practice and teacher

education.

A Place for Possibility

Throughout the process of conducting this research and writing this dissertation I

have maintained a focus on possibilities. At times the content of this work engages with

difficult topics such as racism, violence, poverty, apathy, and economic hardship. Any

social science research conducted in postindustrial contexts must address the problems

communities reeling from economic collapse must face. I do not deny these issues

exist. Rather, I have attempted to engage with them in a productive exploration of

possibilities. While postindustrial cities are plagued by many challenges, they also offer

unique spaces for rethinking our approaches to everyday problems people face in all

contexts. This study poses questions about current trends in education policy and

practice by shedding light on the power of place in shaping who we are, and the

absence of the idea of place in current conversations in education policy. Many

adolescent and adult participants, whose words make up a large part of this

dissertation, expressed their hope that their contributions to the study would serve as a

step toward change in their community. I have shared their hopes, and their visions of

possibility as I have written this dissertation. I hope your contributions, as a reader of

this work, will extend the dialog beyond the pages of this text, creating places for

possibilities elsewhere.

CHAPTER TWO

Mapping the Epistemological, Methodological, and Lived Terrain of the Study

I began to think deeply about the power of "place" in the city of Factory Town while working for a year as a field supervisor for seven student teachers placed in a Factory Town elementary school. During that time the interns I supervised taught a standardized sixth grade social studies curriculum intended to infuse global perspectives into an existing geography unit about international trade. Surprisingly, though Factory Town's manufacturing history is tightly connected to processes of globalization, and its well-documented economic decline is commonly discussed among its current residents, no mention of Factory Town occurred in the curriculum. As I drove out of the school parking lot that afternoon, I saw a group of sixth graders who had been in some of my interns' classes that day. Their routes home led them past the massive ruins of General Motors (GM) assembly plants, crumbling houses, and closed storefronts. At that moment it occurred to me that students were exposed to two distinct curricula, a school curriculum that deemphasized Factory Town as a place, and its global connections, and a community curriculum that was filled with reminders of powerful connections between local and global places.

Compelled by my experiences observing these interns and their students over the course of that year, I set out trying to understand more about how students learning social studies came to understand global processes, particularly globalization, from their lived experiences inside and outside the classroom. My academic curiosity about connections between "the local and the global" led me to this study and the exceptional people who agreed to help me understand their experiences teaching and learning

about globalization. However, through the process of conducting the study it became clear that while students perceptions of place were powerful "texts" (Pinar and Kincheloe, 1991; Pinar, 2006), which contributed to civic learning, globalization and "the global" were less central to their understandings than the immediacy of the local meanings they ascribed to the places they experienced on a daily basis. Though my original understandings of global and local connections grew less pronounced, my assumptions about a curriculum of "place" proved analytically rich and yielded significant space for deliberation about the relationship between people, places and pedagogy in the postindustrial city. As a result, my focus shifted from an emphasis on students' perceptions of "the local and the global" to a focus on the pedagogical process of place-making.

I wrote this chapter with the intent of positioning this dissertation within a field of academic literature, while offering the reader a detailed frame of reference for the who, what, why, when, and how of this study. The chapter is thus divided into two parts. In Part One, I position the study in relationship to other recent and relevant literature in "place-conscious" forms of education, and critical geography. I pay particular attention to definitions of these concepts and practices. After a description of my use of an ethnographic methodology, I identify three key social "texts" which emerged from my interactions with the study's participants. I provide detailed explanations of how these texts served as frames of reference throughout the analysis and writing phases of the study. I close Part One with an explanation of the methods I used to frame a study that would contribute to these emerging fields.

In Part Two, I provide a detailed look at the people and places that contribute to this work. I describe Workman High School, one story of its institutional history, and the city of Factory Town in order to provide some context as to why the participants and their experiences should matter to educators, policy-makers, and theorists in a reform era characterized by a growing sense of "placelessness." As Relph (1976) explains, Placelessness arises from a disconnection from the spaces we inhabit due to our reliance on digital technologies. Yet, placelessness also arises out of increases in global flows of capital. We rely less on our immediate surroundings for the things we depend upon. Thus we become unfamiliar with places we inhabit. This notion also applies to policies that increasingly emphasis the movement of products over human connections to the places we inhabit.

Part One: Place, Methodology, and Methods

Central Literature on Place and Place-based Education

"The last thing a fish notices is the water in which it swims." A common expression in English, this phrase serves as a good starting point for any discussion about place. "Place" cannot be distilled to the equivalent of "water" as it used in this phrase, though this is how we commonly conceive of its role on our lives. I suggest we consider place differently. To this end, I review foundational theoretical and practical contributions to the fields of critical geography, and place-based education. I intend to use the literature of the field to draw attention to the social construction of "place," and the webs of discursive power (Foucault, 1977) through which it is maintained. Also, I hope to situate this study in the field of place-conscious education. Following this brief

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engagement with the literature, I distill my use of some key terms and concepts, which have emerged as significant to my analysis and interpretation of this study.

To say that we do not reflect on social space as a cultural product is not to say that we do not inscribe it with meaning. "Rather, through repeated experience of familiar cultural surroundings, we tend to develop an unreflective, unconscious attitude toward place" (Casey, 1997, pp. 626-627). This taken-for-granted-ness is evident across various realms of thought ranging from social theory to the typical encounters of our everyday lives. As place-based educators such as Gruenwald (2003) argue, "traditional education's unconscious assumption that material cultural formations— places--are natural and inevitable parts of our social and geographical landscape presents considerable danger" (2003a, p. 628). Gruenewald continues, "…such an assumption is dangerous because (a) it obscures connections between education, culture, and place; (b) it releases people from their responsibility as place-makers, and (c) it legitimizes the ideology that is embedded in the places we take for granted" (p. 628). Curricula that promote a sense of "placelessness" (Casey, 1997), therefore, limit the possibilities for education to serve as a pathway to empowerment. Instead, "placeless" education diverts our attention from the patterns of power we maintain through spatial practice, and are imposed upon us through the social and spatial practices of everyday life (Gruenewald, 2003a, 2003b; Gruenewald & Smith, 2008 Kitchens, 2009; Fettes & Judson, 2011). Understanding these connections between education, place, and empowerment requires some explication of what I mean when I use the terms "place" and "place-making."

Place.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to recount the many iterations of "place" which have developed throughout the long history of Western thought [See Casey's *The Fate of Place* (1997) for an extensive genealogy of "place" in Western philosophy]. However, given the multitude of conceptualizations of this concept it is necessary that I explain my use of the term. The term "place" is commonly used to define a specific space or a context in which events occur. It is precisely this un-problematized definition, which allows for the existence of a sense of "placelessness" in the practices and discourses of education. Western philosophy, however, has given consistent attention to the concept since Aristotle and beyond. More recently, critical geographers such as Foucault, Lefebvre, Deleuze, Soja, Massey, and others have begun to apply "place" to critical analyses of power and oppression in social contexts. My use of the term stems from this, more recent, tradition of critical geography. It is important to note that even within one tradition such as critical geography there exists no steadfast definition of the term. The term reflects the diversity of places and the diversity of human experiences of place.

Many theorists writing within the traditions of place-conscious education maintain a distinction between the terms "place" and "space," typically attributing place to the emotional experience of a broader notion of "space" (Fettes & Judson, 2011; Gruenewald, 2003a; Smith and Sobel, 2010). Instead, I follow the tradition of poststructuralist critical geography, beginning with Bachelard's notion of "intimate immensity (Bachelard, 1958), through which he connects the concepts of place and space. Using the analogy of one's house and defining it as an "intimate space," Bachelard argues that from the intimacy of a familiar room we are capable of

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experiencing the full extent of infinite space, of "feeling at one with a world." As Casey

(1997) puts it, "…in intimate immensity I *enter space from place itself* (emphasis in

original text)*. I come to the immense from within rather than on the basis of exteriority"

(p. 294). Taken in this way, the commonly maintained dichotomy of place and space is

problematized. However, Bachelard's definition is not sufficient on its own for

explaining my use of the term place, for it lacks any clear explication of the connections

between place and power, more specifically political and social power.

Henri Lefebvre (1974), and later Edward Soja (1989) extended Bachelard's

mostly poetic notion of "intimate immensity" by theorizing "the production of space,"

which ultimately became the title of Lefebvre's seminal philosophy of space. In this

dissertation, I make use of Lefebvre's assertion that people make places, and places

make people. In fact, Lefebvre argued that "social spaces" are socially produced (1974)

through acts of discursive power, which work to inform who we are and our "place" in

the world. For example, discourses can include or exclude, divide or bring together

groups of people. These divisions are reified within the spaces and places we inhabit.

Place, formulated in this way, can be characterized as pedagogical. As Cassie

Quiggley (2009) puts it, "as centers of experience, places teach us about how the world

works, and about how our lives fit into the spaces we occupy (p. 83). In other words,

people have an active role in the social and physical production of places. These

processes include the narrative production of place through discursive acts, which

inscribe spaces with symbolic meaning, as well as the production of place through acts

of physical manipulation, construction, demolition, art-making, and re-appropriation

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among other things. These acts are often defined as "place-making," though I make use of a more flexible definition of the concept presented below.

Place-making.

Fettes and Judson define place-making as the "the active engagement of human beings with the places they inhabit" (p. 124). World-making and globe-making (Lacue-Labarthe & Nancy, 1997) "Whereas globalization, or globe-making, produces over-regulated practices focused on the production of generic, predictable individuals who are responsive to the forces of government, world-making begins with self-in-relation to the other. World-making requires openness to new directions and possibilities as is not mandated by governmental imperatives" (129). Place-making is an active process, not a passive one. A place exists because of our relationship to it. Fettes and Judson argue,

> The passive knowledge that develops through frequent contact or second hand descriptions and explanations may provide resources for place-making; however, it is our mental reaching out to grasp the possibilities of place, its past, its future, its meaning for us, that readily shapes the relationship. While this is clearly true for human communities (Fettes, 1998)… [it] also holds true for the development of ecological understanding of the world, a sense of the human world as part of, not apart from nature—of mankind's "implicatedness in life (p. 124).

As such, Fettes and Judson's notion of place-making is a central aspect of my exploration of the pedagogical power of the postindustrial city in the lives of the participants. Places are pedagogical. They inform who we are, where we are, and our sense of what is possible in our lives, the spaces we call home, and our imagination of

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the world. Place-making is also a central aspect of place-based education as it is theorized and practiced in various contexts.

Place-based Education, Community-based Education, and Situated-pedagogy

In the context of education, place-conscious education is a direct curricular response to the "placelessness" (Casey, 1993), which has arisen through the promotion of standards-based education and social efficiency (Labaree, 1989) models, which avert students' attention from local particularities to generalized ways of knowing. According to two of its most central theorists,

> Place-based education or place-conscious education introduces children and youth to the skills and dispositions needed to regenerate and sustain communities. It achieves this end by drawing on local phenomena as the source of at least a share of children's learning experiences, helping them to understand the processes that underlie the health of natural and social systems essential to human welfare (Gruenewald & Smith, xvi).

According to Gruenewald and Smith (2008) five themes make-up the heart of placed-based education.

1) The walls of the school must become more permeable, and local collaboratives, and support structures must be built and maintained so that education truly becomes a larger community effort.

2) Democracy has always been a struggle for meaning and for change, and place-based education must demonstrate to students the challenges and potentialities of collective effort.

3) An education in place must also acquaint students with the ways that their own health and security are codependent on the health and security of everyone and everything around them.

4) An education in place must not be tuned to nostalgic or homogeneous images of the local, but to local diversity, the diversity within places and the diversity between places.

5) An education in place must be an education in ethics. People need to be aware of that which fosters wholeness and life, and that which fosters division and harm. (pp. xx-xxii)

In another publication co-edited with David Sobel (2010), Gregory Smith explains that place-based education is closely linked to "other contemporary efforts to connect schools more firmly to their communities—efforts such as civic education, contextual education, service learning, environmental education, and workplace education" (p. 21). However, community or place-based education are the only terms that allow for the inclusion of both the human and the "more-than-human" another essential element of an education that helps students "grapple with the messy and cross-disciplinary nature of humankind's current dilemmas" (pp. 21-22). Here, the term "more-than-human" is used to describe those aspects of life that extend beyond or individual experiences, such as community engagement, or our relationship to the external world.

Implicit in the definitions put forth by Gruenewald and Smith (2008) and Smith and Sobel (2010) is the element of "rootedness," an idea applied to place-based education by one of its pioneers, David Orr. Orr argues, "the preservation of place (in our age of globalization) is essential to the preservation of the world," explaining;

A world that takes its environment seriously must come to terms with the root of its problems, beginning with the place called home. This is not a simple-minded return to a mythical past but a patient and disciplined effort to learn, and in some ways, to relearn the arts of inhabitation. These will differ from place to place reflecting various cultures, values, and ecologies (Orr, 1994, p. 170).

Orr's notion of "rootedness," commonly appropriated by the central theorists in the field of place-base education is something akin to "citizenship," or in this case a person's emotional, civic, and social connection to his or her home community (town, city, or otherwise). Picking up on the civic aspects of place-based education, David Sobel's definition includes a specific emphasis on local forms of citizenship. He argues place-based education "increases academic achievement, helps students develop stronger ties to their community, enhances students' appreciation for the natural world, and creates a heightened commitment to serving as active, contributing citizens" (Sobel, 2004, p. 7).

Definitions of placed-based education also tend to emphasis a porous boundary between the school and the community, asserting that learning does—and should—take place outside the classroom in the spaces and places of the surrounding community. As Sobel and Smith explain, "rather than seeing teaching and learning as being located primarily within the school, place-based education requires potentially all mature citizens to take responsibility for inducting children and youth into the obligations and possibilities of adulthood" (2010, p. 23). Furthermore, place-based educators tend to promote learning that leads to active transformation of the places students inhabit. In other words, the boundaries between school-based learning, and civic responsibility are

concomitantly blurred in place-based education. Students are encouraged to act to solve existing community problems, take civic responsibility, and act on issues that affect their own community.

Multiple variations and iterations of Place-based education have emerged, each serving to expand and enrich the discourse around place and its relationship to schooling and learning. Community-based education holds many commonalities with place-based education. One major difference, however, is in the centrality of "problem-posing" aspects of education for community-based educators (Freire, 1970). This is not to say that those who refer to themselves as place-based educators leave out these methods (Gruenewald, 2003). Rather, I am saying critical pedagogy is foregrounded in the work of theorists and practitioners who call themselves community-based educators. "Community based learning helps students… develop the knowledge, skills, and attributes of effective citizenship by identifying and acting on issues and concerns that affect their own community. … These strategies create a pedagogy of engagement (Melaville, Berg, & Blank, 2006, p. 3). "Effective citizenship," as it is defined above, is linked closely with "identifying" and "taking action" toward solving community problems. These actions are central to theories and the practices of critical pedagogy (McLaren & Giroux, 1990; Freire, 1970). These theorists and other leaders in the field assert that education is "always political" and theorize students and teachers as "transformative intellectuals" (Giroux, 1988 as cited in Gruenewald, 2003 p. 4) "capable of identifying and redressing the injustices, inequalities, and myths of an often oppressive world" (Gruenewald, 2003, p. 4). As Sobel and Smith (2010) explain, these problem-posing

methods "demonstrate to young people the value of their own efforts and help cultivate a taste for civic participation" (p. 25).

Like community and place-based education, situated-pedagogy is also based on close linkages between critical theory and theories of "place-based" education. However, as Kitchens (2009), explains, situated pedagogy comes directly from the tradition of critical geography which he argues, "is concerned with working against oppressive elements—like critical pedagogy—but addresses localities with a more deliberate emphasis on the spatialization, or the 'production of space,' both in its positive and negative characteristics" (p. 245). He goes on to explain that "situated pedagogy does not merely exploit or endorse the given, but seeks to transcend it (p. 104), thus expanding the definition to consider the production (Lefebvre, 1974) of local spaces and their juxtaposition with and against other spaces (close and distant). He explains the core of situated pedagogy:

> By situating education in the space of local communities, and by connecting the curriculum to the everyday life of students, situated pedagogy allows students to take part in the production of a conversation that creates new understandings of the world and their place in it, and, furthermore, how they chose to act in it. A situated pedagogy is interested in identity and self-formation, but also social formation and the relationships between the two, between the self and social in the process of becoming. It asks students to attend to their environment as psychogeographers, reflecting on the subjective and the objective, the internal and the material, with their bodies as well as their minds, and listening to what places have to tell us. Students read the world, experiencing living landscapes,

and decode those politically, socially, historically, and aesthetically, participating in a remapping of those landscapes. A situated pedagogy attends to specific places and localities, but not merely as places for discursive analysis and academic study, but as the spaces for action, intervention, and perhaps transformation. As such, it means that education is meant to move beyond the schools and out into the world in an active, performative participation in the study and reconstruction of material spaces in and outside of their schools as well as the curricular landscapes of their education. (p. 240)

Kitchen's definition of situated pedagogy, for which he draws heavily upon Gruenewald (2003a, 2003b) and Gruenewald and Smith (2008), emphasizes discursive and spatial practices and their roles in the production of space.

His definition draws particular attention to both self and social formation and their connection to place. Kitchens' use of the critical geographic terminology of "situatedness," expands the possibilities of place-conscious forms of education to human/place relations that extend far beyond "local" contexts. While it would be a misrepresentation to argue that "place-based" education does not consider this relationship beyond the local, it necessarily begins with a persons' connection to local places. Situated pedagogy emphasizes the role of power in the social production of place, and places production of the individual. In this way, situated pedagogy intentionally draws attention to the role of regional, national, and global space in shaping local contexts as well as the individual. These unique aspects of situated-pedagogy and those shared with other forms of place-based pedagogy serve as key theoretical concepts, which have informed this ethnographic study.

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Place-conscious Education and My Use of the Field's Central Tenets

Across the work of some key theorists and their definitions of various iterations of place-conscious education, four key themes emerge: 1) attentiveness to the pedagogical power of place, 2) emphasis on problem-posing/ critical pedagogy promoting attentiveness to power as it is produced in local contexts 3) a deliberate erosion of the social and physical boundaries between schools and the communities they serve, and finally 4) attention to individuals' civic relationships to both human and natural environments.

Though none of the teachers or students I worked with at Workman High School used the language of place-conscious education, my time there revealed that place was highly pedagogical for students inside and outside the classroom. The postindustrial landscape, civic culture, and discourse were all pedagogical for students as they learned about their community, their connections to it, and its position in this era largely characterized by processes of economic and cultural globalization. Critical geographers such as Soja (1996) and Lefebvre (1974) emphasize that, although flows of capital reproduce spatial power relations and shape place, culture, identity and other spatial relationships are significant. Because of the ways I conducted this study, and my own biographical relationship to economic aspects of globalization, the focus of many conversations tended toward economic reifications of power. This emphasis on economics was also apparent in the stories students shared, their discussions of the community, and the lessons they learned in their social studies classroom, or the American Social History Project (ASHP) classroom. That being said, multiple other aspects of power embedded in spatial relations emerged as social texts, which informed

my research. As Casey argues there are "many faces of place" (1997, pp. 286- 287).

My experiences working with students in Factory Town indicated the unique aspects of

life in a postindustrial city have a profound influence on how students conceive of

themselves, their place in the world, and their responsibility to their local community.

As the fields of place-based education and critical geography continue to expand,

it is important that they stay true to the poststructuralist and postmodern traditions from

which they arise while simultaneously expanding the scope and number of studies

which address the pedagogical power of place inside and outside the classroom. This

ethnographic study, framed by poststructuralist theory, was designed to contribute to

this gap in the field. In the following section, I turn to a description of and rationale for

the methods I chose.

Methodology

It is not a matter of starting from certain theoretical or methodological problems: it

is a matter of starting from what we want to do, and then seeing which methods

and theories will best help us achieve these ends (Eagleton, 1996 p.183).

We are all shaped by and we all shape the places we inhabit. Theories that

address the dialogical relationship between people and places (Soja, 1989; Lefebvre,

1974;Massey, 2004) can help to reveal how social injustices, global inequalities

(economic and social), and local injustices are socially and spatially maintained. The

conversations I shared with students and teachers at Workman High School, and my

observations of their daily lives revealed that the postindustrial places of Factory Town

are pedagogical. They serve as "texts" (Pinar 1991, 2006), which inform students'

perceptions of themselves in the world (locally and beyond). The powerful insights

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students gained by virtue of their relationship to the specific places of Factory Town illustrate the need for research in education that is deeply attentive to the particularities of place. The current ear of reform in education promotes curricula that tend to distance students from their lived experiences of place. Thus, current research in this area is necessary in order to understand the implications of the shifts, and identify solutions to the problems they present. (Gruenewald, 2008; Pyle, 2008).

I pursue two interrelated subjects in this dissertation. First, What are the narratives of place that students encounter by virtue of living and learning in a postindustrial city? How do these narratives, as they are read, re(narrated), composed, and expressed in practice serve as processes of place-making? A second, but closely related question addresses the role of specific spatial contexts in this process. How do students' experiences of place in one postindustrial city influence their sense of who they are, where they are, and what is possible for the future?

In order to explore these questions, I conducted an ethnographic study in which I drew from three key texts. In the paragraphs below I provide a rationale for my use of ethnographic methods and describe the three key "texts" that emerged over the course of my time working with the participants in this study. These texts served as frames of reference for analysis and organization of my ideas throughout each phase of this ethnographic study. It is important to note, that though they are consistently present in the text of this dissertation, I do not consistently draw attention to their presence by directly naming them.

Ethnography.

As ethnography, this study involves an "ongoing attempt to place specific encounters, events, and understandings into a fuller, more meaningful context" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000 p. 455). In this study of "place" and "place-making" I have remained attentive to Denzin and Lincoln's notion that "human beings exist within the realm of meaning as well as in the material and organic realms" (p.471). Meaning is emergent from the material and social strata rather than a product of them. As Denzin and Lincoln explain further, "one of the most important forms of creating meaning is a narrative that attends to the temporal dimension of human existence and shapes events into a unity" (p. 471). This study serves as one such narrative, but is also constituted of students' narratives of their lives. This dissertation, like all texts, is multi-vocal and representative of what Derrida would refer to as, "the intertext" (1976). The multiplicity of voices and narratives which constitute the study have specific implications for me as an ethnographic researcher.

Ethnography is a co-construction between researcher and participant, and the social, spatial, and temporal contexts in which the study was conducted. Drawing from the work of Crick (1982), and Davies (2008) explains "the ethnographic enterprise is not a matter of what one person does in a situation, but how two sides of an encounter arrive at a delicate workable definition of this meeting" (Crick, 1982, p. 25). Steier (1991) furthers this notion, explaining the ethnographic process as involving the researcher and reciprocators (not respondents) who engage in co-constructing a world (Davies, 2008). Furthermore, it has been said that any ethnographic account is simultaneously a statement about culture and the entire enterprise of anthropology as a whole. As Crick argues, "Anthropology is a part of itself" (1982, p. 307). The postmodern and

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poststructuralist critiques of anthropology have led to important insights about reflexivity and the co-construction of texts, but a point can be reached when this "spiral of reflexivity" becomes counter productive.

I argue that any study that addresses the human relationship with his or her environment requires an epistemological and methodological approach that balances the empiricist argument that knowledge outside the realm of individual interpretation is possible, with the necessary counter balance to this claim provided by postmodern and poststructuralist thought. In other words, the ethnographic process can provide valuable insights and understandings as a hermeneutical process. It is possible to make claims based on ethnographic work, but the authorial voice, interpreting text, must remain a central part of the text. Throughout the study I have remained attentive to my role in its construction and the implications this relationship has for any arguments I present.

