

NANCY ARES

## 1. ABOUT THESE TIMES

We decided to situate this book in the context of neoliberal policies and practices around education reform, given their widespread influence in the US and elsewhere. Such policies and practices have been pursued in a variety of places across the globe; a common denominator among them is their commitment to capitalism (for example, the United States, New Zealand, the UK, and Australia (Davis & Bansel, 2007). Among the many definitions of neoliberalism, one that seems to be widely agreed upon is: “An approach to economics and social studies in which control of economic factors is shifted from the public sector to the private sector” (<http://www.investopedia.com/terms/n/neoliberalism.asp>). In education in the US, we see marketization processes playing out in states and school boards being handed more responsibility and power in determining curriculum content and standards, as well as increasing privatization of public education through the rise of charter schools and for-profit organizations’ incursion into managing schools (e.g., Edison Schools, others). In seeking to deepen educators’ understanding of the effects of neoliberalism in education, we add this volume to policy analyses and demographic studies (among others) to examine the cultural geography of reform that results from the inevitable translation and appropriation of neoliberalism at various levels of education.

With this book, we seek to show how (critical) social scientists are translating geographical concepts of space, scale and place into studies of educational and community reform. Critical geography is a multidisciplinary field that,

although valuing and acknowledging the important work in recognizing the ways in which language helps to construct spaces, a Critical Geography seeks to then take the oft-neglected next step of analyzing how ... spaces change, change over time, and impact the lived, material world. (Helfenbein & Taylor, 2009, p. 236)

In addition, scholars working in this tradition have,

a shared commitment to emancipatory politics within and beyond the discipline, to the promotion of progressive social change and the development of a broad range of critical theories and their application in geographical research and political practice. (Painter, 2000, p. 126)

Even with progressive and transformative motives driving intent, of course, power relations are implicated in research focused on politics, social change, and social

N. ARES

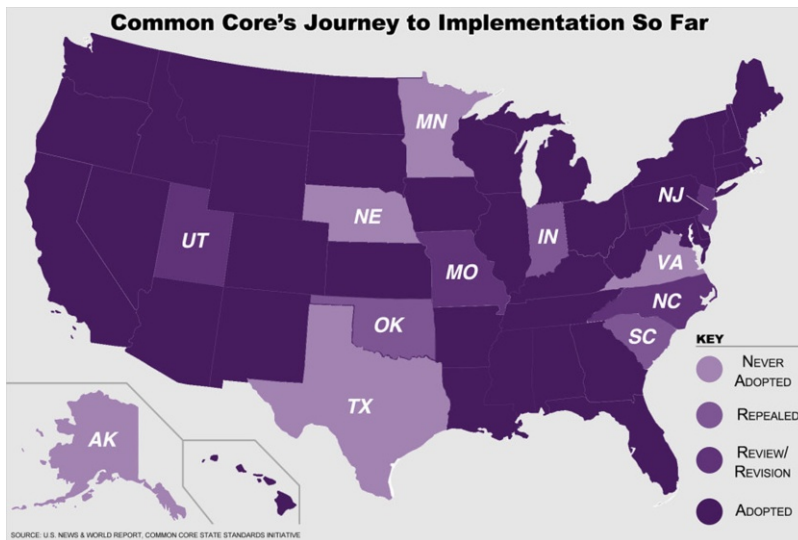
science research. No one of these is value-neutral or benign in its impacts on human activities and interactions. We come from the perspective that in this ‘late’ neoliberal/post-modernization era of education and land use policy, critical inquiry into both the hegemony of and resistance to the spatial construction of k-12 educational processes is crucially important. Specifically, we highlight work that reveals hidden inequities of race, class, ability, sexuality, and gender (among others), as well as inequities and underlying assumptions buried within often-used concepts such as community, identity, place, and space. Implications and consequences of policy responses that are quickly changing the landscape of educational and economic development across the US and other countries need to be unearthed to heighten awareness of and support action to counteract their potentially corrosive and oppressive effects.

### *Geography Matters: Translations Across Spaces of Schooling*

Educational reforms in the 2000s in the US and elsewhere are, as always, highly contested. Since the 1980s in the US, moves toward increasing central control of curriculum, assessment, and evaluation (Au, 2007) vie with calls for increased rigor through creativity, “authentic”<sup>1</sup> curriculum and assessment, and student-centered pedagogies (American Association for the Advancement of Science, 2017; International Society for Technology in Education, 2017; National Education Association, 2017). States translated these calls in widely varying ways. For example, one of the most contentious issues, of late, is the Federal Common Core Curriculum Standards (CCCS, 2015), developed by,

The nation’s governors and education commissioners, through their representative organizations, the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices (NGA) and the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) ... Teachers, parents, school administrators, and experts from across the country, together with state leaders, provided input into the development of the standards. The actual implementation of the Common Core, including how the standards are taught, the curriculum developed, and the materials used to support teachers as they help students reach the standards, is led entirely at the state and local levels. (<http://www.corestandards.org/about-the-standards/frequently-asked-questions/>)

In 2015, patterns of adoption and rejection of the CCCS across the country followed political affiliation at the state level, with many traditionally conservative states either never adopting, reviewing/revising, or repealing them (see Figure 1) (<http://www.usnews.com/news/articles/2014/08/20/common-core-support-waning-most-now-oppose-standards-national-surveys-show>). A large swath of the middle of the country is among those states. A mix of politically conservative (deep South), liberal (West coast, Northeast), and independent states (Maine, Vermont) have adopted the CCCS, with the vast majority not moving to review/revise or reject those standards. It seems that *geography matters*.



*Figure 1.*

More locally, states that have gone forward with adoption have addressed implementation of the CCCS in varying ways as well. For example, in 2013 the state of Kansas withdrew from The Smarter Balanced consortium, funded by Federal and State monies as part of a Race to the Top<sup>2</sup> grant, that was creating tests that aligned with the Common Core Curriculum Standards (<http://cjonline.com/news/2013-12-10/kansas-opts-create-its-own-common-core-tests>). The Kansas State Board of Education decided to continue to use the CCCS, but after a yearlong effort, determined that the costs of implementing the testing would be too high. They decided to turn to the University of Kansas to develop testing at a lower cost. New York, on the other hand, has adopted the CCCS curriculum and testing with gusto, including providing teachers with an extensive website that provides the CCCS curriculum mathematics and English language arts modules by grade level and a Tristate/EQuIP rubric designed to help teachers evaluate modules that they modify (<https://www.engageny.org/common-core-curriculum>). In addition, the CCCS testing is linked to teacher and principal evaluations, with students' test scores accounting for 40% of teachers' scores (<http://www.p12.nysed.gov/irs/memos/2015/14-15-TSDL-Memo.pdf>).

