The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

Department of Curriculum and Instruction

"AM I NORTH AMERICAN OR SOUTH AMERICAN?"

THEORIZING AND STUDYING LIVING CURRICULA OF THE GLOBAL

A Dissertation in

Curriculum and Instruction

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

May 2019

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ABSTRACT

Education about the world in K-12 schools frequently emphasizes the interconnectedness of nation-states. The curricular aim is often to prepare citizens for a world community with shared values, ethics and goals in order to maintain world peace. However, this notion of global education exists almost entirely outside the lived experiences of teachers and students; the notion lacks consideration of the specificity of people's relations to world systems of power and to the historicities of the place(s) they inhabit. Moreover, questions about community and belonging are often prioritized solely in relation to the nation-state, eliding alternative forms of identification and citizenship that are articulated via other associations of political belonging and systems of power. Thus, definitions of citizenship in global and international education lack a framework of power that engages with how the everyday lives of citizens in different places and communities are related to global systems of power.

This dissertation is a curricular study of global citizenship education that is attuned to those missing lived experiences. The study is based on narratives of citizenship and belonging in Hazleton, Pennsylvania. Specifically, it maps an inquiry into the lived experiences of citizenship for transnational immigrant Latina/o youth in Hazleton, and also incorporates my own experiences. I story personal narratives by implementing a narrative research approach: I interweave collective history, theory, vignettes and drawings to offer a form of curriculum for global education that is situated in lived experiences and that questions predominant assumptions of citizenship framed by the nation-state.

Ultimately, I theorize and argue for a *living curriculum of the global*: a course of learning that attends closely to the lived experiences of students and teachers in the specificity of their place(s) and historicities. In doing this work, I aim to respond to oversimplified and restrictive forms of identity sanctioned by a Euro and US-centric curricula of the global. Such curricula of the global is better defined as a *curriculum of dislocation* because it assimilates "others" into systems of power that seclude citizens from the place(s) and historicities that configure their lives. A living curriculum of the global is an important antidote to this curriculum of dislocation.

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Dedication

Le dedico este camino del doctorado a mi familia. A mis padres Elsa Beltrán de Díaz y Manuel Alberto Díaz, a mi hermana Mabel Díaz, a León Corkidi y a Car. Por todo el amor, la paciencia, la fé, los consejos, los sacrificios, el apoyo financiero y los momentos mágicos que hemos vivido desde la distancia. Gracias por no darse por vencidos y por ser incondicionales.

A las plantas, animales y naturaleza que me han protegido, nutrido y acompañado en mi estancia en State College. A mi árbol de música e historias y al "cilantro" que lo mueve el viento como si fuera danzante. A la música que es la mejor medicina.

To Carmelo, Chris, Illán, Ela, Esmeralda, Jay and Tyrone who shared their stories with me.

Introduction

School-In-A-Box

In 2016, the African country of Liberia outsourced its pre-primary and primary public education system to a private, for-profit American firm called Bridge International Academies, popularly known as "Bridge." Created in 2008 by American anthropologist Shannon May and engineer Jay Kimmelman, Bridge used the model of "school-in-a-box," or a highly standardized model of education, to offer low-cost schools in the so-called developing world. This for-profit company has built more than 500 private schools in Kenya, Nigeria, Uganda, Liberia, and India. According to May and Kimmelman, standardization has taken an important role in expanding rapidly in different countries, in maintaining low costs, and upholding "a minimum level of quality" in each school. Bridge cuts costs through four primary ways: having large numbers of paying consumers; hiring teachers who do not have college degrees but can read scripted lessons; having large classes that average in between 40 to 70 students; and by using tablets as electronic supervisors. Students' success is measured according to their performance in national standardized tests (Kwauk & Robinson, 2016). The company has been financially supported by agencies, such as the United Kingdom Department for International Development and the World Bank's International Finance Corporation, and by individuals including Bill Gates and Mark Zuckerberg (Buchanan, 2015; Kristof, 2017; Kwauk & Robinson, 2016). Bridge has received a number of awards, as well as the attention of research institutions and the press (e.g. The New York Times, CNBC, and Brookings Institute's Center for Universal Education, among others).

Bridge's "academy in a box," or "school-in-a-box," "reengineered the entire lifecycle of education delivery (..) it controls the entire supply chain from school construction to curriculum design to teacher training to lesson delivery" (Kwauk & Robinson, 2016). May affirms that in the "school-in-a-box," the role of the teacher is not to produce knowledge but to deliver it (May in Beaubien, 2013). Every aspect of the process is mediated by technology to reinforce a highly standardized practice; this includes following up on procedures, tracking students and teachers' attendance and lesson content, as well as general data collection.

One illustration of this mediated process is how Bridge teachers are trained to read from a wirelessly-connected tablet the scripted lessons written in the US to students in countries in the so-called "developing world":

> By centrally developing all the teaching and learning materials, this model provides new teachers with step-by-step instructions for teaching content that they themselves may not be experts in, and enables teachers to focus more time on their students' progress rather than on creating content and lesson plans themselves. (Kwauk & Robinson, 2016, p. 6)

The underlying idea of the scripted curriculum and instruction is to reduce "variation in quality by providing 'scaffolding' for weaker teachers" (Kwauk & Robinson, 2016) in contexts with low numbers of teachers. Every Bridge 3rd grade classroom in the same country is learning the same lesson, at the same time. The same tablet used to read the lesson is used to gather the data of every interaction, process, or exchange made between administrators, parents, teachers, and students. These "wireless teacher guides" are also

used to keep data related to student's scores, lesson pacing, measures of student comprehension. All of this functionality is thought to free up the teacher's time that would otherwise be consumed by lesson planning and other "administrative tasks" (Bridge International Academy, 2018). Despite this standardization, Bridge does adapt their "school-in-a-box" according to the context and national curriculum of the country where the school is built in order to help students "understand the language, problem types, and test taking strategies needed to pass important national exams" (Bridge International Academies, 2013).

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) Paulo Freire explained the differences between what he called a *banking education model* and education as practice of freedom. The first model functions like a bank account: The role of students is no other than to receive the contents, which they are to memorize and repeat; the role of the teacher is to deposit content into students' brains. Due to this relationship, students are assumed to be ignorant and the teacher is assumed to have all knowledge. There is no communication or dialogue between student and teacher. The purpose of this kind of education is not to change the mentality of students or transform the structures that oppress them; rather, the purpose of this education is to assimilate marginalized students into a system that codes them as marginal in the first place. In other words, a "banking education" reproduces its own marginalizing structures.

The "School-in-a-box" curriculum illustrates the banking education model where knowledge is deposited regardless of students' and teachers' experiences within oppressive structures created through global, historical, and colonial relations. It is a

curriculum that does not take *place* into consideration: place as the locus of enunciation of the contents, language, and representations that are embedded in the curriculum; place as the historical roots and relations of power embedded in the epistemologies that produce the curriculum plan; place as the specificity of a historical time and cultural locale (Pinar, 2004); place as the bodies of students, teachers, families, administrators, curriculum planners, and the lived experiences they embody. The "school-in-a-box" curriculum appears to be a "placeless" curriculum plan. However, if we pay attention to the multiple transactions produced by the movement of materials, technology, data, teachers, symbolic and financial capital, and the way the curriculum impacts people's everyday lives in different places, "school-in-a-box" is not placeless. The curriculum planners from the US have preconceptions, biases, interests, and worldviews that frame that now-displaced curriculum. The lived experiences of teachers and students are not valued or made sense of. The classroom becomes a space that distances from freedom when its dynamic is generated by a teacher that reads from a tablet without thinking, "just delivering" (May in Beaubien, 2013) as May says, with a group of students that simply repeat content from the board as a means of learning to pass a national standardized-test. These "school-in-a-box" transactions actualize historic and global relations of power in creating private, for-profit schools in "developing countries" with pre-packaged knowledge produced by "developed countries."

The "school-in-a-box" model of curriculum stages the failure of global curricula to engage in a practice of freedom by attending to lived experience. There is nothing dialogical about the "school-in-a-box" planned curriculum. There are no structures for the

co-construction of knowledge between students and teachers. There are no structures for a relationship between knowledge production and the community. There is no consideration for identity and community building, no space to value the knowledges in the community or affirm their identities. There are no considerations of education for social change, nor questions about students, teachers, or families' places in the world. The banking model of education reproduces oppressive systems, which leaves the oppressed with no alternative but to express and make meaning of the world in a language that is already charged with relations of power (Freire, 1970). Literacy, according to Freire, is the act of naming, the act of creating and the act of transforming the world. Becoming literate, beyond the practical act of learning to read and write, is being able to say one's word, to create one's representation of the world as part of a community, to represent it based on one's experience in the world; it is central to feeling free and exercising freedom (Fiori, 1978).

Chapter 1

The Problems of an Abstract Curriculum of the Global

> *. . . what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus. If one moves in from the satellite towards the globe, holding all those networks of social relations and movements and communications in one's head, then each 'place' can be seen as a particular, unique, point of their intersection. It is, indeed, a meeting place. Instead then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings, but where a large proportion of those relations, experiences and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself, whether that be a street, or a region or even a continent (. . .) the point is that there are real relations with real content, economic, political, cultural-between any local place and the wider world in which it is set. (Massey, 1994, p. 155)*

In this chapter, I challenge the idea of a curriculum of global citizenship that aims to prepare students for a world as "one" place. I discuss homogeneizing conceptions of culture that are based on ideas of sameness, and that disregard the role that global processes play in the production of these conceptions. Next, I problematize curriculum plans that articulate community and belonging solely through nation-state frameworks,

ignoring other forms of membership and participation. Finally, I introduce key concepts

and the organization of the remainder of the dissertation.

In A World In Motion, Where
Do You Belong?

Historically and contemporarily, the terms "international" and "global" have been

treated abstractly in relation to education, as if these notions existed outside the lives of

students and teachers. In this dissertation, I refer to "global citizenship" as the way we

learn to belong and participate in transnational networks, in the circulation of capital, and

to make decisions that affect local communities. The curriculum of global citizenship is

often hidden; it tends to be addressed through abstract representations of the world itself

as place, whose many cultures live elsewhere, whose communities are made of "others"

that speak other languages and practice other religions in faraway places. When the

"global" is seen through the borders of nation-states, we educators and scholars miss out

on other forms through which we interact with the "global" as a places we are familiar

with in our everyday lives.

The mobilization of populations created by globalization has connected groups of

people whose complex realities were not visible to each other before (Hall, 2004).

Increasingly, groups of oppressed people have relocated into contexts of great wealth,

often with better living conditions (Bajaj & Bartlett, 2017; Skilton & El-Haj, 2017). For

example, in the U.S., many teachers have seen their classroom demographics change

dramatically in a short period of time; families who were part of school communities

have moved to a completely new destination, and the children who attend these new

schools experience an environment where their right to be educated is often openly questioned (Bajaj & Bartlett, 2017). Teachers, students, and parents have seen their lives being transformed by the dynamics of migration created by globalization. Yet the curriculum of global citizenship is mediated by a nation-state framework that limits our understanding of how we participate as global citizens (Maira, 2004; Nguyen, 2012; Stein & Andreotti, 2017).

Current framings of "international" and "global" centralize nations and states as units of analysis (Haydn, 2006; Haydn & Thompson, 2000; Leach, 1969; Terwilliger, 1972), and foreground comparisons between national systems as a methodology to understand what it means to be a citizen in different parts of the world (Cambridge & Thompson, 2004). In the traditional sense, being educated for global citizenship means to be trained specifically for nation-state-based diplomacy (Marshall, 2011) by learning the cultures, history, and languages of other countries. It also means developing skills and knowledge to be competitive in the global market. However, a living curriculum for global citizenship education could be attentive to responses generated by social movements, to people's resistance from the specificity of their places, and to counter-hegemonic narratives that resist the imposition of cultural, political and economic projects. A curriculum of global citizenship should center movement rather than boundaries, difference rather than sameness, and create the opportunity to see "new and distinctive spaces, sites, practices and discourses that cannot or should not be grasped within the analytical lens of nations and states." (Fernandes, 2013, p.103).

Being a citizen goes beyond being ruled by a nation-state. It may also refer to a form of affiliation with local, regional, national, transnational, communities based on ethnicity, faith, culture and other forms of identification. In other words, a person is often (if not always) a citizen of multiple communities. However, beyond a sense of belonging, there is a participatory aspect to citizenship (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Citizens may participate in governance of their communities and may be invested in projects that the collectivities to which they belong are developing in society. In order to participate in those communities, there may be a need to share the same culture, language, origin, and values so that individuals may be communally recognized and access shared resources. But what happens when people whose lives have been framed by histories of colonialism, imperialism, capitalism -- people whose lives involve constant border-crossings between cultures, places, languages, nationalities -- become part of communities of people who, in the words of geographer Doreen Massey (1994), "are more in-charge of [mobility] than others"? What do you learn about who you are as a citizen? Where do you belong?

Complicating "the Global" as One Place of Sameness

The representation of "the globe" as one place became very popular in the 1980s, a little over a decade after Neil Armstrong was the first human to walk on the moon and about 20 years after the first picture of the earth was taken from outer space (McGregor, 1996). This representation of "the globe" as "one place" is heavily influenced by the concerns, interests, and geopolitical configuration of the world in the era after World War II (McGregor, 1996). The conversations about co-existence and world peace during that

period started to dominate the framings of the world as "one place" and "one humankind." Wolfgang Sachs' "One World," a piece in *The development dictionary*: *A guide to knowledge as power* (2010) describes specific moments, contexts, and people who came to the idea of "the world as one" in 1945, when 48 countries signed the United Nations Charter that created a future post-World War II:

> The Charter, in fact, conceptualized peace not just as the non-violent regulation of conflicts, but as the result of a global leap forward. Violence breaks out when progress is blocked. This was the conclusion the victorious powers drew from the past experience of economic depression and ensuing totalitarianism. Consequently, in the Preamble to the Charter, the United Nations solemnly announce the determination 'to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom….and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. (p. 112)

Sachs continues to describe how making decisions about how "all peoples" should achieve the same goals in order to "progress," erased the recognition of distinct epistemological and cultural communities. He writes,

> The delegates in Room 210 were not timid in their vision. In their eyes, Austrians and Australians, Zulus as well as Zapotecos, share the same aspiration for 'social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. The histories of the world were seen as converging into one history, having one direction, and the UN was seen as a motor propelling less advanced countries to move ahead. The project to banish violence and ware from the face of the earth was clearly linked to the

vision of mankind marching forward and upward along the road of progress.

(Sachs, 2010, p. 112)

In the eyes of the U.N. charter, a peaceful world could only exist in sharing the same ideas about humanity that originated in the Enlightenment: that of a Christian, liberal, Western, modern centered worldview; a peaceful world could only exist by achieving the same goals for different peoples and communities around the world (McGregor, 1996; Sachs, 2010).

Contrary to this idea of the world as "one place," and to the idea that it is necessary to achieve a shared model of justice for world peace, political theorist Nancy Fraser (2009) argues there is a need to reimagine the map of global spaces of justice. The world model of nation-state, based in a Westphalian model of justice, assumes that there is a common recognizable discourse of what "normal justice" should look like in the world. However, contemporary conflicts, political struggles, and even academic theories demonstrate that there is no such shared discourse of justice or world order, for that matter.

The tens of thousands of unaccompanied children that immigrated from the Northern Triangle of Central America into the U.S. in 2014 illustrate how the assumption that there is a shared understanding of justice, citizenship and world order among nations affects the lives of people. This case of massive immigration could be interpreted as the failure of the state of El Salvador to provide economic support to its citizens. In theory, an effective modern state should be capable of making sure that justice is equally distributed to its citizens. The solution to this failure, then, would be to address the

problems of unequal economic distribution within the Salvadoran state. However, if we look at this issue beyond the Salvadoran state borders, and instead contextualize the issue historically and in terms of current forms of global economy, the way that we understand and address the mass migration of unaccompanied children might be framed differently.

For example: in relation to the issue of violence and general lack of safety in El Salvador, we might find that a nation-state model is insufficient to understand this phenomenon historically. There is a growing presence of "la Mara Salvatrucha," a gang also known as "MS-13" in El Salvador, which has a history of strong connections to U.S. international policy. The MS-13 originated in the neighborhoods of Los Angeles, California in the 1980s among Salvadoran immigrants who were fleeing from their country's civil war. Salvadorans immigrated to the U.S. in the 1980s after the U.S. government supported the military government of El Salvador in their fight against the guerrilla group Frente Faribundo Martí de Liberación Nacional (FMLN). In this way, the U.S. enabled both the civil war in El Salvador and the immigration of Salvadorans to the US who were trying to flee the war. Deported members of the MS-13 formed powerful crime organizations in El Salvador as they rebuilt in their parents' home country. This gang exercises great control over Salvadoran public institutions today, and has influence in other Central American countries as well. Further, it is also connected to the national context of the U.S. Today MS-13 members in El Salvador and in different cities in the U.S. are connected through these cross-border crime networks (Hinojosa, 2014).

From this perspective, then, the problem of the immigration of children to the US in 2014, is a transnational issue that can hardly be understood or addressed through a

nation-state framework of world order and justice. For this reason, as Fraser argues, a transnational framework of justice is necessary in order to address the effects of a set of underlying problems behind the immigration of Salvadorans to the US. Yet, as Fraser describes, we live in "abnormal" times with a justice system based on a state model of jurisdiction that does not reflect the reality of growing numbers of real people. For instance, Salvadoran children that illegally immigrate to the U.S., are caught in the middle of conflicting discourses of justice that leave them unrecognized as political refugees. As a result, this population is trapped in the middle of an ineffective Salvadoran state on one side and U.S. immigration laws on the other. These children's lives depend "on processes that trespass the borders of territorial states as on those contained within them" (Fraser, 2009, p.113). Both economic maldistribution and the lack of recognition of their status as citizens (though they are Salvadorans, they are not recognized as subjects of justice in El Salvador) demonstrate the way structures across nation-states contribute to the injustices and danger shaping their lives.