Three central frames of reference emerged during the data collection, analysis and writing phases of this study. I provide a description of each below, and attempt to acknowledge my part in the construction of these ideas in each description. These "texts" have served as interpretive frames throughout each phase of the study including writing and revisions.

Texts as interpretive frames.

Jacques Derrida famously argued there is "nothing outside the text." Poststructuralists such as McEwan have extend the notion of text to concepts such as, "human actions and practices, social institutions, cultural artifacts, and the products of artistic creation," referring to them as "texts or text-analogues, that are open to be read" (McEwan 1992, p. 64 as cited in Pinar, 1995). For example, Pinar (1998) argues

"education functions, at least in secular societies, as a text that says something about the things society considers sacred" (p. 446). Pinar's use of "text" implies both a specific piece of writing and an interpretation of the discourses that constitute it. It is in texts that meaning resides, meanings, which are produced through layers of discourse superimposed on one anther, "interlaced among each other, (in) layers of storied meaning" (p. 446). In getting to know the participants of this study, and their daily routines inside and outside classrooms, three such "texts" emerged as central ways in which the participants engaged directly with place while learning in Factory Town; a) phenomenological texts or those texts that informed participants' identity in relationship to place, b) global education texts or those aspects of life in a post-industrial city that informed students sense of their community's interconnectedness with the world, and c) critical and civic texts, or those aspects of life in the post-industrial city which informed participants' views of race and class power as well as their sense of responsibility as citizens of their city.

To understand the pedagogical power of place, then, required "reading" and interpreting the texts places produce. Throughout the development of this study, I read and co-wrote these sets of texts. Participants "read" and produced places through their daily activities, actions, and conversations within and about them. As I have described above, the emergence of each of these texts is also the result of my own positionality as a researcher and co-constructor of this dissertation. "Barthes argues (1977) that a text is a multidimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture' (146)" (in Storey 2006, p. 98). Interpretations of such texts can only bring a

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temporary unity to them. The text "is experienced only in an activity of production" (Storey p. 157). A text is a work seen as inseparable from the active process of its many readings. This dissertation serves as one such interpretation, and intentionally identifies the multiplicity inherent in each text. The reader is also involved in the formation of this work as your interpretations of participants' experiences and ideas I share with you add to the multiple layers of interpretation that are inherent within each of the texts.

Research text #1:Narrative texts.

The first and most central text which emerged during the time I spent in Factory Town are the narratives participants used to describe (to me and others) their experiences of living in the city, and the economic impact a postindustrial economy has had on their lives. It is important to note that the texts I describe as "emerging" from this study are simultaneously the product of the social and spatial context of a particular era in Factory Town's history, and a particular group of students. Most importantly, they are also a product of my own positionality as a Caucasian, adult member of a school community, and relative outsider to the city of Factory Town. Another researcher, positioned differently, most certainly would have generated a different reading.

The conversations I shared with participants, some as parts of formal interviews and others in informal day-to-day interactions, revealed that participants tended to use stories to explain their experience. This was not surprising to me as narratives help individuals make sense of the discontinuity and fragmentation that characterize the experience of our daily lives. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) explain that "Life… is filled with narrative fragments, enacted in storied moments of time and space, and reflected

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upon and understood in terms of narrative unities and discontinuities" (17). In other words, narratives are ways of explaining (to ourselves and others) who we are and how we relate to our spatial, temporal and social context. Margaret Sommers (1991), describes these personal stories as "ontological narratives." People construct identities by locating themselves, or being located within a set of relational stories. As Somers puts it, "ontological narratives can only exist in the form of interpersonal interactions over time" (614). Therefore, they are simultaneously produced through interpersonal relations, and embedded in our own sense of self. As such, their social production is central to the social construction of identity. To take an example from this study, Lana, a young woman who moved out of her African-American working class neighborhood as a child, longed to leave the middle class neighborhood she lives in now. She missed the close-knit relationships she had in her other neighborhood, and laments the lack of those relationships in her new neighborhood.

Somers (1996) defines narratives as "constellations of relationships embedded in time and space, constituted by causal emplottment," or the social, spatial, and temporal contexts in which they are produced (p. 616). Ontological narratives, like Lana's, are the product of stories that circulate at the collective level as well. These collective narratives also reproduce ways of knowing. Narratives reproduce power relations through nonlinear processes of communication, passing stories through networks of people from macro-level, "metanarratives," and traveling among and between individuals, social and corporate media, institutions and back again (Somers, 1992). Sommers terms commonly recognizable narratives, which circulate at the collective social level, "public narratives." According to Somers, these "are the

narratives attached to cultural and institutional formations larger than the individual, to intersubjective networks or institutions, however local or grand, micro or macro" (pg. 619). In other words, Lana's story of moving away is a product of a larger social narrative about belonging and the loss associated with social mobility.

The terms "ontological narrative" and "public narrative" and the concepts they present provide a lexicon for explaining various levels of narrative, and participants' interactions with them. Somers's taxonomy of narratives provides a way into the complex webs of power dynamics through which narratives gain their power to inform, or guide, who we are and how we think of ourselves in relationship to other people, places, and times. In short, narratives are a way into thinking about how individuals make sense of their experiences. Students' narratives revealed their perceptions of how they are situated, or as Casey (1993) puts it, "implaced" in the world. The notion of implacement in place presupposes the notion of implacement in time, as well.

Research text #2: Global education texts.

As I described earlier in this chapter, my original intent in conducting this study was to explore students' experiences of "globalization inside and outside the classroom" in a postindustrial community. Though the central foci of the study have changed to an emphasis on the pedagogical power of place, its origins influenced the sorts of texts it has produced. Furthermore, my own academic interests in the field of global education and processes of globalization have had an influence as well. That being said, the emergence of this "text" cannot be attributed to my positionality alone. Factory Town's prosperous past and recent history of economic decline were tightly intertwined with economic globalization. As a result, aspects of this history live on in the material and

social spaces of the city. As a result, students explanations of economic and demographic change in the city are connected to globalization, in most cases, vis a vis the social studies classroom. When used as an analytical tool, this text produced interesting data which helped me to understand how students positioned their community in relationship to the rest of the world, their perceived connectedness to the rest of the world, and the ways in which the global economy shaped their sense of the past and present in Factory Town and beyond.

Global Education is a broad field, and therefore I will delineate my use of the term and my use of the aspects of field, which contributed to the emergence of this "text." Multiple conceptualizations of what global education encompasses (Case, 1993; Kirkwood, 2001; Merryfield, 2001; Heilman, 2010) have emerged since its inception in the U.S. in the 1970s. However, theorists commonly agree upon several components of the concept: interconnectedness, perspective consciousness, and a sense that global education goes beyond knowledge to include dispositions and an emphasis on personal or social action (Hanvey, 1976; Pike, 2000). According to the National Council for Social Studies (NCSS) position statement on preparing students for a global community, "a global perspective is attentive to the interconnectedness of the human and natural environment" and "in studying the traditions, history, and current challenges of other cultures, the perspective consciousness of our students must be raised and ethnocentric barriers must be addressed" (NCSS, 2001). This definition, and Tye and Tye's seminal 1992 definition are illustrative of the kinds of ideas, which have informed this work at each phase of the study. Tye and Tye (1992) assert that any educational practice that can be referred to as global education involves,

1) the study of problems and issues that cut across national boundaries, and the

interconnectedness of the systems involved—economic, environmental, cultural,

political, and technological;

2) the cultivation of cross-cultural understanding, which includes development of

the skill of perspective-taking—that is, being able to see life from someone else's

point of view. Global perspectives are important at every grade level, in every

curricular subject area, and for all children and adults. (p. 6)

Tye and Tye's emphasis on the placement of problems, interconnectedness through

social systems, and the cultivation of cross-cultural awareness informed my reading and

analysis of students' experiences in their Social Studies classrooms, and framed

questions I posed about their experiences within and perceptions of the spaces and

places of Factory Town. My questions about Factory Town and its history of

globalization, the ways globalization is talked about at home and at school, and

questions about students' understandings of globalization all centered on the

particularities of place, and the ways place informed students knowledge, or obscured

students' knowledge of global systems. In fact, the emergence of the "global education"

text required students to recount their perceptions of their own "situatedness" in the

world, their community's positioning in regional, national, and global space, and

importantly the implications this has for their understanding of who they are, where they

are, and their sense of possibilities for the future. Thus, I have used these data that are

directly attributable to my global educator positionality to frame arguments about the

pedagogical nature of place throughout the dissertation. Critical and civic texts also

emerged as a central frame of reference in the study.

Research text #3: Critical and civic texts.

I use the phrase, "civic and critical texts" to describe discursive and spatial manifestations of power and students' response to power and oppression in their community. The city of Factory Town has been a site of various civic battles throughout its historical trajectory. Race, class and gender were all salient aspects of the written curriculum in the classrooms I observed. Social reproduction, power, oppression, and injustice were common themes students and teachers engaged. They were part of the explicit curriculum of the classroom. More importantly, signifiers of race and class struggles are inscribed in the discursive and material spaces of the city. As a postindustrial city, economic injustice and racial segregation are also explicit aspects of the spatial curriculum of the city.

As a White male researcher in a mostly African American context, race was rarely a topic, which was directly engaged in my conversations with students. However, I regularly observed students' engaging the topic in the classroom, and in their daily interactions with one another. Thus, race and class power were narrated, read, and represented in students interactions and engagement inside and outside the school.

My own work (reading, teaching and otherwise) inevitably shaped the questions I asked and the emergence of these issues in our conversation when they did come up. As I came to know participants, and they were more open about race, it became increasingly clear that there were unmarked divides within the city. Students' readings of their city and its history revealed this text which informed my analysis of students' comments and actions related to civic engagement, who was included, who was marginalized, and so on.

Each of the above texts emerged through a reflexive construction of meaning that resulted from my conversations with students, as well as the texts and concepts, which informed our ways of understanding one another. The three texts I describe above are not the only social texts of the city, nor are they mutually exclusive of one another. In fact, they are interrelated, they overlap and inform one another, and they are multi-vocal. It is important to note that these texts serve as frames of reference for constructing this study, but they may or may not be immediately recognizable to the students and teachers who participated in this work. They are products of the ethnographic process, and like all other texts, are up for interpretation. I now turn to a detailed description of the methods I have used throughout each phase of the study.

Methods

I made methodological choices for this study stemming from the theoretical framework and research questions. I explain these and begin by addressing the selected participants. I then proceed to explain my choices of data sources and how I went about collecting and analyzing the data. I also address the issue of my positionality as an adult, Caucasian, middle-class, male researcher working with working-class, (mostly) African-American participants from Factory Town. Hertz (1997) claims that by providing personal accounts, researchers become aware of how their own positions and interests shape their study, "from the questions they ask to those they ignore, from the problem formation to analysis, representation and writing" (p. viii). In this regard, I address the affordances and limitations that my identity has offered during the course of my study.

The data I present in this dissertation were co-constructed from working with, learning from, and listening to two teachers and 15 students in a close-knit high school community in a postindustrial city. A very short time after my initial visit, I was welcomed as a member of the school community by students as well as teachers. Though I had spent a previous year working as a university field-instructor at a Factory Town elementary school, I presented my self as a curious and well-meaning outsider. This approach seemed to work, as participants often took a pedagogical approach with me, telling me about the community from an insider's perspective. Over time, I used insights gained from conversations to develop a working sense of life in Factory Town, at school, and at home for each of the participants. Though my time with these participants lasted for a brief, but intense, six months from early February to mid-July of 2011, we developed a sense of trust and respect that provided space for students and teachers to be upon and honest throughout the process. Participants trusted me to be respectful of their experiences and do justice to their words.

During this time I achieved my goal of visiting Factory Town for three full days each week. Most of my time on those days was spent observing classes at WHS, talking with students and teachers between class and at lunch, or conducting interviews with various participants on or near the high school campus. Most students made regular use of their mobile phones to send texts throughout the school day. I typically knew I was developing a close relationship with a student when he or she would offer to share their "cell number" with me so we could text to arrange interviews, or answer questions each of us may have had for the other. This mix of formal and informal interactions allowed me to develop relationships with students which extended beyond

the classroom and into a spaces where they felt comfortable speaking with an adult who they associated with the school context.

Participants' association with me as a member of the school community provided certain limitations and affordances. Workman High School has been highly successful in their efforts to develop a "familial" atmosphere within the school. Therefore, most students had grown accustomed to having open conversations with adults and sharing their personal points of view. When compared with traditional student-teacher relationships, students at Workman viewed adults at the school as confidants, friends, and, in some cases, siblings. Thus, despite the fact that I was twice as old as they were, a different race than most participants, and a researcher from a well-known university, most student-participants appeared to be very relaxed during our conversations, even during more formal, semi-structured interviews.

All of the student participants attended the same small high school located in Factory Town. Some of the students started their high school careers in this school, but many came later due to a lack of success in one the area's other districts, disciplinary reasons, or school closures brought on by the city district's financial woes. The school's population, and the students who participated were racially diverse (See TABLE 1)[1]. Since WHS is an alternative high school, it accepts students from all over the city and the surrounding communities. Therefore, students' life experiences represented a

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[1] The low number of African-American male participants is one limitation to this study. I sought out the participation of some African American male students who volunteered early, but these young men either chose not to return consent and assent forms or felt they no longer wanted to participate for reasons undisclosed to me. Nevertheless, this lack of participation is an interesting phenomenon that shapes the findings of the present work.

significant range as well. While four students could safely be described as "middle-

class" based on their life experiences and the things they shared with me about their

home lives, the rest came from working class backgrounds, and lived in working class

neighborhoods within the city of Factory Town.

TABLE 1
Number of Student Participants by Race, and Gender

Gender	African-American	Caucasian	Mixed Race	Muslim-American
Male	1	2	1	1
Female	7	3	0	0
Totals	8	5	1	1

Methods used when working with students.

In addition to the informal interactions I had with student participants, data

collection involved semi-structured interviews, auto-driven photo-elicited interviews, and

participant-observation inside and outside classrooms. More specifically, the study

involved a minimum of two one-hour interviews with each participant, which typically

took place on the Workman Community College (WCC) campus, or at Workman High

School (WHS). A third interview lasting from one to two hours was completed by 2/3 of

the participants. The topics discussed in this interview were elicited by a set of photos

each student took with a disposable camera I provided to them. Participants were

prompted to take photos of places in their communities that were meaningful to them

and/or that reminded them of Factory Town's relationship to globalization. When we met

to discuss the photos, students led the discussion, usually by telling me general

information about each photograph. I asked a series of questions such as, "Why did you take this picture?" Tell me about this place." "Who were you with, and what did you talk about?" These questions, and others allowed me to probe without dictating the content of the interview. With time, these interviews became informal conversations. Data from these conversations was some of the richest and most compelling of the interview data I collected.

In the first interview I asked students to tell me about themselves, and to describe Factory Town. I also asked them to talk about how Factory Town has changed in their lifetimes, and to nominate places in the city that might help me understand it better. I also asked them questions about their families, and their friends, how they arrived at Workman High School, and general questions about what sorts of things they did. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted between 45 and 90 minutes.

The second interview explored students' experiences with the academic term, "globalization" and the subject matter of their Social Studies classes. These conversations were typically more formal as they were somewhat disjointed from the familiar tone I had developed with most students by the time of the second interview.

Though protocols were developed, the interviews often strayed from the protocols and took on semi-structured or conversational tones. As my aim was to investigate students' understandings of globalization and social change within their local contexts, I felt the conversational approach would avoid scripted or extemporaneous answers that were disingenuous to the aims of the study, or socially "appropriate" answers. Furthermore, the semi-structured approached allowed for more give and take, and opened the possibility for participants to ask questions as well.

I used the interviewing process to build upon the trust I had developed with students, and asked them to share their stories, their perceptions about life, their ideas and experiences in their community, and their connections to the world beyond it. The data generated from this process revealed the power of narrative identity construction as students' ontological narratives were produced in relationship to the spaces and places of the city. While conducting the second interview, I noticed that students struggled to articulate concepts like "globalization" directly. However, auto-driven photo-elicited interviewing provided a medium for students to express complex topics that were difficult to articulate verbally.

Auto-driven photo-elicited interviewing.

As Harper (2002) puts it, "photo elicitation is a process of organizing interviews around photographs" (p. 15). The assumption is that these photos act as a Rorschach test, "that looking at visual symbols may trigger meaningful memories in an individual. The meaning of the image, whether literal or imaginary, rests in the mind of the viewer" (p. 15). After permission had been granted from parents, I provided students with 27 exposure disposable cameras and asked students to take pictures of anything, inside or outside of the school grounds, that in some way reminds them of globalization or tells a "global" story that is significant to their lives. The photographs that students shared were used to support student-led conversations in which they would explain the photographs. Auto-driven photo-elicited interviews are ideal for engaging young people in expressing complex ideas in interviews. Clark-Ibanez (2004) points out the following challenges associated with interviewing children: "children's level of linguistic communication, their cognitive development, the question-and answer setting, and the accentuated power

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dynamics of the adult interviewing a child" (p. 38). Clark-Ibanez (2004) argues photos serve as clear and tangible prompts for interviews. As prompts, the photos can elucidate the lived experiences of children in ways an adult researcher may not be able to anticipate. Since theories of space and place are central to this study, photo elicitation interviews allowed students to represent those spaces that are significant to them with actual images. For practical purposes these photographs also served as an archive of those places for future reference, coding and analyzing student choices. One unexpected advantage auto-driven photo-elicited interviewing offered was a window into students' lives outside of school, spaces to which I had limited access.

Methods used when working with teachers.

Prior to interviews with students, and in between classroom observations, I conducted a series of two formal interviews and many informal interviews with four teachers. Only two teachers appear in this study, as the foci of my research questions emphasized student experiences. Therefore, I made the decision maximize student-centered data in the final write-up.

Throughout the process of collecting data I spent, on average, a total of 10 hours a week conducting observations in two ASHP class periods (each lasted two hours), a world history class taught by Dan Carpenter, and a prerequisite course taught by another teacher, Theresa Province. Due to space constraints, this teacher does not appear in the final write up. While the data collected from my observations and our interviews are not directly used in this document, my observations of this teacher and her powerful pedagogy nevertheless influenced my perceptions of the pedagogy I observed in other classrooms. All of the teacher participants in this study are exemplary

educators dedicated to promoting critical perspectives of history, citizenship and all of the content material in their classrooms. More importantly, they passionately cared for their students and worked exceptionally hard to support them as people with lives inside and outside of the classroom.

While data developed from the analysis of interview transcripts has been foregrounded in this study, field notes taken during classroom observations play an important role in contextualizing interview data, and student voices within the institutional space of schooling. "Ethnographic immersion precludes conducting field research as a detached, passive observer; the field researcher can only get close to the lives of those studied by actively participating in their day-to day affairs… experiencing events and meanings that approximate those of the members" (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw 1995, p. 2). My time spent in the school context allowed me to get a sense of students' academic lives, and provided opportunities for me to build trust with my participants. Field notes and voice memos served as a space to voice theoretical insights, key observations, and moments when I was confused or perplexed during my time in the field. In short, they chronicled my own journey of exploration and development during the course of the study, while simultaneously serving as a way to record events that I deemed significant or worth investigating further.

Analysis.

My choice of methods and analytical process is informed by Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Reid, Flowers, Larkin, 2005). Data collection and analysis are not intended to test a hypothesis. Rather its hermeneutic stance is one of inquiry and meaning-making (Larkin, Watts, and Clifton, 2006). Codes were developed

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through a process of reflection and memo-writing, and were generated from the text as well as my prior understandings informed by the theories described above. What follows is a detailed description of the process I used to analyze and produce data for this study.

Most detailed and systematic data analysis was completed after the data collection phase, which lasted six months. The separation of an analysis phase from the rest of the study is false. Throughout each phase of the process I was constantly analyzing data, though not in a systematic and structured way. As Hammersley and Atkins argue, "data analysis is not a distinct stage of research." Rather it occurs throughout the study during the "pre-field work phase… and continuing into the process of writing" (1983, p. 174). When the school year ended and my last interviews were completed, my data analysis process intensified.

Following the end of data collection and prior to systematic data analysis, I wrote a series of seven analytic memos. These memos were based on key themes that I felt were emerging from the data as I collected it, and as I was immersed within the context of Factory Town and Workman High School. Only one of these memos—the one emphasizing nostalgia--has remained central elements of the study throughout. These memos helped me trace my own reflective thinking as I went through the process of open-coding, a key part of phenomenological research. I also wrote brief 1 to 2-page character sketches describing each participant in the study and some of the things that I deemed significant about their personality, lived experiences, and our relationship.

In the first phase of my analysis, I also worked with a "peer debriefer, "which is a disinterested colleague who engages in discussions of the researchers' preliminary

analyses and next methodological strategies in an emergent design. These discussions made more explicit the tacit knowledge that (I) the researcher ha(d) acquired " (McMillan and Schumacher, 2001, p. 44). By talking with this colleague I was able to organize some thoughts I had developed during some of the initial stages of analysis and develop a way forward with the themes that had developed through the process of open-coding and memo-writing.

The process of writing early memos occurred concomitantly with open-coding, beginning with transcribed interviews, and moving later into field notes. I regularly revisited, expanded, or in some cases shelved my initial memos as codes developed into rich themes or were unable to be substantiated in relationship to the data. I have intentionally drawn attention to this evolution in the process as I believe it illustrates my attempt to view this study as a simultaneously inductive and deductive process. This process of analysis is "like someone who is simultaneously creating and solving a puzzle, or like a carpenter alternately changing the shape of a door and then the shape of the frame to obtain a better fit" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw 1995 p. 144). I have intentionally remained open to possibilities and problems throughout the analysis of this data and the writing process, viewing each as an opportunity to think about the work in new ways with the same information.

As writing proceeded, my openness to possible alternative readings continued. For example, as I wrote I began to realize that I was consistently describing the work of the teachers as uncritically good practice. I wanted to highlight examples of good practice in global education, but I was leaving a large part of their stories out as a result. While I believe these teachers are outstanding examples, they also faced numerous

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challenges and problems along the way. After a large portion of the work had been written, I returned to the chapters and worked to balance my characterization of the teachers to reflect the affordances and the limitations of their pedagogy for their students in order to report a more complete version of the classroom context. As a result, this realization led me to the inclusion of a section in each chapter dedicated to thinking about locally relevant pedagogy in global education from a more nuanced and critical perspective, consider both what was present and what was absent these teachers' pedagogy.

All of this practical and analytical work eventually led me to the three narratives that frame this dissertation. Writing memos and drafting chapters served as opportunities to look across the study as I sought out the big ideas that would link these fragments together into a coherent text (Erickson, 1986) that would express what I learned from reading and writing the experiences of those who participated in this study.

Addressing researcher positionality.

As a researcher, I recognize that I am entering into the process of representing others, and making claims based on the things they have said, and their actions. It is, therefore, necessary to consider my own frames of reference, biases, and internal tensions which have shaped these representations and the claims they support. This dissertation is my narrative. As such, it represents my understanding of the people who agreed to participate in this research, and my understanding of their views on the subject matter we discussed. It is also a representation of the work of other researchers who have contributed to the fields of literature I draw upon to support my argument. As such, it is my ethical responsibility to report on how who I am has shaped, and

continues to shape, the framing of the problem, the processes of data collection, the relationships I have formed during the process, my analysis, and the reporting I have used to create this text.

Behind every study, qualitative or quantitative, "stands the personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gender, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective" (Denzin & Lincoln, p. 18). Therefore, it is necessary for readers, as well as participants to have some understanding of "the relationship the researcher has with the subject" (McCaslin and Scott, 453). In the opening pages of this chapter I introduced my "research story," or the personal experiences I have had that led me to the questions which frame this study.