These two examples illustrate the effects of place on evaluation of teaching and administration in P-12 education, with teachers in Kansas and New York being subjected to markedly different evaluation systems based not on agreed upon standards, but instead on non-comparable performance indicators developed by groups with varying amounts of expertise in teaching and learning. They also illuminate how policies are enacted at the various scales of government involved in education reform.

*Hand-Me-Down Responsibilities*

Neoliberal policies result in downward pressures on responsibility for community development (economic, social, educational) from Nation-State to local entities (Entrena-Duran, 2009; Harvey, 2007; McCann, Martin, McCann, & Purcell, 2003) that construct people and spaces in part according to where they live, work, and learn. Federal and state-level mandates and policies are appropriated at smaller scales of activity, through which schools and classrooms, as well as communities, then translate these cascading demands into action at the most parochial levels where the variations are even more wildly different, including across schools (Ares & Buendía, 2007; Betts, Reuben, & Dannenberg, 2000), across classrooms (Harnischfeger, 2015; Rowan, Camburn, & Correnti, 2004), and across individual students and teachers (Kahn & Middaugh, 2008). Again, *geography matters*. The competing, converging, and multiple forces at play defy simplistic explanations but also result in multiple entry points for understanding how policies are appropriated differently and have material consequences for how teaching, learning, and reform are translated at local levels. Entrena-Durán (2009) reads these processes from a hopeful standpoint:

The trend now is towards the search for development in specific local settings, a reaction to the current global processes of increasing competitiveness and transnationalization. These processes occur in a post-Fordist neoliberal context of socioeconomic deregulation, uncertainty and crisis ... In this context, the search for local development can be viewed as an expression of the reflexive processes on a micro-social local level that, regardless of their explicit or conscious goals, are directed to give rise to ways of development led from and by individual or collective actors immersed in local-social structures. At the same time, inside these structures, class solidarities and antagonisms, ... are changing due to the fact that they are suffering from maladaptive processes as a result of the current growing fragmentation, differentiation and diversification of class structures. A consequence of this is the reemergence of group and community links. (p. 526)

This points to activity that bridges scales of activity rather than a national versus global binary. It is a vector space of global/national/local production of people and spaces.

Similar processes of translation pertain to community development efforts that link to educational reforms, providing a broader context for understanding geographies of education reform. For example, Larson, Ares, and O'Connor (2011) describe how a collection of seven schools formed the initial impetus for a comprehensive community reform initiative that sought to provide "surround care" services to children and families (e.g., social service agencies, churches, local and State government, businesses). The goals and objectives for the initiative were envisioned to create networks of services centered on schools as sources of community health

and wellbeing. Lipman's seminal work (2011) described a similar place-based landscape of reform in Chicago public schools [insert text on community reform. Further, Buendía and Fisk (forthcoming) also show how national educational reform movements involving the appropriation and integration of school districts into municipal governance structures can be molded by local nuances as state legislative and suburban mayoral stakeholders adapt and adopt certain elements of these national models and shun others. In all these cases, communities were seeking to respond to changing fiscal and political mandates requiring local entities to shoulder more and more of the responsibility for schooling and social health and well-being.

#### *A Critical Geography Perspective*

When it comes to on-the-ground work to negotiate the current economic and social policy context, coalition-forming around common issues (e.g., improving education) is the most widely employed (Alex-Assensoh & Hanks, 2000; Falcón, 1988; Lee & Diaz, 2007; Quiñones, Ares, Padela, Hopper, & Webster, 2011). However, the downward pressure on responsibility for economic development and provision of services brought to bear on local communities' coalitions results in a cauldron of sorts of competing demands, converging and diverging agendas, class and racial/ethnic conflicts, and exercises of power that are often premised on a zero-sum game around resources and agency to control outcomes, movements of people, and provision of resources. The dynamism and multifaceted nature of pressures can be overwhelming. Rather than succumb to reductionist efforts to reduce this complexity we argue in this book that critical geography approaches to studying and attendant understanding of the varied landscapes of reform can provide important and critical tools for researchers and policy makers seeking to make sense of these processes.

*Understanding spaces and scales of reform.* To contribute to research-based understandings and responses to neoliberal policies, we turned to critical geography to challenge simplistic notions of space that often accompany spatial transformations. Technologies such as zoning and rezoning, school choice, and charter schools and, more recently, GIS and asset mapping are being added to the tool kits reformers are drawing from that are influencing the movements and arrangements of people and things and that have implications for what kinds of people are allowed in which kinds of spaces (Freeman, 2010; Lipman, 2011). *But where are social science and education researchers?* Changes are racing ahead of us. A goal of this book is to bring together a variety of frameworks and methodologies within critical geography to help respond to new spatializing policies and practices with approaches that match the dynamism of educational reforms in current times.

The ways that varied social spaces are changing in response to population and policy shifts can be seen as waves of *de-territorialization* and *re-territorialization* (Deleuze & Guatarri, 1987; Lefebvre, 1991, described in depth below). Reforms

foster movements of resources and people, as well as shifts in curriculum, expectations, and accountability. Thus, when social, cultural, and material dimensions of space are treated as co-occurring and mutually constitutive (Buendía & Ares, 2006; Helfenbein, 2011), we recognize socio-spatial differentiations through which people are located within particular spaces and as inscribed with particular social orderings of who they are, what they can do, and how they can be (Anzaldúa, 1999; Buendía & Ares, 2006; Popkewitz, 1998). For example, in a study of a whole district reform focused on responding to rapidly changing student demographics in a large Western valley, Buendía and Ares (2006) found that literacy program choices were geographically distinct, with Eastside (white, monied) schools adopting a teacher-driven balanced literacy approach, Central City (mixed racial/ethnic and socioeconomic statuses) adopting a combination of prescribed and teacher-developed programs, and Westside (black and brown, lower socioeconomic status) schools adopting prescribed, lock-step programs. The locally defined terms Westside, Central City, and Eastside were recognizable to residents and educators as specific markers that masked the racialized meanings associated with people based on where they lived. Space and knowledge were intimately tied, as evident in the curricular choices made across the Valley.

Important and innovative lines of educational research have pushed the field to recast the processes of learning, knowledge distribution, and validation beyond the walls of schools. A range of different spatial metaphors has been proffered to urge researchers to explore the third spaces (Gutierrez, 2008), mobilities (Leander, Phillips, & Taylor, 2010) and networks (Lieberman, 2000) of learning and teaching—all alluding to new configurations of relationships, or scales. Such attention to the social and material aspects of space supports critical examinations of educational and community transformations.