Fraser advocates for a different way of theorizing justice, one that takes into consideration social movements, networks of solidarity, and other emancipatory projects against forms of oppression and injustice; in other words, we must theorize justice by looking into the lived experiences of people and their forms of resistance across national borders.

Complicating Essentialist Narratives of Culture

A curriculum of the global that bases understandings of culture on ideas of sameness, on shared values, territories, race, language, and religion counteracts global processes such as colonialism and its influence in the creation of national cultures. Third World feminist scholar Uma Narayan (1997, 1998) problematizes essentialism in Western "universalist" ideas of culture, understood as fixed sets of characteristics from a group. Conceptions of culture that identify entire groups of people with one practice erase contestations regarding those practices within the same group. This tendency is seen in relation to, for example, the *sati* tradition or, "widow immolation," "African Genital Mutilation," and other practices that are used as representations of an entire culture (Narayan, 1997, 1998).

Lack of attention to contestation and resistance within cultural groups leads to problematic positions that advocate for the protection of cultural practices over resistance to oppressive structures within that culture. For example, Narayan argues that some feminist discourses are culturally essentialist and ascribe women's equality and women's rights to Western values. Portraying the struggles and efforts of groups of peoples from the Global South as "Westernized" contributes to the reproduction of oppressive systems from a "cultural relativist" stance. Democracy, equality, and rights do not solely belong to Western culture. Such position contributes to essentialist visions of "the West" and the "non-West." Moreover, this position contributes to Western cultural supremacist ideologies.

For example, in relation to the practice of excision in Sierra Leone, there were initiation rites and forms of training that usually took one to two years before the excision itself and were part of the support and preparation for female circumcision. These rites disappeared as a consequence of lack of resources, changes in social infrastructure, and sometimes due to lack of time. Yet the event of the female circumcision itself became emblematic of "preserving tradition" and was strongly defended by members of social groups in positions of power (Koso-Thomas in Narayan, 1998). Scholars in places of power err in advocating for the preservation of a practice that is, in fact, contested within the social and cultural groups to whom it belongs. Narayan (1998) writes,

> I would argue that what postcolonial feminists need to do is not to endorse "cultural relativism" but to resist various forms of cultural essentialism, including relativist versions (…) feminists need to resist cultural essentialism by pointing to the internal plurality, dissention and contestation over values, and ongoing changes in practices in virtually all communities that comprise modern nation-states. This critique of cultural essentialism would reject the idea that there is anything that can solidly and uncontroversially be defined as "Indian culture" or "African culture," or "Western culture" for that matter." It would proceed by challenging a "picture of the world" that some versions of cultural relativism assume to be true: that there are neat packages called "different cultures," each of which is internally consistent and monolithic, and which disagrees only with "Other cultures." (p. 102)

Following this argument that cultures are not fixed in unchanging groups, Narayan states

that contestation happens within cultures. She describes how practices and values are in

constant negotiation in their groups:

> The position I am endorsing does not deny the existence of "cultural differences"
>
> per se (. . .) Rather, the position I endorse denies that "actual cultural differences"
>
> correspond very neatly to the "packages" that are currently individuated as
>
> "separate cultures" or manifest themselves as evenly distributed across particular
>
> "cultures." It insists that virtually all contemporary contexts are full of political
>
> debate and dissension about their practices and values, and it refuses to grant any
>
> of these perspectives the status of being the sole "authentic representative" of the
>
> views and values of a particular culture. (p. 102)

Sameness advocates for essentialist definitions of culture and for the

generalization of culture as "universal." This argument has been used in processes of

colonization where these universalist definitions are imposed onto others in the name of

"civilization," "progress," "modernization" or "globalization"; the universalist definitions

that advocate for sameness become a lens of deficit to the recognition of difference.

A Curriculum of the Global Outside the Lives of Students and Teachers

Schools often articulate questions of community and belonging within a nation-

state framework; as a consequence, everything from local issues that are "complexly

interconnected within the axis of power and politics" to global events are ignored

(Subedi, 2013, pp. 622-623). A curriculum that privileges a nation-state framework,

particularly one that frequently promotes patriotic stances, results in the absence of critical global knowledge. A nation-state framework that lacks a critical stance fails to provide an understanding of how nation-states came to exist and how nation-state structures are related to global processes of colonialism, racism, sexism, and dispossession. Furthermore, this kind of approach promotes a form of citizenship that focuses on nation-state commitments and alliances over global responsibility (Subedi, 2013).

An essentialist curriculum of the global that lacks a critical approach in schools frequently results in biased learning that perpetuates deficit approaches to interpreting global events and issues. As Binaya Subedi writes,

A recurring theme within the monocultural interpretation of the curriculum of the global is its foregrounding of deficit ways of formulating global events and issues. Because of its investment in whiteness or Eurocentrism, the framework of deficit represents certain societies as lacking "better" cultural values. In other words, deficit interpretation is invested in reinforcing colonial, White ideology. The deficit curriculum places emphasis on "problems" in the world and often relies on dichotomous narratives to explain how certain societies are culturally superior while some other societies are inferior. (Subedi, 2013, p. 623)

In the case of immigrant children, a curriculum of the global only offers a *deficit narrative* on children's cultural backgrounds and their communities. Essentialist approaches to a curriculum of the global privilege knowledge production from the West over other forms of knowledge production and reinforce the idea that Western

frameworks are neutral and universal. A deficit narrative is based on essentialized and fixed versions of national cultures. Instead of focusing on complex historicized understandings of global issues, deficit narratives produce what Narayan (1997) has referred to as "death by culture," blaming the culture, or representing oppressed peoples as victims of their own culture.

This dissertation is a curricular study of global citizenship education attuned to the living and lived experiences of Latina/o youths in a semirural town in the U.S. undergoing drastic demographic change. In it, I story the coexistence of narratives of citizenship that are based on shared language, origin, place of birth, land; narratives of citizenship based on multi-lingualism, experiences of border-crossing, transcultural lived experiences of citizenship; or narratives that are based on difference. In this dissertation, curriculum is understood as a living and lived experience, as an ongoing course of learning that happens inside and outside formal academic contexts (Aoki, 1986/1991; Kissling, 2014). In distinction from common conceptions of "the global," as *one* community with shared values and geopolitical borders based on nation-states, here "global" is multiple, contextual, and situated in place(s); "global" is here defined as border-crossing, as an indicator of mobility in relation to place. In other words, this dissertation is a curricular study of an ongoing course of learning about what it means to be a global citizen in the lives of a group of transnational Latina/o youth in Hazleton, Pennsylvania, inside and outside formal academic contexts. For this study, I implemented a methodological approach of narrative research, ethnographic methods of data

collection, and thick-description (Geertz, 1973), storying (Denzin, 1997), and restorying

(Ollerenshaw & Cresswell, 2002) as interpretative methods.

Key Concepts

Citizenship. Is a form of affiliation or belonging to a social group(s). Belonging

can refer to self-identification with a particular group; in other words, belonging means to

feel part of social groups or intersections based on gender, race, class, nation and other

axes of difference (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Yet, beyond its experience as a sense of

community, the politics of belonging refer to the possibilities of participation and to the

investment in particular projects that are part of collectivities and social groups.

Belonging also encompasses the struggles related to the costs of being recognized as part

of a collectivity, as well as the access to resources that belonging enables (Rosaldo, 2000;

2008; Yuval-Davis, 2006). The status of belonging provides rights to be recognized, to

participate, and to access resources. Citizenship can be defined in terms of political

belonging or the possibility of participating in a community's governance, through the

framework of the nation-state (Yuval-Davis, 2006). This framework defines citizenship

or political belonging in terms of the relationship between the individual and the state,

and also in terms of the relationship between citizens (Rosaldo, 2000).

Place. A "meaningful location" (Agnew in Cresswell, 2004, p. 7). There are three

aspects to place that makes it a "meaningful location": *location*, *locale* and a *sense of*

place (Cresswell 2004, pp. 7-8). *Location* refers to a geographical space; *locale* denotes

the "material settings for social relations" (Cresswell 2004, p. 7), including buildings,

tables, and material things; *sense of place* indicates an emotional relation to place

(Cresswell 2004, p. 7). However, place also describes the roots of epistemologies, the

locus of enunciation of knowledges. Place speaks to the geographical location, historicity,

material forms, the order that gives birth to a form of knowledge. A place is made out of

social relations, networks, and understandings that makes it unique (Massey, 1993). Thus,

places are in a constant process of being produced by cultural practices (Massey, 1993).

In this dissertation, place is not defined by a boundary but by the relations that produce

that boundary.

Curriculum. Set(s) of knowledge(s) that are considered valuable or worth

knowing in particular contexts, "curriculum understood as a symbolic representation

refers to those institutional and discursive practices, structures, images, and experiences"

(Pinar, Reynolds, Slattery & Taubman, 2008, p. 16). Our lives, our upbringings, represent

a course of learning, a curriculum of what was worth knowing at home, in school, in our

hometowns, in our travel, in our relationships to others, to living and non-living beings.

However, value is determined by past, present and future tensions, relations of power,

configurations of time, place, and beings.

Latina@/a/o/x/ex youth. The young participants in this study are between the

ages of 12-15 years old and self-identify as Hispanic, Latina/o, or of national descent

from a country in Latin America. The use of transnational immigrant Latina/o youth as a

term at different points in this dissertation, refers to the youths' connections and

relationships to border-crossing, transcultural communities that include but are not

limited to networks in the U.S. Some of the youths were born in the U.S., others came

when they were younger and some of them arrived only a few years before this study

took place. Though I am aware of gender-inclusive terminology such as

Latine/Latinx/Latinex, I choose to describe the participants in this study as Latina/o youth

based on the youths' form of self-identification. I have also used this term throughout the

text considering that it is not enough to add an "x" to recognize non-binary, gender

neutral, and gender nonconforming individuals (Rodríguez, 2017). Even though all

participants are first, 1.5, and second-generation immigrant youths, in this study I use the

term "transnational" to point out their sustained linkages and networks of relationships

within and outside nation-state borders. In this study, "transnational" refers to movement

and also to practices that sustain relationships in different locales (Vertovec, 2009;

Warriner, 2017). Here, "youth" describes young people beyond biological developmental

stages since personal history and experiences play a significant role in young people's

ability to analyze their social context and to be critical, active participants in their

communities. I use the term Latino/a youth, students, and transnational youth

interchangeably. This research is respectful of non-confirming forms of gender

identification but does not center gender in its conceptualization or methodological

approach.

Layout of the Dissertation

Chapter One, "The Problems of an Abstract Curriculum of the Global," describes

the problem of a curriculum of global citizenship education based on abstract

representations of the global and conceptualizations of culture based on sameness. I

briefly discuss the effects of a curriculum of global citizenship that lacks consideration of

the lives of students and teachers. Finally, I introduce key concepts and description of methodology.

Chapter Two, "Theorizing Living Curriculum of the Global," introduces curriculum theorists who conceptualize curriculum as critical reflection, lived experience, and relation to the world. First, I discuss the work of scholars who offer approaches to difference and decolonization in curriculum theory. Next, I introduce the work of scholars who conceptualize curriculum as autobiographical text and as living experience. Finally, I provide a definition of living curriculum of the global.

Chapter Three, "A Methodology for a Living Curriculum of the Global," aims to answer the question of how can a curriculum of our lived experiences of being in the world be studied. This chapter describes the role of stories as a method of inquiry into the relationship between the individual and global structures of power. Based on the work of feminist scholars of color and critical performative ethnographers, I elaborate on the role of stories in social transformation and change. The chapter describes the methods implemented to study narratives of citizenship in Hazleton and in the lives of Latina/o youth. The latest part of the chapter is an overview of participants, methods, research questions, and site descriptions. I also provide a brief contextualization of Hazleton in terms of its history, recent demographic changes, and social and political environment at the time of this study.

Chapter Four, "Narratives About Citizenship and Belonging in Hazleton," is a data chapter based on the narratives of citizenship and belonging offered by social studies teachers in their classrooms and in interviews. These serve as context to understand the

experiences of citizenship of transnational Latina/o youths, shared in the following chapter. These narratives of citizenship and belonging center sameness as possible paths for citizenship for Latinas/os (i.e. shared language, history, culture, and territory).

Chapter Five, "Experiences of Citizenship and Belonging of Latina/o Youth in Hazleton," focuses on four stories about the lived experiences of citizenship of transnational Latina/o youths in Hazleton. The stories in this chapter are constructed through difference, or the youths' multi-layered, border-crossing, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic lived experiences. They portray moments of youths' authentic inquiry and resistance to topics of citizenship, identity, and origin that can be both threatening and essential to their identification processes.

Chapter Six, "Conclusion," provides a summary of the study, summary of findings, limitations of the study, and contributions to the literature of curriculum theory and social studies education.

Chapter 2

Theorizing Living Curriculum of the Global

Attending to the relationship between the self and society I introduce the work of scholars in the field of curriculum theory who have engaged other fields of knowledge to discuss the transformative role of collective and self-reflection in social transformation. I build on the work of postcolonial scholars to reflect on difference and the decolonization of curriculum. In this chapter I advocate for a lived curriculum of the global that center the lived experiences of students to the curriculum of global citizenship.

Curriculum and Lived Experience

Curriculum as Living Experience

Modern narratives have ruled educational spaces as if these were predictable based on a cause-effect logic. This makes it possible for curriculum planners or "absent others" to predict the face-to-face interactions of students and teachers that take place in the classroom. Curricular theorist Ted Aoki's conceptualizations of *curriculum-as-plan* and *curriculum-as-lived-experience* (Aoki, 1986) are helpful for understanding the importance of the specific *here* and *now* of the places in which curricular plans are produced, as well as the *here* and *now* of the places in which these plans are implemented.

Curriculum-as-plan makes explicit the limitations of curriculum planners who assume the repetition of the same conditions of educational spaces. They do not have

access to the unpredictability, contingencies, and multiplicities that each teacher, student, and educational space represents. Conceiving curriculum solely as a plan centers the concerns and assumptions of curriculum planners rather than those of teachers and learners, and ignores the power these plans can exercise over others. Curriculum as plan assumes sameness.

Conversely, *curriculum as-lived experience* offers a phenomenological understanding of the experience of teaching and learning. It foregrounds the multiplicity of students' and teachers' identities and how these identities impact teaching, learning, and the nature of the knowledge produced. The classroom, when thought through lived curriculum, becomes a space where culture can be discussed, questioned, and altered through one's own experience. A *lived curriculum* of real teachers and real students is different from the assumed sameness of the "faceless people" (Aoki, 1993, p. 206) of curricular plans. Building on Aoki, Mark Kissling (2014) offers the concept of *living curriculum*, or a curriculum that "is in constant development and flux ('alive') and embodied experience by a person ('lived')" (p. 83) to emphasize that curriculum is an ongoing course (Pinar & Grumet, 1976; Pinar, 2008) that is constantly running, that changes, that is transformed by place(s), and that happens inside and outside of classroom spaces.

In the following vignette, "Aunt Felicia," I engage with the question: what is the curriculum of being a woman? I answer this question by identifying the meaning of being a woman in terms of her education, what is expected from her, the roles she is offered and the pre-existing restrictions for her subject location that she experiences in her

everyday life. I also reflect on how I have witnessed my aunt Felicia's responses to those expectations and roles, as well as her resistance to those impositions. My aunt Felicia is unwilling to repeat these expectations and roles, transforming impossible places for a woman and making them hers. I use this vignette to question a definition of curriculum as fixed sets of knowledge. It is an example of a living curriculum of being a woman: what I learned about being a woman and what I am still learning about the same stories in a different place.

Vignette: Tía Felicia (Aunt Felicia)

To my mother/ A mi Amá
Who advises me: Sé descarada! Be shameless!

To the women in Sevilla/ A las mujeres de Sevilla
To the courage of women who warm the tortillas in the morning after a natural disaster. To the women who after a night of massacres wake up to grind corn for arepas.

As I read Sandra Cisneros' *Woman Hollering Creek* (1992), I think of this question: *what is the curriculum of being a woman?* Her writing makes me reflect on abuse, violence and silence. It also makes me reflect on the Weeping Woman, *la Llorona*, *la Malinche*, *la Chingada*, the one without remedy, the one that cannot forget, the one that holds on to that one moment for the rest of her life. The same one who feels unbearable pain, unable to holler. All her energy is used to bear the pain, to express rage and shame in silence, weeping instead of hollering. But it takes more than a strike to silence a woman. It takes a whole system of oppression to make an episteme seem invalid, to make the holler seem crazy or ridiculous when one feels pain, to isolate her or even to create cultural forms that break dialogue, that silence the "talking back." The weeping woman is not a "naturally" submissive woman; there is always "A doubt. Slender as a hair" (Cisneros, 1992, p.50) about what seems to be a "normal" way of being a woman. Images and desires that contradict the way she acted in moments of abuse, doubts about if the Weeping Woman is one that can holler: Is the Hollering Creek the same as *la Llorona*?

I think about my aunt Felicia. I reflect on her life choices and on the things that were constantly said about her in my family. She is the youngest of eleven siblings and also the only woman who did not get married or have children. She also never left my grandparents' house even when she was economically independent. In my family, some might describe her as *la solterona,* the spinster, a lone woman. Some say she is bitter, aggressive and crazy: *"¡está loca!"* Yet, nobody speaks about how she is fearless, *brava*, how she looks at machismo in its face and fights back. On my mother's side of the family, women were architects, doctors, engineers. Yet, they were also expected to serve the men in the family, to serve them milk at the table, to hurry up serving lunch because the men needed to leave. My uncles were taught how to administrate the coffee farms my grandparents owned.

My aunt was the only sister who was courageous enough to learn on her own how to administrate the farms. To think that a woman, the youngest, the one living at home, could administrate a coffee farm, lead male farm workers, negotiate coffee with male coffee growers, was absurd. I think about my aunt Felicia's hope and her faith in a metaphysical world, in magic, in natural forces, in spirits, in self-help work, in Buddhism, and in other spiritual understandings of the world. She needs all of it to keep up with meanings of being a woman in Sevilla-Valle and in my family. My aunt, the bitter one, the one who transgressed the local curriculum of being a woman and whom I love and admire.