Throughout the study, I was never able to claim "insider status" with the students or the teachers. As a middle-class, heterosexual, adult and white male, I was, by most accounts, an outsider. Furthermore, though I had worked in the city of Factory Town for a year prior to conducting this study, I had little knowledge of the culture of the city and the ways in which it shaped the lives of students. My relationship with teachers was somewhat different as I could easily draw upon our shared social identities, and my experience as a K-12 educator to build trust with them. I was able to claim "partial" knowledge of teachers' lived experiences as a former teacher in an urban setting and a member of the educated middle-class. However, with all of my participants I approached the process of data collection from an "outsider's perspective." My aim was to empower the participants to speak with confidence about who they are, and share ideas that they otherwise would have deemed "common knowledge." It was also an attempt to build trust through honesty. I explained to them that I could not claim to

understand "who they are, or their lives" but I was willing to listen and learn. This approach was an attempt to disrupt what I originally perceived to be power differentials between the participants and me.

Prior to entering into data collection I was concerned that my status as an advanced graduate student would produce a considerable power differential with the student participants who are younger and less educated than I am. On the contrary, as an outsider in their cultural milieus, I quickly learned that they had their own repertoires of knowledge to which I had little previous access. Participants' insider knowledge of the community, the school, and their peers placed them at the center, and me at the margins of the imagined communities we were working in. While I never attempted to attain a position in the center, I did move beyond the margins. This required me to build strong enough bonds with students that I could be accepted as a legitimate participant from the margins. Therefore, I built methods into data collection that attempted to address this position, including speaking more frequently and informally with participants outside of classrooms and interview settings, and I approached interview experiences with a relatively informal approach by allowing the conversations to take other avenues. This often meant our interviews were conversational and very personal topics would arise. In those instances, I listened intently, sometimes offering advice or suggestions, and other times simply empathizing with students' stories, even if they were seemingly unrelated to the topics of the dissertation. While this extended the time it took to complete interviews, it also offered opportunities to connect with the participants more completely than simply around research topics.

The formal methods of data collection I used were also chosen with an eye toward dialogical interactions. I chose to use phenomenological and narrative methods that I felt would provide students with the opportunity to share their perceptions of their own lived experiences. Nothing can be done to fully alleviate the power differentials inherent in qualitative research, but if adequately revealed to both participant and reader, they act as a point-of-view or channel through which to understand the contributions of the work. Efforts to address my positionality have also extended into the writing phases of the study.

Throughout the writing process I have attempted to "write myself" into the text with the intent of applying the same why, when, how and under what circumstances questions I pose to my topic and my participants (Rubin and Rubin, 1995). When I present the words of participants in this document, I attempt to frame the discussion that produced them, and as often as possible my reasoning for asking the questions I asked. Furthermore, I have made every attempt to describe the participants of my study as whole people with lives that extend far beyond the topics in question. This supports the readers' ability to understand who produced these ideas, and under what circumstances.

As I stated at the opening of this section, this study is my narrative. With that in mind, I have made every attempt to avail the reader of the dynamics that have shaped it throughout each phase of its creation. In the following section, I extend my effort to "place" this study in the physical and social spaces in (and through) which it was produced.

Part II: Factory Town and Factory Towners

Factory Town

The history of American cities is usually told in a linear pattern, beginning with "settlement," a term used to describe the expulsion of Native Americans from the land, and the establishment of a European community. Then the narrative moves through a succession of industries, which served as the center of growth and expansion for the community, which eventually brings the narrative to "present day."

If one were to tell a similar history of Factory Town, s/he would begin with the "settlement" of the community in 1819 by a fur trade. Later in the 19th century, Factory Town's position along two major rivers, and between two industrial centers made it an ideal location for lumber producers. The lumber industry funded the early carriage making industry in the late 1880s, which eventually became the automobile industry in the earliest years of the 20th century. Car manufacturers and the city of Factory Town enjoyed unprecedented prosperity and growth until the globalization of the automobile market in the 1970s led to General Motors Corporation's nearly total pull out from Factory Town throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Entering into the 21st century, the city has a very small industrial sector. As a result over 50% of the population has left the city since 1970. With one of the highest poverty rates in the country, Factory Town is desperate to reinvent itself through new approaches to building a tax base.

What's interesting about this narrative is that there is nothing entirely false about it, though it is perhaps deceptively linear. I share this with you to illustrate how narratives are capable of emphasizing certain elements of an idea (in this case a history) while hiding others all together. Linear historical narratives inform how we make

sense of the contexts in which we reside, work, and in this case conduct research. This example highlights industry and economics above all other things. It omits the daily lives of the people who lived in the community, and their contradictions of prosperity and social change. It hides a history of racial segregation and "white flight." Factory Town, like all other communities, is more than the sum total of its industrial history. However, its industrial history has had a profound effect on the lived experiences of the participants in this study, many of whom have no living memory of a relatively prosperous Factory Town.

Throughout the dissertation, I characterize Factory Town from the perspective of a "social scientist", often in economic terms. However, I have also intentionally included students' and teachers' perceptions of their city, often multiple examples in each chapter. These additions are intended to contextualize Factory Town in ways that a brief history of the city or my detached depictions cannot offer. Furthermore, this rhetorical decision was intended to highlight the fact that "notions" of Factory Town differ from participant to participant. Thus, what Factory Town is depends upon who is narrating Factory Town, and from what vantage points. I have provided a minimal economic history of Factory Town above, but the various representations of the city that are woven throughout this text provide a more complicated picture of the multiple narratives of the city.

Workman High School

Housed in a relatively non-descript, brown brick building, WHS is almost invisible to the surrounding community. While many in the community recognize it as a good school, it does not have the visibility of the typical U.S. public high school. There is no

mascot, and no signs marking the building as a high school. By design, the school blends into the surrounding community.

Unsuccessful students from traditional public schools are either counseled into this school by guidance counselors or apply on their own. This makes it a five year commitment for students, as they must complete the coursework required for a general education high school diploma while simultaneously completing at least three college level courses. If both of these requirements are not met, a student will not graduate with either degree. The schools' stated mission is to "prepare high school at-risk students for a successful work and educational future through the full integration of high school, community college and world of work." Yet, the vision and mission of the school are captured more fully in the story of its founder, and current principal.

Mary Durant grew up in abject poverty in a rough neighborhood in the city of Factory Town. Her mother, though poor, somehow obtained a set of encyclopedias that remained the only books the family owned until Mary graduated from High School. When there was nothing else to do, Mary's mother required her to read from the encyclopedia for entertainment. The books were symbolic of Mary's family's commitment to seeking a better life for their children through the pursuit of education. Her family's support would eventually propel her to the college preparatory tracks of the Factory Town public school system. She credits the public schools in Factory Town at the time as offering "an equal education… it didn't matter where you were from or what race you were, everybody had the same opportunities."

After high school Mary eventually received a degree in education and began teaching at a private school in the city. At the time, this school charged very high tuition,

but offered 50% scholarships to high achieving students who could not afford the full cost of tuition. Though the scholarship allowed access to many students who otherwise would not have received it, the schooling experiences of the scholarship students typically did not add up to academic success. Observing this problem, and experiencing it first hand, Mary wanted to understand it further. She entered a PhD program, and during the course of her studies became interested in opening a school with a similar framework to the one she had experienced as a teacher, but making this education possible for all students.

In her new role, Mary sought to recreate an elite education for all students, a dream that eluded the private school were she began her career. Mary was seeking a way to "get underserved populations to the university," which she felt would enable this group to gain access to the power they could not obtain otherwise." In other words, she intended to open a school that did not charge tuition, allowed at-risk students 'with academic potential" to enroll, and then supported them personally and academically once they were taking classes. Her aim eventually led to the creation of Workman High School, where she remains the principal today.

Her vision for the new school was based on four key principles; 1) promoting a family-like structure 2) promoting a uniform governance philosophy among all faculty 3) promoting an environment where teachers felt they were academically invested 4) and involving parents in the community process. These elements of her vision remain at the core of the mission still. I consistently observed them in practice during the time I worked within the school. Teachers knew their students, stood with them through difficult times, and celebrated the good times. They worked closely to keep parents

informed, and regularly prompted a similar pedagogical philosophy based on critical thinking, community engagement, and locally focused curriculum. It is the final element of this philosophy that produced a context that allowed me to consider the implications for teaching a locally focused curriculum of global education as a core theme in this study.

Elements of daily life in the school were not entirely unlike the archetypal vision of a high school commonly recognized in American culture. Students' days were divided into hour or two-hour blocks of time, but they were spent in either high school classes or "college classes." Though there were no bells, students flooded the halls between classes laughing, joking, talking, or holding hands with one another. At times when you could see the school as a whole moving in and out of the classrooms, the student body was markedly diverse, racially and to some extent socio-economically. Interestingly, this diversity was explained to me early on by teachers who described the school as pulling from rural, suburban, and urban school districts. In other words, though the Factory Town area was highly racially and socio-economically segregated, this school was integrated. The halls were filled with student art, giving life to an otherwise clinical space with grey brick walls, small windows, and limited natural light. Two areas of overt power were evident in the school setting. The first was the front office, just inside the main entrance to the school, and the second was a police substation situated in the middle of the longest of the schools three main hallways.

Under the surface, however, WHS was anything but typical. Because of a strict "no fighting" policy, the typical "high school drama" as it was described by students, was less visible. Furthermore, there were no major public meeting spaces were large groups

of students gathered together. They all shared the same space or were able to disperse more fully out onto the college campus. These spaces were less centralized making the experience of daily life among peers less able to be broadcast to a broader audience. In other words, while drama was occurring, it was less visible than is the case in large cafeterias, commons areas, and gymnasiums, featured commonly found in American high schools. Also unique were the location of teacher work areas. Teachers were transient in most cases, meaning they had shared office spaces detached from classrooms making classroom space more akin to the college set-up of empty classroom filled by students, teachers and ideas, rather than "Mr. or Mrs. X's room." Classrooms, then, felt ever so slightly more like neutral ground than the territory of the teacher who invites students in for learning.

The school also organized the weekly lives of students around the aim of "promoting a family like structure" at school. Each week students met with their "focus groups." When students enroll they are assigned a focus teacher who serves as their academic "parent, or in some cases "older sibling" according to Dan Carpenter. Students remained with this teacher until the end of their high school career, or until they requested a change to another teacher. This helped students to connect closely with their teachers, and teachers to connect closely with their students. Focus time was typically spent working on service projects, talking about the challenges of life and school, and thinking about ways students and teachers could support one anther. It was not uncommon for teachers to bring food for their focus students. As Dan Carpenter and Amy Miller explained, many of the students sought out focus teachers who brought food, as they often did not get enough to eat at home. Examples of "authentic forms of

caring" (Noddings, 2005) prevailed in the school, in the hope that this ethic would extend into students' lives outside of school as well.

Overt symbols of nationalism were recognizably absent from the school context. No flags, pictures of presidents, or nationalistic slogans were present in the school, and students did not recite the pledge of allegiance, or sing the national anthem during school activities. A sense of shared community was emphasized, a local community which extended outward into the city and beyond, but not an intentionally structured effort to promote a national identity over other forms of citizenship. These efforts were reflected in all of the Social Studies classes in which I observed, but none more obviously than the American Social History Project (ASHP) classes taught by Dan Carpenter and Amy Miller.

Student Participants

The bulk of the data collected for this study was generated through conversations and interviews with 15 Workman High School students. Over the course of the study these students generously shared their stories with me, challenged me to open my mind to new ideas about their community, and shared experiences that make up the heart of this dissertation. Throughout the chapters I introduce each student participant whose data was used in the reporting phase, explaining aspects of themselves they, and I, have deemed significant. I am hesitant to share a list of "profiles" for each student without the context of a chapter to support them. I feel these lists are rarely helpful for the reader, and do little justice to the complexity, and individuality they each brought to this effort.

Methodologically, my primary goal in this dissertation was to remain open to understanding the ways students and teachers narrated their experiences of place and what the implications of these narrations were for how they understand who they are in the world. The chapters that follow chronicle this process of understanding. My hope is that the data shared in the following chapters sheds light on the challenges and possibilities of place-conscious education in postindustrial communities, and beyond.

CHAPTER THREE

(NOT SO) DISTANT MEMORIES: LONGING NOSTALGIA, AND POSSIBLITY IN POSTINDUSTRIAL PLACE-MAKING

Each student is in effect, "a pre'cis of all the past. For each individual is the synthesis not only of existing relations, but the history of these relations."

Antonio Gramsci. (1971, p. 353)

Gramsci's quote frames the focus of this chapter by drawing attention to the relationship between time and power. We inherit a set of power relations, which are intimately related to our sense of who we are, where we are, and our sense of possibilities for the future. Drawing on theories of "nostalgia" (Boym, 2001) and (Willinger, 2007), and two co-constructed research texts--narrative texts and civic texts--this chapter explores students' responses to three important spatial aspects of their city: former industrial sites, their neighborhoods, and educational spaces (a field trip to a public memorial). Students' explanations of these sites indicate that they are pedagogical, informing their understandings of local history, as well as social change, and possibility.

Two questions are at the heart of this inquiry. How do postindustrial places (brownfields, neighborhoods, and memorials) inform students' sense of the past, present, and future of their community? And, how do these places inform students' sense of who they are (identity), where they are (positionality), and their possibilities for their future and the future of their community (civic responsibility)?

There are three critical reasons why understanding students' relationship to place is important for understanding postindustrial place-making. First, the physical landscape of Factory Town is dramatic. It is dominated by abandoned homes,

demolished factories, and other inscriptions of economic decline. Second, students'

readings of places produce affective and critical responses that inform their sense of

identity. Third, as Fettes and Judson (2011) explain, "the passive knowledge that

develops through frequent contact or second hand descriptions and explanations (of

places) provide resources for place-making; however, it is our mental reaching out to

grasp the possibilities of place, its past, its future, its meaning for us, that readily shapes

(our) relationship (with places). (p. 124). In other words, place-making involves both

conscious and unconscious practices. Each informs our sense of who we are in

relationship to our location. For all of these reasons an exploration of students'

experiences of postindustrial places can lead us to insights about how place-conscious

practices can lead to powerful learning inside and outside of classrooms.

Defining Nostalgia and Longing

Nostalgia, as it is used in this chapter, is defined in collective terms, much like

the definition developed by Boym (2001). "It is about the relationship between individual

biography and the biography of groups or nations, between personal and collective

memory" (2001, xvi). "Nostalgia (from *nostos* – return home, and *algia* – longing) is a

longing for home that no longer exists or has never existed… an affective yearning for a

community with a collective memory… a defense mechanism in a time of… historical

upheavals" (2001, p.xiii-xiv). Boym elaborates on nostalgia's ability to evoke visions of

the past and the future, which is illustrated below by Lana's link between the factory

ruins, and her fears of an economy driven by violence and theft. For Boym, nostalgia

can develop "for unrealized dreams of the past and when visions of the future become

obsolete" (p. xvi).

For Boym nostalgia is the site of interaction between individual and national identity—or in this case local identity--and, consequently, individual and collective memory. Boym's nostalgia takes two forms, restorative and reflective (2001, p. 241). Restorative nostalgia can be defined as a longing for "a return to the original status" of a place, or a moment in the past. Reflective nostalgia "cherishes shattered fragments of memory and temporalizes space" (p. 249). I make use of both concepts to shed light on the power of nostalgia and its influence on students' perceptions of their local community, and their place within a global society.

Boym's notion of nostalgia is helpful for understanding the backward-looking sentiments and stories produced by participants' relationship to place, but it is not sufficient for thinking about how these places situate participants "in between" the past, present and future. Expanding upon Boym's reference to "longing," Willinger (2007) attempts to address this problem. She explains longing as "the in-betweenness of nostalgia for a past and an unrealized future." Willinger's longing captures the affective aspects of place-making, and the implications it has for students' sense of situatedness, identity, and possibility in the post-industrial city. She explains it like this:

Reflective nostalgia could either be seen as a mere sub-item in the discourse of a dangerous nationalist nostalgia or – in other scenarios – it can come to represent the emotion 'longing' that is not necessarily reliant on its troublesome nostalgic sibling. Longing, I argue, is an extremely reflective mode, the self-distancing aspect of which is at the core of imagination itself. Longing, then, could possibly be seen as a search for the utmost range of experience. The disposition or emotion 'longing' seen in such a light becomes an incredibly

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important experimental ground of our culture, and in fact culture in general

…From this perspective, longing becomes an oscillation between what is and

what could be. Longing is about savouring different possibilities, about swaying

back and forth in reflection, yet never quite arriving. (Willinger, 2007)

Throughout this chapter, I provide multiple examples of the (re)narration of

nostalgia and longing in order to express the multitude of students' experiences of place

and time in Factory Town. The narratives presented in this chapter illuminate the

process of place-making, and students' sense of how this process informs who they are.

At least partially, identity is constructed by memories of lived experiences occurring

within physical and social spaces, and animated by a notion of place. Three specific

kinds of places are explored: former industrial sites, neighborhoods, and educational

places.

Focal Participants

In this chapter, I present data that developed in conversations with Jimmy, an 18-

year-old working class Caucasian student from Belzer, an incorporated small town that

is directly adjacent to, and synonymous with Factory Town's North-End. The "North-

End" is a predominantly African-American neighborhood which was heavily impacted by

"White flight" in the 1960s, 70s and 80s as well as the globalization of labor and the loss

of high paying General Motors Corporation assembly line jobs throughout the 1990s

and 2000s. Not unlike most of the participants in this study, Jimmy is proud of his

affiliation with the city of Factory Town, though he recognizes that the city faces multiple

struggles. However, he describes the reaction of strangers when he explains that he is

from Factory Town as one of "shock that I'm not a thug." Jimmy is not a highly

motivated student, but he does enjoy school and talking with his teachers and his friends. A working class kid, Jimmy sees his future in Factory Town, but is not sure about his plans after high school, though he does not expect to go to college.

Nikia, a 17-year-old, middle class African-American female student is also highlighted in this chapter. An active member of the choir, contributor to school gardening projects, and an athlete, Nikia is the prototypical "good student." From my observations and our regular interactions, she is fun-loving, respectful to peers and teachers, hardworking and proud of her accomplishments. Nikia defines herself in terms of her family relationships in many ways. She is very close with her stepfather, an accomplished architect who recently opened his own church in Factory Town. Her values are deeply rooted in Protestant Christianity, a powerful theme in her narration of change in Factory Town. Nikia sees herself as a helper, and plans to follow in the footsteps of her grandmother and teach elementary aged students after graduating from college. As is illustrated below, Nikia deeply values education and sees it as the path to success and reward, concepts that parallel a deeply held commitment to the achievement ideology (Macleod, 2007).

I also share the stories of DeAndra, an 18-year-old, working class African-American young woman in this chapter. Like, Nikia, DeAndra defines herself as a "helper." She is devoted to making contributions to her loved ones' wellbeing, community outreach programs in school, and she is active in team sports at her former school. ,DeAndra is a unique participant in that at the time of data collection she was preparing to relocate to Tampa to live with her father. This relocation was both a source of stress for DeAndra, and a source of hope for something better. She was

apprehensive about leaving Workman High School for a typical public school environment, and she was also fearful of starting a life outside of Factory Town, the only city she has ever known. Despite her displeasure with Factory Town, DeAndra held a deep desire to see the city change for the better.

Elizabeth, an 18 year-old Caucasian female is another focal student. Elizabeth is a hardworking student who imagines staying in Factory Town after graduation, but working to make change for the better within the community. Elizabeth is hopeful that change can and will happen, and regularly shared ideas about how she envisioned these changes could occur. Elizabeth is a committed student, but refuses to make that the center of her identity. Elizabeth is tough. She lost her father to drug addiction at a young age, and blames Factory Town and the illicit drug trade rampant in her neighborhood for this loss. Despite her anger, she has a deep longing to be part of a "recovery" in Factory Town.

Less extensive, but no less significant, data from other participants are presented in the chapter as well. Observations, excerpts from interviews, and photographs from other students provide a detailed analysis of the narratives of nostalgia and longing produced in the process of "place-making" in the postindustrial city.

Reading the Ruins: Narratives of Longing Inscribed in Industrial Spaces

The gray of a Michigan winter, intensified by the endless swaths of brownfields, and abandoned or sparsely populated neighborhoods that cut through sections of Factory Town intensify the feeling of hard luck that is ever-present in some of its neighborhoods. However, a spring breeze and the warmth of the sun can quickly make

the grays give way to the crisp purples and yellows of flowering redbuds and dogwoods that have sprung up all around the city in place of abandoned shops, parking lots, and factories.

One particular late spring day, I was on the way to what would be my final interview with Lana, a young woman with whom I had built a solid relationship over the course of my time in Factory Town. School was out, the high school was quiet, almost serene. Built in the 60s, the brown brick, mid-century building showed its age, but no visible signs of wear in the streams of sunlight that made everything feel warmer and somehow more hopeful. The building's juxtaposition against the green of the grass and blue skies took me back in time to a Factory Town I never knew, one that I had read about in various nostalgic blogs written by Factory Town expatriates, heard about in stories and constructed in my imagination. I wondered, as I walked into the quiet institutional halls of the school to meet Lana, if that was the same imaginary Factory Town that so many of my students described when they heard their parents talk about it over the camera project I had assigned, or when we talked, in our interviews, about how their town was undergoing social change.[2] Was this imagined Factory Town the one that had been "exported" along with all of the jobs students lamented, and the sense of pride they had in Factory Town that they seemed to long for? I had been there long enough to begin to understand that the past was not so distant from the present or the future in Factory Town. The three could not be extracted from one another for Factory Towners. Like many of my participants, I was being influenced by a sense of nostalgia

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[2] It is important to note, that students often talked about the economic collapse in their community without directly connecting it to processes of globalization. Rather, they describe the community as "changing," which was typically described in terms of a decline in quality of life. However, some students identified changes such as downtown

for something I only knew from reading the space of the city, bits of conversations, grainy film and black and white photographs. Suffering from a minor case of nostalgia, I walked inside, and sat down to talk with Lana.

I had asked Lana to take a series of photographs depicting places in Factory Town that fit one or both of the following criteria: a) they were personally meaningful to her, or b) they made her think about the concept of globalization. Lana explained that when she told her Dad about the project he quickly hopped in the car with her and they proceeded to drive around town to take pictures. One of their first stops, a few blocks from their comfortable home in a middle-class neighborhood, was the former site of the Delphi Eastside plant, a massive industrial complex devoted to the production of automotive components for Buicks and Chevrolets built down the road at the Buick City and Chevy in the Hole mega-factories[3]. After several minutes, Lana flipped through the photographs and displayed the picture in figure 1.

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[3] The names "Chevy in the Hole" and "Buick City" are not official place names. They were the names people from gave to the massive factories that arose on these sites. Though the factories have long disappeared, the empty lots that remain have maintained the same names. Though students did not regularly reference these sites in their daily interactions with one another, they recognized the names when I used them and could recount experiences associated with them.

Figure 1

Delphi Site as Photographed by Lana.

<u>For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation.</u>

Lana: That's Delphi. It's not there anymore.

Aaron: Yeah?

Lana: My granddaddy and some of my aunties used to work there and I think

when that left, that was like big depression. Like it was so many people… I think

my Daddy worked there… but I think he quit or something. I don't know what

happened. He stopped working there before they closed. But that's like even, like

that's depressing to even look at… You're walking, going down the street and

then, you know, it's KFC right here, bank over there, dollar store, *nothing*. Just

the gate going around a big area where something could be. Like my mama says

they should put a big old playground but I don't think they should put a

playground there because stuff that's there. They've got all that rubbish there.

People, even people that's really depressed about it, they'd probably just look at

it and just be depressed all over again…cuz they know that it's not coming back.

Aaron: Do you remember when it was there?

Lana: Uh huh

Aaron: Yeah? When did it, when did they tear it down?