We, too, embrace the recasting of frameworks and metaphors. Important to our perspective, cities and other spaces are not containers that ‘hold’ people and things; they are social constructions, as are notions of hierarchically ordered ‘community,’ ‘city,’ ‘suburb,’ and ‘state.’ Smith (1992) noted,

Geographical scale is traditionally treated as a neutral metric of physical space: specific scales of social activity are assumed to be largely given as in the distinction between urban, regional, national and global events and processes...however, a considerable literature argu[es that] ... Far from neutral and fixed, therefore, geographical scales are the product of economic, political and social activities and relationships; as such they are as changeable as those relationships themselves. (p. 60)

Static notions of educational and community spaces as *containers* ignore that, as *social* spaces, they are actually dynamic and volatile. Dynamic remaking of relationships and the construction of spaces and scales are illuminated, as are the ways perceptions and assumptions around space have changed. Lefebvre’s work on reconstruction and deconstruction of social space grounds our work, with re-

territorialization/de-territorialization as analytical tools used to understand that dynamism.

*Re- and de-territorialization of space.* In analyzing and describing the ways that social spaces of schooling and communities are changing in this neoliberal, post-modernizing time in education, we find notions of *de-territorialization* and *re-territorialization* (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) helpful. The manner in which processes of opening and reordering are captured in these constructs strikes us as a generative turn. Gordillo (2011) highlights these dimensions in noting:

Deleuze and Guattari's use of the terms "deterritorialization" and "reterritorialization," ... broadly conceive of deterritorialization as a "decoding" of flows, a breakdown of the codes of control that regulate the flows of human action, setting them free. Likewise, reterritorialization is viewed as a "re-coding" or "over-coding," conducted primarily by the state, of what was previously decoded and deterritorialized, that is, a reassertion of domination over those flows. (p. 858)

Gordillo (2011) illustrates these concepts through research on Guaraní peoples' attempts to deterritorialize space in different regions of Argentina, an example of movements across political boundaries:

...in other areas of northern Argentina the demand for land titling by groups who identify as indigenous often involves spaces they already occupy, what distinguishes the conflict around La Loma is that the demands "for the rights of the Guaraní people" imply an attempt to move to a rural space under the control of more powerful actors. A similar spatial dynamic has defined the main Guaraní land claim in the neighboring province of Jujuy, ... As in La Loma, the people who fought for the lands in Vinalito aimed to move there from nearby towns and this mobilization also generated accusations by the regional elites that the Guaraní are Bolivians with no rights to land. These two struggles, in other words, have revolved around contradictory views about the type of presence that the Guaraní people have historically had in the region. (Gordillo, 2011, pp. 856–857)

Gordillo appropriated Deleuze and Guattari's concept of reterritorialization to account for indigenous Guaraní's realities of fluid memberships in various spaces. This is a productive move in that it acknowledges spatial transformations and reconstitutions produced by human activity, not just policies. He is also referring in some ways to the flat, horizontal spread of people that transforms spaces as they intrude (in the geological sense) into the existing matrix: "...rhizomic forms of connectivity [help] to examine these spatial reconstitutions as the product of multiple, horizontal, and expansive political practices" (p. 858).

An additional, related example involving education is of Roma people, who are traditionally nomadic in Eastern, Central, and Western Europe, moving across



political boundaries and claiming their rights to inhabit those spaces based on historical attachments to space (Grover, 2007). Being designated as “state-less,” the Roma deterritorialize space, breakdown codes of control that attempt to regulate their movements and sense of place-based identity. They also constitute a challenge to schools, as they are designated as a people in limbo, without official connections to place. Their presence disrupts what ‘student’ means, with often-negative consequences. Without a clear, state-sanctioned label, Roma children are over-identified as needing special education services (Hungary, Czech Republic, Bulgaria) or as unfit for school all together (Hungary, Greece) (Grover, 2007).

Border crossing within States is found in the steady increase of people of color moving into suburbs, breaking down of codes of control that designate those spaces as white and affluent (cite). In contrast, in cities in the US and Canada, Nielsen (2014, <http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/insights/news/2014/millennials-prefer-cities-to-suburbs-subways-to-driveways.html>) and the Urban Land Institute (Johnson, 2016)<sup>3</sup> report a trend in increasing preferences for city living among people born between 1979 and 1995. Convenience (living close to work, shopping), cheaper transportation, and the rise of charter schools are cited as causes for this shift. These shifting demographics are leading to major zoning changes, changes in property values, and demands for high quality schooling and manifest in decoding terms like ‘inner city’ and ‘urban’ so that they are no longer useful as shorthand to refer to people of color and those living with poverty. As De Lissavoy (2016), paraphrasing Peck, Theodore, and Brenner (2009) wrote, “At the same time that schools often abandon the students of color they ostensibly serve, their parents and communities are being driven from the city by a neoliberal urbanism that seeks to remake the urban core in the interest of White elites” (p. 353).

Re- and de-territorialization as dual processes have been in evident in many regions across the US. For example, a mayor in Western New York tried in 2003 to gain support for a countywide school system in a region that is highly segregated according to race/ethnicity and social class, creating stark designations of city and suburb (<http://wxxinews.org/post/mayor-outlines-state-city>). In Lefebvre’s terms, his proposal would have led to a radical deterritorialization of space that surrounding towns and villages have claimed as separate from the City (decoding the City versus County/city versus suburbs distinctions). Those towns and villages’ active resistance through voting and legislation was an example of seeking reterritorialization of their space (over-coding, reasserting their claims) that defeated the Mayor’s proposal.

The relations of power that are implicated in such de- and over-coding processes may be seen as operating at multiple scales of activity. In present day circumstances that are characterized by new flows of information, increased connectivity across spaces due to technology and travel, and ongoing contestations over sovereignty and markets, we also turn to globalization as a phenomenon that is important to this book’s project.



*Globalization, localization, and the politics of scale.* A strength we find in spatial theorist Henri Lefebvre's work is that while scales and spaces are hierarchically ordered, one doesn't supersede or subsume another. Building from Lefebvre, Brenner (1997) claims:

Spatial scales (global, national, urban) and their associated forms of sociospatial organization (capital, territorial states, cities) are conceived as levels of the hierarchical geographical scaffolding through which globalization has unfolded historically: "Today our concern must be with space on a world scale [l'échelle mondiale] ... as well as with all the spaces subsidiary to it, at every possible level. No single space has disappeared completely; and all places without exception have undergone metamorphoses. (Lefebvre, 1991, PS: 412; p. 145)

Globalization entails not only the deterritorialization of social relations into a worldwide "space of flows" (Castells, 1996) but their simultaneous reterritorialization into both sub- and suprastate configurations of sociospatial organization that are neither coextensive (identical in size) nor isomorphic (identical in form) with one another. This situation, and its massive consequences for transformative praxis, is at the core of Lefebvre's politics of scale. (Brenner, 1997, p. 159)

These authors' claims support work in this book that examines social space from multiple levels of analysis, as well as exploring relationships among those levels. Having provided definitions and examples of de- and reterritorialization as powerful analytical tools for understanding spaces and scales of education and community reform, we can now proceed to explore current geographies of school and community reform in the US.