***Currere*: Curriculum as Autobiographical Study**

In *Toward a Poor Curriculum* (1976), curriculum theorists Madeleine Grumet and William Pinar introduce an existential, reflexive, and autobiographical theory of curriculum that turns towards self and social transformation. Behind this approach is the question of how curriculum taught in schools became distant from what happens in public life and from the social problems that affect the United States. Their critique of education asserts that schools are not dealing with the social issues that were affecting society. Teachers are asked to have conversations and use textbooks and materials that "mime others" (Pinar, 2004, p. 187) rather than consider the issues that affect society (Pinar, 2004).

To study one's "life curriculum" is to study society: "a first-person and singular version of culture and history as these are embodied in the concretely existing individual in society in a historical time" (p. 38). There is no better curriculum than one's own life as immediate access to experiences of larger social issues that need to be pedagogically elaboration. To read into one's life story as the collective is to analyze collective identifications and imagined societal affiliations that create illusions of truth; these truths are imagined senses of belonging that we have created through detached narratives that do not contend with stories of suffering and injustice. National histories, or "official history," have been sanitized and formalized, erasing the traces of tensions and marginalized experiences. Thus, Pinar explains, "The educational task is to take the cover stories we as Americans tell ourselves and look to the back pages. We must teach what the cover stories hide, exposing and problematizing the 'hidden curriculum' (Pinar, 2004,

p.39).” Pinar frames curriculum as *currere* in order to emphasize the meaning, "to run the course" (Pinar et al., 2008, p. 515). The study of curriculum as *currere* is the study of the relations among formal academic institutions one has attended, one's personal history, and one's intellectual development in order to make decisions about one's present and to imagine one's future. Autobiographies of alterity generate a different version of history from that of an "official history" (Pinar, 2008).

A Living Curriculum From the Borderlands

I found a drawing that helped me think differently about the global in *Light in the Dark/Luz en lo Oscuro* (2005), a book containing some of the unpublished work of the late Chicana feminist Gloria Anzaldúa. The drawing "Between the cracks" (Anzaldúa, 2015, p. 72) depicts one culture with cracks within itself, thick enough to create internal gaps. These cracks, or gaps, separate different worlds within a culture; further, the cracks become blurry borders of constant exchange, the "contact zone" (Pratt, 1992). This liminal space of possibility and exchange is better described by Anzaldúa's notion of *nepantla*, from its meaning in Nahuatl "an in-between state." This means being in a state where you are "neither, nor;" it means being in a space that separates two terrains: "when changing from one class, race, or sexual position to another, when traveling from the present identity into a new identity" (Anzaldúa & Keating, 2009, p. 180). Similar borderlines exist between cultures creating liminal spaces that interconnect worlds, histories, logics, and spiritualties; they also exist where negotiation of what "was," "is," and "will be" takes place. The drawing reflects Anzaldúa's theory of relational change,

which is defined by an ethics of interconnectivity and a non-oppositional approach. When we look at into the world and realize that the identities we carry promote division, it is time to look into the cracks, to go into history to find points of connection that will generate new identities and "let us be the healing of the wound" (Keating, 2015, p.xxiii). To think about the global through Anzaldúa's lens means to go beyond an international world based on nation-state boundaries. It means to situate ourselves within *nepantla* in order to find different possibilities to identities that only generate division (Anzaldúa, 2015). It means to generate new stories that speak to the contradictions of these spaces created by outdated identities that separate us in the face of present circumstances (Anzaldúa, 2015).

To think from the borderlands means reminding ourselves that we are full of cracks and borders that we negotiate in our daily lives. At the top of the drawing, Anzaldúa (2015) writes "Mestisaje. Mixed heritage, many cultures" (p. 72). This phrase reminds me of those that exist in the borders of a binary world, of those who don't speak one language but multiple; of those who jump from one language to another within the same word, sentence, or thought; of those who live and exist in a constant in-between world, in *nepantla* (Anzaldúa, 2007). These are the New Mestizas/Nepantleras (Anzaldúa, 2007) who are constantly negotiating whether to assimilate or resist and create new forms, and who are "for survival and growth" (Anzaldúa, 2015, p. 79); they are those who are constantly moving in-between multiple realities.

Curriculum and Difference

Meeting the present challenges of curriculum in a globalized world requires focusing on social processes that generate solidarity in difference (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2010b). This means that curriculum theory needs to identify alternative cultural forms of relating to otherness that teach how to "recognize interdependence and the realization that our lives and our work cannot carry on without others" (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2010b, p. 90). The predominant liberal conceptualization of diversity aims to address difference by classifying populations according to an assumed set of cultural characteristics. In this view, diversity reinforces sameness within delimited groups, as if no heterogeneity or change existed within cultures. Sameness implies that interactions with members across cultural groups can be planned ahead of time because people that belong to the same group share the same characteristics. In modern discourse, diversity as a concept carries agendas of domination, conquest, and colonization and continues to be at the base of a neoliberal agenda (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2010a). Conversely, I advocate for understanding difference as indetermination, or as difference that cannot be established a priori or before encounters. This requires that instead of focusing on sameness, curricula should highlight differences within communitarian processes and among collectivities. It requires thinking about social transformation in the face of difference, focusing on collectivities rather than pursuing commonness and sameness, and recognizing identity as individually retained but produced collectively. Difference, in this sense, is negotiated and relates to what curriculum theorist Rubén Gaztambide-

Fernández (2010b) based on the work of Third World feminist scholars, calls "creative

solidarity." Gaztambide-Fernández explains,

> I mean a solidarity [creative solidarity] that underscores a way of being
>
> with each other that contingently presents itself against a sense of
>
> normalcy and coherence. I mean a solidarity that operates under the
>
> assumption that we are incomplete, in the process of becoming, a future
>
> anterior, as Ellsworth (2005) invites us to consider. Not a solidarity that
>
> assumes commonness and sameness, but one that assumes difference
>
> (Sandoval 2000); not a solidarity that stands on the notion that a core
>
> identity will be retained, as Nobo suggests, but rather one that assumes
>
> that identity is not only in flux, but that is an impression, a delusion, a
>
> falsity. (p. 89)

In this view, the work ahead is one of creating new forms and cultural worlds,

of creating a new curriculum as cultural work.

Decolonizing a Eurocentric & US-Centric Curriculum of the Global

Third World feminist Chandra Mohanty argues in her book *Feminism without*

Borders (2003) that the study of historicity, specificity, contextuality, complexity of

collective and personal experiences gives us clues about the work of social justice. For

Mohanty, "borders" indicate spaces that contradict those clear-cut divisions of history,

geography, and visible and invisible identities. Borders indicate a space where different

materialities and epistemologies are possible and old ones can be reimagined. As

Mohanty indicates, postcolonial theory as a framework is helpful for complicating global frameworks based on sameness.

One of the main purposes of postcolonial scholarship is to problematize the Euro-centric and U.S.-centric conceptualizations of culture, power, and difference (Subedi & Daza, 2008). Part of the project of postcolonial work, then, is the decolonization of knowledge and of knowledge production. Postcolonial theory also provides language for what the colonial experience brings to the epistemologies of both the colonizing and the colonized worlds. The epistemological aspect of the postcolonial project aims to produce different geographies, materialities, and senses of place as it decolonizes knowledge. Postcolonial theory aims to decenter interpretations of the "global" from a Eurocentric and U.S.-centric perspective, and "it produces a decentered diasporic or 'global' rewriting of earlier, nation' centered imperial grand narratives" (Hall, 1996 p. 247).

How can we decolonize the curriculum of the global? Postcolonial scholar Binaya Subedi in Comparative International education and Social Studies Merry Merryfield's (2006) is seminal in the fields of social studies, teacher education, and global education. This text is helpful for understanding what it can look like to decolonize students' understanding of their worlds and dismantle colonialist assumptions of the world and its people. Following W.E.B. Du Bois's double consciousness, these authors underscore the role double consciousness plays in the ability to identify how power and injustice operate locally and globally. They question the theories of "European diffusionism" that underlie the scholarship narrating world history by decentering hegemonic theories and narratives by focusing on multiple centers rather than a European version of worldview. They argue

that doing so helps students to grow knowledge and consciousness of other histories and literatures that challenge Western epistemology (Merryfield & Subedi, 2006). They advocate for cross-cultural experiences that can cultivate students' sense of interdependence. Some ways of building this sense of inter-connectedness include: using print, computer, and media resources from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East; and working collaboratively with international students virtually or at a local institution of higher education (Merryfield & Subedi, 2006). A world-centered global education should help "students examine who they are through work in perspective consciousness and interaction with people from diverse cultures" (p. 291).

Acculturation versus Transculturation

One of the main purposes of postcolonial theory is to "debunk the taken-for-granted superiority of the metropolitan or imperial 'center' that occupies not only the material institutions of power and dominance but also superiority figures into the imaginations of both the oppressor and the oppressed (Ashcroft et al., 1989)" (Soyini Madison, 2012, p. 57). Postcolonial theory reads colonization as a global process that forced a *transcultural* and *transnational* counterpoint. Hall (1996) argues that "colonisation was never simply external to the societies of the imperial metropolis. It was always inscribed deeply within them-as it became indelibly inscribed in the cultures of the colonized" (p. 246). The postcolonial interprets the process of colonization through the concept of transculturation, which emphasizes the double-ended process of the long-term historical and cultural relations between colonizers and colonized. Hall explains that "The differences, of course, between colonizing and colonized cultures remain profound.

But they have never operated in a purely binary way and they certainly do so no longer"
(Hall, 1996, p. 247). Transculturation describes an endless process by which cultures are
transformed by each other, as opposed to the concept of *acculturation*, which describes a
unidirectional process in which the subjugated culture adopts the dominating culture.
This phenomenon occurs in the contact zone (Pratt, 1992) , which exists between two
worlds that are geographically and historically different. In this contact zone, there is a
co-presence, or, a coexistence, marked by interactions that are framed by unequal
relations of power. Transculturation intervenes in a dichotomic reading of the world that
divides the world into colonizer/colonized, center/periphery, settlers/non-settlers. Instead,
it "re-reads 'colonization' as part of an essentially transnational and transcultural 'global'
process – and it produces a decentred diasporic or 'global' rewriting of earlier, nation-
centred imperial grand narratives" (Hall, 1996). Transculturation creates a different
version of globalization than the one inherited from colonization and proposes that
"'Global' . . . does not mean universal, but it is not nation-or society specific either"
(Hall, 1996).

A decolonizing approach to curriculum of the global encourages us to take a
critical examination of world events and global issues, one that emphasizes social
differences and power relationships (Subedi, 2013). This approach centers conversations
about patriarchy, poverty, oppression, racism, and social justice (Subedi, 2013). Finally,
it provides a way for us to better understand relations of power and how they manifest in
the lives of people is through the study of lived experiences.

A Living Curriculum of the Global

In the context of this research, curriculum describes how we carry stories that we both tell and are told, how they shape our lived experiences. A *living curriculum of the global* is what individuals learn about themselves as citizens through their lived experiences in the specificity of place(s). A living curriculum of the global is what we learn about who we are and our location in relation to global systems of power from our experiences with racism, sexism, and classism.

In other words, a living curriculum is learned from our relations to global systems of power. These systems have sustained themselves in transnational networks, impacting the lives of people on a personal and global scale. Whether our experiences of global selves happen through the lenses of privilege, marginalization, or contradictory spaces, they frame our lived curriculum of the global. The formalization of narratives of the globe through institutions, documents, and social structures is part of the learning that happens in a lived curriculum of the global. At the same time, what we learn about the world through planned curricula created by curriculum planners' experiences and worldviews is also part of our living global curricula.

Chapter 3

A Methodology for a Lived Curriculum of the Global

In the first part of this chapter, I reflect on the role stories play as sites of articulation between the self and the world (i.e. global systems of power, networks of solidarity, etc.), as sites of erasure (i.e. imperial history), and of healing (i.e. restoration of global histories from the diaspora). Next, I introduce the study of curriculum through narrative research that explores the relationship between self and context, through the methods of *currere*, autoethnography, and *autohistoria-teoría*. These methods offer some points of departure for the research of a lived curriculum of the global. In the second half of the chapter, I introduce the study and describe strategies of data collection and analysis.

The Role of Stories

Stories help us make sense of our life experiences. Through them we organize, classify, and collect things like memories and events about living and non-living things that represent us. Through stories, we make arguments, explain things about our worlds, and move audiences. Stories are important, inspiring, persuasive, and powerful. Stories are both crystallizing and mobilizing. Stories are single and multiple. Stories can be healing and harmful. Because stories are not simple representations of a true reality, storytellers create stories depending on the circumstances and audiences. In this way, stories become tools to construct one's version of reality. Stories are strategic and allow us to represent ourselves in particular ways. Perhaps most importantly, stories can be

deeply personal and intimate; at the same time, no stories exist detached from their social contexts.

Indeed, stories show how our lives are influenced by and are influential in collective cultural, historical, and political structures. We, too, are sources of erased stories. We, too, find self and collective realization by erasing some stories and writing others. Consider stories that are embedded in official histories, which make arguments about how nation-states came to be. Official histories explain how our society came to be a nation; at the same time, they are histories of erasure. As the Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie powerfully offered in her TED Talk *"The danger of a single story"* (2009): "Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity." Indeed, stories can become means of colonization or a kind of medicine.

The stories that we are told about the global and what it means to be a global citizen are stories that come from a particular place. These stories do not come from a neutral eye that exists in outer space. Stories that appear in geography textbooks or in world history textbooks that exist in curricular programs prepared, for example, for international schools are stories that rarely refer to students' lived experiences of citizenship. In contrast to such stories, this dissertation stories the lived experiences of citizenship of a group of Latina/o youth in the multiple places they typically experience throughout the day, including school settings.

Stories as Sites of Transformation

The study of stories is a form of cultural critique that carries the potential to transform mainstream discourses of local culture. Narratives do not exist in isolation of their sociocultural, historical, and political contexts; they carry a history of the things that were said and of what could be said (Bakhtin, 1995; Riessman, 2008). Stories of who we are encompass stories defining who belongs and who does not belong to a place (Yuval-Davis, 2011). Stories are also a reflection of what our past and future look like from the present (Grumet & Pinar, 1976). Stories have the power to invoke images, to invite audiences to dwell in scenarios and significant moments where the characters display how they are making sense of events (Anzaldúa, 2015). In this sense, stories are not only sources of experiences; storytelling becomes a method of inquiry in itself.

Stories help us make sense of our life experiences. Through stories, we connect places and times with social interactions and give sense to experiences that otherwise could be seen as unrelated (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The stories we tell contain traces of erasure, the sources we do not look at, the people we do not see, the connections we do not make (Levins Morales, 1998; Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). Stories of who we are can be stories of who belongs and who does not belong in this place (Yuval-Davis, 2011). Stories are also a reflection of what our past and future look like from the present (Grumet & Pinar, 1976). Stories are not only narratives, they have the power to invoke images, and, like artistic performances, invite audiences to dwell in scenarios and significant moments where the characters display how they are making

sense of events (Anzaldúa, 2015). In this sense stories are not only sources of experiences; storytelling becomes a method of inquiry in itself.

Stories play a role in connecting personal experience to global politics and in resisting global politics. Shari Stone-Mediatore (2003) explains that stories exist at the center of tensions that are part of everyday life. Stories thus become the place to transform experience and to denounce the role that local and global forces play in different forms of oppression (Stone-Mediatore, 2003). For example, stories about living in poverty and oppression are connected to the role that public institutions play in historical struggles, and to the systems of exploitation that constitute a big part of the way people live (Stone-Mediatore, 2003). Stories are also spaces where people resist the identities and representations imposed upon them. Take, as an example, "world history" as a constructed narrative. If we do so, we can start asking questions about the narrative's sources, the questions that frame it, and about how the narrative validates some records over others. Understanding "world history" as a narrative enables us to ask questions about how official history is influenced by contextual interests, and why it has created powerful representations of some groups while obliterating certain representations of others (Levins Morales, 1998). Thinking of history as a constructed narrative might offer other possibilities of history, or offer ways to heal the stories that have been used to erase the legacies of oppression and extermination (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). Anzaldúa, for example, offers her border theory to fight identities that placed her in a marginalized position (Stone-Mediatore, 2003). Her *autohistoria-teoría* is one method to write against hegemonic narratives, and to create new narratives from the liminal spaces

that exist in the borderlands, or what she calls *Nepantla*. Weaving personal narratives

with collective history, theories, autobiographical vignettes, and fiction into theoretical

prose is a way to produce stories that serve as both cultural critique and forms of knowing

(Anzaldúa, 2015).

Narratives of Erasure: *Replacement Narratives*

Stories can both map out paths to find traces of erasure and identify the tensions

that cultural norms try to hide. Authors Eve Tuck & Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández

(2013) have referred to the process of using stories for erasure as the *replacement*

narrative. This concept derives from the conversation in land education about centering

indigeneity and confronting narratives that erase the tracks of domination, extermination,

and destruction of the history and the culture of First Nations (Tuck, McKenzie and

McCoy, 2014). Replacement narratives serve settler colonialism, defined as "a form of

colonization in which outsiders come to land inhabited by Indigenous peoples and claim

it as their own new home" (Tuck, McKenzie and McCoy, 2014, p. 6). The replacement

narrative focuses on hardships experienced in the constitution of the settler's nation-state

and ignores First Nations' cultures and histories; further, it erases existing forms of

Indigenous resistance, including and their fights for land rights and sovereignty (Tuck, &

Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). In the replacement narrative, "the settler ultimately comes

to replace the Native" (p. 76). The history of re-assigning stolen land to settler

individuals, the abductions of Indigenous children, the religious conversions and

language impositions, and the erasure of these tracks has been removed and replaced in

curricular projects with a narrative that emphasizes heroic acts of settling Indigenous land (Tuck, & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013).