Lana: I don't know. I know they, they left it there for a little while though. It was

there for a while. Then all of a sudden, it was gone and just big piles of trash.

Like whoa. What happened?

Aaron: So you said it's depressing to even look at it. Why?

Lana: Because it's like nothing. Like nothing. I don't know. Just nothing there.

Like well, for me, it's depressing to look at because I know the people who used

to work there and they probably struggling, trying to work at Wal-Mart or

something. And it's like, Factory Town got so many tore down buildings and

houses and all that stuff. It's like we're not building up. We're just tearing stuff

down. Like we're not trying to upgrade anything. We're just letting it all go.

People have no pride in what we have no more if it look like that...and they

wonder why people run the streets, stealing. It's gonna be crazy in a few years, I

think…

Apparent throughout Lana's narrative is a sense of loss associated with a past that she

is able to partially reconstruct through fragments of knowledge about a place and time

she never knew until it was already gone or was on its way out in a slow, decline and

closure process that lasted over a decade. Lana's construction of the past is influenced

by multiple narrators including the physical space of the Delphi brownfield and its surroundings, her father's contributions to the photograph, his stories of what the site used to be to so many people, and her knowledge of the economic and social history of Factory Town as it is narrated in the ASHP classroom with Mr. Carpenter and Mrs. Miller.

Multiple narrations of the past are "pedagogical" in the sense that each--the space, the parent, and the classroom--contribute to Lana's sentiments and knowledge about the past, her perception of the present, and her predictions for the future. Evident in Lana's forward projections of Factory Town is that hope seems to be lost and the destruction of factories and the physical scars that remain in their place become more justification for what she sees as the ongoing problems in Factory Town. A sense of longing is intertwined with the memories, frustration with the present, and visions of the future that Lana shares. The photograph of the brownfield, and Lana's explanation produce an in-between-ness of temporality. This in-between-ness manifests in a sense of longing for a return to a community with more opportunities for more people, a longing to leave, and a nostalgia for a constructed and collective past.

Other students read the postindustrial spaces of Factory Town in similar ways to Lana. I met the vast majority of the students with whom I worked at Workman High School while observing their classes, but my conversations with a few students, like Jimmy, were spontaneous and occurred during chance meetings in hallways or during lunch, and through general communication with other participants. Jimmy asked me to interview him. He seemed curious and enthusiastic about the opportunity, so we planned to meet the following day. When I asked Jimmy to talk about how Factory Town

had changed overtime, he talked about the loss of GM jobs that was commonly discussed with students, but primarily focused on his neighborhood until I began walking him through the camera project.[4] Then he nominated his first picture.

> I can already think of one picture I want to take. You know (the freeway exit) northbound right after the highway makes that left turn? You know the train tracks? And if you're standing on the northbound side of the curve and looking out at the train tracks, you see a junkyard, and then you see the steam towers. I know sometimes, it's usually in late fall, early winter, the sun will be rising over there 'n you could get the steam coming out of the towers and the trains. Now that would be the perfect picture of Factory Town with the trains, for like the export of cars, the scrap yard for *cars*, and then the factory. And the interesting thing is, on the *inside* of that corner there used to be a factory there and it's tore down now, just acres and acres of just open concrete [Buick world headquarters]. …When I was like five there used to be these two massive smoke stacks and they imploded 'em. That was such a huge deal 'cause you could see 'em for like miles and miles around. I don't know, I think it started hittin' everybody what was happenin' at that point.

To Jimmy, this image that he passes and at some level is part of his consciousness, the landscape of a rail track and the junkyards, depicts a public narrative of the ups and downs of economics related to the global flow of capital, at least through "export." For most of Factory Town's residents the downs have outweighed the ups for the better part of the last three decades. Jimmy's reference to

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[4] I used this term to describe the auto-driven photo elicited interviewing method I employed in the study

the smoke stacks connects this story to a collective history of Factory Town. It was a communal moment in which many people felt a deep trauma. Unlike Lana's depiction of the Delphi site, Jimmy's description of this "turning point" is informed by a reflective nostalgia. The image is a fragment of the past, which informs his vision for the future. He closes his story with, "everyone knew what was happenin' at that point," implying that the world had changed and the jobs they had counted on for generations were never coming back. Although Jimmy has only been alive for eighteen years of the economic collapse of Factory Town, he connects to the collapse by virtue of his connection to the former industrial spaces of the city and the history inscribed upon them. In this sense, these spaces maintain these links to the past.

He goes on to recount his experience of the day the towers were imploded.

That day, from my Dad's apartment, I just happened to be looking out the window and you could just kinda see 'em just go, (motions slowly downward with his hand and forearm mimicking the collapse of the towers). Nobody talks about that anymore, but it matters to me. I just don't think anyone cares, really.

Though Jimmy describes the absence of conversation about the day the towers fell down, those sentiments are retained more vividly today in the silences he describes at the end of his quote. The collapse of Factory Town has become a memory for Jimmy and for others, but that memory shapes his present in important ways. Jimmy's memory--situated in a specific place and time--shapes how he thinks about Factory Town's situatedness in the world. In his description of the rail yard, and his recounting of the towers, Jimmy consistently returns to the collapse of Factory Town's economy, a

series of events that removed it from the center of automobile production, and placed it squarely on the economic periphery as a postindustrial city.

Like Jimmy and Lana, Elizabeth describes the physical narration of decline in the industrial "ruins" of the city. She describes three closed sections of the General Motors assembly, the same factory described in the opening pages of the dissertation.

There is like three parts of GM that are not being used and so it's just all empty, and then you see, on the other side, when you get farther down Bristol where there's cars and everybody's parked again, that's where they're at. But they're, those buildings when I was younger were all used. I remember driving by there and if it was time for people to be getting out of work, you were gonna be waiting for a long time and now it's not like that. Like they have traffic lights for when it used to be busy like that and now they just are blinking yellow lights because they don't need them.

I asked her to elaborate on how her experiences with these spaces made her feel or what it made her think about. She responded,

Sad. I really wish that we could use all the things that we have here. Somebody could open (the closed sections of the plant) and reopen everything. I think that would bring jobs here but with the way that everything's industrialized, we don't need as much as we had. But I wish, I wish they would open it. It'd be nice. It would bring a lot of jobs back and then people wouldn't have to complain about how many jobs we don't have. Yeah, I think, I think in the long run, I think that money will be back in Factory Town. It'll just take time to get there.

Not surprisingly, Elizabeth's affective response to the changes resulting from job loss is sad. Like Lana, who described the "nothing"-ness that characterizes the Delphi site, Elizabeth identifies absences and empty spaces left behind by the people who once inhabited them. Once packed roadways have given way to blinking caution lights, and once-busy factories are boarded up. Elizabeth reads these voids with longing. She simultaneously remembers the productivity of the past, and longs for a similar future. She imagines opening up factories, and putting people back to work. She expresses her confidence that prosperity will return to Factory Town. Less hopeful, Lana and Jimmy read these spaces through the lenses of reflective nostalgia, or a longing for a collective past. All three read these spaces with the past, present and future in mind, however. This simultaneity of the temporal is foregrounded in the postindustrial landscape of Factory Town.

Globalization, and the spread of neoliberal economics have led many city governments to "recapitalize the economic landscapes of their cities" (Macleod, G., p. 602) in an effort to "revitalize" their downtown spaces, abandoned industrial complexes, and gentrify ethnic and "ghettoized" sections of residential neighborhoods. Due primarily to a nearly complete private and public disinvestment, these sections of Factory Town have remained largely unimproved. They have been left to the elements, arsonists, and vandals for as many as four decades. This lack of reaestheticization, or the concealment of deindustrialized spaces, which point to increasing economic and social injustice and inequality (Macleod, G. 2002) differentiates Factory Town from cities who suffered similar economic changes in the latter half of the 20th century. Former industrial cities throughout the United States and Western Europe have undergone

partial reastheticization efforts including Pittsburgh, New York's Lower-East Side, Glasgow's Buchannan Street, and more recently Detroit's Midtown. Therefore, students like Lana, Jimmy, and Elizabeth read the in-between-ness of temporality these spaces produce. Students' responses to these spaces result in two different kinds of longing, nostalgia for the opportunity available in a former Factory Town, or longing for a Factory Town, which provides these opportunities. Either way, the spaces are partially involved in the ways students develop a sense of civic responsibility to their community, their situatedness in space and time, and their sense of hope for the future of their community.

The process of place-making, which I have detailed above, is dialogic. Places produce us, and we produce places through our narrations of them. My emphasis to this point in the chapter has been on the pedagogical power of place. In the following section I explore students' experiences of residential places. In this section, I maintain an emphasis on the pedagogical power of place, but expand it by exploring the discursive element of place-making. As was the case with my account of Lana's trip to the Delphi site, I include students' narrations of their parents' role in shaping their civic and personal connections to their neighborhoods, and the city they call home.

Reading the Residential: Nostalgia and Longing Close to Home

Nikia, who has lived in a predominantly African-American and high poverty section of Factory Town for the past 9 years, describes a once beautiful home on her block. It is stately with tall white pillars and a large front porch. The house is a place she thinks of that encapsulates her sense of her city. (See Figure 2)

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I don't like Factory Town, but there are some historical… some really pretty

buildings I'd hate to see like torn down in Factory Town. It's a house on Clemens.

I don't know the address but it's on Clemens and it has these pillars. Every time I

pass it, I just think of like the White House or something. It's just so pretty….

when I look at the houses, I think about if that was built a long time ago, then this

place could've been nothing like it is now. Cuz like why would you build a house

that pretty in like a devastated area?

The house Nikia is referring to is abandoned (Figure 2), like 33% of all of the other

structures in the city of Factory Town. For Nikia, along with almost all of the students

Figure 2

Nikia's Photograph of a House with White Pillars

who participated in this study, the presence of abandoned homes begs for narrative

explanations of the changes that led to the current state of their physical space. How

did that house fall apart? Who were the inhabitants and where are they now? What are the implications of these changes for me now and in the future? In Nikia's case, her questions also include the question, "what can we do about this?" She goes on to describe her hope to change Factory Town for the better.

> And when I look at the houses that's there, it's like, okay, maybe if we like dusted this off or repainted this, it'd be like perfect again.

Furthermore, her father pointed out the significance of the fact that so many homes are abandoned and places an emphasis on this moment as historical, indicating that the conditions of these homes were symptomatic of a larger economic crisis hitting the entire country. Nikia recalls that conversation below.

> And we was riding down the street, my dad was like 'you're seeing history being made right now because I never seen this many empty houses before in my life.' Like if Factory Town made a dollar for every empty house, we would at least be able to help some schools reopen….

At the point, I asked Nikia to explain more about what she had meant when she talked about how Factory Town has changed since those houses were built. She explained,

> Some of it, I briefly remember when I was little, but it was like, okay, the promised land. How I would explain it because how my grandmother explains it to me. She was from Mississippi and my grandma's like 80 so she's old. And when she got her teaching degree, they wouldn't let her teach in Mississippi because of segregation, all that stuff, and like her and her family was like, "oh, we're gonna go to Factory Town. We're gonna start over. We're gonna have a big grand life." And then it reminded me of like when the slaves ran away north.

You know, and the Hebrew children to try to get to the Promised Land. That's

what it makes me think about. Like this great place that you should go to.

Nikia's narrative, not surprisingly, is not only constructed by the spatial curriculum of

living on the North-End, it is also comprised of fragments of religious, personal and

group histories that inform her understanding of change over time, and the implications

of those changes for her future. She connects the religious narrative of the "Promised

Land," to her own family's movement from the South to Factory Town in search of

economic and social freedoms they were not afforded in Mississippi. These are

powerful narratives that support group cohesion and explain the ongoing struggle for

equality of opportunity that many African-Americans still encounter in a racially divided

society. Thus, these themes inform her understanding of social and economic change

in Factory Town, and the implications of its decline, not only in terms of economic

opportunity, but also in terms of the sacrifice and the subsequent losses of her

grandmother, and the African-American community in Factory Town. This sense of loss

fuels the intensity of Nikia's longing for a time when struggle wrought reward, and

opportunities were expanding for people like her. According to Nikia, economic

opportunity seems limited in Factory Town. Yet, education, and the promise of a college

degree provide hope for her. Soon after she imagined Factory Town as a lost promised

land, she added that Workman High School was a chance for salvation.

> Yeah, I think it was just more jobs. Opportunity. Kinda like Workman High
>
> School. Like opportunity for somebody to (say) hey… all's you gotta do is learn
>
> this. You can get you a job. You can get you a degree. Just come do it. Like it
>
> was easy, when I think about all the people that have retired from GM, it was

almost like they was handing out jobs. Cuz everybody I know, their grandfather

worked at GM, their grandmother worked at GM, their auntie… it's something,

just about everybody family that I know that worked at GM.

Without prompting Nikia to talk about the abandoned house she described above, she

explained how this space informed her deeply embedded connections to Factory Town.

In the above excerpt, Nikia narrates the history of her family and their motivation for

resettling in Factory Town. Nikia's imagination of a former Factory Town is deeply tied

to her sense of who she is. Nikia was eager to share the contributions her family

members had made to Factory Town in the past. In doing this, she drew particular

attention to her grandmother's accomplishments as one of the first African American

school teachers in the city. Nikia's family legacy linked her to the past, and the

abandoned homes that dominate her neighborhood are reminders of this time. While

Nikia associates these homes with a sense of loss, she also associates them with a

sense of pride in herself.

Though Nikia recognizes that General Motors offered a "promised land" full of

opportunity for many people in the past, she is confident that education provides a

similar reward today. To Nikia, though Factory Town has lost a lot, she remains hopeful

that all is not lost. Expanding upon her hope in education, Nikia describes a

convocation held in the Workman High School auditorium intended to honor some of the

graduating class.

And the kids was standing up there [saying], I got two associates. Like personally

for me is like the first high school students I know that got two Associate's

Degrees, that's gonna go off to college and like two times ahead of the game.

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Two associate's he done talked about one, but like he had two and I know one of

the boys, I think either have three or had two and some credits.

Though education is seen as the "promised land" for Nikia, it remains to be seen if this

ticket will lead to success on the job market. In Factory Town, the prospects of finding a

professional career are slim and many students, even if they are successful, struggle to

find work close to home. Thus, young people are presented with a dicey proposition.

They can stay in Factory Town and fight to make it a socially richer and safer

community; Or, leave in search of gaining access to the global knowledge economy

through further schooling. Thus far, Nikia has opted for the latter hoping to attend

college and perhaps relocate to another community upon graduation. Unlike Jimmy and

Lana, Nikia's reading of the postindustrial is relatively optimistic. She imagines a former

"promised land," highlighting the economic and social opportunities the city provided for

her family. Her optimistic outlook also informs her vision for the future. It is difficult to

speculate where Nikia's optimism originates, though it is clear from the stories she

shared of her trailblazing grandmother, and her admiration for her well-educated and

optimistic father that family histories have shaped her vision of what is possible in

challenging times. As she reads the spaces of the city, she is reminded of their

accomplishments, but she is also reminded of the lack of opportunity that exists in

Factory Town. Her readings of these spaces inform the decision to forge a new path,

and look for work elsewhere.

Economic and social change as narrated by parents and grandparents.

As part of the first formal interview I conducted with students I made it a point to

ask each person about her or his family, how long they had lived in Factory Town, and

what his or her parents did for a living. When students reported that their parents had lived in Factory Town their whole lives or "since they were little" I would ask them if they ever talked about how the city has changed since then. For example, Nikia's father actively discussed social and economic change with Nikia and her siblings, asking her to take note of the abandoned homes in the area and the fact that this was a significant moment in history. Prompted by the camera project associated with this study, Lana's father drove her to Delphi and urged her to take pictures of the empty lot that remains where it once stood. He also shared personal memories of working at Delphi and recounted the family members who worked there. Still others, like Marcus and Sierra, had grandparents who passed along narratives of the past, some nostalgic and others cautionary. Yet, each of these family members played an active role in the process of place-making. Their stories partially shape their children or grandchildren's notions of the past and the changes they had witnessed in the city.

In other cases, young people were left out of the conversation entirely, or chose to stay out of the conversation. In Sierra's case, though her grandparents actively discussed the history of Factory Town with her, her parents were intentionally silent on the issue. "When it came up," Sierra explained, "they just said they weren't going to talk about it and they are the kind of parents that expect you to listen, don't ask why, you just listen. So, its like 'OK, Mom." In a later interview she explained that even if people did talk about the GM plant closings, they did not share the whole story.

…pretty much (they say) our jobs are gone. I think the only person I actually heard that's not a teacher here talk about our jobs being *outsourced* is my

granny. She's the only one who said anything about the outsourcing. Everybody

else is just talking about how GM is not in Factory Town anymore.

The parents of many students were in their late 30s or early 40s. Thus, they had

experienced the trauma of the economic collapse of Factory Town first hand. They were

members of the generation described in the de-industrialization and social class

literature that was emerging in the late 1980s through the early 2000s (Weis1990, 2004;

McCarthy & Apple 1988). This generation had planned for jobs in the "shops," but many

were rudely awakened when a job in the factories was no longer an option at the end of

their high school careers. Boym (2001) argues that these moments of sudden social

change can be traumatic enough that they are silenced in the discourse, and become

part of the null curriculum (Eisner, 1994) of socialization in such communities. Though

my data do not allow me to make definitive claims that this was in fact the reason for

such silences, I am inclined to relate this concept to the experiences of the participants.

The silence around social change in Factory Town could also be produced by a

number of other factors. First, the topic is somewhat controversial in the sense that

there are many people in Factory Town, like Sierra's Grandmother, who place blame on

the unions for the economic collapse of the city. There is a second group, represented

here by Sierra, who place blame on GM. The polarization between the two is a point of

contention in Factory Town, and is typically avoided in polite conversation. Secondly,

the outsourcing of labor and the subsequent plant closings that resulted from this

process were traumatic moments, leading to a mass exodus from the city and shrinking

the population to just under 50% of its previous high. In this respect, Factory Town's

story is a tale of dramatic decline. Cope and Latcham (2012) explain, "the narrative of

the city" is the "city's own story; that is, the social, economic, and political stories that are created and maintained, both locally and nationally, about its history and geography" (p. 151). Since Factory Town's "narrative" emphasizes economic and social decline, it is often silenced or met with resistance by residents who have retained their deep attachment to the city. For these reasons, the silences around the deindustrialization of Factory Town maintain a null curriculum for young people, a curriculum of which most people are vaguely aware based on their own experiences in and amongst the spaces of the city, yet is rarely discussed in a direct way with loved ones and family members at home. One of the only ways students engage with these issues is through their readings of the spaces that have come symbolize the past: abandoned houses, closed factories, and empty storefronts. However, there is one other avenue for students' engagement with the social and economic changes the city has undergone in the recent past. My observations of the Social Studies classrooms at Workman High School indicate that these aspects of Factory Town's story take shape as part of a place-based civics curriculum designed in part to instill civic pride in, and knowledge of the city of Factory Town. In the following section, I explore the educational space produced during a two-hour bus tour field trip organized as part of the ASHP curriculum.

Educational Places: The Factory Town Bus Tour Field Trip

Thus far, this chapter has focused on individual students' perceptions of place and its pedagogical power in shaping students' sense of who they are, where they are, and their possibilities for the future. In the following section, I consider educational spaces, particularly those produced as part of a Social Studies field trip to various

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historical sites in Factory Town. The field trip produced a unique learning environment, in which place-making occurs as part of an institutional curriculum, and where two trusted teachers inform students about the spaces of their city. Implications of this complex place-making process are considered.

Though teachers never directly stated "place-consciousness" was a central aim of the ASHP curriculum, notions of "place" were central to aspects of the daily activities of the classroom. The central curricular objective of their course, according to Mr. Carpenter and Mrs. Miller, was for students to gain knowledge, skills and dispositions to think and act critically in order to be informed citizens. This, according to Mr. Carpenter, required an American History curriculum that emphasized the contributions of "working men and women, everyday people" to the larger narrative of American History. It also required teaching *"history*, not American History" implying that all history exists in context and American history cannot be understood outside of a global context, and without being connected to students lived experiences, which often meant making connections between national and global events and their local impact. They hoped that this approach would instill in their students a sense of civic pride in Factory Town, and a passion to improve their own lives and the fortunes of their community.

The two teachers intended to present a social history of the United States that was locally relevant and globally contextualized, and therefore meaningful to their students. This was evidenced by assignments such as the "enlightened cities project," and a two-hour bus tour of places of historical and global relevance in Factory Town. The enlightened cities project was a capstone group project in which students would produce a city revitalization plan for Factory Town. These plans were to make use of a

document that listed social, spatial, and cultural aspects of 10 American cities that had been deemed "enlightened" by a travel organization. Typically scheduled in September, the Factory Town bus tour field trip is completed in conjunction with a unit on local history. Prior to this unit, students spend about 4 weeks studying power and oppression from a social justice perspective, preparing them for an intensive exploration of spaces in the city of Factory Town that have been deemed historically significant.

Taking the tour.

The following description of the field trip activity has been distilled from 28 typed pages of field notes taken during and after the tour. These notes were taken six months after my initial entry into WHS. My date of entry in February meant I had missed the Factory Town tour for the cohort of students I had come to know during those months. However, the teachers contacted me to invite me back to Factory Town for the opportunity to travel with the students on this field trip. As a result of this timing, I had the unique opportunity to see the curriculum unfold in the classroom prior to taking the tour myself. During my classroom observations in the Spring of 2011 students, as well as teachers, regularly referenced the tour, which consisted of various stops at historical sites, statues, plaques, buildings and memorials all of which had local significance to Factory Town history.

What follows is my own narration of a part of the tour as it was recorded in my field notes on September 28th, 2011. Prior to the stop described below, the tour had included drive-by narrations of, and some actual visits to several historical places, almost all of which had connections to General Motors Corporation: an historic car dealership, the estate of former GM C.E.O., C.S. Mott; A Fischer Body plant, which was

the site of the first workers movement that would eventually become the "Factory Town

Sit-Down Strike" in 1936 and 1937. Soon after this stop, the tour arrived at the memorial

for this Strike, just two miles from the Fischer Body site.

After several stops relating to the complicated and controversial history of

General Motors Corporation, and those who built it into a global economic

powerhouse, the bus stopped at the Factory Town Sit-Down Strikers Memorial,

on the Southwest side, nestled between an innocuous looking apartment

complex, a residential neighborhood and the one remaining GM plant, is the

United Auto Workers local Regional headquarters. From either street that

borders this building a motorist would not see the memorial. The memorial

honors the men and women who, in 1937, occupied the Fisher Body Plant, along

with 9 other factories in the cold winter months of December, January and

February. These men and women fought off violent attacks from GM hired

enforcers and police in order to fight for good wages and decent working

conditions. This act, perhaps more than any other, set the stage for the

construction of the middle class in the United States. The memorial features

sculptures of men and women in the act of striking, but the central feature is a

large, spinning marble globe, upon which are the words, "common men and

women can change the world." When one lays their hand on the globe the world

tilts on its axis and high-pressure water below it polishes the marble as it shifts,

leaving one with the powerful impression of possibility through struggle. This

memorial, however, is the definition of "tucked away," in a neighborhood far from

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the view of most Factory Towners excepting some Assembly line workers still employed across the street.