#### *Education Policy Driving Spatial Distributions of People and Resources*

A critical geography approach has us explore patterns that have characterized the spatial organizations of groups of people. This approach challenges what social scientists have been asking over time in relation to the production of people, spaces, and divisions among them. The messiness that accompanies shifting patterns such as concentrations of poverty in urban and rural areas, hyper-segregation within cities and across city/suburban borders, movement of people of color into suburban areas, millennials moving into urban areas, etc. in the US requires theoretical and methodological tools that can help in making sense of such complexity. Policy and practice responses to these shifts in demographics in education and community reform are spatial in nature and entail complex politics of space and scale.

If we revisit the history of educational reforms leading us to the present day, we can see that legal signposts existed along the way that portended legislation and other policies around desegregation based on race in the US. Historical analysis

can also illuminate how the re-segregation that we see today in the US has been an almost inevitable outcome of those same policies and practices. A little-known legal challenge, *Méndez et al v. Westminster School District of Orange County* (1947), serves as such a signpost, one that focused initially on one community in California, but that foreshadowed the infamous court case, *Brown v the Topeka Board of Education* (1954). That case, decided by the US Supreme Court, had an impact on a national scale.

*Mendez v Westminster*. A successful challenge to local level racial segregation that preceded the more well-known, national level *Brown* decision and set the stage for it was *Méndez v Westminster*. For over 50 years after the US Supreme Court ruled that “separate but equal” was constitutional in 1896 (*Plessy v Ferguson*), California school districts legally separated Chinese, Japanese, and American Indian children from white children. That ruling made segregation based on race legal as long as facilities were deemed ‘equal’ by administrators. Importantly, *Mexican Americans were categorized as “white”* in the 1940 US census. Still, more than 80% of Mexican American children in Orange County, California attended segregated non-white schools by World War II (Texas Bar Association, 2016). This pattern of physically separating Mexican American students was common in the southwest US, as educators judged that they were “not fit” for White schools based on their Latina/o surnames and their presumed lack of proficiency in the English language.

From a critical geography perspective, this case combined notions of place, designations of who was ‘white’ and who was not, and access to spaces of schooling. The lawsuit made its way through the California state court system until the appeals court’s decision ended public segregation of Mexican Americans in the Ninth Circuit (covering most Western states, Hawaii, and Alaska). Some details:

When the children of Gonzolo Méndez tried to enroll at an Orange County, California school in 1943, the school denied them entry because of their Mexican heritage. The same day the school administrators rejected his children, they admitted Gonzolo’s niece and nephew, fair-skinned Alice and Edward Vidaurri. Administrators at the school district told the family that Mexican Americans needed their own schools because of cultural and language differences. ... [This led to] the first class-action case in a Federal court in American civil rights history that would challenge primary school segregation....As the lead defendant, Gonzolo Méndez sued four school districts and superintendents on the grounds that his children and the children of other Mexican Americans were legally white, therefore entitled to attend white schools.... As a result, *Méndez v. Westminster* was the first Federal lawsuit openly to challenge “separate but equal” segregation in K-12 schools. (Texas Bar Association, 2016)

Interestingly, in 1947, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the lower, District Court ruling but on different grounds that didn’t challenge *Plessy v Ferguson* and its ties to equal protection as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. Instead, this Court ruled on the basis of the school districts’ implementing a practice that was

not “specifically authorized by state law” (n.p). In effect, then, the Ninth Circuit Court limited the impact of *Mendez v Westminster* to California. It was not until after *Méndez* set the precedent that policies of segregating Mexican Americans in Texas and Arizona, also in the Ninth Circuit’s jurisdiction, were struck down. Policy was linked to region, and was contained by political boundaries. As a result, in looking at a larger geographic scale, desegregation in the Southwest US unraveled and evolved in ways that were much different than in the South, as a result of *Brown v the Topeka Board of Education* that was decided in 1954.

*Federal policy expands redistribution of bodies and resources.* *Brown v Board* is a better-known case than *Mendez*, perhaps because of its wider reach, but also due in part to the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s being a largely African American-led movement. In this case,

The Supreme Court’s *Brown* decision was particularly important because it was not based on the gross inequalities in facilities and other tangible factors that characterized previous desegregation cases. In *Brown*, the Court dealt directly with segregation and ruled that even if tangible factors like facilities, teachers and supplies were equal, separation itself was inherently unequal and a violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment. With *Brown*, the Court effectively overturned the infamous 1896 case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* which had permitted racial segregation under the guise of “separate but equal.” <http://www.civilrights.org/education/brown/?referrer=https://www.google.com/>

The Court’s opinion drew on an exhaustive review by the parties to the case of the history of education in the country since the ratification of the 14th Amendment to the US Constitution in 1868. The Court concluded that, even with that review:

This discussion and our own investigation convince us that, although these sources cast some light, it is not enough to resolve the problem with which we are faced. At best, they are inconclusive . . . [Then, t]he curriculum was usually rudimentary; ungraded schools were common in rural areas; the school term was but three months a year in many states; and compulsory school attendance was virtually unknown. As a consequence, it is not surprising that there should be so little in the history of the Fourteenth Amendment relating to its intended effect on public education. (Warren, 1954, n.p)

Historical context was determined to be crucial in deciding the applicability of prior laws to present-day conditions of schooling. In other words, modern-day conditions had to be taken into account. Further, physical dimensions of space were not sufficient grounds for arguing equality:

Here, unlike *Sweatt v. Painter*, there are findings below that the Negro and white schools involved have been equalized, or are being equalized, with

respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other “tangible” factors. Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the Negro and white schools involved in each of the cases. We must look instead to the effect of segregation itself on public education... Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. (Warren, 1954, p. 21)

In critical geographical terms, the spaces of schools involved not only material conditions and other ‘tangible’ factors, but social and cultural dimensions that had to be taken into account when considering access to quality public education. As a result, public schooling was to be equalized according to social spatial criteria, in recognition of the importance of mixed-race spaces of schooling for equal rights to education. Certainly, the focus of the Court was on African American students’ benefitting from integration, not the mutual benefit for white students. Thus, public school policy and practices retained the assumption of superiority of white spaces of schooling.

*Spatial aspects of de- and resegregation.* Ladson-Billings (2004) traced cases brought by or on behalf of African Americans that, as she notes, made the *Brown v Board* decision all but inevitable. She wrote:

My argument here is that the case came at a time when the Court had almost no other choice but to rule in favor of the plaintiffs. *Brown* is not just one case, but rather the accumulation of a series of cases over a more than 100-year period. In 1849, Benjamin F. Roberts sued the city of *Boston* on behalf of his five-year-old daughter, Sarah (Cushing, 1883). Sarah Roberts *walked past five White elementary schools to a dilapidated elementary school for Black children.* ... Despite [Roberts’ lawyer] Sumner’s attempt to leverage the Massachusetts Constitution by arguing that school segregation was discriminatory and harmful to *all children*, the court ruled in favor of the *school committee.* ... Two cases in Delaware, *Belton v. Gebhart* and *Bulah v. Gebhart* (1952) ... won *limited local victories* that did *not have national impact.* (p. 4)

The highlighted text illuminates the spatial aspects of decisions that addressed where Black children could go to school and how the local context was favored over larger geographical political arenas. The connection to *Mendez v Westminster* is also clear: Contain the impact of desegregation geographically under the guise of favoring local control.