Healing Narratives: *Curandera History*

Aurora Levins Morales (1998), also explains how stories have been used to justify oppression by describing colonization as a natural and necessary process. She calls herself a *curandera* historian because she thinks of history as a constructed narrative that can, at the same time, offer other historical possibilities. History is presented in her work as a narrative that has selected some sources over others, asked a set of questions based on contextual interests, validated some records over others, and created events through representation by supporting the interests of some groups while obliterating others. Imperial history, what Levins Morales describes as stories that legitimate domination, has been written through "the destruction of records, oral traditions and cultural forms and through interfering with the education of the young" (Levins Morales, 1998, p. 24). Imperial history has also created vital roles for those who rule by describing slavery, and patriarchy, as ways of protecting the enslaved and/or women from their supposed "weak nature" (Levins Morales, 1998). This narrative disconnects people from their histories and from their understandings of mechanisms of power and resistance. The narratives described by Levins Morales justify oppressor/oppressed subjectivities. Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández's concept of replacement narratives similarly highlight how stories have been used to create narratives of erasure that create different forms of

subjectivity in relation to oppressive systems. Both approaches explain how the tracks of extermination and genocide are covered by new narratives of heroism.

Concerned with a method of healing the longstanding and ongoing wounds created by imperial history, Levins Morales (1998) has theorized what she calls a "radical" or "curative history." *Curandera* history rewrites the stories crafted through imperial history and points out their "inability to name the abuses we experience, perpetuate and witness on a daily basis" (p. 13). A healing history creates an alternative version to this imperial history that highlights each narrative choice and foregrounds the experiences of the oppressed to craft history. Stories based on *testimonios* or personal stories of survivors of oppression are healers of imperial history. In *Medicine Stories* (1998) Levins Morales offers a method for generating healing stories. This method can be understood through three main points:

The representation of people in sources used by imperial history does not look like the world: The *curandera* historian should be writing about the people that populate the world but that are not protagonists of official history records: "If history books looked like the population of the world, they would be full of women, poor people, workers, children, people of color, slaves, the colonized" (p. 26). *Curandera* history would not simply try to be inclusive by incorporating the history of others, but rather by taking the perspective of others as a frame to produce history.

A *curandera* historian needs to show the contradictions within and the hidden power covered by imperial history. Central to *curandera* history is the

practice of identifying aspects of colonized subjectivities that can debunk the imperial histories. One of the biggest challenges of medicinal history is finding written records of oppressed people. Tracing absences becomes a way to balance the heavy presence of evidence produced by oppressors: "They have passenger lists with the names of those who came west over the ocean to take our lands, but our names are not recorded" (p. 28). This suggests that the forms of evidence traditionally offered in research need to be accessed and produced differently. Evidence needs to be brought about by asking different questions and making connections that are not obvious or visible at first. For example, to debunk the idea of passive victims, it is important to recognize forms of resistance that might appear silent or compliant. Portraits of oppressed people that appear in imperial history are simplistic; their representations do not relay the forms of resistance or ambiguity in their actions. More stories of resistance are needed to make these representations less simplistic: "Looking at those contradictions enables us to see our own choices more clearly and to understand that imperfect people can have powerful liberating impact on the world." (p. 31)

A *curandera* historian speaks from the borders, from outside of imperial history. Imperial history, and the academic disciplines that sustain it, have been produced to respond to a set of goals that are not the same goals of *curandera* history. However, drawing connections between topics that seem unrelated but highlight contradictions does serve the purposes of *curandera* history. For example, connecting the histories of oppressed peoples and the histories of

success and achievements of the oppressors is crucial to generating a healing

history: "Medicinal history can restore a sense of the global to fragmented

colonial histories" (p. 36). Political actions, discoveries, and achievements are not

the results of the dedication of one individual, isolated from others.

Foregrounding context and social connection shows the social contributions of

others towards any political action, discovery, or achievement. Furthermore,

because the goal of *curandera* history is to see ourselves outside that imperial

history and to generate other possibilities, the way we deliver medicinal history

needs to be accessible and exciting.

These points reflect the critique Levins Morales makes of imperial history as a

constructed narrative with the agenda of maintaining the hegemonic status quo. She

proposes *curandera* history, on the other hand, as a construction in the same tradition of

historical storytelling that looks for different sources, questions, connections, and

perspectives in order to generate a narrative that recognizes oppression and foregrounds

those silenced by imperial history as protagonists. The purpose of a *curandera* history is

to offer other interpretations, to generate questions that make the supposed solid

historical truths of imperial history crumble. Fiction is used to make the erased visible,

especially when written historical documents that may register marginal stories are

unavailable. Fiction has the capacity to inspire, for example, generating questions that are

pertinent to women, naming people that do not appear in a historical document but

existed at the time of its creation, or looking into economic trade to visualize chains of

interactions; all become forms of evidence to make the stories of the oppressed emerge.

Building on that frame of thought, we see how the same disciplinary lenses that produce imperial history can generate a similar story.

Stories and the Study of Curriculum

Storytelling and narrative inquiry methods have been used to study people's lives and to understand the complexities of teaching and learning within and without formal academic spaces. Studying people's lives makes it possible to understand how learning and teaching are both situated and relational. Scholars that have used stories to study curriculum have made important points about the power of stories to express the fluidity of places, times, and social interactions. To focus on experience as lived, as connected through spaces, time, and situations through stories, is to think narratively (Clandinin & Connelly, 2010). This position reflects the idea that people build coherence in their lives through stories, as a response to life's uncertainties. The methodological implication of stories for researchers is that they allow researchers to follow the lived experiences of their subjects, rather than follow a particular theory they have in mind (Phillion, 2002). Narratives not only report events but provide the teller's perspective, thus suggesting the way the teller has meaning made of these events. In this study, narratives are intended to give access to interpretations and explanations that participants lend to their lived experiences (Cortazzi, 2007). Stories allowed me to make sense of observations and conversations, to access context and the meaning-making processes of participants. It helped me, as a researcher, to stay with participant's lived experiences rather than instrumentalize them to prove theories.

Currere **as Method**

Other traditions in the field of curriculum studies that similarly center cultural critique on the self (as part of the collective) can be found in the work of autobiographic and autoethnographic research. William Pinar's autobiographical method of *currere* critiques the great disconnect between what happens in public life and what happens in personal life (Pinar, 2004). *Currere* is a critical reflection about the historical time and cultural place embodied in the learning experience of an individual (Pinar, 2004). The method is designed to generate a deep reflection of one's current situation in life in relation to its past and its future. *Currere*, or curriculum, as an action and learning process that is continuously happening, refers to the "living and lived experience with/in which learners-teachers are embodied" (Pinar, 2004, p. 32). Its methodological purpose, similar to Anzaldúa's *autohistoria-teoría,* is to uncover assumptions and identifications that seem natural but are, in fact, are habits reflecting the social world embedded in one's life (Pinar & Grumet, 1976).

The conversation of curriculum as *currere* raises questions about what society is teaching, and about what we are creating as a collective. It questions the pertinence of one's life, and the pertinence of one's life project, to the present situation. *Currere* is both a critical reflection on the lived experience of learning and the historical time and cultural place embodied in the learning experiences of individuals and the communities to which they belong. The individual here is a place of intersection between the social world and the subject, a place with psyche and body, where there is no separation between politics in the public sphere and private, embodied politics (Pinar, 2004, p.38).

There are four main steps to the approach of study within currere and the educational experience: the regressive, the progressive, the analytical, and the synthetical.

1. The regressive phase of *currere* generates data from one's past "lived" or existential experiences with learning. Pinar (2004) explains that this stage *"is about uncovering this self, and in psychoanalytic fashion, experiencing the relief of understanding how one came to be psychically, which is to say socially"* (p. 55). To generate data, one recalls the past at the same time that one transforms memory by bringing its meaning to the present. Data comes from asking autobiographical questions and then connecting memories generated by these questions to the social and to the present (Pinar, 2004).

2. The *progressive phase* focuses more on the fictive or free-associating representations of the future: "These fictive representations of who I might be, what world I might inhabit in the future, these fictional versions of who I might be someday but I am not now, allow us to feel our way through the obscurity of the present" (Pinar, 2004, p. 55-56). This phase is more experimental, and it is meant to disrupt the lines created by dominant narratives of who we are. It is meant to wake up imagination and fantasies that can be subversive. During this step, past and future go back and forth and generate movements between memories and desires.

3. The *analytical phase* invokes the past and the fictive future. In this phase, "one distances oneself from past and future so to be freer of the present. How is the future present in the past, the past in the future, and the present in both?" (Pinar

& Grumet, 1976, p. 60). This phase can be described as phenomenological bracketing (Pinar, 2004).

4. Finally, the *synthetic phase* reflects on the whole process and is a re-orienting to the present: "It, all of it – intellect, emotion, behavior – occurs in and through the physical body. As the body is a concrete whole, so what occurs within and through the body can become a discernible whole, integrated in its meaningfulness…Mind in its place, I conceptualize the present situation. I am placed together" (Pinar & Grumet, 1976, p. 61). This phase is almost like the production of a new self and ends in the question: "what is the meaning of the present?" (Pinar, 1976).

I see *currere* as a way to create a different narrative of the self in relation to society. The method generates a deep reflection of the narrative one has believed to be truth until that moment in time. Questioning one's understanding of one's lived curriculum generates a different point in the present and different imaginations of the future. The method of *currere* challenges personal assumptions, one's identifications, and one's future projections. In this way, *currere* reveals and combats assumptions hidden in the history taught in and out of schools, and in the collective identifications with imagined communities and illusions of truth. *Currere* also challenges the researcher's habitual response to events and develops one's capacity to critique meta-narratives of who we are (Pinar, 2004). Even though I do not use *currere* as a method in this dissertation, important points of reflection in my *autohistoria* are based on the phases of the *currere* method described above.

Autoethnography

The field of curriculum studies has traditionally studied students' lives by using autobiographical work to generate deep reflections on social issues and pedagogy (He, 2003; Pinar & Grumet, 1976; Clandini & Connelly, 1990; Ayers, 1990). The notion of "curriculum as a lived experience" (Aoki, 1986/1991, 1993) is a phenomenological understanding of the experience of teaching and learning. Experience is the focus of autoethnographic work. Experience is not "indubitable evidence -- but a resource for critical reflection" (Stone-Mediatore, 2000, p. 116), and a central endeavor of autoethnographic work. Similar to Pinar's method of *currere,* Levins Morales's *curandera* history and Anzaldúa's *autohistoria-teoría,* autoethnography sees the intersection of history, politics and culture in experiences contained in biographies (Denzin, 2014). Because the tradition of autoethnography has focused on producing knowledge through personal experiences rather than generalizations, it has had an important role in building counter-narratives and texts of resistance that represent the experiences of marginal populations (Reed-Danahay, 1997). The questions about research validity are framed by the pertinence of the stories told: "How useful is the story?" (Bochner in Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011, p. 282) and "To what uses might the story be put?" (Bochner in Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011, p. 282).

Influenced by critical anthropology, autoethnography – and performative autoethnography in particular – understands culture as changing and dynamic, existing within an arena where meanings are constantly challenged and transformed (Hall, 1997). Different from traditional ethnography, which regards the research site as the place where

evidence of a culture's structure can be collected, the performative autoethnographer sees acts of research design, interaction with participants, data collection, analysis, and writing all as parts of her field work. Participants are seen as writers of culture through their performances and through their interpretive practices (Conquergood, 1985). The fieldwork experience is a site where meaning is being co-produced; the researcher's experiences, then, are also part of the meaning-making.

As a methodology, autoethnography emphasizes the intersection of three main aspects of research: the self (auto), the culture (ethno), and the process of research (graphy) (Danahay in Bochner & Ellis, 2000). At the same time, autoethnographic work generates narratives that affect others connected to the researching self. Bochner and Ellis (2016) reflect on the ethics of creating narratives through autoethnographic work. Self-reflection, for example, generates questions about representations of others in an autoethnographic study: how will telling my own story affect relatives, friendships, and participants? How will I maintain the confidentiality of the individuals and communities with whom we study? When using fiction, for example, how much "truth" do we owe our readers and colleagues? How coherent is this story? Will your participants want to be part of the story you are telling? Even more concretely: do I need to ask for consent from participants or the people and events I am writing about? Do we take our work back to the people that are somewhat involved in the stories we are writing (Bochner and Ellis, 2016)? Our emotions involve others, our stories are connected to others, and our reflections affect these others. Writing that involves fiction does not necessarily free us from these important questions.

Self-reflection is an ongoing process of autoethnography and does not only happen in the writing process. Critical reflection generates questions, including questions about the reasons why this project is being conceived and the methods that will be used in this research. For example, one might consider how the camera might affect an interaction between researcher and participants. The researcher might check back in with the participants and have a conversation about what both parties understand from an interview (Bochner and Ellis, 2016). The researcher is also reflecting on her own biases, the tensions and difficulties of social interactions, and whether she is doing enough to study and to prepare for the interactions with participants.

Performative Autoethnography

People become writers of culture in *performative autoethnography*: "…life story becomes an invention, a re-presentation, a historical object often ripped or torn out of its contexts and recontextualized in the spaces and understandings of the story" (Denzin, 2014, p. 28). The point of this work is to identify the possibilities that this methodology generates when we explore our relations with others within various cultural systems (Spry, 2011). For instance: sociocultural context, critical self-reflection, self/other interaction, the body, and ethics are some of the composition elements that can help inform autoethnographies (Spry, 2011). "I" indicates a place of enunciation from the interstices between self, other, and culture (Spry, 2011).

Some methods for generating interesting data that come from personal places include fragments, mind maps, clusters, thick descriptions, metaphors, and reflections on

time and space. Fragments, for example, can be pieces of writing that work as registers of

particular experiences and can bring memories and critical reflections by uncovering

one's own thoughts (Spry, 2011). Clusters can be used to make connections between

fragments; they can reflect themes or important points a researcher makes during analysis

(Spry, 2011).

     Research can be used to support one's reflection and to contradict it. Research

itself is another voice in the researcher's conversation, and can reveal other voices

outside of the researcher's own reflections (Spry, 2011). Accounts of experiences, data

collection, and analysis proceed simultaneously in autoethnographic work. Generating

stories in performative autoethnographic research involves paying close attention to

reactions in one's own body, thoughts, and feelings. These reactions are registered

through vignettes, reflexivity, multiple voices, and introspection (Spry, 2011). Thoughts

and feelings registered in the vignettes "invoke" readers to enter into the "emergent

experience" of doing and writing research (Ronai, 1992, p. 123). Some scholars have

specified the components of an autoethnography that can generate the necessary self,

other, and cultural reflection: "The composition elements include 1) sociocultural

context, 2) critical self-reflection, 3) self-other interaction, 4) the body, and 5) ethics"

(Jones, 2008 in Spry, 2011, p. 127). Whether the focus of the autoethnography is the self,

culture, or the process of research, it depends on the interest of the researcher.

Sociocultural context, for example, is a reflection on one's understanding of one's

position through questions that reflect on the social structure. Researchers might ask:

"What are the social hierarchies or systems of power in your classroom? What are the

expectations of class or financial status?" (Spry, 2011, p. 128). Self-reflection in relation to that social structure might be: "Where am I situated within these structures? Why?" (Spry, 2011, p.129). At the same time, the questions that might be at the heart of a reflection in the autoethnography should also be part of the reflection a researcher engages in during field work: "Where and when do I have cultural privilege?" "How does my racial, gender, religious, etc. privilege affect others within this autoethnographic experience?" (Spry, 2011, p. 131).

The shared aspect of autoethnographic work, *curandera* history, *autohistoria-teoría*, and *currere* is its purpose. These methods are not only self-reflective but clearly pursue the transformation of social fabric. This final step is referred to as "performance" within performative autoethnography: "We embrace performance as a method of 'intellectual rebellion,' (Thomas 1993), as a method of localized global critique, as 'a radical critical pedagogy of hope'" (Denzin in Spry, 2011, p. 161). The purpose of these methodological stances is to transform the way culture performs class, race, gender or global identities. Levinas Morales rewrites culture through *curandera* history; Anzaldúa rewrites border-crossing subjectivities; and Pinar rewrites curriculum through *currere* – the course of one's life choices. The performative researcher is also represented through her vulnerability throughout fieldwork, self-reflection, writing, and interactions with others. Embodying research means that one is in the process of becoming throughout this inquiry. In traditional performances of research, the researcher impersonates an "expert" and treats participants as "informants." In performative autoethnography, the researcher instead looks for answers by following how knowledge is produced and the

transformations, movements, and transformations that are happening to both the research

and the researcher (Denzin, 2014).

The researcher's focus on reflexivity and transformation is of vital importance.

The researcher engages with herself and her participants' lives in terms of the time,

places, and events that happen as the inquiry unfolds (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Both

researcher and participants are living the research in the specific time and place of their

lives and the personal condition that surround the process of research; that is, they all

contend with having feelings, aesthetic reactions, moral dilemmas, etc. (Clandinin &

Connelly, 2000). For example, this research took place while some of my participants

were thinking about the transition between middle school and high school, including the

paperwork that needed to be completed and the school-based options they might have

access too. Crucially, this study follows my own reflections and transformations as a

result of my relationships with others within various contexts (Spry, 2011). As a

researcher, I was constantly thinking about time, physical commute to the research site,

and resources. Inspired by autoethnography as a methodology, I tracked how

sociocultural context, critical-self-reflection, self/other interaction, the body and ethics

were generated from my different images, understandings, awareness (Spry, 2011).

Fragments, thick descriptions, metaphors, and reflections on time and space all helped me

generate data from my own experience of research. I self-reflected through questions

such as: "What are the social hierarchies or systems of power in your classroom?" (Spry,

2011, p. 128). "Where am I situated within these structures? Why?" (Spry, 2011,

p.129). "Where and when do I have cultural privilege?" "How does my racial, gender,

religious, etc. privilege affect others within this autoethnographic experience?" (Spry, 2011, p. 131).