As the bus made its way down a busy Southside thoroughfare we passed by countless neighborhoods of small, closely packed homes designed and built for assembly line workers in 1930s and 40s. The windshield of the bus framed the massive walls of the GM plant that was taking shape at the end of the road. As we approached the GM plant the bus made a quick right and we parked near the memorial. As students prepared to exit the bus, Mr. Carpenter explained that the memorial was erected for those who had fought for workers rights by occupying the Fisher body plants and Chevrolet plants in Factory Town until they had the right to form a union. These weeks-long protests led to the formation of the United Autoworkers and the move toward the development of the American middle-class. After students had explored the memorial, Mr. Carpenter continued,

> The Globe in the middle represents the global reach of GM and the automobile. To the left, you will see the Factory Town Truck Assembly. Do you know anyone or do your families have a three-quarter or one ton pick up truck, a duelly? Well, if you do it was made RIGHT HERE! In fact, all of the three-quarter and 1 ton pick up trucks in the fleet are made right here in Factory Town. A lot of you think GM is not in Factory Town anymore. Well, guess what, you're wrong! Ever heard of the Volt, the Chevy Cruise? Their engines are made in a plant right behind this building right here."

For nearly ten minutes students walked around the memorial gardens, inscribed with the names of donors, significant men and women in the United Auto Workers Union, past Union and GM presidents, and bronze likenesses of the strikers at work. For many, this appeared to be an opportunity to socialize, but sporadically the students would stop, read a plaque, or ask a question of one of their teachers about the memorial, or the strike, or some other element of the history between GM and General Motors. Several students shared that their grandparents had been union members, or GM line workers. At these times when students briefly engaged with the memorial, they seemed intrigued by it. They respected the space as an important location, one that was significant to their community. They walked slowly, and took it all in. They pushed the globe at the center around, laughing and chatting, but remaining respectful of the space at all times.

After the students had seen most of the memorial, I commented to Amy that I really appreciated the globe at the center of the memorial. She then told me a story about her mother, explaining, as she directed my attention to the Factory Town Truck and Bus Assembly across the street, "she was on the front lines with the UAW to fight for women's rights. Those shops weren't exactly great places to work for women at the time, and she was one of those common people that they're (the creators of the memorial) are talking about." By that time a crowd of students had gathered, and they listened relatively appreciatively to her story.

The rest of the tour passed by multiple other sites associated with the history of the automobile industry in Factory Town, including the brownfields left

behind when GM closed Chevy in the hole and Buick City[5]. The juxtaposition of the enthusiasm Dan expressed when describing the Sit-Down Strikers and the Assembly plant, with his somber tone as the bus rolled slowly though these post-apocalyptic brownfields was evident, and easily understandable. Like the rest of the curriculum, the key aim of this tour was to inspire a sense of pride in the local community, and to connect the local and global elements of the city through historical narratives. However, the tour was also a (re)narration of nostalgia, for a time when Factory Town was the center of the global automotive trade, and an economic battle ground between the struggle for workers' rights and the power of corporations.

It is important to note that the curriculum associated with the field trip did not end when the bus returned to Workman High School. In fact, the field trip marked the beginning of a yearlong exploration of American history, which was based, at least partially, on the experiences and narratives of working class men and women, and contextualized in relationship to Factory Town's local history. Immediately following the field trip students chose an historical figure, place, or event that was highlighted during the tour. They continued to research it independently, and then they presented their work to the rest of

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[5] The term "Chevy in the Hole" refers to a massive brownfield on the west side of the city that once housed the original Chevrolet Motor Company. The plant opened in 1913 and was slowly demolished throughout the 1990s until 2004. The site is commonly known in Factory Town as "Chevy in the Hole" due to its location in a ravine along the Factory Town river.

The term "Buick City" also refers to a massive brownfield, the largest in the United States, which is situated on the north side of the city. This plant was, at one time, the largest manufacturing complex in the world. Demolition of the site began in 1999, and was continuing at the time I wrote this in 2012.

the class. The curricular intent of the teachers was to lay a foundation of historical knowledge about the city of Factory Town for students. They hoped this knowledge would help to contextualize American History content for students and build meaningful geographic and temporal connections to their daily lives. According to conversations I had with students about this process, these goals were met. That being said, an analysis of the trip is necessary to understanding the pedagogical implications of blurring the boundaries between personal and institutional place-making.

The Explicit, Null and Societal Curricula of the Field Trip.

The curricular space produced by the tour is rife with opportunities for exploring the implications for students, but I have limited my analysis in order to avoid straying too far from the aims of this chapter. Making use of three commonly used educational concepts, the explicit or "taught" curriculum (Cuban, 1991), the null curriculum (Eisner, 1993), and the societal curriculum, I explore the pedagogical power of the field trip as a place-making process. As a curricular space the field trip is intended to guide students' attention to specific places and organize their thinking about their city. As such, the filed trip space differs considerably from the industrial ruins and the neighborhoods students experience outside of school.

Though the previous section provides some detail of the explicit curriculum of the field trip, I will briefly expand upon it here. The term "explicit curriculum" is widely used in the field of curriculum theory; it is used to define the overt organizing of content that is to be taught in a pedagogical context. Taking place primarily on a school bus, the tour was organized as a largely didactic process. Mr. Carpenter stood at the front of the bus and drew attention to sites of historical and social significance as the bus rolled up and

down city streets. For the most part, students seemed to be listening and otherwise attentive. Students were also given an itinerary packed with detailed information, sometimes more than a page in length about each historical site on the tour. Though 22 sites were mentioned, the bus stopped at three locations: the site of the Factory Town Sit-down Strikes, a memorial to the Sit-Down Strikers, and a historical district which houses the home of the city's first resident and founder. This final stop also included the headquarters of a carriage company, which eventually became General Motors Corporation. About two thirds (14) of the 22 sites on the itinerary were associated with the city's automotive history. As a result, the tour emphasized Factory Town's economic history, drew attention to economic activity and expansion (auto production, auto sales), and deemphasized the daily lives of individuals with the obvious exception of the Factory Town-Sit Down Strikes.

Unlike the "in-between-ness" apparent in some students' reflections on the industrial and neighborhood sites described above, the field trip offered a linear and chronologically ordered narrative of Factory Town's history. Certain aspects of the tour were intended to offer depictions of the past: memorials to captains of industry, leaders of organized labor, and the homes of the cities earliest residents. Other sites, like the former industrial complexes, the farmers market, and the downtown revitalization projects were intended to describe present aspects of the city. Students' responded positively to this order of space and time, and directing of attention to important aspects of their community. For example, Elizabeth described returning home from the tour and chiding her mother about never taking her to see the Sit-Down Striker's memorial, calling her a "bad mother." Five other students described how much they appreciated

the teachers' willingness to "teach stuff that other schools don't teach." In her description of the Sit-Down Strike Memorial, Elizabeth explains why this place is meaningful to her and why a course like ASHP is so important to her.

> …it shows even women who were going and fighting on the front line because they were making themselves look like men. And without them, we wouldn't've won the war. And those are things that in a regular history class, they wouldn't even wanta teach you that. Because they think there's no reason for you to know it… and I like that about [Mr. Carpenter's and Mrs. Miller's class]... I think it's to not only make us be able to use it in a productive way but for us to change the way things are. And the way that history is already done. And I think that the more of us that know, the more we can change. And that's what we need. We need a change.

Elizabeth's words toward the end of this statement indicate that the organization offered by the tour, at least partially, helped Elizabeth develop a sense of civic efficacy, and pride in her community. Elizabeth went on to explain, "everything [the teachers] talk about, you can go out and find and touch. So it makes it feel more like it matters than when they tell you about stuff that is so far away." In fact, when I asked Elizabeth to take part in the camera project she returned to the memorial and described it as a source of great civic pride for two reasons.

Figure 3

Elizabeth's Photograph of the Factory Town Sit-Down Strikers Memorial

Figure 4

Elizabeth's Photograph of the Women's Brigade

First, Elizabeth describes The Factory Town Sit-Downer's Memorial as the one

place in Factory Town that had not been damaged by vandals. She is not completely

inaccurate in that claim. Of all the places in the whole of Factory Town the memorial

remains untouched by vandals of any sort. Unlike virtually every other spot in the city,

there is no history of damage to the property. Secondly, Elizabeth takes pride in the

efforts of the Sit-down Strikers, and believes this event is globally significant in leading

to fair wages and labor rights. To Elizabeth, this site mattered more than any space in

Factory Town. To her, the memorial was a source of pride for the rest of the city and a

generator of hope and possibility for a better future.

As part of the school curriculum the field trip was successful in developing a

sense of civic pride, and linking the temporal distance between students and historical

events. On numerous occasions students described how they had never known about some of the stops on the tour. Or, they described having seen them, but not having knowledge of their importance. Thus, for many students the tour responded to the silences surrounding the economic decline they had read in the ruins of the city, or heard fragmented accounts of in conversations with family members. However, it was limited in its ability to address the powerful affective responses students felt when describing their neighborhoods, and their thoughts upon passing the brownfields that are so prominent in the landscape of the city. These aspects of the null curriculum were central themes that emerged in my conversations with students. Yet, they remained relatively silent in the discourse I observed in the classroom throughout the semester I observed as well. Thus, they remained part of the null curriculum in the educational places produced by the field trip and the classroom.

Nostalgia and Longing in Postindustrial Place-making

This chapter has explored the process of place-making (Fettes and Judson, 2011) for high school students living and learning a postindustrial community. The dramatic landscapes of the postindustrial city are pedagogical for students, teaching them about who they are, where they are from, and the possibilities they have in the future. Students' readings of these spaces produce powerful sentiments such as nostalgia, and what Willinger (2007) defines as "longing." Nostalgia tends to fix temporality, drawing an individual's focus to an imagined past, and away from the possibilities of a future. Though many students read the spaces of the postindustrial city with the lens of nostalgia, others--like Elizabeth and Nikia—saw a past, present and future in the spaces of the city. This radical "in-between-ness" of temporality allowed

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these students to challenge the dominate narratives of decline (Cope and Latcham, 2012) that define the city in social discourse and mass media across the United States. To these students, the possibilities of the past were not so (distant) memories, while nostalgic readings of space led students to distance themselves from possibility.

As this chapter illustrates, place is pedagogical. Furthermore, it can also be curricular, as was illustrated by the analysis of the bus tour field trip. As an educational space, the field trip effectively ordered students' experiences of places in the city, fixed them in a succinct chronology, and organized them as socially significant. Students responded positively to this process and gained a specific knowledge of local history as a result of the field trip. However, in fixing temporality the trip provided little space for students to explore the sentiments they described in their readings of industrial and residential places. While not a critique of the trip, this does raise generative questions for place-conscious educators.

The teachers faced the curricular challenge of teaching a curriculum that was informative of the economic trajectory of their community, but simultaneously provided space for the possibility of social change. These were the stated aims of the course, and in some ways these aims were met. However, what are the possibilities of teaching history with the same eye toward "longing" that Willinger takes to her reading of works of art?

How would the acknowledgement of "longing" contribute to promoting an "ethic of care" which is important to so many place-based educators (Noddings, 2005; Gruenwald, 2003 Sobel, 2010) among others. The un-aestheticized places of postindustrial landscapes reveal the ongoing tension between continuity and change.

Students' ability to read these spaces creatively holds the potential for innovative approaches to social change in communities seeking solutions for so many challenges.

Preview of Next Chapter

This Chapter described pedagogical process of place-making for students in Factory Town. This process informed students' sense of who they are, where they are from, and their sense of possibility of the future. The next chapter continues this inquiry, considering the pedagogical power of place in reinforcing borders between "here and there," and "us and them."

CHAPTER FOUR

MAINTAINING BORDERS AND BOUNDARIES: CONTESTED GEORGRAPHIES OF

SELF AND OTHER

"'Where is here' is less perplexing than 'Who am I?' …more perplexing yet, is the question, 'What am I that I am here?' -- Willinsky,1998 p.)

The city of Factory Town, like most American cities, is a community made up of sharp divisions and fragmentation related to issues of race and social class. A long history of racial and class division has resulted in the formation of clear boundaries around who belongs where and who does not. This fragmentation is informative to students, as they develop an understanding of who they are in connection to their neighbors, their community, and the world beyond the boundaries of the city. In this chapter, I explore the city's racial and class divisions as they are experienced by students through the social production of space, or what has been referred to throughout this dissertation as place-making.

Factory Town's economic history has simultaneously sharpened its internal and external boundaries. Depending upon whom you talk to globalization has either brought Factory Town together, or it has continued to divide the city. Globalization, rather than rolling over everything, works through particularities (Hall, 1991); it influences local spaces--social, physical, and otherwise--to produce nuanced responses to its processes. Factory Town's "dependent deindustrialization," a term used to describe the removal of a corporate center from a community that depends upon it for the generation

of capital, has had profound effects on the narrative construction of identity in the city (Dadaneau, 1992). After the plant closings of the late 1980s and early 1990s, young people had little opportunity to follow in their parents' footsteps, and obtain work in the factories. The young people who remained in Factory Town after the economic collapse are now the parents of the students who took part in this study. The economic fallout of the plant closings has resulted in apathy among many in Factory Town and a renewed drive to revitalize the community in others.

The absence of an economic base has had well-documented material effects; It has had significant demographic implications as well. According to U.S. Census data, 1.46% of the population of Factory Town was foreign-born in 2003, and that number has continued to decrease over the past decade. The lack of "pull factors" has limited Factory Town's attraction for incoming residents. For example, in 2000, Factory Town's Hispanic population made up 3% of the population. Today this group makes up 3.7%. While this number appears to show significant growth, the overall population of the city has dropped by roughly 23,000 mostly black and white residents during the same period. Therefore, actual growth among the Hispanic population is estimated to have only increased by roughly 450 people (U.S. Census data, 2010). National numbers indicate that the population of Hispanic residents surged by 43% between 2000, and 2010. This is just one indicator that Factory Town is a shrinking city, and as I will show in this chapter, the effects of these changes shape the way Factory Towners think about themselves and their community.

Casey (1993) specifies the power of place, "to direct and stabilize us, to memorialize and identify us, to tell us who and what we are in terms of *where we* are

(as well as where we are *not)"* (emphasis and parentheses in the original, p. xv). In order to better understand the process of place-making in Factory Town, this chapter explores students' and teachers' perceptions and experiences of the external boundaries of the city. Furthermore, I share students' and teachers' narratives of "being from Factory Town," a distinction that was highly meaningful in various ways for various participants. I also explore participants' experiences of the internal boundaries, produced along race and class lines, in the city. I argue that discursive practices such as narratives of othering, and spatial practices of othering, such as policing racial boundaries, reinforce students' perceived isolation from places outside their city, in their region, and beyond.

The Theoretical Space of the Chapter

Barbara Hooper argues, in "Bodies, cities, texts, the case of "Citizen Rodney King" that:

In times of social crisis – when centers and peripheries will not hold – collective and individual anxiety rise and the politics of difference become especially significant. The instability of the borders heightens when either their transgression or maintenance is magnified. When borders are crossed, disturbed, contested and so become a threat to order, hegemonic power acts to reinforce them: the boundaries and territory, nation, ethnicity, race, gender, sex, class, erotic practice, are trotted out and vigorously disciplined. At the same time, counter-hegemons are working to harness the disorder… for political use. In these periods, bodies, cities and texts become key sites for hegemonic and counter-hegemonic contestations… in the late twentieth century, it is/ [was] the

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global megacity with its restless populations, and the sensationalized demonized

bodies of black males and urban gangs who have taken on the role of

representing social disorder and pathology (Hooper 1990, p. 80).

While Hooper was writing about the Los Angeles riots, her words remain relevant to the

current project as well. Though Factory Town is by no means a "megacity," it, and

particularly its African-American citizens, are constructed in the regional and national

media as representative of the same fears of "social disorder and pathology" Hooper

describes above. Factory Town is a city set apart, a space that is a "no go" for many

people who hail from its relatively prosperous suburbs as well as those surrounding

nearby Detroit. As has been suggested in previous chapters, Factory Town is

narrativized in the media as an "urban wasteland," and shamed in lists of the countries

"worst" places. All of this naming, narrowing, and marginalizing maintain the narrative

and shape spatial and discursive practices that reify fears of the "other." In similar

fashion, internal boundaries between "black and white" and "us and them" continue to

divide the city along racial and class lines.

Illustrative of this point is a 2001 event that led to sensationalized media

coverage about Black on White violence in the city of Factory Town. Though it

happened a decade ago, the story is still very relevant to Factory Town's residents.

Several adults I came to know through the course of this study, and two students who

participated in the work, referred to this story as they spoke about the neighborhood

where this story took place. Three white teenagers from a nearby suburb hopped a train

heading off in search of adventure. When their train failed to stop at a small town

outside of Factory Town, they ended up in a high-poverty, high-crime neighborhood in

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the heart of the city. They wandered around until night fell, and spent some time stargazing on the roof of an abandoned school. Later, when they went in search of a phone to call a parent to pick them up, they were reportedly attacked by a group of African-American young men and teenagers. The details of the events leading up to the attack, and exactly what provoked it remain unclear to this day. During the attack one of the white teenagers was murdered, a young White woman was sexually assaulted, and the third member of the group was beaten severely. What resulted was a media frenzy, which characterized Factory Town as a wasteland, populated only by dangerous and violent "demonized" African-American young people. For suburban dwellers living near the city, and for some who live within its, borders stories like this one solidify Factory Town's place on the fringes of normalcy. For those who read them, media accounts of this isolated, but tragic, event narrate Factory Town as a space set apart, an urban wilderness unlike the surrounding rural and suburban communities. Factory Town is juxtaposed against the "safe," "upscale" or "normal" spaces of suburban life. These spaces are primarily White spaces, areas where African-Americans are outsiders, unwelcomed, and marginalized. Thus, it is the inscription of race on the body, to borrow terminology from feminist-postmodern philosophy, that allows for the identification of boundaries and their disruption in the social space of the city. When borders are crossed, "hegemonic power acts to reinforce them" (Hooper, 80). In the following section, I explore students' and teachers perceptions of the borders "around" the city and their implications for how participants come to see their position in the world.

Factory Town as (An)other Space: Constructing and Contesting the Borders Around the City

For the students and teachers who participated in this study, media stories and local/regional narratives of Factory Town maintained their status as "others" in the eyes of outsiders. During my time working in Factory Town, a young woman from a nearby suburb overdosed on heroin. A string of such overdoses prompted local officials and community organizations in the town to place blame on drug traffic coming from Factory Town, rather than address issues within their own community that may have also contributed to the problem. Reshaunda, who is African-American, and many of her peers (Black or White) were angry about such a proposition stating,

> …even places that you think are all… suburban can be… just as bad. They're just low key. …you don't see *them* on the news cuz somebody got shot or something. Yeah …what's that girl died because of drugs or something and they didn't think it was her cuz she lived in a, you know, a suburb… they blamed the drug dealers, not her for taking the drugs. Cuz you know, oh, that black guy gave her drugs so they're gonna get him. You know?

This story put Reshaunda in a position to defend her community. Apparent in Reshaunda's words are ideas about boundaries. She differentiates between which communities get media coverage for their tragedies, and which communities enjoy relative anonymity in the face of tragedy. She then makes reference to "you know, a suburb" using a euphemism for a White, middle class neighborhood. In the final line, Reshaunda identifies the drug dealer, a young man from factory town, as a "black guy" and asserts that the media coverage, and the suburban community's response to the tragedy are a witch hunt, distracting them from their own problems and placing them on Factory Town. Reshaunda talks about the racial implications in this story

interchangeably with the spatial implications of this story. It is much about space, as it is about race for Reshaunda. Furthermore, the prevalence of media discourses that use space to reify racial tensions indicates the Suburban spokesperson, and the media crew who shot the story drew the same parallels that Reshaunda drew.

Stories like this one are prevalent in the Factory Town media, but they are not an exclusively local phenomenon. They are reproduced around the world, and are rooted in anxieties about "the other." In this case, however, they also contribute to a local narrative of Factory Town as an "other" space, the center of anxiety for outsiders, but home to the citizens of the community. Nearly every participant in this study referenced a common interaction they had with outsiders. When outside the physical borders of the city, and making an introduction, they were regularly met with responses like these: "So, you're from Factory Town! I thought you'd be like a thugged-out gangsta or something." "You're from Factory Town! Oh, I'm sorry!" "Factory Town, Yikes!" These, and countless other responses like them were shared with me by all but two participants as they described their interactions with outsiders. Though these stories were shared in formal interviews it was more common for them to come up in regular conversation about their city.

Factory Town is a town with a bad reputation. It is a place on the "worst" cities lists of various magazines and websites for its legacy of joblessness and violence. According to both adult and adolescent participants, these designations immediately set them apart, and construct them as "Other" in the eyes of an outsider. This was frustrating for most participants and they challenged such designations in some of the same ways as Reshaunda. They did not deny the problems Factory Town had, but they

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also argued that every community had problems of its own. To many participants, Factory Town was made to "look bad" to make "a good news story," "or to sell a magazine." However, the same students also regularly referred to the problems of their community in realistic terms, recognizing that it was unique in the severity of some of the challenges--economic and otherwise--facing the community.

Students' and teachers' interactions with me at the outset of the study speak to the power of these narratives in shaping their identity in relationship to their community as well. Students immediately assumed, once they became aware of my outsider status, that they would have to challenge these stereotypes, that I had come looking for a reproduction of all of them. Overcoming the barriers this created was not easy, but I worked diligently to be recognized as a thoughtful and attentive outsider, open to understanding Factory Town from perspectives that go beyond national media attention. Data gleaned from interviews conducted early in the study indicate a sense of hesitancy and distrust among many participants. This changes with most participants as the dates of the interviews progress in the catalog. These changes are evident in the conversation I shared with Ahmed, which is recounted in the latter part of this chapter. The adults I spoke with were equally cautious, and they also felt compelled to challenge stereotypes upon meeting me. As a Factory Town native, Amy Miller describes regularly having to defend her decision to stay in Factory Town to old friends who have left the city. She described a recent reunion with her college roommate on Facebook. It had been twenty-five years since the two had last spoken. Amy, playing the part of her roommate, tells it like this.

"I thought you always said you were gonna get outta Factory Town! I thought you wanted to move on to bigger and better things."

Amy's response was, "Well, ya know, I just thought, 'I'm here to do a job!' I'm in Factory Town and I'm doing something. I didn't just walk away pretending I was somehow better than this place since I got an education. I was just disappointed that that was her attitude, I guess. I mean, my family is here and this place means something to me, it always will be a part of me I guess."

For her roommate Factory Town is a place to transcend, to move past. For Amy, home and identity are inseparable. She explains that Factory Town is "a part" of her; it has deep meaning that cannot be denied. Her friend's insult was not only an attack on her, but also an attack on her community, which was equally hurtful to Amy. Amy is in a partnership with her community. She describes in great detail how her experience in the Factory Town schools from K-16 worked for her, and her passions were recognized and supported by "the system." Amy defines the "system" as the systems of social welfare, education, and healthcare made available to her as a young person. She feels deeply connected to Factory Town, and that the city is "a place worth fighting for." However, she recognizes her affiliation with the community immediately places her as an "other," one who was not able to get out, in the eyes of those who have left. Amy defines herself against her friend, as one who did not abandon her community in a time of need, something that Amy found "disappointing" about her friend's position on this issue.

For the adolescents in the study, their affiliation with the city was also a powerful identifier of who they were in comparison to others. Jimmy, a white student, explained that when he went to visit his father in Tennessee the people he met were shocked to

meet him. They expected "a thugged-out gansta wannabe or something." "Thug," a racially charged euphemism for violent teenage male, is often used in association with African Americans. "Gangsta" is its close equivalent. In such moments, Factory Towners come face to face with the perception of their city as a place set apart, left behind, or abandoned. In instances like the one Jimmy described, Factory Town was marginalized based on the perception that it is an "African American" space. Nikia, an African-American student, described talking to relatives in Mississippi and explaining she is from Factory Town. She described the typical response as "Oh, Factory Town! Why you still live in Factory Town?" She described their reactions as "heaven and hell" reactions, if you are from Factory Town, "it must be like living in Hell, or at least a place you *really* don't wanna be!"