*Brown v Board* changed the geography of desegregation in its national sweep. Still, it put in place a policy that focused on ‘end effects’ (eventual redistribution of student bodies to reduce segregation based on race) rather than the production aspects of the law (the nature of the social spatial dimensions of school spaces). Attention to the ways that legal remedies unfolded in a context of overt racism and violence highlights the productive qualities inherent in judicial and policy approaches to

desegregation. Viewed this way, *Brown v Board* addressed desegregation at a national scale, constructing it as a civil rights issue tied to multiple scales of activity. As such, it served as a remedy for local inequities, school district- and state-level policies and practices of exclusion, and federal laws serving the interests of the country as the Court interpreted their expression in the US Constitution. It is important as a policy/event that set in motion the social constructions of spaces/borders that we have seen in the last 50 years.

In actuality, *Brown v Board* was followed by a series of judicial and political decisions that shaped moves toward desegregation and that, over time, reversed them. Ladson-Billings (2004) wrote that, “Jack Greenburg (2003), one of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund lawyers who argued the Brown case, said, ‘We knew there would be resistance, but we were unprepared for the depth of the hatred and violence aimed at Black people in the South.’ ... What the decision and its supporters could not account for was the degree to which White supremacy and racism were instantiated in the U.S. cultural model” (p. 5). Eventually, in 1973, the Court decided in the *Keyes v School District* that desegregation should be extended,

in a limited way to the North and West and recognized the desegregation rights of Latinos. ... [However,] The next year, the Court turned against desegregation for the first time since *Brown* in a 5-4 decision forbidding city-suburban desegregation ... in Detroit and Michigan (*Milliken v Bradley*, 1974). The decision made full desegregation impossible in many large metropolitan areas. (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2014, p. 723)

The Supreme Court continued backing away from the goals of *Brown v Board* with decisions in 1991 (*Oklahoma City Bd. of Ed. V Dowell*) and 2007 (*Parents Involved in Community Schools v Seattle School District No. 1*) that allowed school districts to organize neighborhood schools regardless of demographic make-up, and forbidding voluntary plans at local levels that attempted to maintain integration, respectively. Further, the *Brown* decision and another lawsuit, *Sweatt v Painter* (1950), both focused on provision of desegregated schools for African Americans in the South; neither, though, addressed the rights of Latina/o students. As a result, states not identified by law as segregated and the rights of Latina/o students were unaffected. As Orfield (2014) said in an interview with USA TODAY, “Federal policy ‘didn’t do much outside of the South, and we didn’t do much for Latinos ever” (as cited in Orfield & Frankenberg, 2014, p. 723). In critical spatial terms, large swaths of the US were subject through legal remedies to either forced movements of students and/or resources that shifted the demographic landscape or they were left to their own devices and the whims of powerful actors in school and economic policy.

*History lives in the present.* In an analysis of the lasting effects of *Brown*, Orfield and Frankenburg’s (2014) work on re-segregation and education in the 21st century, with specific attention to access and equity concerns, provides a

N. ARES

comprehensive analysis of federal legislative and judicial influences on where students go to school and with whom. They also examine the effects of those decisions/policies on contact among racialized groups. Their analysis gives an important picture of how reproduction of racial segregation has been maintained rather than dismantled and presents empirical evidence of what can be seen to underlie re- and deterritorialization in terms of policy and law that lead to physical distribution and redistribution of student bodies. The works presented in this book deepen their analyses by explicating processes at work, relations of power involved, and perspectives and experiences of people inhabiting spaces of educational and community reform.

In summary, the many examples explored in this chapter provide important new ways to understand space and scale as social constructions using theoretical and methodological tools of critical geography. We argue that this approach to the issues above illuminates research, policies, and practices in particular ways that afford scholars, students, practitioners, and policymakers invaluable insights into the processes at work. Having provided some background for the aims and timeliness of this book, we end this chapter with an overview of the rest of the volume.

#### OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

A central theme for the book is exploring critical geographies' methodologies and empirical studies as ways to address the new, changing landscape of educational reform and land use policy. In the sections and chapters that follow, researchers from a variety of fields and interdisciplinary studies (e.g., education, curriculum and cultural studies, feminist geographies, indigenous geographies, sociology) examine shifting social spaces to heighten understanding of a critical geography of education. They also show ways that relations among multiple scales of activity (local, regional; urban, suburban, rural; political, social, cultural) affect policies, communities, schools, families, teachers, and students and their educational experiences. Finally, the various methodologies employed serve also to highlight the ways that using the tools of critical geography can illuminate processes of reform and transformation currently in use. The summary of the chapters that follows introduces each chapter's unique contribution to our more general exploration of the geographies of education reform in the present neoliberal time.

#### *Section One: Setting the Stage*

The first three chapters in the book examine varied contexts of educational and community reform to situate the work in (1) the present neoliberal moment (Chapter 1, Ares), (2) in a critical geography theoretical framework (Chapter 2, Helfenbein & Buendía), and (3) in place – on Indigenous peoples' lands, with a history of slavery, and in the realities of the contested claims to space in the US as a site of settler colonialism (Chapter 3, Ares, and Tuck & Guess). Our goal with



this section is to attend to multiple dimensions of social space and to the multiple perspectives and histories that are embodied in that space, and to orient readers to our purpose and point of view.

*Section Two: Claims to Space*

The four chapters in this section share a focus on ways that various groups navigated challenges to their rights to public and community spaces. In “Deterritorialization as Activism,” Nancy Ares examines the role that space-as-social-construction played in the CCL, a community transformation initiative in upstate New York, with resident status being tied to a physical place that also embodied assumptions about who residents are, their associations to the initiative, and their relations to people in other parts of Lakeview. Understanding localized values, dreams, and historically derived relations of power opened up negotiations among the initiative’s participants to scrutiny in ways that tie varied actors’ motivations and histories together. Martin, McMann, and Purcell’s (2003) three meanings of space – human attachments to specific locations, idealized images, physical organization in land use planning – provided a useful framework for making sense of residents’ responses to the neoliberal policies of the CCL initiative. Further, this study foregrounds that these City and County level development policies were taken as responsibilities for economic development only. They were based in capitalism’s emphasis on monetary capital to the virtual exclusion of human capital. Thus, urban planners treated the space, for the most part, as a very risky small business development zone, not one with particular strengths and resources. In contrast, residents and their allies’ (but not all) attachments to specific locations and their idealized but still realistic images of the CCL focused on a variety of forms of capital, including human, relational, and cultural, as well as economic. Responding to the opportunity in neoliberal policies to take responsibility for and control of the CCL space, they fought to exercise their agency to shape the area in their own images and with resources and assets particular to their histories and communities.