Autohistoria **and** *Autohistoria-Teoría*

Crucially, stories offer the possibility of being present to witness. Gloria Anzaldúa, perhaps the most prominent Chicana feminist writer of autobiographical narratives, explains how the path to knowledge, or, *conocimiento*, involves the creation of different interpretations of one's story. These new interpretations of personal narratives are particularly necessary during a time when,

> We are experiencing a personal, global identity crisis in a disintegrating social order that possess little heart and functions to oppress people by organizing them into hierarchies of commerce and power (…) This system and its hierarchies affect people's lives in concrete and devastating ways and justify a sliding scale of human worth used to keep humankind divided. (Anzaldúa, 2015, p.118)

Weaving personal narratives with collective history, theories, autobiographical vignettes, fiction, and theoretical prose is what she calls *autohistoria:* "[*Autohistoria*] focuses on the personal life story, but as the autohistorian tells her own life story, she simultaneously tells the life stories of others" (Anzaldúa, 2015). *Autohistoria-teoría* describes transformations made through the writing of personal stories that involve a cultural critique and the use of memoir, history, storytelling, myth, and other forms of knowing. It describes the writing process as one that involves a life story and self-reflection of

individual and collective experiences. In this way, the process becomes a form of individual and collective transformation.

In *How Prieta Came to Write* (2009) and *This Bridge We Call Home* (2002)*, Anzaldúa explains how writing became a way of knowing, and how the process of writing allowed her to "recognize the illusory and arbitrary nature of social norms" (2009, p. 236). For Anzaldúa, the process of producing new stories, new interpretations, becomes a spiritual inquiry that can only be accessed through creative acts. Writing, cooking, and teaching, among other creative acts, provide access to larger systems of reference. They are paths to *nepantla,* or the interstices between your core beliefs and those of other beings'. *Nepantla* is "the site of transformation, the place where different perspectives come into conflict and where you question the basic ideas, tenets, and identities inherited from your family, your education, and your different cultures" (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 548). *Nepantla,* then, becomes a site to transform culture, where realities can shift, where the negotiation between self and others finds a common ground.

Traditional research in education refers to personal stories as data; however, in this dissertation, stories are sites where an opportunity exists to frame the present and the future. We can think of stories as sources of erased histories and of silenced theories that have survived through culture, and as locales where narratives of identities, nationalism, class, race, gender, etc. can be rewritten. This is in the vein of how Anzaldúa articulates "story":

> My "stories" are acts encapsulated in time, "enacted every time they are spoken
> aloud or silently. I like to think of them as performances and not as inert and

"dead" objects (as the aesthetics of Western culture think of art works. Instead the work has an identity; it is a "who" or a "what" and contains the presence of persons, that is, incarnations of gods or ancestors or natural cosmic powers. (Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 89)

Stories invoke images, symbols, feelings, conscious and unconscious understandings. Anzaldúa describes the process through which the writer enters into the space between the conscious and the unconscious through the images of painful experiences to transform perceptions of reality. The process of imagining, writing, and storytelling, is a path to knowledge: to *conocimiento* (2002).

My Living Curriculum of the Global

In this section I write into the relationship between the curriculum of the global offered by the middle school I attended and my struggle to find a place of belonging and participation that was relevant to my everyday experiences in and out of the school. My reflection is an example of how stories can help us to see the way in which global relations operate in our everyday lives, as well as an example of how a hidden curriculum of the global can dislocate us.

"*I come from a place where killings of poor people mean nothing. When did I become so cold, how did I become so indifferent, insensitive, anestesiada, "apolitical"? There is so much coldness in this heart. There has been so much coldness in this heart for 36 years. I ask forgiveness to all the victims of violent acts, victims of war, victims of oppression, victims of poverty who shared the*

same land, the same country with me. I ask for forgiveness for my indifference, for

my lack of support, for my cowardliness hidden behind words like "safety,"

behind a sheltered education that makes no connection with these realities that

are connected to me, to my indifference. Forgive me for not making the 30

seconds effort to connect the dots that ties me to this reality." (Díaz Beltrán,

2018, p. 273)

This fragment reflects my feelings and reflections during the fall of 2014 about my

relation to "others" in Colombia" people pushed to the margins of society. It illustrates

my feelings about my participation in structures of inequity that generated a civil war,

and about my indifference to social justice. I thought about the criminalization and

persecution of citizens who actively fought against injustice. How did I learn to be a

citizen? What experiences taught me what it means to be a citizen? What were the

possibilities of citizenship that place(s) generated for me? In other words, what was my

living curriculum of citizenship in the specificity of place? I came about these and other

reflections throughout my doctoral program, reflections that came from my movement

across national, regional, academic, social borders.

"The idea of place at St. George's"

I drew "Idea of Place at St. George's School" (Figure 1) in 2015, as a doctoral

student at The Pennsylvania State University in the United States. The drawing

represents the symbolic demarcation of place at the school I attended for

elementary, middle, and high school in Colombia. St. George's was a British

school founded 13 years after the end of World War II and around the time when

decolonization processes started taking place in different parts of the world. In 1983, I was joining a British school in what was since 1952 referred to as the Third World, a geopolitical location in an imagined world order from the West that targeted Colombia with projects and agendas for an "underdeveloped world."
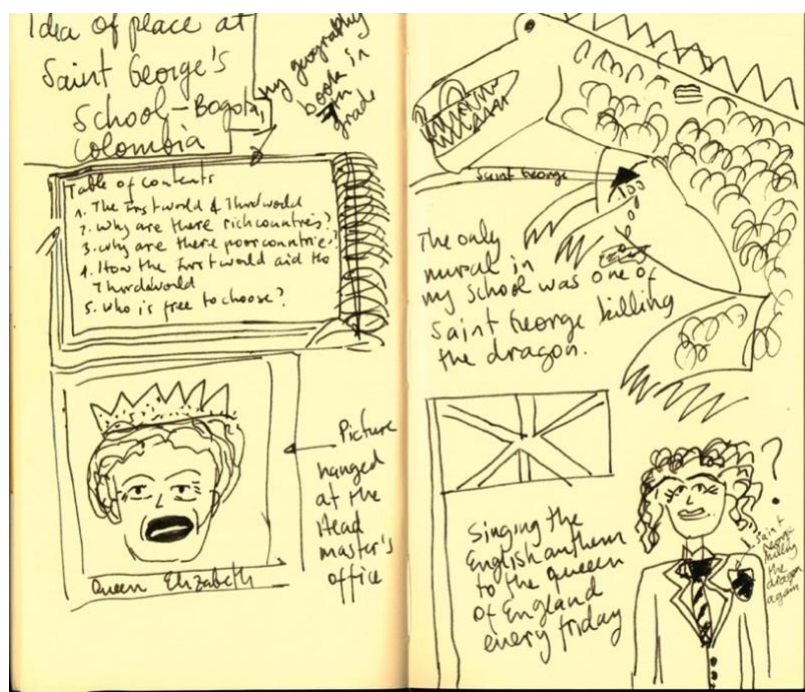
Figure 3-1: Curriculum of place at Saint George's School

Underneath the title, on the left side of the drawing, you see the table of contents from my 7th grade Geography textbook. On the bottom part of the same side, you see Queen Elizabeth's picture hanging in my headmaster's office. On the right top side, you find a representation of the school's mural with St. George killing a ferocious dragon. In the bottom corner of the right page you find a

picture of myself singing the British anthem every Friday while I have a symbol of St. George pinned to my blazer.

At St. George's, every Friday I prayed in English and sang Britain's national anthem to Queen Elizabeth. Every time I entered the headmaster's office, I could see Queen Elizabeth's picture hanging on the wall as a symbol of power and authority. Even though there is a long tradition of muralism in Latin America, the only mural in my school had Saint George killing the dragon with his sword. My mestiza body was dressed in a British grammar school uniform with a badge hanging on the left pocket of my blazer that represented White Catholic St. George on a white horse dominating the green beast laying on the ground; it was a uniform that read "rich kid" in the streets of Bogotá. These texts are symbols of the empire, of exclusionary definitions of citizenship, of a marginalizing geography of the world as a place, and are the maps of my location within that design. The curriculum of place at St. George's was the imagined local national culture of Britain becoming the walls of my school in Colombia, affecting my own positioning as a citizen (Mayorga, 2017). This idea of place separated me from the histories of the liberation of Indigenous and Black peoples from the chains of colonization; it separated me from the social movements embedded in the history of the civil war my grandparents, my parents, and now my generation, were living. I was attending a school with the symbols and materiality of the British Empire in a place with a history of colonialism that

grounded the exclusion of non-Western peoples based on a fiction of European

superiority." (Díaz Beltrán, 2018, p. 276)

The drawing above maps out global relations of power in the school: the geography book, the picture of Queen Elizabeth at the headmaster's office, St. George killing the dragon on the inner walls of the school, the British anthem, praying in English, are part of a Eurocentric curriculum that delineates aspirations for subjects in the Global South. British culture is represented through symbols and hegemonic narratives of national culture that homogenizes the multiplicity of experiences in the UK. In this curriculum of the global at Saint George's, the living experiences of us as students attending the school in Colombia at a time of political unrest are ignored. These experiences become part of "the options students are not afforded, the perspectives they may never know about, much less are able to use, the concepts and skills that are not part of their intellectual repertoire" (Eisner, 1985) or the "null curriculum" of the global. The living experiences of students across place(s), inside and outside of classrooms – in other words, the living curriculum (Kissling, 2014) – became instead part of the null curriculum of the global.

What do these reflections say about relationship to the world, political belonging (Yuval-Davis, 2006), the possibility for political and economic participatation, recognition, and access? What is required for marginalized populations to belong, to be considered as part of the world, participate in decision making, to be recognized as a citizen of a community? (Rosaldo, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 2006). One way to address these questions is to look into how accessing this form of education created possibilities for influence, participation, and access to resources in my own life. Accessing this

Eurocentric curriculum of the global in a country with a strong legacy of colonialism allowed me to get a job as a social studies teacher at an international school in Colombia without any teacher preparation; I was hired just for being bilingual in English and Spanish. This curriculum enabled my access to the highest education degree at a "Research One" institution in the U.S.; in turn, it may provide me with employment opportunities in Colombia that strongly influenced by the image that living, studying, working in the US brings with it.

This Eurocentric curriculum of the global also taught me "how to dislocate myself form the history of peoples and the places that oppressive global structures exploit, disempower, and dispossess. I have learned how to locate myself in the fictions of White European superiority to become superior to others" (Díaz Beltrán, 2018, p. 281). Yet, it limited my access to *pozos de conocimiento*/wells of knowledge, epistemologies that aim to transform relations of power, to understand symbols, images, words, and how these create hierarchies. It cut off my consciousness of my place in the world, to the struggles of others that are part of my networks of relations, and to my family history. This Eurocentric curriculum of the world only offered a colonized version of myself that shaped in my taste in standards of beauty, music, food; in my interest in European languages, forms of knowledge, my desires to visit and travel to particular places. Within the "The idea of place at Saint George's School," the curriculum of the global offered is full of aspirations, paths for acculturation and enculturation into a Eurocentric colonialist worldview. What if the curriculum of the global at the school had reflected the set of relations that students, families, teachers, and administrators brought with them? What if,

rather than a fixed representation of the world, the curriculum of the global brought to light the differences that members of the school bring through their relations to the world?

The Study

This is a curricular study that uses storying (Denzin, 1997) as a method to inquire into Latina/o youths' lived experiences of citizenship. The study took place over the course of 14 weeks in Hazleton Pennsylvania. I came into Hazleton as a guest and storied (Denzin, 1997) scenes, moments, dialogues, and gestures from the participants contextualizing them in relation to historical tensions and cultural negotiations in Hazleton. Even though I worked with seven participants throughout my fieldwork, my focus is on the typical aspects of their stories and the cultural context in which their stories take place. In other words, I inquire into Latina/o youth's experiences of citizenship and belonging with a strong consideration of the historical and sociopolitical context of Hazleton. I used ethnographic methods (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011) for data collection.

Site Selection

In the summer of 2016, I was offered the opportunity to co-teach a two-week immersion course on language and cultural diversity in Hazleton, Pennsylvania. My experience during that short period of time allowed me to understand the relevance of the configurations of self, culture, and place. I experienced how my body and accent was

read differently by changing locations within Pennsylvania and even place(s) within the same town. Soon after I entered the classrooms in different elementary and middle schools, the students would ask me if I spoke Spanish.

The following vignette is a reflection of my first impressions of one of Hazleton's public schools, after spending only three hours in the school. It is by no means meant to generalize the environment of public schools in Hazleton. Rather, it is an account of my experience and of the tensions that I could perceive by sitting in this space as an outsider to the town, to the school, and to the classroom. This vignette is also not the result of a dialogical space where different points of view were juxtaposed. I present this vignette as an early reflection of my positioning as a researcher in the context of Hazleton and its relevant as a place for this research.

Vignette: "You speak Spanish?"

I discovered the power of being read as a brown body, of being identified as Hispanic, of being bilingual in English and Spanish and of being educated, the day I entered a first-grade classroom in Hazleton. I didn't learn this the day I passed my TOEFL exam, or the day I graduated as an anthropologist, or through body care routines. I learned about the pertinence and privilege of being an educated Latina, of being a brown woman, of being a bilingual teacher, in Hazleton, PA.

I entered a first-grade classroom as a university instructor with two pre-service teachers, who were my students. The classroom we were visiting was run by a teacher who, according to the principal, was one of the best teachers in the

school. I asked the teacher if it was fine to walk around supporting students with their work. She said there is no problem.

While we [the pre-service teachers and I] were working with the students, some announcements were made and the school pledge was about to begin. Every morning the school day begins with positive messages and reminders of good behavior. The teacher and another supporting adult, known in the school as "foster grandma," sat behind desks that looked like fortresses that separated them from the rest of the classroom.

The principal started saying the pledge broadcasted through the classroom speaker: "I will keep my hands to myself." "Yeah! Right!" said the foster grandma in response. The kids repeated the pledge: "I will learn." The teacher responded in a quiet but still distinguishable voice: "We'll see about that!" "Yeah, exactly!" Replied the foster grandma. I am shocked.

I sat in an empty desk becoming joining three students that are sitting at desks that are facing each other. I read out loud the name taped to the desk of the student sitting next to me: "Juan Oliveilla." Juan raised his eyes and said: "You speak Spanish?" I nod and say: "Yes." Not convinced by my answer he asked now in Spanish: "Sí, señora?" and I replied back: "Sí, señor!"

The kids at the table giggle and put their faces between their shoulders. Juan in a low voice tried to reach his friend on the other side of the room: "José!" José replies: "Qué?!" Juan: "She speaks Spanish!" With surprise José said: "Sí?" By their gestures I understand we shouldn't be talking in Spanish but we continue

to speak softly in Spanish "Help José, he does not speak English," said Juan. I

thought to myself that they probably had never seen a bilingual teacher in a class

where there is only one White kid.

During my first visits to two of the public schools in Hazleton I could see how some

students were ready to drop out school as early as second grade. José was shaking when I

sat next to him to help. Being about seven-years old he was sitting in a classroom where

he did not understand what he was being asked to do, A class where he was treated as if

he was dumb because he had just arrived a couple of weeks before and could not speak

English yet. He was being asked to sit eight hours a day in classroom where he was being

spoken to in a language he was just starting to learn. No wonder he was shaking; he was

being asked to be still and quiet all the time. Holding his hands, he could not stay still all

the time and he was already labeled as a problem kid.

I entered the school as a Penn State instructor that came to supervise two Penn

State pre-service teachers. I felt that having Penn State as a credential provided a position

that was recognized in that space. It was never explicitly said that we could not speak

Spanish while I was there. However, from the students' attitudes (whispering, hiding

their faces, giggling) I inferred that the expectation was that they did not speak in

Spanish. The implicit messages of the walls, the materials, the books, and the teacher was

that Spanish was not acknowledged in that academic space even when the majority of

students spoke Spanish as a first or second language.

There were no supports on the walls or in the materials used or in the resources offered to

support students' use of bilingualism in Spanish and English. There was no structure that

would allow students to know that their understanding, interests, or abilities were not the same as their language skills. There were no symbols that would acknowledge students' cultural background.

During my visit in 2016, I was also able to work with students who attended the schools I visited in an afterschool program at the community center. In that context I observed how students' behaviors changed from one place to another. The afterschool program is a structured but less regulated environment. In the afterschool program, students participated in academic activities but they also played basketball and had some free time to interact with their peers from other schools. Because my goal was to study living curriculum of citizenship among Latina/o youths, I wanted to be able to participate in and observe contexts the youths would typically frequent. I wanted to have access to planned curriculum of citizenship and the opportunity to spend time with the youths doing different kinds of activities. I wanted to witness and listen to their stories of citizenship and belonging.

Site 1: Community Center

One of the spaces in which this study took place is the Community Center, where an afterschool program called Hazleton Integration Program (HIP) ran in the afternoons from Monday to Thursday. More than 90% of the students enrolled in the afterschool are Latina/o. The afterschool provided academic support and a variety of non-academic activities and clubs for elementary and middle schoolers. I chose to do part of my research in the afterschool program, because was a project supported by parents and community members. Also, the afterschool program allotted me time to interact with the

students weekly in a context outside of school that the youths visited on a daily basis. Because I lived in State College at the time of this project, the way I organized the time I spent in Hazleton (119 miles away) was an important factor in the research design. Participating in the afterschool program as a teacher allowed me to design activities that were conducive to storytelling and informal conversation.

I met the participants of this study weekly for 14 weeks in the afterschool club. Doing participant-observation in this site allowed me to interact with the students not only in the role of researcher but directly in the role of teacher. This brought both challenges and benefits. I was able to experience the afterschool program in a known role: I had to follow the established protocols and planning procedures, as well as participate in conversations with community leaders, teachers, and parents. Interacting with the students in a "known" role brought the tensions and advantages of this kind of relationship. After each afterschool session, I recorded my immediate reflections on the group session in the club and wrote memos of the sessions in the form of vignettes. Every session was audiorecorded and parts of each of them were transcribed.

Site 2: The School

The school was a Title I school where above 80% of the enrolled students qualified for free or reduced lunch. More than 60% of the student body was categorized as Hispanic and more than 20% were classified as English Language Learners (ELLs). Since the development of Interstate roads 81 and 80, the economic growth in Hazleton generated waves of immigration of the Latina/o population from other cities in the U.S.

and from Spanish-speaking countries in Latin America. The transformation of social demographics in the area were also reflected in the demographics at the school.