This sense of "otherness" was typically described as "frustrating," or "disappointing" to the participants who experienced these encounters. However, when narrating to a Factory Town audience, students and adults used their civic identities as Factory Towners to their benefit. Mr. Carpenter, and Mrs. Miller regularly employed their Factory Towner status to appeal to the sensibilities of their students and gain their trust and respect. Students, such as Lana, described how she wished she still lived in Factory Town as a way to identify herself as belonging "in the hood," where communities were close and people looked out for one anther. Though she still lives in Factory Town, Lana explains that her middle class neighborhood doesn't feel like it is part of Factory Town.

> I live in a nice neighborhood now. [My current neighborhood] is nice but you
>
> know, I rather would live in the 'hood,' not for like hood reasons or anything.

Because like on my street, I guess because it's a busy street but we don't like

communicate with our neighbors. We might see them outside and wave but

there's no, there's no kids around here or nothing but I used to live on Euclid off

of Welch and I was younger though. I was, I moved over here when I was eight

and it was, it was nice on my block. Right behind my block was like crazy but on

my block, every, it was like I could go outside and play with all the kids and

expect nothing to happen and like they, everybody on the block looked out for

each other.

For Lana, though the reputation of Factory Town was tied to crime and other urban

"problems," she felt she belonged as a member of the community. For Lana, Factory

Town represented a sense of belonging and comfort. In her new neighborhood she did

not feel the same sense of belonging she had when she lived in "the hood." Marcus,

another African American participant recounted happy memories of living in the

projects, siting a sense of closeness, togetherness, and friendship that he has not felt

since moving into a working-class subdivision. He (re)narrated "the projects" as spaces

of togetherness and solidarity, in opposition to the "everyone for themselves" narrative

produced by media stories such as the one described in the early pages of this chapter.

Regardless of how students identified with the city, they recognized that others viewed

Factory Town as a space to avoid.

The idea that Factory Town is, in fact, isolated from the rest of world is false. The

narrative construction of Factory Town as a "no-go" space, however, allows outsiders to

deflect the problems within their own communities by placing them in Factory Town.

Despite its well-documented social and economic problems, the city is full of rich

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history, culture, and community engagement. In other words, the mainstream narratives of Factory Town described above are only one aspect of reality. In fact, these imagined visions of Factory Town make imagined visions of the "non-Factory Town" possible. Maintenance of these narratives allows those outside the city to retain a simple vision of an increasingly complicated world, in which dichotomies such as inside/outside are increasingly blurred and long held physical boundaries are contested.

The recognition of a non-Factory Town.

The notion of the "non-Factory Town" did inform students' perceptions of the city, however.

> DeAndra: Once you leave (Factory Town) it's like to me, like (the road leading toward a suburban mall), it's all highway and then it looks more better as a state, like it looks fine to me, you know, cuz you don't see vandalism… and then you don't see like the destroyed properties or anything cuz they're making it look like something that there's not. But once you go out to Factory Town or you go to like the other parts of it, all you see is factories that's closed down, that's been there for quite a while look like, windows busted out of it. You know, vandalized. And then you see houses that's not sold or you see homeless people in the corner of the street, you know…

DeAndra describes spaces outside of Factory Town as "looking better," or "fine" because they're "trying to make it look like something that they're not." In other words, DeAndra recognizes that attempts have been made to beautify the outer ring of the city, while inside the city the space tells the story of loss, injustice, and economic depression.

For DeAndra, more than many other participants, disinvestment in urban spaces was a sign of social injustice. When she read the suburban space surrounding the mall, she recognized where capital investment was being funneled. She also strikingly recounts her daily readings of the areas surrounding her neighborhood in Factory Town. She draws particular attention to aspects of the community that indicate disinvestment: vandalism, closed down factories, and the presence of homeless people. DeAndra verged on tears as she described her frustration with visiting a city park only to see that the Mayor's office had stopped maintaining the space explaining, "we can't bring nothing her without it gettin' torn up, vandalized or destroyed, and the city stop taking care of the park. That's like when you know they don't care." Her reference to "they" seems to relate back to city and government officials who are responsible for park maintenance.

DeAndra recognizes distinct boundaries based on capital investment, between the value placed on her life, and the lives of those who live outside of Factory Town. She connects this lack of investment on the part of city government back to a lack of care for the residents. These boundaries may be physical, but they inform a deeper sense of belonging—as well as "longing"—that informs DeAndra's sense of how she is situated in relationship to others. The places near the mall are valued, along with the people who use them. The places in the city are not valued. The people who inhabit them, according to DeAndra's reading, are not valued either. These stark contrast map out clear boundaries for DeAndra, dividing lines between here and there, as well as us and them. Her daily routines traversing these boundaries reinforce these divisions through placemaking. In DeAndra's case this involves an "active reaching out to grasp

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an understanding of paces" (Fettes and Judson, 2011), while for most students these

boundaries are maintained through unconscious, daily interactions in and amongst

them.

Reshaunda, who lives part-time with her mother in a wealthy suburb, and part-

time with her father in Factory Town, describes the difference in the two neighborhoods

like this:

Mount Ellis, I mean, you see large houses. You don't see that many abandoned

houses, like you would here, normally. And like over in my dad's neighborhood, a

lot of the houses are pretty small so whereas like, like the houses are extremely

random. Like there are no houses that look alike. There's like, on my block,

there's like one two story and the rest are just one story. It's like where'd that

house come from, you know? That's kinda how that neighborhood is, like literally

random like that.

The space of Mount Ellis is defined in terms of size of the homes, and in Factory Town

the space is described as both "random" and "abandoned." Jamie also lives in Mount

Ellis and describes her neighborhood below:

My neighborhood now… is actually a really nice neighborhood. It's in Mount Ellis.

I live in an apartment, I live in an apartment right now but my sister lives just

down the street so we visit her a lot and houses are all really nice and it's a nice

place. People are pretty friendly, kinda snobby but they're friendly as friendly can

be. So it was nice neighborhood but even before I moved, the neighborhood we

lived in was pretty nice. It wasn't like you'd expect Factory Town to be. It was a

nice neighborhood. There aren't like a lot of dilapidated houses. It's like every,

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almost all the houses are lived in. They're well taken care of. All the lawns are

nice. There's not anybody like that has a bunch of stuff out on their lawn. It's

just, it's like a typical suburban… like you would expect if you heard of a

suburban neighborhood, if you went there, that's exactly what you would expect.

Jamie offers a version of Factory Town that is similar to Reshaunda, emphasizing the

differences in terms of material space. She juxtaposes the "typical Factory Town

neighborhood", with "the typical suburban neighborhood."

The picture that emerges from these descriptions places Factory Town on the

outside of "normal, and defines the city in terms of decline, loss, and difference. The

"non-Factory Town" concept informed students' sense of position in relationship to the

communities around it. Not surprisingly, those inside the city were able to see and

narrate multiple Factory Towns, the Factory Town in decline, as well as the Factory

Town of solidarity and hope.

Nevertheless, outsiders' misinformed and one dimensional picture of Factory

Town had a distancing effect that positioned the city as an "island-like" place, set apart

and removed from a larger national and international discourse. This distancing of

Factory Town, and the ongoing media coverage of Factory Town as a city that time,

globalization, or GM has forgotten, has been internalized by Factory Towners in ways

that make it difficult for them to comprehend their local community as being part of a

larger global network of communities.

"Factory Town is an Island:" disconnected from the world.

During the course of one interview with Sierra, I chatted about how I saw Factory

Town as a historically important city due to its economic changes and its history of

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powerful industry and labor organizations. Her response indicated that she could not fully agree with me. After asking her if she agreed with my assessment she replied:

Like a lot of times, no. I really don't. I just see us as another city. You know, just another city. Of people trying to get by. I don't really even think about it like that. Like I know we have, or we had GM. Like I know that important figures came to Factory Town to talk politics. I know all that. It's just… sometimes it feels as though Factory Town is like an island sometimes to me. Like nobody, I don't know. It just seems like an island. We don't really have a connection to other places that's not in Michigan. It's like an island. It's like wow, is anybody gonna come in? Do we have any tourists? Do we have any festivals? Are we gonna do something for ourselves? It's like an island to me cuz…

Aaron: It's like it's out here alone

Sierra: Yeah, but I know it's not. That's the thing. I know it's not. I'm aware of that. Just feels that way. I guess.

Aaron: Where do you think that feeling comes from?

Sierra: …it seems lonely cuz we don't get a lot of tourists. We don't have a lot of things to attract other people to come. I mean, they're starting to try to make it a college town but it still doesn't… it's not attracting a lot of people. Our city isn't growing either. I don't know. It just… we're not trying to do a lot for ourselves either so it's like well, we'll always be disconnected from other cities. It's not like we're trying to ask them to like join us in anything. It's just, we're just Factory Town, just a bunch of people trying to get by, that's how I see it.

Sierra uses the absence of visitors and the lack of pull factors for immigrants and tourists as an explanation for her feeling that Factory Town is set apart from the rest of the world. She also draws upon the idea that people in the city of Factory Town could be to blame for failing to connect to larger spheres of influence. She historicizes the global economic connections that Factory Town once had via GM, but emphasizes that the company no longer serves as a connection to other parts of the world. Soon after she describes this lost connection, she explains how no one from the outside travels to Factory Town as a destination, and places blame on the citizens of Factory Town for the absence of tourists. She asks the rhetorical questions, "we gonna do anything for ourselves?," meaning "we" need to do something to solve this problem, but no one is working toward this goal. To Sierra, Factory Town depends on these connections and they have been severed. She sees herself and her community as disconnected from the world, a place unto itself. In so doing, she emphasizes the role of local citizens in changing this trend. In other words, responsibility for place-making may have once been the role of a corporation, but it is now up to Factory Towners to create a space worth visiting.

Sierra is not alone in this characterization of the community as an island. Ahmed also constructed boundaries around the city of Factory Town. According to Ahmed, Factory Town feels "disconnected."

Actually, now that I'm thinking about it, I feel like Factory Town is, I don't wanta say abandoned but not always connected… Right now I feel like it's not really connected and Factory Town's just dead right now. Like things that are going on in Factory Town don't necessarily affect things that are going on in Egypt or

Australia or anywhere else around the world. Maybe somehow indirectly but

definitely not directly. Everywhere is affected, the entire world, indirectly. But

right now I don't see how Factory Town is indirectly reacting around the world. So

that, that's what I mean. It's like, I don't see it. I mean, like I know that the

businesses are trying to catch up and there's a lot of economic problems right

now, but I don't know, I just don't think its connected.

Still Ahmed insisted that there had to be some global processes that had an impact on

Factory Town, but he could not put a finger on them. Both Sierra and Ahmed were

trying to come to terms with this sense of disconnection they felt as members of this

community. I believe both of the participants were confronted with an idea they had only

an intuitive sense about, no strong opinion or position on the issue. However, the

intuitive sense was that Factory Town was a dead city, an abandoned city, or an island.

By all accounts, the adolescent participants in this study described Factory Town

as a marginal space, a space distanced from the heart of global economics, politics or

cultural change. However, students' everyday lived experiences did not always reflect

this distance. Students were actively engaged in online social networks, they enjoyed

aspects of popular culture, some of which were international or global in origin.

Furthermore, many students identified themselves with other communities in Florida,

Mississippi, Germany and other physical locales. Many students had family members

from Southern States, a carryover from the historical migration to Factory Town in

search of work, and the subsequent emigration *from* Factory Town when opportunities

disappeared. However, family connections were not the only connections. Nikia

reported being connected to young people in Australia and Canada via Facebook, and

through her Church youth group. Ahmed's sense of Factory Town's disconnection was striking given his status as a dual citizen, and his deep involvement with one of Factory Town's largest immigrant communities. In other words, many students' lives extended far beyond the city limits, but when it came to theorizing Factory Town's connection to other communities, they immediately fell back on the narratives that set Factory Town apart from the rest of the world. In short, imagined notions of Factory Town's disconnection from other communities, somehow trumped students' everyday life experiences of connections beyond the city limits. Thus, the ways others perceived of them influenced how students and teachers talked about themselves as members of a local community.

This sense of isolation produced boundaries around the city, sectioning it off from "normalcy" and marginalizing those who call it home. Even within the city, boundaries and borders divided the community along racial lines. Factory Towners recognized deep internal fragmentation within the city itself. The following section of this chapter will argue that distinct borders within the city were regularly contested and maintained among participants, similar to the ways in which the imagined boundaries around the city were contested and maintained.

Internal Boundaries: Building and Blurring Racial Divisions Within the City

Using U.S. Department of Census data, the Population Studies Department at the University of Michigan completed a study, which measured racial segregation in every major U.S. city, metropolitan area, and county. Once these data were compiled the group developed a scale, "the index of dissimilarity," which identified the level of segregation in these areas on a scale from 0 to 100, 0 being the impossible equal

distribution of two races over geographic areas, and 100 being the equivalent of total racial apartheid. At the level of the city block, Factory Town's black and white populations scored an 89.6 on this scale, 11 notches below "apartheid." For reasons of comparison, Birmingham, Alabama was 9 points lower on the index, a slightly less tragic 20 points below apartheid (Retrieved electronically on April 16th, 2012). Numbers were similar at the "block" level for segregation between blacks and Hispanics as well as whites and Hispanics. In other words, Factory Town is highly segregated by race.

While Factory Town has always been divided by racially homogenous neighborhoods, massive "white flight" in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and the influx of more African Americans sharply intensified the level of segregation in the city. The expansion and development of many suburbs arose during this time as middle and working class whites left the city. This created a "doughnut effect" in which the city center and the outer ring of suburbs were economically prosperous, and a ring of neighborhoods surrounding the city center fell on economic hard times. White flight led the City Government and private enterprise to disinvest in these urban neighborhoods. As the General Motors factories closed, conditions only worsened as many of the working class Blacks and Whites who moved to the city in search of work began emigrating from Factory Town.

While numbers tell a compelling story about segregation in Factory Town, they do not capture the visceral experience of the boundaries that produce a complex micro-geography of difference within the city. In this next section I spend a significant amount of space describing adult participants' perceptions of the racial fragmentation of the city. I realize I am privileging the adult perspective in this section. I made the conscious effort

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to elaborate on these perceptions as they influence the ways these boundaries are reconstructed within the explicit and hidden curricula of the ASHP classroom, and support the argument that these divisions have been entrenched for generations.

Teachers' perceptions of race and class division.

Mr. Carpenter explained that some people in Factory Town feel that these borders are constructed as the result of a "Factory Town cultural thing," a term I read as a situation unique to Factory Town, more so than an easily recognized racial divide.

> Factory Town has a way of being *extremely* segregated even though we are a northern industrial city. And that segregation is not only encouraged, it is actually perpetuated by the community in which the segregation exists. So, what happens is you tend to get theses enclaves, we talked about this early on, about the ethnic enclaves and racial enclaves that exist, but then there's this "we're a community", separate from "their" community, separate from "their" community, and it becomes competitive. So the Mexicans on the Eastside are competing with the Blacks on the north end, are competing with the Whites on the Westside, are competing with the Whites on the Southside. And then it turns into a struggle of place instead of, "we're one community struggling to survive."

One of Mrs. Miller's and Mr. Carpenter's unwritten but regularly referenced curricular goals is associated with the promotion of unity among their students. They reference this aim in this passage after illustrating the deeply held divisions along racial lines that make up the cultural landscape of Factory Town, producing competition and further division. As teachers, they challenge these divisions by encouraging students to see commonality amongst difference through assignments intended to create a cohesion

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based on social class, and to depict racial lines as "divide and conquer tactics" that are intended to keep the working class communities (in this case the community of Factory Town) from gaining any upward momentum.

Both teachers are white and middle class, and tend to use social class, and local civic pride as aspects of identity around which their students can unite. The racial and class lines they describe explain the lived experiences of these divisions in the day to day for many people in Factory Town. Race, most visibly, is a dividing line in the city, but class divisions are equally palpable for those a generation or more older than the students. Mrs. Miller, in her early 50s at the time of the study, hails from a working class background on the Eastside of Factory Town. Her childhood experience in a family that slipped in and out of poverty has given her a vivid sense of the intersectionality between race and class. Below, she recounts a conversation she had with a Factory Town-based professor and her classmates where this division figured prominently.

> I mean, I think, because I come from the East Side, though, and because of my background as a working-class person, sometimes verging on poverty, I was always very aware of class. And even on the national level I kept pushing class. Whenever anybody else was pushing race, I was pushing class. And not to say that… in fact I remember one conversation we had in college, where at the table… somebody at the table, one of the profs here said: "What's more important, race or class?" Then went around the table, when everybody said race, and I was the only one that said class. And then there was a Park Ranger who's sitting next to me and she said, "I think its class too." And then I said, "I'm

not saying the two don't go hand-in-hand, they really do…I said, "the very fact

that… one guy said, "I think its race because you can see it." And I said, "I think

its class because we deny it." [Laughs]. And I still feel that way. That what's

going on right now is really class-warfare. And, you know, we use race, we use

orientation, we use all kinds of shit, as a smoke-screen. You know, divide and

conquer. It's working pretty well. For that 1% it's working just dandy.

While Mrs. Miller emphasizes that class seems to work to divide members of her

community more than race, she also recognizes that "the two go hand in hand." She

sites her experience of growing up in Factory Town, specifically the poverty stricken

east side, as a reason for her view. Furthermore, she points out how the conversation

she recounts was initiated by a professor and that her experience differed from the rest

of the group. She identifies her stance as marginal, and she envisions this as a critical

stance placing power at the center of the "class vs. race" debate. Her comments further

illustrate the placed nature of one's understanding of difference, and the influence

Factory Town's labor history has on her own experiences of race and class discourses.

For many Factory Towners in my study, at least those from a generation or more prior

to Factory Town's young people, spatialized notions of class and race played a

significant role in how they positioned themselves in relation to, and in opposition to

others. For these teachers, however, class seemed to be at the heart of the problem.

The fact that Mr. Carpenter and Mrs. Miller spend considerable curricular time on

issues of race and class divisions is an indicator that these identifiers and the

boundaries they produce are meaningful aspects of life for them, and that they

recognize their meaning in students' lives. One of their curricular aims is to situate the

work they ask students to do in relationship to their lived experiences in Factory Town. These curricular decisions illustrate the importance the adult participants placed on the problematic class and race divisions they observed in the city.

Students' perceptions of race and class divisions.

In an attempt to understand the dominant themes of students' perceptions of difference, and the ways they identified them"selves" with and against an "other," I reviewed student interviews and classroom observations, creating a list of categories students used to define others, both locally and globally. The list included not surprisingly, race, class, and gender, but they also discussed differences between those who contribute positively to their community and those who do not. I then identified which students used which categories and when they used them. The results of this process indicate that students' positioning of self and other were as fragmented as the city itself. This is due, partially, to the fact that I did not directly ask students to explain the borders and boundaries around race and class in their city. Rather, these themes developed organically from the conversations we had, and situations I observed. I also become more aware of these aspects of students' experience as I progressed through the analysis and coding process described above, in Chapter Two.

Nine of the 15 students in this study made regular references to race and class as they talked about who they were and how they positioned themselves with and against others they knew. Rarely did students directly address issues of gender, and even more rarely—in only two instances--did students articulate cultural differences across international borders. In other words, students rarely articulated their understanding of the lived experience of people outside their local communities.

Through the lenses of this research, when mention was made it was through vague references rather than detailed conceptions. Yet observations and personal accounts can help draw connections between what was discussed in interviews and what I observed in their daily lives inside Workman High School.

Using interview and observation data, I describe the development of two competing discourses within the school when it came to race, class and gender. The first can be described as a consistent and identifiable critical discourse around diversity that was apparent within the ASHP classroom. The second discourse, described more completely following this section, was a highly contentious racial discourse, which--in my observation--was less prominent than a discourse on social class in classroom discussions. It was consistently silent within the school itself. Nevertheless, this silent discourse served as a powerful narrator of "self" in relation to "other" for students who participated in this study.

Discourse 1: The explicit discourse of human diversity in ASHP.

There was a consistent and identifiable critical discourse about human diversity in the ASHP classroom. It was promoted by the teachers as a formal curriculum and, at least to some degree, accepted by many students who took the class. This discourse emphasized unity through socio-economic, civic, and geographic similarities among the students. The teachers openly encouraged students to think about how media and political discourses surrounding race were a "smokescreen" for what they saw as a class struggle that was unfolding in America. This concept was constructed in discussions of current events such as the "Occupy Wall Street Movement" which was gaining increased momentum at the time, and soon became known in the U.S, as the

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"Occupy Movement." It was also apparent in discussions of highly controversial right-wing policies that were being enacted at the state level at the time. These included the passage of a bill that would allow the state government to appoint an "Emergency Financial Manager" to replace democratically elected officials in communities that were unable to balance their fiscal budgets and were facing extreme financial hardship.[6] These highly controversial, and wholly undemocratic processes stirred debate across the state, and around the country. They were also debated in the ASHP classroom as Mr. Carpenter and Mrs. Miller challenged students to see both race and class as contributing factors in how decisions were made during this process. Students regularly approached both teachers after class or during break to discuss these issues.

Mrs. Miller was very active in grassroots politics and encouraged her students to participate in various forms of action as well. During the time of this study she was involved with a recall campaign design to remove the controversial right wing governor from power. Mr. Carpenter, a union representative, regularly shared experiences of battling the extremely right-wing "austerity" measures that were being taken up by the State government, consistently referring to the policies as classist. While social class made up a significant portion of the curriculum, both teachers simultaneously made significant efforts to include issues of race and gender in the curriculum as well. Both teachers recognized the intersectionality of these processes, and this filtered into the

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[6] Roughly six months after data were collected for this study, the state government appointed an emergency financial manager in the city of Factory Town. An EFM was also appointed in another form company town, a predominantly Black community in the region. In a move that shocked the entire country, as I wrote the final sections of this study, the governor appointed an EFM to balance the budget of another major city in the area. Debate swirled about the power of racism in deciding which cities where to receive EFMs.

curriculum. However, as the curriculum was enacted in the classroom, the blurring of the boundaries between race, class, and oppression tended to result in a "unity narrative." This is not to be confused with the "colorblindness narrative," which tends to minimize racial differences. Rather, the ASHP course constructed a powerful narrative that connected race and class in order to promote a unified experience of "marginality," which challenged hegemonic narratives of race and class by promoting commonality across them. Despite the overwhelmingly positive response students had to this approach, a counter-narrative was being maintained below the surface, a narrative that indicated the teachers' emphasis on social class conflicted with some students' lived experiences of difference within their community.

Discourse 2: Racial divisions riding below the surface.

One afternoon, after a meeting that took me away from the morning class, I stepped into Dan's office as he was wrapping up lunch. "You missed the fireworks this morning!" he said. "Fireworks? What happened?" I asked, and the conversation that ensued became a powerful indicator that two narratives, one teacher sanctioned, and the other student produced were at play regarding race and social class in the ASHP classroom.

Mrs. Miller had been out for the day, and Eddy Meijer, a regular sub and participant in this study, filled in for her. Later in the day I caught up with them to discuss the so-called "fireworks." According to the two teachers, an outburst occurred in the second half of the class, after a first hour that was engaging students in a discussion about what Mr. Carpenter termed, "the social welfare safety-net." He later explained that this was a particularly touchy subject as it related to race and class in the ASHP

classroom. Dan had intended to problematize what he viewed as standard perceptions of welfare programs as a "an option of first resort" as opposed to a temporary means to support oneself, and one's family, in times of financial crisis. Due to the economic troubles the Factory Town area has faced in recent decades, patterns of welfare dependence have become generational among many families in Factory Town. Mr. Carpenter's intention was to challenge students to consider that the system was not designed to support large numbers of people for long periods, and that the system was not working for Factory Town. Rather, he argued that in many cases the system was working against Factory Town's residents by making them dependent on government systems. He went on to explain several staggering misconceptions about the welfare system, each of which were illustrative of the problem of its nearly ubiquitous acceptance in Factory Town as an option of "first resort" in the city.