Sophia Rodriguez, in “*They Called Us the Revolutionaries*” *Immigrant youth activism as a Deleuzian event*, draws on data from a critical ethnography of Latina/o youth activism in Chicago during the historic number of school closings in the 2012–2013 academic year. This chapter disrupts the dominant narratives of neoliberal policies and practices that are negatively impacting low-income communities of color by re-conceptualizing space as an entry point into excavating important narratives from youth as key stakeholders. Rodriguez uses Deleuze’s (1990, 1993, 1995) relational space theory, through the concept of ‘event,’ and critical geography theories of space (Buendía, Ares, Juarez, & Peercy, 2004; Ferguson & Gupta, 2002; Helfenbein & Taylor, 2009; Webb & Gulson, 2013) to understand how “youth cultural practices create social space” (Ares, 2010, p. 67) and contribute to recent materialist methodologies. Narrating “event” illuminates how minoritized and often silenced youth engaged in productive activism and developed positive identities in the face



of negative institutional labels. Youth experiences offer readers insight into how young people might “deterritorialize,” and thus remake, educational spaces that seek to exclude them. Implications for how minoritized youth can enact positive, activist identities as they resist the forces of neoliberalism are discussed. Rodriguez argues that a Deleuzian theory of space enables educators and policy-makers to envision the positive contributions young people from low-income communities make in educational spaces as they defend the public institution(s) of education and schooling.

Mike Gulliver’s chapter, *Seeking Lefebvre’s Vécu in a ‘Deaf Space’ Classroom*, begins by outlining Lefebvre’s three spatial moments—perçu (First Space; what we perceive through our senses), conçu (Second Space; what is planned, assumed about space) and vécu (Third Space; what can emerge in the contradictions among what we perceive and what we assume about space, transformation of social space)—exploring how the three combine to form a landscape that is constantly in roiling collision; reorienting, transforming, repeatedly opening up different vécu realities as new starting points... and then starting all over again. One such landscape is the UK’s University of Bristol where an elite, hearing, Establishment university with hearing space based on the requirements of elite academia, housed a Deaf Studies Centre (CDS). The CDS produced spaces of a deaf perçu and conçu, by providing physical space, material resources, and symbolic support to deaf people. Gulliver examines what the spaces of that CDS looked like, and explores the ways in which tensions in exchanges between the CDS and the spaces of the wider hearing university hinted at the potential for vécu moments of transformation. He then drills down further to explore how one course and classroom within the CDS brought together students who were deaf and hearing. Although the confrontational situation between different spaces should have made CDS and its classroom places rich in possibilities for vécu transformation, in reality few arose. It is the lack of transformation (except at a personal level) that becomes the focus of Gulliver’s analysis. What could have been transformative, he suggests—collisions between language, culture, academic prestige and priority, community accountability, and pedagogical method—were in fact beholden to the academic and administrative systems that had to be respected. Thus, conditions created to allow CDS to function and students to study and graduate, those different perçus and conçus spaces of the CDS and of the classroom, became invisible to the wider university. Opportunities for vécus were, effectively, defused by the larger University’s (and therefore academe’s) adjudication before they could have any transformative effect.

In the final chapter of this section, Nancy Ares explores story mapping as a participatory methodology for understanding constructions of social space. Returning to data from the Coalition for the Children of Lakeview (CCL) community transformation initiative, Ares and Pacifica Santos, a resident/activist in the CCL used a physical map and a walking interview to traverse two- and three-dimensional spaces so that Pacifica could narrate her embodied experiences in the CCL space and initiative. Story mapping helped make several dimensions of social space visible in this study. For example, Santos spoke about the significance of the CCL as a relational space, imbued with friendships, family ties among neighbors, and mutual

responsibility for eachothers' well-being. She also spoke about it as a network of relationships. Santos privileged people over tradition, social over physical in talking about the prospect of razing an historic building, favoring job creation for residents over the physical-though-socially-valued building. In her work with the CCL, we examined the competing conceptions of the CCL space in Lakeview, as residents sought to claim central roles as people responsible for authoring and shepherding substantive reform. A critical geography perspective provided a powerful explanatory framework for what Santos and residents were saying and how they were 'performing' as resident/activists in the CCL space.

### *Section Three: Spatial Politics*

The six chapters in this section address educational and community reforms in ways that illuminate the political dimensions of contests over social spaces. In particular, the authors uncover various stakeholders' struggles over the construction of people and relations of power involved in change.

In Chapter 8, Walter Gershon argues that U. S. schools have always been, and continue to be, neoliberal Jim Crow spaces that separate students and families based on color through racialized policies and practices. Building on foundational discussions of space and place in the field of critical geography as complex trajectories of history, geography, politics, and time, Gershon tacks back and forth between historical discussions of voting rights practices in the Jim Crow South and contemporary educational policy and practice. Examples include how annual standardized testing functions similarly to Jim Crow-era literacy tests African Americans and other people of color had to pass in order to vote and the ways in which school districts and schools within districts are gerrymandered along pathways that consistently favor more wealthy and Anglo families. Gershon similarly argues that schools have always been neoliberal spaces, applying allegedly universal ethics and practices in ways that at once avoid the exploration of contextual factors (e.g., institutional racism) and, in turn, place blame on individuals for systemic injustices.

This combination of already neoliberal and always Jim Crow makes it difficult for educators to more fully articulate the educational sea change over the past decade and a half. The same is true for the slow but incessant progression and further refinement of a system working with the efficiency of separation and segregation for which it was designed. Yet, framing the process of educational change through critical geography gives Gershon a measure of hope or, as he suggests, "if U.S. education is both a neoliberal and a Jim Crow space, they can be mapped" (this volume). And it is their mapping, the explicit cartographies of race, space, and place, that can be used as tools to at once call attention to and interrupt these patterns of injustice.

Gabe Huddleston brings critical geography theory to what he calls Zombie economics, a particular comprehensive school reform model, and school choice. This chapter is pulled from a larger qualitative study that uses a spatial theory and cultural studies framework to examine how neoliberal education reforms

interact with a Full Service Community School. More specifically, by deploying the theoretical metaphor of zombies to examine these reforms and their effects on those within the school itself, this chapter contends that static understandings of community work with and against neoliberal reform ideas such as “choice” and “accountability”.