I observed 52 hours of social studies classes at a public middle school in Hazleton for 14 weeks in the first semester of 2017. The principal of the school introduced me to the teachers whose classes I would observe. The teachers welcomed me into their classrooms. They sometimes allowed me to sit aside and observe and at other times allowed me to participate by working with the students, although this seldomly happened. I also had informal conversations with both students and teachers at the beginning or at the end of the classes, in the corridors, during general assemblies, in the school cafeteria or at a dinner close to the school. Observations were registered in a journal with notes about places, conversations, instruction, distribution, etc.

Research Questions

What are the experiences of citizenship of transnational immigrant Latina/o youths in the specificity of Hazleton as a place?

1. What are the narratives of citizenship told by teachers in one public school in the demographically shifting, semi-rural community of Hazleton, Pennsylvania?

2. How do seven transnational immigrant Latino youths experience citizenship in the demographically shifting, semi-rural community of Hazleton, Pennsylvania?

Participants

  Latina/o youths. All youths participating in this study were middle schoolers
enrolled in the Hazleton School District (HASD). All participants self-identified as
Hispanic, Latina/o or a related signifier. I recruited the youths participating in this study
at the Community Center through an afterschool club called *Storying Without Borders*
that I lead. The main goal of the club was to create stories using audiovisual technology.
Not all youths who enrolled in the club were participants in this study. The participants in
this study that I met regularly in the afterschool club attended different public middle
schools in Hazleton. In order to learn more about the students and the contexts that they
regularly interacted with, I observed one of the middle school's social studies classes.
The group of participants was composed of three girls and four boys. All participants
self-identified as Hispanic.

Table 3-**1**: Transnational immigrant youths who participated in the study

Participant (pseudonym)	Gender	Ethnicity	Grade level	Bilingual English and Spanish	Generation immigrant
Carmelo	Male	Dominican-American	8th	Yes	2nd
Chris	Male	Dominican-Puerto Rican-American	7th	Yes	2nd
Ela	Female	Colombian-Dominican-American	8th	Yes	2nd
Esmeralda	Female	Dominican-American	8th	Yes	1.5

Illán	Male	Dominican-American	8th	Yes	1.5
Jay	Female	Peruvian-American	8th	Yes	2nd
Tyrone	Male	Dominican American	7th	Yes	2nd

Social Studies Teachers. Two teachers and one pre-service teacher participated in this study. I observed a total of 52 hours of World Studies and World History classes. The purpose of these observations was to get a better sense of the school contexts in Hazleton, of the social studies curriculum, and of narratives of citizenship in schools. The three teachers taught some of the youths participating in this study, but not all of them. By formally interviewing them, observing their classes, and having informal conversations with them, I hoped to learn more about the town and school communities and Latina/o students' lives in Hazleton. I also wanted to learn more about teachers and students' interactions in relation to topics such as immigration, citizenship, nationalism, and patriotism, among others.

Table 3-**2**: Teachers participating in this study

Participant (pseudonym)	Gender	Race/ethnicity	Hazleton resident
Mrs. D	Female	White	No
Mr. O	Male	White	No
Mr. G	Male	Latino	Yes

Modes of Inquiry

      Participant Observation. Compared with other research methods, participant observation stands out for its lack of specificity of its activities, in that it refers to participating of the quotidian activities to be exposed to and participate in cultural practices in that community (Guber, 2001). The purpose of participant observation in this study was to learn more about students' interactions in different sites.

      Over 52 hours of observation, I registered classrooms practices, tensions, conversations, methods, students' and teachers' responses to certain topics, and the narratives taught in their schools about the world. I took notes on students' participation, teacher's instruction, planned curriculum, space decorations and distributions, sounds, etc. The fieldnotes registered: 1) typical days, routines, incidents and troubles; 2) the use of terms or words frequently used at the sites, dates time, and locations for each entry; 3) tensions experienced by the researcher and/or others in the same setting around the same event (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2011). The field journal was also a space to jot down free texts, such as fragments, images, epiphanies, and reflections on research processes and collected data. I also kept a fieldnotes log with the date, place, activity, participants, activity description, and journal page. This log helped me keep track and find pertinent fieldnotes for the analytical process.

      Personal Audio Entries. I used audio entries to recall as much information, thoughts, and reflections as possible right after visiting Hazleton. After each group session and observations in classrooms, I described the events of the day and the most memorable moments. I also used it to record reflections, feelings, and questions. I did a

total of twelve 25-30-minute recordings. I transcribed the sections of these recordings that were helpful for data analysis and writing as reminders of the dynamics, energy, and richness of day to day interactions.

Interviews With Youths. Even though I had originally planned to conduct individual interviews, all interviews with youths in this study happened in small groups and lasted between 45-60 minutes. All of the youths participated in one interview each. Interviews with the youths took place at the community center, after our afterschool club sessions.

I conducted interviews during which both the participants and I asked questions, answered them, commented, and made meaning together (Marshall and Rossman, 2011). Because I was interested in working with the students to generate stories about their lived experiences as (global) citizens in Hazleton, I initially prepared to discuss topics like familial history, Hazleton's present and history, places they frequently visit, social networks, and connections outside Hazleton (see appendix 2). I audiorecorded and transcribed interviews. I identified themes from the interviews, grouped them, associated them with audio and fieldnotes entries. Finally, I storied the data.

Interviews with Teachers. I interviewed teachers whose classrooms I observed for 14 weeks on a weekly basis. Some of the participants of this study had them as their social studies teachers. Interviews took place in the school, during teachers' planning time or lunch. I wanted to learn more about each teacher's perception of Hazleton as a place, their affiliation with social groups, their networks in Hazleton and outside Hazleton, and their perception of the student's experiences in the school. Two teachers

were interviewed once and one teacher was interviewed twice. Each interview lasted 25-45 minutes.

Interpretive Method: Storying

Interpretation as Storytelling. I build on the work of ethnographer Soyini Madison (Madison, 2003; 2016) in thinking about performance, personal narratives, and the role of qualitative researchers in producing transformative work:

> Those qualitative researchers who dare to transform data into symbol, metaphor, and embodied knowledge traverse territories and spaces to attempt the impossible: they show us how narration still matters by making utopian imaginaries into a politics of the real, a materiality of the flesh, a consequential action of effects. Like the archetypal trickster the performance ethnographer turns things upside down for pleasure, beauty, and purpose to create something new and different across publics, large and small, hidden and spectacular, to communicate the complexities and the theatrical gravitas of fieldwork praxis. (Madison, 2016)

Madison (2003) proposes a "performance of possibilities" that will generate active, creative, transformative work: ". . . the performance of possibilities aims to create or contribute to a discursive space where unjust systems and processes are identified an interrogated" (p. 479). The importance of such work is in creating the possibility for the audience to witness the tensions existing between the "Subject's life-world" (p. 479) and the systems in place that interact with that world, the issues of power, and challenges created by such systems. In the context of this dissertation, I conceptualize the researcher

as a performer (and in many ways, so are the participants and the reader of this research), the participants as subjects, and the readers of research as the audience.

Thick Description. In this study, I story and restory (see pp. 83-84) the data in order to build connections between different sources. I story and restory using data from different contexts, including data registered in fieldnotes, audioentries, vignettes, and memos. This process enables me to create thick descriptions within the stories presented in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. In thick description, interpretation captures "the typical" in things that seem unimportant but that make sense in the contextual meanings given to these quotidian actions. It requires thinking of culture as a theoretical entity in order to go after meaning-making within these "typical" moments and attempt to explain them (Geertz, 1973). In other words, I endeavor to interpret someone else's meaning-making and situate within my own web of meanings. Interpreting requires providing a *thick description* of events,

> . . . a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures in terms of which twitches, winks, fake-winks, parodies, rehearsals of parodies are produced, perceived, and interpreted, and without which they would not (not even the zero-form twitches, which, as a cultural category, are as much nonwinks as winks are nontwitches) in fact exist, no matter what anyone did or didn't do with his eyelids." (p. 8)

In contrast, a thin description describes actions and events as facts in isolation from their web of meaning. A thin description defines actions and events in absolutist terms, without structures of meaning. A thick description, on the other hand, attempts to discern

the different meanings that are given to actions, events, etc. In a dialogue, thick

description arises after the meaning of what was actually "said" what was intended to be

said. Interpretation should not, however, take one particular example and make it a

generalization of the whole. In thick description, one should not the study of a town and

generalize its interpretation to that of an entire culture, but rather keep interpretation

localized to the town. Thick description is also not a diagnosis about culture, or an effort

to make projections about culture; rather, it provides access to other forms of meaning-

making, a work that could be continuously actualized (Geertz, 1973).

     Storying and Restorying. Using transcripts, fieldnotes, audiorecordings,

videorecordings, memos, and timelines, I interpreted the texts by storying (Denzin, 1997)

and restorying (Ollerenshaw & Cresswell, 2002). Traditionally, a researcher would

analyze a collection of stories, finding elements in common under the lens of a particular

theoretical framework and in relation to research questions that derive from that

framework. Storying, however, foregrounds scenes, moments, and images and relates

them to historical tensions, cultural negotiations, and everyday practices in a particular

time and place (Denzin, 1997, p. 247). In other words, instead of reducing a collection of

stories into elements that are shared by them, storying "works upward an outward from

the concrete to the larger set of meanings that operate in a particular context" (Denzin,

1997, p. 248) and in a particular historical moment. For the researcher, the purpose of

storying is to place themselves in the historical moment in order "to interrogate and

criticize this moment and its narrative, storytelling practices" (Denzin, p. 248). Storying

is interpretation that, in distinction from observing, registering, and mapping out data,

aims to capture "the typical" in things that seem unimportant but that make sense in the various meanings given to quotidian actions (Geertz, 1973). In the context of this dissertation, storying acts as a form of thick description of events and avoids an absolutist perspective of uncovering reality or truth. Storying does not aim to represent reality in a more "accurate" way but presupposes that meaning is constructed and is constantly negotiated by individuals and social groups (Hall, 1997, p. 25). I also did restorying (Ollerenshaw & Cresswell, 2002): the process of collecting stories, analyzing them, and then rewriting them and providing rich context for the participant's telling of the story. Before I selected the stories to share in this study, I analyzed the transcripts by identifying the themes in each of them.

Vignettes and Memo/Fragments. After identifying main themes from the group session transcripts and interviews, I wrote ten vignettes that centered on those themes. I also incorporated the audioentries related to the stories with the vignettes. These vignettes have the purpose of illustrating an interpretive theme from the research, not only providing more context but making abstract theoretical concepts visible in concrete, everyday actions and experiences (Erickson, 1986; Graue & Walsh, 1998). Vignettes also make reference to other kinds of evidence to communicate data to the audience and fill in descriptive gaps. The vignettes in this dissertation may use fictional components to exemplify a particular element in the data and bridge it to larger contexts and relations. These may combine experiences on the field and also might bring in memories and fiction to "complete" the focus of the narrative. The whole point of these is to generate the stage on which the reader to reflect on particular themes, circumstances, and

questions (Spry, 2011). Vignettes may not aim to communicate the "truth" of the fieldnotes, but they help communicate a main theme to the reader (Graue & Walsh, 1998). Vignettes that are informed by postcolonial and decolonial frameworks and by narrative performance theory define context beyond the concrete spaces where the described events take place. Context, in this frame of thought, can reveal transnational forces, migration as a consequence of globalization, and transnational forms of power. Vignettes reveal how very local actions are also experiences of world systems.

Storying Youth's Interviews. One of the biggest challenges in the process of storying and coding the interviews with the youths was that I expected long narratives from youths in my planning of the group sessions and interviews, but found that this was not the case. Indeed, as Luttrell (2003) helpfully explains youths have very different ways to share stories and their stories are very different from the ones told by adults, "I (naively) assumed (…) girls would have a storehouse of life stories to share with me, that they would narrate their pasts in light of the present as the older women (…) their relationship to childhood events, often told in bits and pieces were not unified or linked" (p. 148). The methodological approaches I drew from did not account for "bits" or "pieces" or stories that were not "units." I found resources in narrative research with young children (Gallas, 1994) and descriptions of vignettes (Graue & Walsh, 1998). This process became easier once "bits" and "pieces" from different moments were grouped and contextualized. Drawing from other sources of data or to *story* (Denzin, 1997) made the most sense. I also was not expecting resistance to the kind of questions I was asking;

these were questions about origins, family, places, networks outside Hazleton, etc. This resistance made both the transcription process and the coding process difficult.

I turned to writing short stories as a research technique in my study because it allowed me to make sense of my experiences, my fieldnotes, and theory. The short stories are not fictional because everything in them is supported by descriptions in my fieldnotes, but they communicate information through this form recognizable to readers as fiction (Graue & Walsh, 1998, p. 230). The purpose of using short stories is to offer a performative writing piece to the reader, hoping they can witness and consider the issues happening in the story as an important part of the context where this research takes place.

Table 3-**3**: Storying process

Stage	Text	Tasks
Construct timeline of fieldwork	-Audio recordings from interviews, group sessions and audioentries -Fieldnotes	-Create log table for fieldnotes and audio entries -Transcribe -Prepare transcripts for coding
Coding	-Transcripts of interviews and group sessions -Fieldnotes	-Theme transcripts
Encoding/decoding	-Transcripts -Themes -Fieldnotes -Audio entries	Relate codes to larger social schemes
Storying	-Fragments of transcripts, fieldnotes and audioentries	-Write vignettes -Revise stories

Dramaturgical Coding

My coded data includes slices of life, recorded date, participant and researcher activities, documents, reflective data, and fieldnotes. For metadata, I created analytical memos, vignettes (that later became parts of the stories), and drawings. Before coding I transcribed all interviews, pieces of the audio entries, and parts of the group sessions. I then prepared the transcripts, leaving space on the sides for themes such as activities, actions, topics, tensions, assumptions (Saldaña, 2013, p. 145).

Limitations of the Study

My own approach of sharing what I have witnessed is to put together a "partial map of meaning" that defines the limitations of this study in terms of the time I shared with my participants, and in terms of my experience of place(s) where I do not live. My purpose is not to try to reproduce participants' interpretations because that is an impossible task. My aim in this study is to provide context, to share my interpretation of how participants make meaning of their experiences of citizenship, and to offer stories that complicate traditional understandings of the curriculum of the global. My aim is also to engage with the work of authors who have thought deeply about power, the relationship between the self and society, and the relationship between everyday lives and transnational systems of power. Storying enables me to connect aspects, events, and tensions that do not seem to be in connection with one another but that, once placed one next to each other, present a different perspective.

Chapter 4

Narratives About Citizenship and Belonging in Hazleton

In this chapter, I present four narratives of citizenship told by three social studies teachers in one public school in Hazleton, a demographically shifting, semi-rural community. As a whole, these narratives primarily focused on sameness. They offer paths of assimilation into national identity and language. I present each narrative with a small amount of analysis regarding citizenship and belonging. In the first part of this chapter, I provide a brief context of how the town is making efforts to adopt a multicultural identity for the present and future. Following that, I share narratives about belonging and citizenship, paying particular attention to markers of difference and sameness.

A "Multicultural Future" in Hazleton

There is a past that wants to be recovered in Hazleton: a memory of a glorious epoch of a wealthy cosmopolitan city at the beginning of the 20th century; a time remembered through images of a downtown Hazleton area that movie stars, politicians, writers frequently visited; a time when Hazleton had several theatres, banks, hotels, department stores, boutiques, shops; a time that celebrates how Hazleton was one of the earliest towns to be electrified in Pennsylvania. This is a memory of a town where 32 different languages were spoken, newspapers were printed in multiple languages, and different forms of faith were represented in places of worship. (McElwee, 2017, February

19, personal communication; McElwee, n.d.). The spatial distribution of neighborhoods, schools, churches, and cultural monuments to homelands both present and past suggests that Hazleton wants to be remembered as a representation of diversity, particularly of the multiple waves of immigration at the turn of the 19th century. This multicultural horizon celebrating diversity and national cultures is portrayed as an opportunity for business and economic revitalization. "Moving forward the downtown will elevate its role as a multicultural destination for business growth within Northeastern Pennsylvania, and especially as a regional center for banking, finance, insurance and professional services" (Downtown Alliance for Progress, n.d.). The Downtown Hazleton Alliance for Progress has started to implement a five-year long plan for renovations in the downtown area that aim to represent "values that built the immigrant community over a century ago that according to this renovation effort can be summarized as: hard work, family, food, faith, and community" (Downtown Alliance for Progress, n.d.).

The plan for renovations and the creation of Hazleton's Downtown Alliance for Progress illustrates how a town that struggles with racial and ethnic tensions and economic recession negotiates its present and future. Eight new murals, a new park, a new arts center, and a street of restaurants representing different nationalities will be part of Hazleton's present and future construction of place. One of the new murals, "Creative Voltage" (Figures 4-1 and 4-2), depicts Thomas Edison representing Hazleton's "innovative past" on one end, and "its future" on the other end: the faces of six children who attended the Hazleton Integration Project afterschool program. The same artist who created "Creative Voltage," Veronica Sweeney, is working on a new mural titled "The

Hazleton Way," which refers to a remark originally made by Joe Madden, manager of the

Chicago Cubs and founder of the Hazleton Integration Project. The mural will be based

on the metaphors that people in Hazleton use in response to the question "What is the

Hazleton Way?" (Whalen, 2017, A14).

Figure 4-1: This is a photograph of mural *Creative Voltage* by artist
Mary Veronica Sweeney on North Wyoming St. in Hazleton,
PA. Photographed by me in March, 2017.

Figure 4-2: This photograph shows an addition to the mural *Creative
Voltage* that depicts the children of Hazleton. Image from Ellen
F. O'Connell, May 2017 (Hazleton, PA: Standard-Speaker).