As this lesson progressed, some students grew uncomfortable, and began talking to one another, or resisted through a lack of participation or subtle disruptions. Finally, Stewart, a working-class, White male student who was sitting across from a group of African American students stood up during the lesson and yelled, "Would you please shut the fuck up!" The comment was directed at the group of African-American students. At that point, Delvon an African-American male student who was in the group stood up and responded, with "No, you shut the fuck up," which was directed at Stewart. In a matter of seconds, Stevie, a female of both African-American and Caucasian descent stood up, turned to the group of African-American students, waved both of her hands in front of her body to draw attention to her brown skin, and shouted, "It's not about that, how 'bout if I tell you to shut the fuck up, then what are you gonna do? Huh?

What are you gonna do then?" Taken aback, Delvon then turned to her and, again, shouted "Shut the fuck up, bitch" charging the discussion with both gender and racial overtones. Sensing the racial overtones of this confrontation, and recognizing that something had to be done to decompress the situation, Mr. Carpenter uncharacteristically shouted above the class, which at this time was abuzz with comments and conversation about what was happening, "This is what they want from you, they are trying to divide you." Delvon gained a supporter in Tina who both continued to argue with Stevie and Stewart about their comments, and the situation was escalating. At this point, Mr. Carpenter made a decision he now regrets. He confronted Delvon, and in an attempt to make his point about division, he looked at Delvon and said, "Can't you see that nobody cares about you?!" Misunderstanding what Mr. Carpenter was trying to say, Delvon took this as a personal attack and confronted his teacher. He was insulted, angry. He likely felt disrespected and then turned his frustration toward Mr. Carpenter asking, "who the fuck are you talking to?"

At this point, recognizing his mistake and his inability to de-escalate the situation, Mr. Carpenter exited the classroom leaving his seasoned substitute to quell the dispute. Surprisingly, the absence of Mr. Carpenter changed the dynamic in the classroom completely. The students' shock at his exit caused them to get quiet, and Mr. Meijer asked everyone to sit down and take a deep breath. The students complied, and when Mr. Carpenter re-entered the room they were dead silent. Upon entering, he erased all of his lecture notes from the whiteboard and wrote one phrase in bold letters, "We're all we have." He then wrote, "In my career as a teacher, I have never left a class because of the way students were treating one another." As he made his way to the front of the

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room, he publicly apologized to Delvon, and the rest of the students. After the outburst things went on quietly in the classroom, and students worked on a project in groups. At the break, Stewart and Delvon made their apologies, but Delvon never apologized to Stevie. Delvon also apologized to Mr. Carpenter for using profanity, but nothing else.

The incident served as a "rupture" in the heretofore-official narrative of unity in marginality, which had come to characterize the classroom discourse around race and class. As the two teachers unpacked the incident in our conversation, it was clear that they were struggling to understand exactly what had happened. Mr. Carpenter wondered aloud if somehow the message their curriculum had been trying to send had missed the mark. He had implored the students to recognize that they had more in common than they realized, and that their commonality could be used as a way to resist structures designed to reproduce the social order that was maintaining their oppression. Instead, the day's and perhaps the year's curriculum seemed to unravel during the racially charged verbal free-for-all.

For Mr. Carpenter, and for me, the incident clarified some spatial and narrative processes that had previously been on the periphery of my understanding of the dynamics of difference in the classroom. I had detected that racial tension was not far from the surface throughout my observations in the classroom. The obvious racial divisions in the student-chosen seating arrangements of the classroom were the first signs of tension I noticed. Figure 5 is based on a sketch from my first set of field notes from observing the ASHP classroom in February. There was a clear division among White students who sat at the far end of the room at a set of three tables, and Black students who sat at the opposite side of the room, and those who were either very good

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students, or those whose racial phenotype did not fit the norm for Black or White, sat near the front in the middle of the room. In other words, students segregated themselves by racial lines in the classroom. This division rarely, if ever, changed even during small group work as students were given the option of choosing their group mates. Though the curriculum included units that addressed "power and oppression" related to race and class, the civil rights movement, how the Irish became "white," and made regular references to current events related to racial anxieties, only a handful of students engaged deeply with these topics in class discussion.

My field notes indicate that many students, particularly African American and White working-class males tended to resist these discussions. Several students including some, but certainly not all, of the students who were involved in the incident above, consistently held side conversations during class discussions, slept through class, or were otherwise "off task" when issues of race and class arose in discussion. As a result, a tacit distance was maintained around issues of race through spatial practices, hegemonic discursive practices, and a school culture that maintained order and civility over and above critical, and direct engagement with these issues. It is important to emphasize that none of the four teachers whose classes I observed ignored the issue of race. It was a part of the explicit curriculum in each class. However, this incident underscores that racial divisions did persist in these classrooms despite the attempt to address them in the explicit curriculum.

The result is a classroom space in which race is visible and is made relevant by the teachers and others who engage such issues, yet it is engaged with an unwritten expectation that the topic be handled at a "distance," indirectly, or as a collective

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experience rather than an intimate engagement with students' individual and nuanced

experiences of racial division in their community or beyond. While students learned to

use the concepts and terminology of a critical discourse they were simultaneously

unable, or unwilling, to engage critically with their teacher's as narrators of these ideas.

Thus, even in a classroom space where teachers and students maintained a relatively

high level of critical engagement, and consistently revealed and problematized

hegemonic power structures, the deep boundaries of difference were maintained. This

maintenance of racial and class boundaries was achieved through "defiant" and

"compliant" forms of student resistance. In the sections that follow, I argue that the

spatial and narrative maintenance of racial boundaries, or what could be considered

local "otherness," produced in the racial segregation of the city, and maintained inside

and outside classrooms, plays a significant role in students' perceptions of global

"otherness" as well.

Figure 5

Racial Distribution of AHSP Classroom
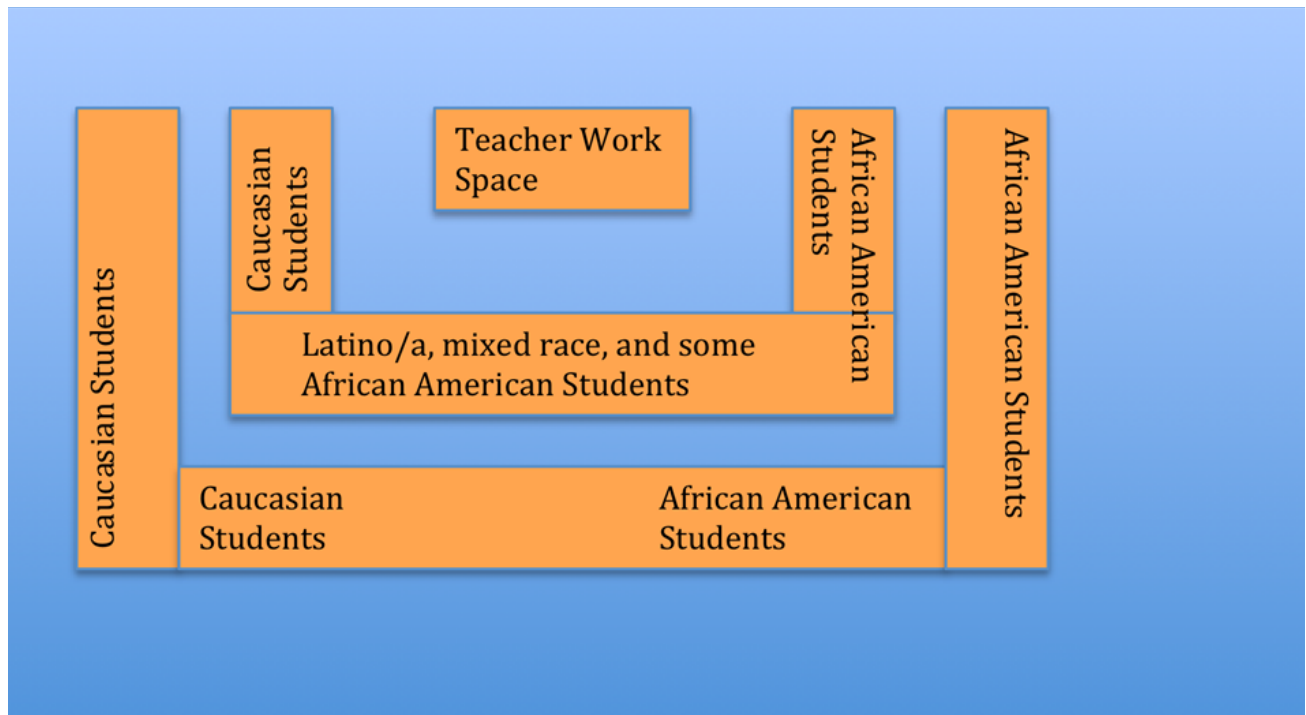
Policing the boundaries: The production of the "global other."

Decidedly, Factory Town is a city segregated along racial lines--physical, social

and discursive. The city is comprised of racially homogeneous neighborhoods, internally

divided through class divisions, marginalized by mainstream media, popular culture, and

popular discourse about the community. Factory Town is (an)"other" space, set apart

from communities surrounding it through discursive, and spatial practices. Few people

visit the city as outsiders, and those that do are often greeted with a certain level of

uncertainty and distrust. Students encountered race and class issues in the ASHP

classroom, and directly discussed them. However, racial and class tension was just

below the surface of the classroom discourse. Distance, produced through spatial and

discursive practices- hegemonic and deliberate, along with the produced sense of

isolation students felt as citizens of Factory Town Michigan, resulted in notions of a "global other" that was also distant, collective, and undefined for many participants.

The "Global Other" has been theorized in literature surrounding global education, and in fields as far reaching as international education and cultural anthropology. Darby (2003) argues the terminology, "global other" is just a "reinscription of the postcolonial other" whose production was theorized most elaborately by Said (1979). I use the term to delineate a "generalized other" individual or group, which is produced through discursive and spatial practices that maintain perceived boundaries between people and across international boundaries. Thus, this generalized, distanced "other," though mostly constructed of misconceptions and stereotypes produced in media images, plays the foil to the construction of "normality" for those participants in the study with little experience outside their local contexts.

Factory Town's recent history, characterized by extensive economic hardship and the subsequent struggles associated with unemployment, de-industrialization, and generational poverty, have produced powerful anti-globalization, and xenophobic narratives which portray the "global other" as an adversary. The city's manufacturing history contributes to a strong sense of nationalism among many Factory Towners. Though there are few remaining GM jobs in the city, the streets are lined with GM automobiles. In fact, the type of car you drive is still a subject of early inquiry into who you are and "where you stand" in relationship to the community. Thus, the perception of increasing immigration among Latino/Hispanic populations, and the addition of a growing Islamic population have resulted in new forms of racialized "othering" that are maintained through spatial and discursive practices.

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As described above, the teachers in the ASHP classroom aim to bring issues of difference to light, and support a sense of unity among their students, but unfortunately many students maintain a quiet resistance to this curriculum, holding onto the racial boundaries they have come to learn through navigating the segregated spaces and discourses of the city. This resistance limits the level of critical discourse around difference students experience in their daily lives. As a result, critical discussions about difference are often silenced or sanitized within this context. In the absence of critical engagement, dangerous misconceptions of the other are maintained. As a result engagement with the global other through the global education curriculum, and through interactions within the local community are often unconstructive, and in some cases even harmful. The experiences of Ahmed, a Muslim-American, born in Factory Town, illustrate the implications for avoidance of critical engagement around the various constructions of difference swirling in the spaces and discourses of the postindustrial city.

Policing the Boundaries: Policing the Body.

This section of the chapter explores an ontological narrative of one participant's experience of embodying difference at a time of significant social crisis. A detailed analysis follows the narrative, linking it to concepts introduced earlier in the chapter. I will argue that this narrative is illustrative of how young people come to learn about "the global other" through experiences in local context. The chapter concludes with a discussion of implications for this process for global, and other place-conscious educators.

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At 20 years of age, Ahmed was the oldest student who participated in the study. Since WHS is a dual enrollment program, many students spend an extra year completing college credits toward an Associates degree on the shared campus of the community college. Ahmed still needed to complete a college course in order to receive his diplomas for his high school degree and an associate's degree in electrical engineering. Though Ahmed's high school credits had been fulfilled, he still visited Workman on a daily basis, as he waited for friends, studied between classes, or simply chatted with former teachers including Mr. Carpenter. Ahmed recognized Mr. Carpenter as a mentor and a friend who had helped him to see the world in a different way. He describes it like this:

> Mr. Carpenter probably had the biggest impact on me. And taught me a lot of things about… I don't wanta say Social Studies but like current events and given, he's the reason that I have such a huge pride with humanitarian things. The reason why I like to go on protests and the reason why I try to do research and figure out what's going on around everywhere. He just taught me a lot of things that I can really look back on.

Ahmed's hesitance to describe what he learned in terms of a school subject area is compelling. While the curricular subject matter makes up the centrality if Mr. Carpenter's teaching style, his greatest impact on Ahmed seems to be his ability to connect the content to current events, something Ahmed saw as outside the range of the Social Studies. Ahmed appreciated Mr. Carpenter's stance of pushing the boundaries of the teaching orthodoxy that imagines students as needing to be shielded from controversy and ambiguity. However, the curriculum of the classroom is not the

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only space in which Ahmed's humanitarianism is rooted. Though Ahmed never directly associated these aspects of his identity, his past experiences as a marginalized person in the context of Factory Town may have impacted his worldview as well.

The racial fragmentation of Black and White spaces in Factory Town can, at times be unified in the presence of a growing Muslim American community. As members of this relatively prosperous, and community-minded group increase their presence in the city, they are recognized as outsiders. These changes in the local context incite fear and discomfort in many of Factory Town's traditionally represented racial groups. However, Ahmed reported that he felt Islamophobia was no more prevalent in Factory Town than in any other community he had visited in the United States. During the two years I visited Factory Town, I was not witness to any Islamophobic acts or discourse. Yet Ahmed's narratives of growing up in Factory Town tell a different story. They simultaneously explain some of Ahmed's political and ethical positions, but they also paint a complicated picture of Factory Town's tolerance for changes in the local cultural landscape.

In our second lengthy conversation I directly asked Ahmed if he had ever encountered Islamophobia in his hometown of Factory Town.

Not necessarily. Not by the majority absolutely but there's always going to be somebody there that's gonna be screaming out the window of the car as they're driving by, something like that. Just as you have people who hate African Americans here, you have it all over the place. I don't feel that it's concentrated Islamophobia, here which I really appreciate. Cuz that would just make my life horrible. And I'd hate to feel targeted for something like that. So… yeah, I don't

feel it that badly here as I see it in other places. No, like in my, in my school, my

elementary school, I was always harassed. I was always called Iraqi or terrorist

or things like that from little kids. But as I got older, I didn't really see that, that

much in school. The last time it happened was probably in 8th grade. It didn't, it

never really happened here. I mean, kids joke around. They joke, like African

Americans, they joke about the color of their own skin and so, I mean, kids are

always gonna joke around cuz, I mean, you can't always get angry about things.

Though Ahmed acknowledged the existence of Islamophobia in this excerpt, he

downplays the effect it has had on his life. He rationalizes it as a re-appropriation of

racial hatred that plays out among racial minority groups through humor aimed at

variations in skin color. Though he alluded to some past experiences in this

conversation, he may not have felt comfortable sharing the depths of his struggle with

Islamophobia at this point in our relationship.

In our final conversation, which lasted more than 90 minutes, Ahmed spoke

passionately and positively about his schooling experiences, and the cultural home he

had as a member of his *Masjid* (mosque) on Factory Town's Southeast side.   He

described his view of globalization, which was primarily based in his own experiences

having traveled to Saudi Arabia, and Egypt in the prior year.

I'd say globalization is probably the awareness of what else is outside your

borders, and not seeing people as just another country but as people. Before (a

trip to Saudi Arabia) I've always seen countries as just, like my childish

interpretation of a foreign country other than America was… another country that

wasn't quite as good as America and then I had like one idea (of) what that

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person might look like and then I just thought of everybody looking that way. And now, I see thousands of people within other places and I don't necessarily see borders anymore. At all. Like borders don't even matter to me. (Ahmed, interview 2)

His cultural status, his contact with individuals in other parts of the world, and his religious and ethnic identity, perhaps not surprisingly, led Ahmed to the most elaborated vision of "globalization" of any student, or teacher I spoke with during the data collection phase of this study. Yet, these insights about globalization came at a cost, one that Ahmed was not willing to share until the final minutes of our conversation, and only after I had asked him if there was anything he had not had a chance to tell me in our conversation that he thought I should know. His response indicated that his prior comments had downplayed the impact of Islamophobia in his former school had on his life. He begins his story when he was living in a "tough" neighborhood on the Western edge of Downtown Factory Town.

> That house. I really didn't like that house. At that house, nothing but bad stuff always happened at that house. As soon as it was burned down, ugh, I don't know, we were all in grief and everything. While I was there, we had a huge pet cemetery. Before we moved to the house, my cat ran away, and a year later my other cat gets hit by a car, but after that the other pets kept dying. And we were pretty much forced into moving into that house because of bad situations and circumstances, financial stuff. My Dad having problems with finding work, and we were just havin' problems after problems. And I don't know, that house was pretty much just a symbol of depression for me.

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I awkwardly asked if in a strange way he was glad to see it go. This was a question I would not have asked in retrospect, but his tone of relief about its burning led me to this question.

Well, (he laughs), I lived there, but in a way I was almost glad to see it gone. I think I was probably able to be happy once we got a new house. And, like everything just seemed so dark there. I mean like the neighborhood just seemed dark and gloomy, the house inside was dark and gloomy. When I was walking inside the house after it was burned, which everybody told me not to do but I did it anyway, it was just so dark and sad and everything was just. Well, like when I was living there, everything was dark and gloomy and it still stayed that way, even after everything was on fire. I mean like everything was gone, and it was just… I hated that place. And once my parents found a new place I felt relieved and I felt like I could get rid of my depression and I felt like I could move on. And also we had all the problems with police like during the whole thing, because they kept accusing us of burning it down, on top of that. Which was even more of a burden, and they kept pushing that down our throats. And eventually they came to the conclusion that we didn't do it. Still it just made us feel like crap. We had no idea who did it, or why. But they knew it was arson. But they don't know why… they don't know if it was a hate crime, they don't know. The house was on West Pearl (Street), in a real trashy neighborhood. As soon as the house was burned down we were trying to salvage things out, almost every three weeks, and one day we go back there and we noticed, hey our trampoline is gone. The neighbors went through all of our stuff and they just started taking crap. They

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were like ' eh, they don't need it now.' They went inside the house and started

taking stuff, my trampoline, its like… ahh… I 'm so glad we're out of there. So, I

didn't like the neighbors I didn't like the house, I didn't like the memories, I didn't

like anything.

Without prompting he continued on, like he was counting down a list of things he had

been waiting to say.

I also wanted to take a picture of an elementary school. Eisenhower. I wanted to

take a picture of that. I thought that was really cool. I *loved* that place, but I

hated all the kids there. I was always picked on, I was always the odd one out.

And, all the kids were mean they were mouthy, and I was at that school during

the 911 thing.

In the fall of 2003, two years removed from the 9-11 terror attacks on the World Trade

Center, the Pentagon, and Shanksville Pennsylvania, Factory Town was a city in

turmoil. Plant closings and downsizing were still very active processes, the demolition

of once grand landmarks of prosperity (Buick City, Chevy in the Hole, Fischer Body, and

other massive industrial complexes) was underway (or soon would be), and the country

had suffered its first "foreign attack" since Pearl Harbor. The war in Afghanistan was

already raging, and the case was being made for a second war in Iraq. Slowing down,

and speaking in more deliberate tones, Ahmed describes what life in elementary school

was like during that time for him, a Muslim-American born in Factory Town.

They were raising the flag. I was like right there next to the flag, and they started

calling me "Iraqi." I'm not from… I'm not even Iraqi. They kept calling me Iraqi

and they kept calling me terrorist. And like, I wasn't into sports or anything, so I

was never playing basketball, I was never playing football. I was always off on my own. I was like always off like walking around by the trees and looking at birds, or looking at the plants, or just sitting and relaxing looking at the plants, or I was running around like a monkey on the jungle gym. And like kids always hated me because I was different and I only had like one real friend. Now they're trying to connect with me now that we're all older, they're like 'ah, hey, how ya doing?' I'm like, ' I don't want to talk to you.' And they're all, I don't want to say what I want to say, but they're all idiots. Like one time I got beat up, like it started off as a rough game, and then they all started like stomping on me, into the ground, and they all started beating me up. And the principal didn't even do anything to them. So my mom went to the police and she told them what happened, and she took pictures of all of the marks all over my body, you could actually tell what kind of shoes they had on, from all the imprints on my back. She took that to the principal, and she tried to get that all taken care of… Yeah, I've got a long history at that school. I don't know what possessed them to do it. I think they were just stupid. Then, every time I'd try to get away they'd just keep goin'. I think that once they got into it, they got into this blind stupidity and they couldn't, they just kept beating the crap out of me. Only one kid, met me up from back then, and he's probably the only one, and he asked for me to forgive him for all of the crap that he did to me. I thought that was so amazing, I never thought that anybody would ever apologize or ask for forgiveness for doing that kinda crap to me when I was little.

Recounting this event, Ahmed vacillates between an overall feeling of isolation, and the event that solidified his "outsider" status. He drifts between explanations of this behavior that are related to the stereotypical story of the boy who does not play sports, to blatant Islamophobia without settling on either one. He also indicates that no action was taken by school officials, identifying his lack of faith in the institution to provide support for him in this time of need. Throughout his narrative he layers in reflections on his own success, a stark contrast from many of the students who perpetrated this violence against him.

> That group of kids that went to Eisenhower are all failures, and dropouts, and nobody is successful. I'm a college graduate. I was the one who was being beaten and it actually makes me feel really good, like a silent victory and they've ruined their lives. They were beating me in the ground, and I made it. They ruined their lives. I do feel good about that.

Ahmed closes his narrative with a sense of triumph against the odds. He recounts this story using another public narrative, "success in the face of adversity," though he told this story for what I would argue are different reasons. Ahmed struggled with his decision to tell me this story, but he understood that its telling was an act of resistance to the oppression he has felt, at times, growing up Muslim in a community that viewed him as an outsider. Ahmed wanted me to tell his story to a broader audience, one that could make a difference for students like him who have or are currently struggling with being marginalized, pushed to the periphery, and made to suffer for complicating long established racial boundaries. Ahmed's retelling of this story, serves as a way for him

to use his marginal status as a form of power, to accept it and turn it against the center in order to make change.

Ahmed's story could have easily had a similar, tragic ending to that of the train hoppers described at the beginning of this chapter. Thankfully, Ahmed has found the support he needs at home, among the members of his Masjid, and even within the school community to view his marginal status as a source of strength, and to feel empowered to use his voice to take action against injustices like those he has suffered.

Despite Ahmed's ability to move beyond this struggle, his narrative is illustrative of the ability of hegemonic power to react to disrupted boundaries. Though he is a native of Factory Town, Ahmed's peers viewed him as one who did not fit within prescribed categories of difference. He represented growing fears of the global other, intensified by global outsourcing, immigration, and the--then recent--terror attacks of September 11th, 2001. Though Ahmed's story illustrates the vigor with which these boundaries are protected and maintained, and describes the physical disciplining of the embodiment--indeed the body--of the "other, it is not entirely different than the racially charged outbursts that erupted in ASHP.