Buendía et al. report results of their study of Latino families’ choices of where to settle as they immigrated to the US. The role of schools in the families’ choices was their focus. Specifically, the authors examined the neighborhood selection processes of ten Latino families who settled into a suburban city in the Salt Lake metropolitan region. A burgeoning literature has explored parent residential choice and the relationship of these decisions to perceptions of school reputation and the expansion of segregation (Holme, 2002; Larreau & Goyette, 2014; Rhodes & DeLuca, 2014). Building and expanding upon this work, this chapter argues that school and school district reputation is not a factor in selecting a neighborhood in initial relocation for Latino suburban transplants. They show that process of neighborhood choice is facilitated and pre-determined by trust networks constituted of family members and friends whose geographical location in suburban cities defined the neighborhood and, ultimately, removed the school selection process from consideration. This stands in contrast to previous work that ties family decisions to school quality conversations, as federal policy requires school districts to publish annual yearly progress reports across community media. They also show that school attributes do eventually become a factor in Latino families’ neighborhood selection processes, typically within a two-year window of resettlement for our sample. We show how parents’ priority of seeking to maintain stability and continuity for their children within a particular school, not necessarily school reputation, was a key factor in selecting a home for purchase or for rental.

In *Developing a Critical Space Perspective in the Examination of the Racialization of Disabilities*, Adai Tefera, Cecilia Rios-Aguilar, Alfredo Artiles, Catherine Voulgarides, and Veronica Vélez examine the benefits of infusing a critical space perspective to address the persistence of racial disproportionality in special education in order to uncover and map enabling and (dis)abling geographies of opportunity. They ask: How can a critical spatial perspective advance the study of disproportionality in demographically changing school spaces? How can geographical mapping tools be used to supplement a critical spatial perspective to assist educational researchers and policymakers in understanding and addressing racial disproportionality in special education? The authors note the shifting racial demographics in historically white spaces—particularly suburban communities—raising new questions related to educational inequality.

Tefera et al. use the example of the suburban community of Middleton to set the policy context and illuminate the paradoxes in special education policy and the law as they pertain to racial disproportionality in special education, detailing how policies often reify inequities given the lack of consideration for the relationship

between educational inequities and space. The authors then discuss emerging research that demonstrates the relationship between recent racial demographic shifts in suburban spaces, and the consequences of racialized or racially segregated communities on racial disproportionality in special education. The authors demonstrate how teachers and leaders contributed to material and discursive landscapes of exclusion shaped by a residentially segregated community. They then provide an outline of the possibilities and promises of infusing a critical spatial perspective with mapping as a powerful tool for researchers and policymakers to critically assess and address larger spatial and structural factors that influence educational inequities. Infusing a critical space perspective in research offers new insights into ways to address the persistence of racial disproportionality in special education in order to uncover and map the racialized consequences of (dis)abling geographies of opportunity.

Sandra Schmidt's chapter attends to redressing the inequitable school policies, arrangements, and curricular understanding of gender and sexuality through greater attention to the intersection of place and identity. Unfortunately, we cannot merely change the organization of space or create new policies and expect substantive impact on gender and sexuality inequity. The inequities themselves are not merely related to the distribution of resources but to the construction of the social categories and how they are used to organize schools. Foundational to the redress is altering the imaginaries of what is possible, specifically, the boundaries/binaries/divisions/suppositions around categories of gender(s) and sexuality that mark the social arrangement of school. As such, this chapter proposes that these expanding horizons are very much vested not merely in the physical arrangement of but the symbolic/perceptions of space, particularly as their gendered associations connect with and thus frame conceptions of gender/sexuality.

This chapter uses heterotopia as a conceptual place in which to reread the gendered play in schools. Reading particular school spaces and programs as heterotopia releases us from the binaries and characterizations that typically mark girl, boy, queer, and weird. The heterotopia supposes these spaces are the spaces of new formations of identities and attributes; thus, the analysis examines how, where, and when young people play with and (re)form their gender and sexuality imaginations. The work herein of young people, extracted from the regulatory functions of norms and adults, suggests that adults similarly need heterotopic places of encounter, wherein to consider how they organize and regulate gender and sexuality. Identities are not static; they change across time and space. Thus, policy and spatial reforms must be accompanied by attention to the concepts and constructs central to reform.

Finally, Edward Buendía and Paul Fisk's goal in the last chapter of this section is to expand the conceptual tools employed in research into mechanisms active in educational segregation by advancing a framework of scalar production. In its simplest form, scale is the bracketing of spatial relationships to define a level of

resolution (Marston, 2000). Scalar production is a unit employed in human and physical geography scholarship and its adoption in educational research has the potential to allow researchers to attend to and represent the complexity of socio-spatial creation in forming educational segregation processes. The concept can attune researchers to the processes of interplay and realignment of local and national spatial relations of power that shift the political and educational landscape towards the reproduction of separate educational spaces. Importantly, it can move us towards identifying the dynamics at work prior to their coherence as durable structures.

To advance this framework, the authors analyze a suburban school district secession movement in a medium size metropolitan region in the western U.S. They explore the case of the Jordan School District (Utah, USA) secession to explore the methodologies of scalar production. The following questions drove the study: What socio-political elements drove the fragmentation of a large, multi-cities, suburban school district? In light of contemporary mayoral take-over movements in central cities, what overlaps and departures marked suburban mayors' roles in this case? Lastly, what implications do these initiatives have for continuing or rupturing patterns of segregation considering the demographic shifts taking place in these suburban areas? To grasp how processes of operational scale were destroyed and recreated we focused on the activities of mayors and spatial relationships with which they disconnected and connected in order to create a new order of operational scale that facilitated the creation of a new school district. As the authors show, school district secession movements are contentious, and involve the political fragmentation of an existing service unit. Members of a city or community seek to politically sever a relationship by redrawing district boundary lines as well as redistribute material resources of an established and, typically, large school district in order to create a new school district. While redefining school district boundary lines and autonomous governance structures are the objective of these initiatives, individual and group actors are involved in processes of redefining operational scale that involve the destruction and reconstruction of spatial relationships that expand beyond merely boundaries.

#### CONCLUSION

Given the complexity of education reform, we contend that critical geography theories and their focus on social, historical, political, cultural, and material dimensions of space add important explanatory power to work in understanding policy and practice. Neoliberalism, globalization, and growing demographic diversity are changing the landscape of reform in ways that shift responsibility for the education of children and youth to more local scales of activity. As such, opportunities to influence schooling are also changed, with both possibilities for transformation and dangers of entrenchment of existing inequities. This book covers a lot of ground – theoretical, methodological, topical, geographical – as part of that work, grounded in the knowledge that *space matters*.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Authentic takes on many definitions, e.g., real-world, connected to the world outside school (Newman & Wehman, 1993), integrated (Drake & Burns, 2004), related to professional practice (Salomon, 1997).
- <sup>2</sup> Race to the Top is a Federal grants program that requires states to implement teacher evaluations based in part on students standardized test scores, to qualify for monies.
- <sup>3</sup> However, see Forbes, 2013, [www.forbes.com/sites/joelkotkin/2013/12/09/the-geography-of-aging](http://www.forbes.com/sites/joelkotkin/2013/12/09/the-geography-of-aging), for contrasting analysis.