These initiatives centering on Hazleton's "multicultural future" and the internationalization of its downtown area, however, contrast with the recent history of immigration in the town. Even though this multicultural present is aiming to build a place where everyone belongs and is able to participate, the terms of that participation do not recognize the efforts and struggles that some communities have undergone in order to do so. Issues of belonging, participation, and citizenship need to go beyond the fight for recognition and toward the investment of resources in projects that benefit disenfranchised communities. As Renato Rosaldo (2000) argues, "when the state recognizes rights but does not invest resources, then the rights are only formal and not substantial" [my translation] (para. 3).

The act of narrating Hazleton's history as a diverse, cosmopolitan town that celebrated this diversity in fact erases the political struggles that peoples of different descent underwent to secure access to civil rights, to be recognized as members of the community, and to be able to participate in community decision-making processes. Historically in Hazleton, the neighborhoods, places of worship, and schools that belonged to peoples of different ethnic backgrounds were segregated. Hazleton had incidents of xenophobia and racism, as well as discriminatory policies reported in newspapers from the end of the 19th century. There are multiple examples of news items where residents blamed immigrants' culture for the socioeconomic struggles the town was suffering. In 1880, the *Sentinel* newspaper reported that some residents blamed an outbreak of fever on Hungarians immigrants: "Some believe the sickness is caused by impure water, there are those who attribute it to the filthy Hungarians who have settled in that neighborhood

recently in great numbers;" some residents even declared that they were accepting of "foreigners" but not of Hungarians who lived "as brutes," "the Hungarians must go!" (Plain Speaker, 1880, in Aurand, 1986, p. 76).

Immigrants were even blamed for their own oppression; this common fallacy decontextualizes the economic circumstances of immigrants from historical, political and economic events that generated them in the first place. Instead of paying attention to unjust labor conditions, newspapers would deflect attention toward differences in "scale of civilization," national origin, beliefs, immigrants' supposed violent tendencies and the wages they would accept as their pay. We can see this in one telling example from 1808:

> "It is an old story now, how the first of the Slovaks, Polacks, Italians and Sicilians who came here were comparatively intelligent, and learned readily, in the course of a few years, the work of mining coal. And we all know that year by year the immigrants of such nationalities decreased in the scale of civilization until those who have come to the anthracite field during the first half of the present decade are a rule, much more dangerous to the body politic than the excluded Chinese; for not only are they eager to work for wages on which an English-speaking family would starve, but are superstitious and murderous, and do not hesitate to use dynamite if they desire to blow up the home of one whom they particularly hate. Also, unlike the average Chinaman, each of these foreigner miners insists on voting as soon as possible." (Freeland Tribune, 1808, March 31)

The article divides workers based on their national cultures, placing some as superior to others. Moreover, the piece questions immigrants' claim to political participation in the

town. In my next section, I discuss how markers of difference and sameness created boundaries of belonging around Hazleton's identity.

Hazleton: An "All-American Small-town" With "Legal, Hardworking Citizens"

There has been a drastic demographic transformation in Hazleton over the past two decades. This small city of almost 25,000 inhabitants has the highest Latina/o population growth rate in the state of Pennsylvania. In the year 2000, Hazleton's population was 93% White and only 5% Latino/a. Just ten years later, in 2010, 59% of the population was White and 37% of was Latina/o (United States Census Bureau, 2010). After 2001, the growth of the Latino/a population in Hazleton became even greater as a consequence of the economic revival of the area. The Keystone Opportunity Zone Initiative situated Hazleton inside a large tax-free zone, contributed to Hazleton's Community Area New Development Organization (CANDO), and offered low taxes and low costs to companies and factories such as Cargill, Amazon, Michael's, among others (Kaye, 2010). Highways like Interstate 81 (I-81) were also rebuilt in the 2000s, improving the transportation conditions of the area.

In 2006, Lou Barletta, former mayor of Hazleton, congressman and recent candidate to the U.S. senate, proposed the ordinance *Illegal Immigration Relief Act* (IIRA) to limit the social and political participation of undocumented immigrants in Hazleton. The ordinance restricted the use of languages other than English to produce official documents, and penalized those who hired and/or rented a living space to undocumented immigrants (Kaye, 2010). During his speech to introduce the IIRA

ordinance at the city council, Barletta described Hazleton as a "small-town" that had an "all-American" life style while highlighting its character as a safe place. He contrasted the so-called dangerous urban centers where undocumented immigrants, "illegal" immigrants, came from: "Barletta consistently tied the ordinance into a patriotic, nostalgic defense of an American way of life that he claimed Hazleton epitomized and that he asserted was threatened by unauthorized foreigners, whom he repeatedly implied were connected to crime" (Steil & Ridgley, 2012, p. 1037). In the same speech, Barletta called on longtime residents, who were mostly White, to become potential "small town defenders" who should protect this "small-town" lifestyle and even encouraged residents to ask for forms of identification in order to stop illegal immigration to Hazleton (Steil & Ridgley, 2012, p. 1039).

The current social and political tensions lived in Hazleton were not only created by rapid demographic change, but are a consequence of the criminalization of undocumented immigration and frequent association of "illegality" with Latinas/os. Even though IIRA was originally approved by the city council, it was deemed unconstitutional by the Court of Appeals in 2010 (ACLU, n.d.). Nevertheless, the ordinance created a divisive climate in the town. A polarizing, anti-immigrant sentiment was created through the image of Hazleton as a "small-town" with an "All-American life-style" consisting of "legal, hardworking citizens" in opposition to "illegal aliens flooding in from big cities" (Steil & Ridgley, 2012, p. 1041). This created a hostile environment for Latinos/as. Language, origin, years of residency in the area, and the illegal/legal binary became markers of difference that defined the possibilities of participation in Hazleton.

Belonging in K-12 Settings

> The teachers that I had didn't grow up in diversity… I remember in seventh grade, some of the teachers went around the room and asked students based on their last name their ethnicity, he couldn't figure mine out, and he kind of generally thought what it was, but he kind of knew based on the person's last name, "oh, he must have some Polish" and "this last name must be Italian" or "this last name is German." I remember the first couple of times he didn't even ask me the question and then finally he asked me. Then he just had to ask, you know, he couldn't make assumptions about what ethnicity it was, because he wasn't familiar, and I don't fault him, he wasn't being malicious about it. This was just how he was raised, he was raised in the 1970s-1980s.

The previous fragment is from Mr. G (pseudonym), a Latino pre-service teacher and a life-long resident in Hazleton who attended Hazleton's public-school system. In his narrative, Mr. G. describes a memory that describes his experience as one of the few Latinos in his schooling experience. Mr. G. describes how his teacher could not connect Mr. G's last name to his ethnic background as he frequently did with the rest of the students. This scene describes a moment in which he is not recognized by his teacher, where he came from or his heritage. Right after this memory Mr. G continued to elaborate his narrative explaining how he felt unseen, "Trying to get to know me, it's something they [his teachers] never really attempted to do, I don't know if that is because of my background, they just never did, you know?" It did not matter if he performed well or badly in school because he always felt unseen. Only towards the end of his high school

experience he starts to feel like his teachers ask more questions and try to get to know him better. Mr. G. associates this change with the demographic change that started to happen towards the end of his schooling experience. At the end of the interview, Mr. G remembers the moment in Kindergarten when he realized he was different from his peers. It was during an activity where each of the students created a national flag associated with their nationality. Mr. G explained that the only flag out of the 30 flags hanging on the wall that was not from the American flag was his, which was from Puerto Rico. Mr. G's narrative describes a moment when he recognized he was different from others in the classroom. Mr. G.'s narrative emphasizes feeling unseen by his teachers, not being recognized and marked as different. The curriculum of the global in the settings described by Mr. offers forms of belonging and forms of identification through a national sense of community that exclude non-White communities in the US.

"A Small School With Small School Planning,"

In previous sections I have described the divide created by the IIRA ordinance in Hazleton between a town identity based on whiteness and anti-immigrant sentiment and an identity that incorporates the Latina/o immigrant population. I have also described how immigrants from different backgrounds have historically struggled to participate in Hazleton's community. In this section, I relay two teachers' descriptions of how the school lacks support for Latina/o students who come from urban settings.

Mr. G described Hazleton as a town divided demographically between a "homogeneous ethnicity typically made out of Polish, German and Italian" and those

affiliated with "Latino ethnicity." He said that the divide in the town was really between the "homogenous ethnicity" and "just any outsider coming into Hazleton." He goes on to say that he witnessed the effects of this divide in the school where he is an intern:

> I would describe the school to an outsider as a small school with some urban, big city problems, and I say that because a majority of the students when I work with them are actually, they have their roots in either Northern New Jersey or New York, so they've come here to move, they've become here the dominant population in terms of the school. So, there are some challenges that you have to work with their, maybe some certain reading levels are not to par, maybe some social skills are not to par as well, social skills are the main thing that some of the students struggle with. That's how I would describe it to an outsider, basically it's a small school with small school planning but has some challenges that other schools don't have.

Mr. G described students as having roots in cities, moving into Hazleton, and transforming the demographics of the school. He pointed out that the students bring with them academic and social challenges to "a small school with small school planning." In his narrative, Mr. G described the tension between the school and the students as a disconnect, as if the school did not have the resources to address the change in the student population. He continues:

> I don't know any Hispanic teacher in this school whatsoever, so you have a student population that is certain type of ethnicity with no ethnicity from the administrative authoritative level, so peer to peer I think they are ok, because they

have similarities and they may not be from the same place but they have

similarities in their upbringing and background. Now, connecting that with an

administrative person, I believe we have liaison who is bilingual but other than

that person I mean there is no, I mean the principal is not, the teachers are not and

that represents some challenges in terms that if a student would have to go and

present information or they had to go and maybe speak with someone with

authority and if their parents are somewhat involved, maybe with their parents

they would have to translate for their parents as well, so I think that challenges

them and I think they become uneasy dealing with the administration.

Mr. G's comments highlight the ethnic and racial disparity in relations of power, and the

lack or limited access that Latina/o students have to people of color in positions of

authority and influence in the school. Also, he describes the limited or lack of access to

professionals that can support Latina/o families' communication in English with the

school. Mr. G does not talk directly about whiteness, but the way that he describes

Latina/o students' and families' experiences reveals how whiteness is centered.

Mrs. D (pseudonym), a White social studies teacher whose class I observed

during my time in Hazleton, compared the demographics between one of the schools in

one of the neighboring towns and her school in Hazleton as a way of illustrating the large

presence of Latina/o students in her school:

There have maybe three that are not considered White in the entire building. So,

coming here to Hazleton, it's almost the opposite, like I am the minority in the

building, so, that's what comes to mind when I describe Hazleton to somebody.

Mrs. D uses the term "minority" to mark the large presence of Latina/o students in the

school and used the word "minority" to describe herself as a White teacher at the school.

During my fieldwork in the school, I heard the same term used in informal conversations

to mark a certain vulnerability of White teachers and administrators in the school. The

teachers would openly question the use of the term "diversity" to describe the school,

stating that there was a growing presence of Latina/o students and a diminishing number

of White students, teachers and staff in the school. Relatedly, Mrs. D specified that the

ethnic divide was also prevalent within the school district, "like their teachers [referring

to schools in another part of Hazleton] would panic if they get any ESL [referring to

English Language Learners] kid, they really don't know what to do." She further

commented that the school where she worked and other nearby schools were mostly

populated by Latina/o students.

Mrs. D's description of White adults as the minority and her remark regarding the

lack of preparedness of other schools in the local school district to support non-White and

multi-lingual students signal insufficient support for teachers' professional development.

In the next fragment, Mrs. D describes an activity I observed in her class and, in

reflecting on her own practice, indicates there is a lack of support for Latina/o students

who are not fluent in English:

In this school, we have one translator, our interpreter, and he's great. I mean they

have, the Hispanics, the ESL kids, they have an ESL class, they are pulled out of

other classes to go there. They don't have, they are not in the normal, I don't

wanna say normal, the traditional, the English or reading class. They get pulled of

that to have an ESL period, but even those ESL teachers are not proficient in

Spanish. So, they have that to help them but that's it, is that as good as it could be?

No. And there is no extra help in the classroom, they don't have a translator in the

classroom or anything and then they have to rely on other students and trust that

So, we do projects and we did the write that story and all the ESLs the ones, the

twos, the lower speakers they all sat at the table and they wrote it together.

Mrs. D hesitates to use some of the terms she has to name students who are emergent

bilinguals; she makes an effort to find the appropriate term but it is clear she does not feel

comfortable with the terms that she does have access to. Mrs. D questions the "pull-out"

model used by the school to work with students who are classified as English Language

Learners (ELLs). Mrs. D questions if her own decisions and methods to teach her

students are effective at supporting students. In her description, she mentions having

students with different WIDA levels of language classification in the same classroom.

Difference within difference: the question is whether the school can support students

when difference is prevalent and highly visible within a school prepared for sameness.

"Non-Speakers"

"Non-speaker" is a pejorative term used by some administrators and teachers in

Hazleton to refer to Latina/o students who are monolinguals in Spanish or Latina/o

students who are not fluent in English. Naming Latina/o students who are monolingual in

Spanish and/or Latina/o emergent bilingual speakers as "non-speakers" marginalizes

these students, and further, codes them as responsible for their own marginalization.

Rather than pointing to the deficient support structures in the school and school district, (such as those described by Mr. G and Mrs. D) the term reflects a *deficit thinking model* (Valencia, 2012). This model is built on the assumption that the student's underperformance is a deficiency for which that they are responsible. Moreover, marking students as "non-speakers" uses an aspect of their own culture in order to represent them as a source of problem (Narayan, 1998; Valencia & Black, 2002) and makes other students witnesses to this marginalization.

A student's status as a monolingual Spanish speaker or an emergent bilingual speaker in Spanish and English in this school, where the hegemonic language is English, becomes a rationale to position students as lacking skills, as undereducated or in need of remediation to "catch up" with monolingual English-speaking students. All learners possess strengths and prior knowledge that can become a basis for learning, but the term "non-speaker" erases these strengths and sets of knowledge while positioning students at a clear disadvantage (Auerbach, 1995). Some authors in the literature on the education of immigrant youth emphasize the role that educational institutions play in the experiences, identities, and processes of socialization on the performance of these youths in schools (Valenzuela, 1999; García Coll, 2002; Menard-Warwick, 2009). "Non-speaker" is a *subtractive* term that takes Latina/o, immigrant youth from important social and cultural resources leading them into academic failure (Valenzuela, 1999). "Non-speaker" devalues, ignores, and obliterates the Spanish language as an epistemological, conceptual, semiotic universe (Hall, 1997).

The topic of student underperformance was one of the main issues addressed by each of the candidates during the Hazleton Area School Board District election of 2017. The district had been struggling with budgetary deficits, underperformance, and the growing enrollment of students (Jackson, 2018). At the time, there were important public debates about budgetary costs of programs, new hires, curricular modifications, per-pupil expenditures, and the investment of resources in education in general. The problem of underperformance in the local school district was directly related to Latina/o students who were named as "newcomers" by some of the candidates. Being a "newcomer" was associated in public declarations with the monetary burden of "accommodations" and allocation of resources. These "accommodations" were perceived as necessary in order to improve standardized test scores at an underperforming school district.

Some school board candidates openly promoted the creation of a "newcomers" welcoming center that would pull students out of "mainstream" schools until students had already "caught up" with language and academic skills before they entered mainstream classrooms. According to one of the candidates, even though immigrant students "bring much culture and ideas to the area" they lack the academic preparation and language skills of their White peers. This candidate asserted that such students can set their (implicitly White) classmates of the same age level behind:

> He will recommend hiring two more ESL teachers to help new students who
> arrive. 'We welcome them. They brought so much-ideas and culture-to our area,'
> but many lack the language skills and previous schooling to do the class work for
> their age level, he said. Their difficulties show up on the standardized tests, on

which the district's overall result trail state averages (…) We need to do a better

job, find different resources for kids to get caught up quicker.' Mehalik said. One

of his ideas: a welcoming center where students can spend three to nine months

learning English and gaining other abilities before they join the mainstream

classes. (Jackson, 2017, A13)

Even though Mehalik was one of the candidates who suggested hiring more ESL

teachers, he justified his proposal on the basis that immigrant students "lacked" the

language skills and schooling that affected the school district's performance.

Some of the issues described by the school board candidate are real for many

students in the district. However, the problem is framed through a deficit thinking model.

The indicators of this model are: the ways in which students and families are labeled as

"newcomers;" ELLs being coded as in need of "accommodations;" the call for more

translators and ESL teachers; and the proposition of welcoming centers and even special

education for these students. This allocation of resources is seen as expenses that were

not necessary before the demographic shift. This framing contributes to already anti-

immigrant, anti-Latino/a positions fomented in the town and in schools.

Expectations for Latina/o Youth and Their Families

Mr. O, one of the teachers whose classes I observed in this study, refers back to

his family history to talk about Hazleton's past: for him, this is a past built on family

values, work ethic, and traditions. In his brief recall of Hazleton's history, he talks about

coalminers overcoming differences to fight for better working conditions, struggles that

cost the lives of many. Mr. O reflects on his own family's immigration history to describe the struggle to access rights and influence. In order for him to access to higher education, for example, it took three generations of individuals working, being responsible citizens, and accessing education themselves: "You pay your dues, you obey the law, you save your money and you make sure your kids are educated." His family's history also serves as a point of reference for him to reflect on the latest wave of immigration in Hazleton. He has seen the schools' demographics transform as well as the town as a whole. In the following segment, he articulates the differences between his values and those of Latina/o members of the community through his observation of Latina/o students and their families' social behaviors and expressions of patriotic loyalty during public events:

> For the first time I saw a student not stand for the pledge, we can't make you
> pledge the flag, but you have to at least stand. I've been seeing it for years. I
> won't go to the basketball games 'cause parents will come in and they won't stand
> for the national anthem, they'll have hats on. You shouldn't be wearing a hat
> inside a building. That's common courtesy, something I've always known, from a
> little kid. You have not only kids doing it, we have parents doing it.

Even though Mr. O does not talk about the notion of belonging explicitly in the previous fragment, he is describing expected "typical" behaviors that mark affiliation and loyalty to U.S. patriotic symbols. He later reflects on the role that social studies courses play in what he calls "socializing" students into civic mindedness:

When I started, social studies was to help socialize and make the students civic minded – it's like the kids don't have roots so they even need more of that socialization and more of that civic minded, you know what I mean?