Closing ideas

In a 2002 column, Thomas Friedman wrote the following passage commenting on the state of cosmopolitan thinking in a technologically global age.

Thanks to the Internet and satellite TV, the world is being wired together technologically, but not socially, politically or culturally. We are now seeing and hearing one another faster and better but with no corresponding improvement in our ability to learn from, or understand, one another, so integration, at this stage,

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is producing more anger than anything else." That "anger" can have and is having deep economic and cultural effects. We should be helping students understand them (Friedman, 2002).

Friedman's quote, one of the few passages he has written with which I agree, provides a logical transition to the final section of this chapter. I devoted a lot of space in this chapter to exploring local level discourse regarding race, class, and boundaries of difference. This detailed local level work allows us to consider the implications of place-making and the ways in which the places we are from shape our learning about difference. Even in a classroom where the curricular aims were to disrupt commonly held notions of difference and division, and a radical marginality was promoted in place of division, the boundaries were difficult to cross. Resistance to narratives of "unity" and the policing of boundaries continues.

In Factory Town, the term "boundaries" signifies more than metaphorical distance between race and class. During the height of the city's manufacturing past, city's worked feverishly to maintain racially segregated neighborhoods, Craig Ruff (2011) A Michigan policy analysis explains the spatial history of segregation like this,

Tens of thousands of southern blacks moved to Michigan cities in the 1910s, 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s to escape rural poverty and win jobs in the world's most vibrant industrial economy in Detroit and today's I-75 cities of Pontiac, Factory Town, and Saginaw. … Federal, state, and local lawmakers enacted policies to confine blacks' housing and neighborhoods and restrict other opportunities. Middle-class blacks faced the same housing discrimination, Jim Crow practices, and even KKK violence as did poor families. Highway and

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housing policies ravaged black commercial and residential areas in cities, while

governments subsidized the movement of primarily white families to suburbs, into

which both homesteads and jobs were moving. (Ruff, 2011).

Though many of these policies have been repealed from law the physical and cultural

boundaries they produced live on in spatial and discursive practices. Though school

segregation remains a problem in Factory Town, Workman High School is relatively

diverse with a White student population of 37%, an African American student population

of 58%, and a Hispanic population of 5%, according to the school's website. I quick

search of suburban and urban schools surrounding Workman revealed staggering

levels of segregation. In one suburban high school 81% of the students were White,

16% were black, and 1% were Hispanic. The nearby urban high schools registered an

African American students population of 98%, and a White population of 2%. As an

integrated school, Workman served as a unique opportunity to engage directly with

issues of race in a racially diverse environment.

Integrated classroom spaces can serve as contexts in which the spatial and

discursive boundaries between self and other can be challenged, disrupted and

problematized. Our early experiences with difference shape or perceptions of

"otherness" as our world expands beyond the local environment. Numerous authors

across Place-based, and Global Education (Becker 1982, Hanvey, 1976; Noddings,

2005; Merryfield, 1996; Greunwald, 2003) assert that coming to know the other requires

an understanding of the factors which have come together to shape our own

worldviews. Merry Merryfield underscores this need, encouraging those in search of

understanding the global "other," to explore their own ways of knowing, often built upon colonial and Eurocentric models of thinking (Merryfield, 1996).

Therefore, the task for place-based educators is to reveal the hegemonic processes that produce our experiences of racial and ethnic difference, in order to blur and open space for the exploration of connections. To close, I return to John Willinsky's quote that was used to open the chapter. "'Where is here' is less perplexing than 'Who am I?' …more perplexing yet, is the question, 'What am I that I am here?' (Willinksy 1998, pg. 9). While Willinsky was discussing the nation or "national identity," it seems that some of the most difficult questions of place-based education are also related to the notions of "here" that are produced inside and outside the classroom. The physical and discursive boundaries between race and class can only be toppled if the hegemonic power structures that produce them are exposed and deconstructed by students. The examples shared in this, and the previous chapter, are illustrative of the scale of this task.

Preview of the Next Chapter

Chapter Three was devoted to an examination of students' perceptions of place and temporality as it was read in the spaces of the postindustrial city. Chapter Four tightens the focus to examine how spatial and discursive practices of place-making produce racial and class boundaries, dividing the city internally and externally. When these boundaries are challenged, they are physically and discursively maintained through policing. In the fifth and final chapter, I extend the discussion of implications for place-conscious practice in education, and consider the reassertion of "place" in education as a path to possibilities for change.

CHAPTER FIVE

Toward A Globally Conscious Place-based Education

To be in the world, to be situated at all, is to be in place" (Casey, 1993, p. xv).

We are always situated within, and in relationship to place. Our daily interactions with the places we inhabit are profoundly pedagogical. They teach us who we are and where we are in relationship to other people and places. Places are inscribed with, and reify power relations stabilizing, directing, and organizing "who we are in relationship to *where we are" (Casey, 1993, p. xv).* This study, conducted in the postindustrial city of Factory Town, has examined the place-making practices of fifteen students and two teachers in order to come to a complex and critical portrait of the pedagogical power of place in one postindustrial city. In this chapter, I review the insights from this study and discuss the implications it holds for place-based education, global education, and critical pedagogy as it relates to the previous fields. Then I reflect on the methodological limitations of the study related to my positionality, and the research design. Finally, I propose additional ideas for research related to place-based education.

Insights on Place-making, Temporality, and Possibility

The postindustrial landscape of Factory Town is emblematic of dramatic social change. Factory Town's neighborhoods are inscribed with the marks of these changes. The abandoned homes, demolished buildings, brownfields, and empty storefronts are all physical reminders of economic collapse. Entire city blocks stand vacant, with houses open to the elements, overgrown vegetation, and cracked sidewalks. Throughout the study, as students told stories of their experiences within these spaces,

it was evident that they informed their social imagination about the trajectory of their city, and the possibilities it held for them in the future. Lana explained that Factory Town "isn't building up, we're just tearing down." Others, like Nikia saw possibilities in the postindustrial places of the city, and demonstrated a longing for change that could serve as a pathway to possibilities.

Nostalgic narratives, both reflective and restorative (Boym, 2001), tend to dominate the discourse around the city of Factory Town. Social, political, and economic narratives are produced and reproduced in local and national media accounts, everyday discourse, and as was described in detail above, are even inscribed on the spaces of the city itself (Cope & Latcham, 2009). One cannot deny the effects of economic collapse in the city, but these nostalgic narratives privilege neoliberal explanations of social change, while masking, or at least blurring, the histories of racial and class injustice within the city. When the stories people tell of economic decline are directly related to outsourcing, alternative stories are excluded. This conceals other processes such as racist housing practices, spatial and racial fragmentation, and the disempowerment of labor unions, all of which contributed to the city's current economic woes. Students were typically unable, or unwilling, to connect the social ills of the city with structural forms of racism, but instead emphasized the economic origins of the problem in explanations such as these: "GM took the jobs overseas," or "there are no jobs," were common responses. When these responses were absent, so too, was any alternative explanation.

Nostalgia for a once-thriving economy, however, was not the only sentiment produced in the place-making students enacted as they read industrial and residential

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places in the city. Other students described what Willinger refers to as "longing," or the "savouring of different possibilities… [longing is] about swaying back and forth in reflection, yet never quite arriving (Willinger, 2007). Longing, as I read it in students' responses to photographs they took and the stories they shared of places in the city challenged the ability of nostalgia to fix aspects of the past in a chronological pattern. Rather, when I recognized longing in students' words they were observing the power of the past to influence the present, and connecting the implications of both to their possibilities in the future. Nikia described her imagination of the past of the city as a "promised land," and linked it to the opportunity she has to become educated. In her mind, the prosperity of the past is not a distant memory. Rather, it informs who she is, and her sense of what is possible for her to achieve in her life after high school. The trouble with nostalgia is its power to maintain a narrative of decline and loss, and its ability to limit students' imagination of possible alternatives to narratives of decline. Longing, as the term is used in this study, opens up possibilities by complicating the downward trajectory of nostalgic narratives and offering a radical in-between-ness in students' sense of a linear temporality.

In effect, economic narratives of nostalgia placed the origin of the problem at a distance for students. When General Motors or global economics were narrated as the culprits, little could be done to solve the problems of the city. As one student put it, "It isn't like I can just make another GM, so people have jobs again!" The solutions, for most young people in Factory Town, were out of reach as long as the problems were recognized as being at a sphere of influence that extends far beyond their own, or as issues that occurred in the distant past.

The students who participated in this study also cited the ASHP classroom as a place where narratives of their city were produced. They talked about the powerful experiences they had traveling on a field trip around the city with their teachers, learning the economic history of the city. My observations of the field trip activity revealed that while the trip provided a great deal of valuable local history, and promoted a sense of civic pride, it also worked to maintain nostalgic and economic narratives of change in the city. Students tended to accept the narratives of history presented in the classroom as unproblematic, and accurate. No students cited uncertainty about what they learned from their teachers. Rather, they accepted the historical narratives presented in the classroom as "truths" they may not have learned had they not been exposed to the social history of the city their teachers presented.

Fixing the narratives to economic change and promoting a linear trajectory of history provided a starting point for students' knowledge of local history, but it also worked to maintain a sense of the city's prosperity as a thing of the past. It limited the in-between-ness and longing students described when they discussed residential and industrial places. It was not until later in the semester, when students were given the opportunity to reimagine their city, and organize a plan for social change that students were able to put their own experiences of the places and spaces they inhabit to work, in order to rethink its current state.

Insights on "Situatedness," and Contesting Boundaries

Employing ethnographic methods, and participant observation in the classroom setting, I observed an ongoing tension between a discourse of racial unity that was promoted by the teachers, and entrenched racial boundaries maintained through spatial

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and discursive practice outside the walls of the school. As my account of the racially charged outburst in Chapter Four describes, racial tension was just below the surface of the classroom discourse. When this ongoing tension met with attempts of the teachers to problematize racial division, many students responded with resistance, policing their sense of boundaries between self and "other" in the city. The racial dividing lines students perceived between one another indicates that they relied heavily on dichotomous constructions of self and other. My conversations with students, observations of racial divisions within the city, and discursive practices, which set the city apart from its geographical neighbors, indicate that the physical spaces of Factory Town actively maintained students' views of a divided world.

U.S. census data indicate that 60 years after the Jim Crow era, the nation remains highly divided along racial lines. Nowhere in the nation is this truer than in the postindustrial Midwest. Factory Town is among the most segregated urban areas in the nation. Furthermore, according to many participant accounts, and my own observations during my time in the city, it is also highly divided by social class. The physical and social boundaries that internally divide Factory Town also set it apart from the rest of the nation. My observations and conversations with students and teachers at Workman High School indicate that these boundaries are policed quite heavily through discursive practice, social and personal narratives, and at times through physical violence. This policing was evident as students' lived experience of racial division met the progressive agenda of the ASHP curriculum, and its emphasis on breaking down ethnic and cultural barriers.

Students also described a sense of isolation associated with the spaces of Factory town. Students described Factory Town as "set apart" and distant from its geographic neighbors, a perception that was at least partially produced by "othering" from outsiders and through reading differences between Factory Town, and the places students visited in the surrounding area. All of these processes situated students' as marginal, outside the realm of regional, national, and global engagement, and in an "island"-like context of postindustrial Factory Town. In short, discursive and spatial practices maintained a sense of isolation for many students in Factory Town. Despite this sense of isolation, many students also reported having connections with family in other states and countries, taking trips to nearby communities, and in some cases living part-time in other parts of the country. Yet, the discursive power of marginality maintained students' sense of isolation from a world outside the city.

Like the divisive racial boundaries students perceived inside the city, perceptions of Factory Town as geographically and socially removed from the rest of the world relied on dichotomous notions of space characterized by a sharp sense of "here as opposed to there." These depictions of Factory Town produce the sense that the city is distanced from normality, and isolated from the rest of the world. This perceived distance promotes apathetic points of view, and a lack of implicatedness in the events and process occurring outside of the city (Knapff, 1978). Through the lenses of this study, discursive and spatial practices illuminated students tendencies to fix themselves in relationship to "others" via binaries such as "self and other," and "us and them. Such binary visions influenced students' sense of identity, pushing some to disassociate with

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their community, and others to develop a strong sense of belonging associated with Factory Town.

The data produced throughout this study confirm research in the fields of place-based education and environmental psychology, which have already made close links between human identity and place-making practices. More importantly, the aspects of temporality and situatedness that were produced through students' interactions with postindustrial places have implications for the fields of place-based education, global education, and the related field of critical pedagogy.

Implications for Place-conscious Education

Place-conscious practices and theory in education have arisen from a nearly 30-year history of environmental and ecological education. One result of this growth trajectory has been that the field has primarily been associated with rural contexts. This study address the implications of place-making for students in an urban, postindustrial context, and intentionally blurs the boundaries of three fields, placed-based education, global education, and critical pedagogy, each of which has overlapping interests in addressing issues of power and oppression as they manifest at various spheres of social influence from the individual to the global.

The "findings" described above indicate that the non-aestheticized places of the postindustrial city produce nostalgia for the past, but also a radical temporality which blurs our, typically, linear sense of time. Therefore, while place-based educators consistently call for classroom practices, which draw attention to local contexts and the histories that have produced them, it is important that this is done with student experience in mind. Classroom practices which fix linear and one-dimensional histories

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(political or economic) to the places students inhabit tend to maintain narratives of decline in postindustrial contexts.

My observations suggest that place-based practices also require space for students to express their readings of the physical and social spaces of the city, and their perceptions of possibilities for those places. This requires drawing attention to students' own place-making practices, and their involvement, or "implicatedness" in actively reaching out to shape the places they inhabit. As Fettes and Judson (2011) explain, Place-making can also occur subconsciously through repetitive experiences of place. Revealing the hegemonic practices of power maintained in these subconscious interactions with places allows students to see the dual nature of the production of place; how places are structured by our interactions with them, but also how places structure and maintain are sense of ourselves.

"Critical issues of race, class, gender and other aspects of culture can become abstractions unless these issues are grounded in concrete experiences that always take place somewhere" (Gruenewald & Smith, 2008; p. xxi). Place-conscious education requires attentiveness to local manifestations of these social constructs in social, spatial, and temporal terms. Using the above description of the racial boundaries produced by the city as an example, it is clear that time and space play important roles in how social divisions are maintained. Disrupting and deconstructing these boundaries requires bringing them and their harmful effects to the awareness of students. More importantly, it requires space for students to deconstruct how these boundaries have come to shape who they are in relationship to their neighbors—near and far.

Students' relationships with their local communities are varied and complex. As we saw in Chapter Three, local histories and memories informed students' perceptions of temporality, and possibility for students' sense of themselves and their community in a multitude of ways. For some students, the postindustrial plight of Factory Town was a reason to disconnect, let go, and seek out access to economic and life opportunities elsewhere. For others, their allegiance to the city was galvanized by the collective struggle of prior generations and a hope for the future of their community.

Without careful attention to the ways in which students read the spaces of their city, it is possible for teachers to overlook how place-making (Fettes & Judson, 2011), and the narratives it produces, become "recipes for structuring life itself" for the students in their classrooms (Bruner, 2004 p. 709). Careful attention to place-making requires opening pedagogical spaces in which students can interrogate their individual experiences of place and the ways it shapes their sense of who they are.

Place-based education, which provides such space, could decrease the perceived distance between students' lives and seemingly distant political and economic processes such as those producing globalization. When it is enacted effectively, place-based education can also promote a critical distance between ourselves and our community, enabling us to see the familiar as strange, and disrupting the taken-for-granted-ness that characterizes most of our interactions with the places we inhabit. In short, placed-based education connects students to the dialectical relationship between local practices of everyday life which shape who they are, while providing enough distance for students to recognize how these spaces are structured by power relations, and in turn how those power relations can structure their own

perceptions of themselves in the world. Students and teachers live local lives, but their

lives are informed by local, national, and global discourses that inform their perceptions

of their "place" in the world.

Implications for Global Education

Though global education is typically not associated with place-based education, it

is a field that has arisen due to large-scale changes in spatial, and geographic relations.

In practice and theory, global education tends to emphasize economic, social, and

political interconnectivity, though its broad focus tends to diminish the importance of the

local particularities of place. The curricular aims of global education, as they are

identified across the field by Kirkwood (2010), who reviewed these foundational

definitions (Alger, 1986; Alger and Harf 1986; C. Anderson 1994; L. Anderson 1990;

Becker, 1979; Case, 1993; Hanvey, 1976; Kneip 1986; 1987; Merryfield, 1997; Tye

1990, 1999; Tye and Tye, 1992), include the following: "to support the development of

multiple perspectives, comprehension and appreciation of cultures, knowledge of global

issues, and the world as interrelated systems" (p. 6). In short, global educators aim to

broaden students' awareness of, appreciation for, and knowledge of issues beyond their

personal and local experience, extending outward to international contexts. Still, "local

thinking persists even as the world becomes more economically interdependent,"

argues Joseph Stiglitz (2007, p. 278). In other words, people largely understand

themselves through their everyday, face-to-face interactions with other people who are

in close geographic proximity to them, and who share a local history, culture, and

environment. Yet, we live in an era that is increasingly defined by global

interconnectivity. This is to say, global education is necessary, but it must also attend to the particularities of local contexts.

Because we live in a global society, our sense of implacement is changing dramatically. I argue that what we experience as globalization is actually just one aspect of the larger phenomenon known as the postmodern condition. Postmodernism informs a broader sense that we live in a fragmented world, with porous borders, and experiences that are multi-layered and inter-textual. The postmodern world, aided by space-compressing technology, is characterized by motion. We refer to global trade as "flows of capital," immigration as the movement of people, and international political changes as "global shifts." Indeed, the space in which our modern lives unfold requires a nearly perpetual state of motion, shifting from work, to entertainment, to family life, and back again in the span of several minutes via a laptop computer or smart phone.

While a vast majority of place-based educators seek to promote a sense of rootedness in a local environment, like Gruenewald and Smith (2008), I argue that the perpetual motion of the postmodern, and globalized world requires an ethic of care for places (Gruenewald and Smith, 2008; Noddings, 2005) that is portable. Though we may learn to care for one specific place through place-based education, the sentiments, knowledge, and skills this requires can be applied to any place we may inhabit in the future. Furthermore, because the world is made up of porous boundaries, we must consider how our places are increasingly interconnected with other places. As Williams aptly asserts in the epigraph to Chapter One, "the world is places" (p. 25). Therefore, global education must maintain dual foci; balancing an outward looking sense of the

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world, with an inward exploration of who we are and how we are shaped by the places we inhabit.

Effective global education should involve learning to know and understand the other (Tye and Tye, 1990; Zachariah, 1989; Noddings, 2005) as has been indicated by numerous authors across the field. I argue that coming to understand oneself and one's local community is the first step in achieving this aim. This requires first the recognition of racial and social boundaries, and then a radical openness to throwing them into question. Merry Merryfield argues that if we are to understand the global "other," we have to understand our own ways of thinking (Merryfield, 1996). Here, I hope to extend Merryfield's work, by advocating for global education that is attentive to the spatial and discursive practices that produce and maintain these boundaries in the first place.

The fields of place-based education and global education are attentive to spaces, but they seem to be looking in opposite directions. The texts produced in relationship to this study illustrate the need for globally attentive place-based education and a place-attentive global education. As the postmodern era, characterized by globalization, continues to result in shifting perceptions of place educators in both fields must challenge the dichotomies of "here and there" and more importantly "us and them." Perhaps the current time calls for the same radical in-between-ness that led to hope and possibility for Nikia and her peers as they read the spatial reminders of a not so distant past that dot the postindustrial landscape of their city.

Limitations of this Study

As with all research, this study has limitations. To begin, my positionality as a white male researcher in a community where I was a relative outsider shaped the way

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many students interacted with me. As I noted earlier in Chapter Two, I believe my positionality caused some African-American male students to be hesitant to be part of this study. Another researcher, whose positionality may have produced greater trust with these participants, would have mostly likely gathered a broader range of participants. Furthermore, my choice to gain entrée via a distant connection to Mr. Carpenter positioned me as an adult associated with the school in the eyes of many students. As a result, they felt most comfortable talking with me in school spaces. This dynamic shifted over time, as students came to see that I was something other than a student, but not exactly a teacher either. That being said, my perceived affiliation with the school influenced my access to spaces beyond the close proximity of the school. Had I gained entrée via student connections, or via another institution outside the school. the data I collected could have looked very different from those which were produced in this study. Furthermore, my data collection began approximately midway through a school year. As a result, I was not able to observe participants as their relationships to one another unfolded over the course of a school year, or longer.

Additionally, this dissertation developed out of a genuine curiosity about the narratives of globalization that are produced in classrooms, and in everyday life in the postindustrial city. Through the process of analysis, writing, and peer review, I came to the realization that while this study had implications for globalization, it was really an exploration of place-making in a postindustrial city. By the time I had written the dissertation in its current form, considerable time had passed, and I was working with theoretical frames that were relatively new. Thus, the "findings" presented in this study are, in many ways, starting points. As such, I have been set on a new trajectory toward

thinking and learning within the paradigms constructed around place-conscious pedagogy and critical geography.

Another limitation to this study is related to the number of participants I chose to involve. As data collection progressed, more and more students asked to be involved with the study. Excited by the prospect of getting "multiple perspectives" I chose to allow all of the students to participate. How would the data have differed if I would have limited the number to three or four focal participants, and how would this have shaped the outcome of the study? It is impossible to know the answers to these questions. Yet, as I think about the implications for further research in this area, I am compelled to imagine how this section of writing might be different if any of the above had been as well.

Future Areas of Inquiry

My work in this dissertation has left me with countless questions and ideas that suggest the need for more research. The setting of this research was particularly important to the ways I structured my study, and the findings it produced. While questions still remain about how students in postindustrial communities both enact and learn from practices of place-making, I am also compelled by the experiences of students in other kinds of communities. How would the findings of a similar study conducted in rural Iowa look different than these?

Another potential area for inquiry is related to teacher preparation. How can we prepare place-conscious educators with the content knowledge and skills necessary for preparing students for a globalized world? Another question is related to curriculum theory. How might global educators and multicultural educators apply place-based

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concepts to their work? As local, national, and global boundaries continue to blur how best can we prepare teachers, pre-service or in-service, to negotiate the ambiguities of space, time and culture that result? I hope these questions can extend the dialogue begun in this study, and that this work can continue to open up spaces for hope and possibility in all places.

A Final Word

Factory Town, unlike any other community I have been lucky enough to know, is "real" in ways that only a native Factory Towners can truly understand. I will never claim to know the community like any of the people who graciously agreed to be interviewed and observed as participants in this study. I do know, to use Mr. Carpenter's words, that Factory Town is "real." Coming to know the community has made me a more soulful and caring individual. Factory Town is faced with enormous challenges, but it is also a place where the best of human intention can be seen. Whether it is a committed teacher dedicating her life's work to the empowerment of the young people in her classroom, a young man working to inform the community of problems that seem worlds away, or a young woman sharing a dollar with an elderly person in need, I saw great acts of humanity in Factory Town. All the while, I read about and heard second-hand accounts of the ongoing human tragedies that have become the city's image in the American media. Factory Town, like any other community, is searching for its place in a changing world, grasping for connections to its past, and fighting for its perilous, but hopeful, visions of the future.

I hope the readers of this work will gain something from dialoging with the words of DeAndra, Mr. Carpenter, Ahmed, Nikia, Lana, Dominic, Marcus, Jimmy, Jessica,

Elizabeth, Julius, Mrs. Miller, Mr. Carpenter and the collective wisdom of those whose words were not used in this dissertation. Each participant was committed to sharing their experiences, in order to contribute to a bigger project, one that would be a part of a movement toward a better community, but also a better world. I hope my part in this work has contributed a new set of voices to vital conversations about the purposes and practices of education in an ever-changing world.

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