## REFERENCES

- Alex-Assensoh, Y. M., & Hanks, L. J. (2000). *Black and multiracial politics in America*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Anzaldúa, G. (1999). Putting coyolxauhqui together: A creative process. *How We Work*, 90, 241–260.
- Ares, N. (2010). *Youth-full productions: Cultural practices and constructions of content and social spaces* (Vol. 47). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Ares, N., & Buendía, E. (2007). Opportunities lost: Local translations of advocacy policy conversations. *Teachers College Record*, 109(3), 561–589.
- Au, W. (2007). High-stakes testing and curricular control: A qualitative metasynthesis. *Educational Researcher*, 36(5), 258–267.
- Author. (2017). *Project 2061 – American Association for the Advancement of Science*. Retrieved from <http://www.project2061.org/publications/bsl/>
- Author. (2017). *Student-centered learning – International Society for Technology in Education*. Retrieved from <http://www.iste.org/standards/tools-resources/essential-conditions/student-centered-learning>
- Betts, J. R., Reuben, K. S., & Danenberg, A. (2000). *Equal resources, equal outcomes? The distribution of school resources and student achievement in California*. San Francisco, CA: Public Policy Institute of California.
- Brenner, N. (1997). Global, fragmented, hierarchical: Henri Lefebvre’s geographies of globalization. *Public Culture*, 10(1), 135–167.
- Brown, V. (1954). *Board of education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483.
- Buendía, E., & Ares, N. (2006). Geographies and communication. In C. McCarthy (Ed.), *Geographies of difference: Constructing eastside, Westside and Central city students and schools*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Buendía, E., Ares, N., Juarez, B. G., & Peercy, M. (2004). The geographies of difference: The production of the east side, west side, and central city school. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41(4), 833–863.
- Davies, B., & Bansel, P. (2007). Neoliberalism and education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 20(3), 247–259.
- De Lissovoy, N. (2016). Race, reason and reasonableness: Toward an “unreasonable” pedagogy. *Educational Studies*, 52(4), 346–362.
- Drake, S. M., & Burns, R. C. (2004). *Meeting standards through integrated curriculum*. Alexandria, VA: ASCD.
- Entrena-Durán, F. (2009). Understanding social structure in the context of global uncertainties. *Critical Sociology*, 35(4), 521–540.
- Ferguson, J., & Gupta, A. (2002). Spatializing states: Toward an ethnography of neoliberal governmentality. *American Ethnologist*, 29(4), 981–1002.
- Falcón, A. (1988). Black and Latino politics in New York city: Race and ethnicity in urban contexts. In F. C. Garcia (Ed.), *Latinos in the political system* (pp. 171–194). Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Freeman, C. (2010). Children’s neighbourhoods, social centres to ‘terra incognita’. *Children’s Geographies*, 8(2), 157–176.



N. ARES

- Gordillo, G. (2011). Longing for elsewhere: Guaraní reterritorializations. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 53(4), 855–881.
- Grover, S. (2007). Mental health professionals as pawns in oppressive practices: A case example concerning psychologists' involvement in the denial of education rights to Roma' Gypsy children. *Ethical Human Psychology and Psychiatry*, 9(1), 14–24.
- Gutiérrez, K. D. (2008). Developing a sociocritical literacy in the third space. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 43(2), 148–164.
- Harnischfeger, A. M. (2015). Identity construction in the margins: A case study involving non-conforming youth. *The Qualitative Report*, 20(8), 1141–1163.
- Harvey, D. (2007). Neoliberalism as creative destruction. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 610(1), 21–44.
- Helfenbein, R. (2011). The urbanization of everything: Thoughts on globalization and education. In S. Tozer, B. Gallegos, & A. Henry (Eds.), *Handbook of research in social foundations of education*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Helfenbein, R. J., & Taylor, L. H. (2009). Critical geographies in/of education: Introduction. *Educational Studies*, 45(3), 236–239.
- Holme, J. J. (2002). Buying homes, buying schools: School choice and the social construction of school quality. *Harvard Educational Review*, 72(2), 177–206.
- Johnson, S. (2016). Driving the reurbanization of downtown LA. *Urban Land Institute*. Retrieved from <http://urbanland.uli.org/planning-design/driving-reurbanization-downtown-los-angeles/>
- Kahne, J., & Middaugh, E. (2008). *Democracy for some: The civic opportunity gap in high school* (Circle Working Paper 59). College Park, MD: Center for information and research on civic learning and engagement (CIRCLE).
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2004). Landing on the wrong note: The price we paid for brown. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), 3–13.
- Larreau, A., & Goyette, K. (Eds.). (2014). *Choosing homes, choosing schools*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Larson, J., Ares, N., & O'Connor, K. (2011). Introduction: Power and positioning in concerted community change. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 42(2), 88–102.
- Leander, K. M., Phillips, N. C., & Taylor, K. H. (2010). The changing social spaces of learning: Mapping new mobilities. *Review of Research in Education*, 34(1), 329–394.
- Lee, S. S., & Díaz, A. (2007). "I Was the one percenter": Manny Díaz and the beginnings of a Black-Puerto Rican coalition. *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 26(3), 52–80.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lieberman, A. (2000). Networks as learning communities: Shaping the future of teacher development. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 51(3), 221–227.
- Lipman, P. (2011). Contesting the city: Neoliberal urbanism and the cultural politics of education reform in Chicago. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 32(2), 217–234.
- Mendez, V. (1946). *Westminster*, 64 F. Supp. 544 (S.D. Cal. 1946).
- Nast, P. (2017). *Authentic assessment toolbox*. National Education Association. Retrieved March 15, 2016 from <http://www.nea.org/tools/lessons/57730.htm>
- Obergfell, V. (2015). *Hodges*, 576 U.S.
- Orfield, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2014). Increasingly segregated and unequal schools as courts reverse policy. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 50(5), 718–734. doi:10.1177/0013161X14548942
- Painter, J. (2000). Critical human geography. In R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, & M. Watts (Eds.), *Dictionary of human geography* (pp. 126–128). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Peck, J., Theodore, H., & Brenner, N. (2009). Neoliberal urbanism: Models, moments, mutations. *SAIS Review of International Affairs*, 29(1), 49–66.
- Plessy, V. (1896). *Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537.
- Popkewitz, T. S. (1998). Dewey, Vygotsky, and the social administration of the individual: Constructivist pedagogy as systems of ideas in historical spaces. *American Educational Research Journal*, 35(4), 535–570.



ABOUT THESE TIMES

- Rhodes, A., & DeLuca, S. (2014). Residential mobility and school choice among poor families. In A. Lareau & K. Goyette (Eds.), *Choosing homes, choosing schools* (pp. 137–166). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Shull, C. (2017). *The American Latino heritage discover our shared heritage travel itinerary*. US National Park Service. Retrieved March 15, 2016 from [https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/american\\_latino\\_heritage/credits.html](https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/american_latino_heritage/credits.html)

*Nancy Ares*  
*University of Rochester*