The term "socialize" marks Mr. O's description of a process of becoming similar to customs that already exist. It describes social studies as a subject that will assimilate students into society. In the next fragment, Mr. O elaborates on the reasons why he thinks Latina/o students are different or behave differently from what he describes as typical"

"I was born in Newark," "I was born in Patterson," "I was born in the Bronx." Then they spent some time in New Jersey, they spent some time here. They don't have any roots. I had roots. I went to the high school that both my parents went to. The teachers who taught my parents taught me. There was roots there. Where here they don't have any roots to the community or to the school, or to anything else. I think that's a big problem. When you feel a connection to something, you're more likely to at least abide by those societal rules, whether it's your community or your school, and they don't have that.

For Mr. O, Latina/o families, in distinction from his own family and others who live in Hazleton, do not have roots because they are highly mobile. Roots, in his narrative, depend on a physical location. Belonging or "a connection to something" is attached to permanence within a territory, by a sense of place that exists in one physical location. Belonging in relation to multiple places seem to complicate "having roots."

When I asked Mr. O what he would like to see different in the coming years, he responded in the following way:

If I had endless resources and could change things there'd be three things I would do. One would be a newcomer center. Now, having a kid who is six years old coming from the DR, the PR or the CR, or wherever, or anywhere, European country that has no exposure to English and you throw them in a first or second grade classroom, they'll be okay because they're young and they're learning to read just like everybody else. When you're 15 years old and you have no background English and you have trouble reading and writing in your own native language, what can I do for you when I have 160 other students, I have to take care of? One would be a newcomer center especially the older you are, the more time you would spend there.

Mr. O's answer reflects the challenges a teacher faces when students in their classes speak different languages and have different levels of language proficiency with the mainstream language of the school. Given his previous answers, he is also reflecting on socializing students into U.S. culture. The solution he offers is to send students to a different institution to "catch up" and do the work of assimilating into hegemonic languages, practices, culture.

Discussion

A first narrative about citizenship and belonging raises questions about the current support systems available for students' and families' participation in the school in terms of language and multi-layered identities in relation to place. For example, Mr. G points out that there are not enough available resources for Latina/o students and their families

to connect and have a voice at the school. There is only one liaison who is bilingual and neither the teachers nor the principal are bilingual. Communication between students and teachers and administrators is affected by this limitation. In this same realm, Mrs. D describes some of the resources available. However, she questions the effectiveness of the school's pull-out model for students classified as ELLs and questions the limited resources available to students in terms of translation, classroom aids, and her own strategies as a teacher.

Laura Lundy (2007), who participated in research regarding the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child, describes four main factors that determine the participation of children in social spaces: a) the presence of a *space* where children can have the right to express their views on the matters that they consider to impact them, and where they can express how would they like to be involved in that space; b) the presence of a *voice*, or the ability to participate, that can be guaranteed by providing sufficient time to understand issues, to have access to child-friendly documentation and information, among other similar elements; c) the presence of a guaranteed *audience* that will listen, with interest, to the child's views; and d) an infrastructure that "gives due weight to their views" or protects their ability to influence the space through procedures that ensure that their opinions have an effect on the actions taken (Lundy, 2007). Both Mr. G.'s and Mrs. D's narratives reflect the limited preparation of schools in Hazleton to support Latina/o students and Latina/o emergent bilingual students.

A second narrative is built around cultural assimilation. This narrative offers a path to belonging and participation that requires Latina/o students and families to

assimilate, or acquire, the dominant culture. There is an expectation that "others," or those that represent difference, go through a process of *acculturation* (Pratt, 1992, see p. 33). Marginalized groups are demanded or forced into assimilation or becoming "similar" to the dominant culture (i.e. similar values, language, behavior). As a consequence, marginalized groups lose other forms of affiliation, cultural resources, and forms of identification that are not centered in the dominant culture. For example, in "Non-Speaker" (see p. 92) candidates to the school board circled their interests in the use of resources around ways to "accommodate" the "newcomers" in order to improve standardized test scores. Investment in resources that would serve Latina/o youth was described through their apparent need to "catch up" and the assertation of their "lacking" academic ability. Some of the candidates' solution was to create a center to get marginalized students to assimilate into already established values and to "catch up" in their English language proficiency. This is a completely counter approach from thinking about students and their families as part of a dialogical process that would allow them to influence curriculum, institutional structures, and pedagogies in the school district; in other words, a process that would enable them to act and influence as an individual and as part of a collectivity (Camino and Shepherd 2002, p. 214).

Within this and Mr. O's narrative, the ideas of citizenship are conceptualized based on sameness. The terms of belonging are marked by sameness, elements such as language, territory, values, and symbols are mobilized to mark a binary difference between Spanish/English, between living in one place/constant movement, and between courtesy and patriotic loyalty/lack of courtesy and "no roots."

Difference is established through quotidian activities, practices, symbols, terms and metaphors, or in school culture. Moreover, these are also the sites where resistance and relations of power are negotiated. The ways in which we mark social divisions (class, gender, race, ethnicity), belonging, and the boundaries of an "us" and "them" in schools deeply affect students. It affects their ability to voice their points of view, to influence the collectivity, to feel safe, to access the necessary resources to participate, and to organize with others (Lundy, 2007).

The issue of becoming a citizen, beyond documentation that recognizes individuals as members of a nation-state, hinges on the question, "what is required from a specific person for him/her to be entitled to belong, to be considered as belonging to a collectivity" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 208). The status of having rights and responsibilities, which are the liberal terms of citizenship, is frequently mediated by demands of belonging related to common culture, religion, and/or language (Yuval-Davis, 2006). Other demands for belonging could be loyalty and solidarity, common values, or a common political project. For individuals that that are entering a new territory of political community, these demands are frequently open to "voluntary, often assimilatory, identification with particular collectivities" (Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 205). Other communities might require origin, "race," and/or place of birth (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

Chapter 5

Experiences of Citizenship of Latina/o Youth in Hazleton

Las nepantleras *refuse to turn right onto the dominant culture's assimilation/acquiescense highway. They refuse to turn left onto the nationalistic-isolationism path demanding that we preserve our ethnic cultural integrity. Instead,* las nepantleras *construct alternative roads, creating new topographies and geographies of hybrid selves who transcend binaries and de-polarize potential allies.* Nepantleras *are not constrained by one culture or world but experience multiple realities (Anzaldúa, 2015, p. 82)*

In this chapter, I present four stories about the lived experiences of citizenship of Latina/o youths in Hazleton. As a whole, these stories conflict with Hazleton's narratives of citizenship described in the previous chapter, which are based on similarity in language, history, culture and territory. The stories of citizenship in this chapter are constructed through difference. They portray the youths' moments of authentic inquiry into foundational questions about citizenship, identity, and origin, as well as moments of their resistance to this inquiry. The youths in these stories have multi-layered identities that are products of belonging to multiple places and communities. Yet they have to negotiate this reality with limited access to resources and spaces where they can make sense of difference, of their multilingual, border-crossing, multi-layered, transcultural identities. These stories suggest that Latina/o youths are constantly trying to find points of connection between their lived experiences and their social contexts; they further

suggest they often must do this amid circumstances that are hostile to hybridized enactments of citizenship.

The first three stories come from my time at the community center with the afterschool club I lead for fourteen weeks. The last two stories are from my time observing a middle school in Hazleton. I present each story then offer a small amount of analysis about the story related to citizenship constructed through difference. At the conclusion of the five stories, I discuss some of the themes across the stories.

Flags

It was mid-February, and as on any other typical weekday, the middle schoolers went right from school to the community center. I had been conducting observations in social studies classrooms at a nearby middle school but I left early in order to arrange the classroom space in the community center for the class that I was about to begin teaching. Thankful for movable chairs and desks, I arranged a large circle of desks for this first meeting, leaving the rest of the desks and chairs next to the walls. I had planned an introductory activity in which I would ask the participating youths to create personal flags. One purpose of this activity was for me to get to know the youths; another was for them to get to know each other better, as not all of them attended the same school, even though most knew each other from previous years in the afterschool program. A third purpose was to begin the inquiry that I hoped to undertake with them into questions about identity and citizenship over the next 14 weeks.

My hope was that we could all initially sit down and share information about who we were, what we liked, and why we were there. However, not everyone sat in the circle. Rubén, a Dominican-American boy who was wearing a jacket with racing car emblems sewed to it, sat in one of the pushed-aside chairs in the corner of the room. He buttoned up his jacket all the way and then used it to cover his head. Jay, a Peruvian-American girl, sat on the opposite side of the room, next to the wall, with her eyes glued to a vampire-saga book.

Ela, a Colombian-Dominican-American girl, sat in the circle and animatedly chatted with another girl, Brenda. Next to me at the circle sat Tyrone, a Dominican-American boy who a few moments before was kindly giving me some advice about how to handle the group. About thirty minutes later came in Chris, a Dominican-Puerto Rican-American boy, came into the room and stood next to me. When I invited him to sit at the circle, he said, "I'd rather stand."

I approached Jay, offered her some materials and soon after she started drawing. Then I moved to Rubén's corner, where he now rested his head on a desk. I asked him if everything was alright. He let me know his dad had passed away. From how he said it I inferred this had not happened recently but it was something he was thinking about at the moment. He was in a vulnerable place. It was as if he wanted to be in that space with others and be alone at the same time. Maybe just to be present. I lacked words that could honor this moment. I said that I was sorry and tried to make him feel accompanied. I thought he might want to join others in drawing without having to move or say much. I left some materials on the desk and some minutes later he was drawing.

Towards the end of the class, I asked us to move close to the corner where Rubén was sitting and to sit in a circle. Some of us sat on the floor and others just moved the desks towards Rubén. It took a minute or two for some to gather their things and move the chairs but all sat down without resisting. I then asked the youths to talk about the meaning of the flags they created. Chris said he decided to draw the flag of Puerto Rico because it reminded him of his dad (see Figure 1). He chose not to say more but he had said a great deal in what he did say. The flag seemed like a source of strength and a powerful stance.

Figure **5-1**: Chris's flag

It was Tyrone's turn to share his flag (see Figure 2) and he initially refused. He had written a different word in each corner of the flag, and these words were multicolored as he used a different color for each letter. Each word, then, had another word or phrase near it that related to or supported its meaning. These relational words on the inner side of the flag appeared to be his personal goals, while the multicolored words on the outer

side seemed to engage something bigger than himself. Depending on how one reads

them, one word supports the other: "determination" is supported by "spirit,"

"perseverance" by "hope," "being nice" by "friendship" and "acceptance" by

"community," or the other way around. All of these words surrounded one word, circled,

in the center of the flag: "courage." Moved by his flag, I persisted in asking Tyrone to

speak about it. He acquiesced, slightly, saying it was a flag with words on it and

geometric figures. As with Chris, Tyrone didn't verbalize much, and yet he had shown

me something very powerful. He had laid out a map of values, beliefs, affirming words

that portrayed his complex and strong stance in relation to the world.
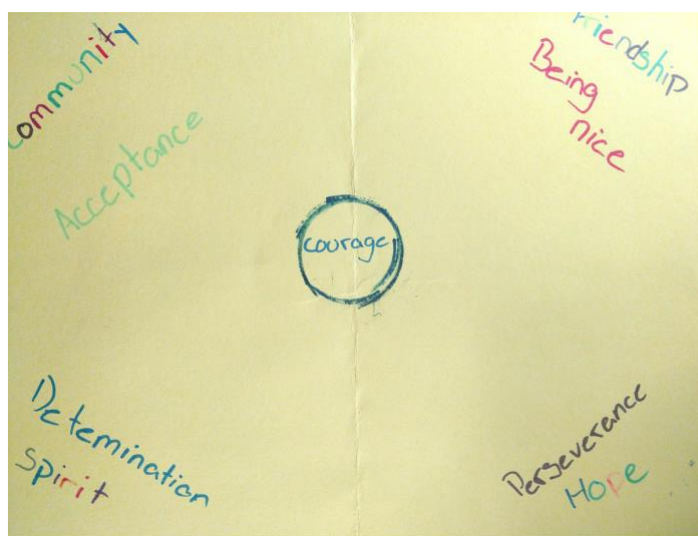

Figure **5-2**: Tyrone's flag

The other flags focused on some of their favorite foods, singers, TV series and

cartoons. My main takeaway from the flag activity was complicated: the youths engaged

the activity seriously, rendering flags that possessed deep meaning for them — and yet

they also didn't want to open up too much about them, perhaps particularly to me, a

relative stranger. I perceived a lack of trust. This perception was influenced by a fact that I had learned the night before: I was the eighth teacher they'd had in the afterschool program this year. When I asked the leaders of the program about the reasons why the prior teachers had quit, there was a long explanation about the students' personal and familial struggles. When I asked the youths about why the teachers had quit, though, they said that it was because of their behavior. Throughout the semester I would experience few times in which the students were openly vulnerable and open to conversations about their lives, who they were and what they wanted. I had not yet understood that the youths were protecting themselves from larger discourses that threatened their identities.

La Vega

Ten weeks after the flag activity, I asked Esmeralda, who did not participate in the flag activity, how she liked living in Hazleton. "I kind of like living in Hazleton," she responded. Then I asked if she had lived elsewhere. She said, "Yeah," but when I inquired where, she offered only another "Yeah," and avoided the question.

Esmeralda was not alone in her avoidance of such questions. Other youths had side-stepped questions about where they had lived before Hazleton and why and how their families or relatives first came to the U.S. In one of our early sessions, we were practicing conducting and giving interviews and one question from the protocol was, "Can you share how or why your family came to the U.S.?" When Ela asked this question of Jay, she replied, "They were in Peru and they didn't want to stay in Peru and said, 'Hey, why not?' And then they came to America." Ela's own response to the question

was, "My mom came to Miami for school and my dad moved to New York when he was little, I think." She then turned her head towards the blackboard to hide how she was opening her eyes widely, as if the question was highly inappropriate. When Carmelo asked Tyrone the question, Tyrone's immediate answer took the form of another question: "Uh, I was born here?" Tyrone hadn't addressed why or how his family came to the U.S., he just made it clear that he was an American citizen. These instances reflect how questions about origin, ethnic identity, or place of birth can be threatening.

So, when Esmeralda offered her second "Yeah," I quickly turned back to her first answer and asked, "Why do you like living here?" Her answer revealed more complexity: "I kind of don't—I do because electricity doesn't go off." Then she continued, "In the DR [Dominican Republic] it goes on and off." She began drawing other comparisons to Hazleton; it was harder to take showers in the DR, too. "Yeah, and like, over there everyone is just on the streets." Meaning that in the DR, life outdoors is rich and people often socialize in public spaces.

Hearing Esmeralda talk, Chris seemed to understand. "Like everything is just—simple!" he said affirmatively. Esmeralda responded enthusiastically, "Yeah! Here is like you have to walk 25 minutes to go to a house, 25 minutes to go to another house, 30 minutes to go to another house." Trying to imagine more deeply the location of the place that Esmeralda was describing, I asked her, "Where in the DR is that? Is that a town close to the ocean?" She took a moment and said, "That's like a…I don't know, I don't know…" I was not sure if she did not know or if she didn't want to specify. Quickly, Ela asked her "El campo?" the words for countryside in Spanish. Esmeralda replied with a

high pitched, "Yeah!" Excitedly Chris said "I, I, I, I've been to La Vega!" indicating a municipality in the Dominican Republic "You've been to La Vega?! So has my dad!" Ela exclaimed animatedly. Almost jumping out of his chair Chris said, "Me too!" Ela and Chris then shouted out "Hey!" at the same time and high fived each other, overjoyed.

I then turned to Ela and asked her if she had been somewhere else other than Hazleton. She told the group that she lived in New York until she was three and then moved to Hazleton. When I asked her if she ever went back to New York, she responded, "I go back a lot. I have family in New York, so I go back like, every, very often." She said her cousins lived in Hazleton but that a big part of her family lived in New York. Then I asked Chris if he had experienced living elsewhere. "First New York, then California," he said. I followed up asking if he remembered where in California but he said he wasn't sure. He said he also lived in Florida and New Jersey — but once again he said he didn't remember what it was like living there or in any of these places. I cannot help but wonder if this was his way to discourage further inquiry.

The youths talked about places not only in terms of countries but in terms of rural and urban areas, states, towns, and cities they had experienced before. They described how their quotidian lives change depending on the places they were living in or visiting. They also shared that they had family in different parts of the U.S. and in other countries, and that they frequently visited other places. At their young age all of them expressed they had lived in different locales and that their families migrated to the area from other parts of the U.S. and/or from other countries.

"So, I Am—"

One afternoon Ela, Tyrone, Chris, Esmeralda, and I were sitting in our meeting room on the second floor of the community center. We had been working on a one-minute short film for weeks, and now we were making decisions about how to edit the film. The film was the result of a collective decision about the kind of project we wanted to work on as a group. The youths had worked hard on "Bullying," the title of the film. After filming, acting, scripting, we were finally making final decisions about it. The chairs and tables were arranged in a "U" form which allowed us to watch the film and discuss the modifications we wanted.

After watching the film and sharing our thoughts about it, we moved to one side of the room and sat down around one of the tables. Taking advantage of the time left after our discussion of the film, I asked the group a question about how they identified themselves and how they would introduce themselves to others. To better explain my question, I modeled, "I am Ana Díaz, I am Colombian, and I am also Latina."

Tyrone answered the question first, saying, "'I am Tyrone Rodríguez,' and then I would say my race, I would say how long I have been in America." Following his lead, I asked him, "So, what is your race?" Tyrone replied, "Dominican." Then I asked him how long he had been in America and he answered, "Since I was born." Although it wasn't one of his specified criteria, I asked if he considered himself to be an American and he calmly answered, "no." Intrigued, I asked further, "Why?" He said, "Because I don't like White culture, the only thing I like about White culture is the food."

When I asked Esmeralda how she self-identified, she also replied "Dominican," then added, "all my family is Dominican!" Mindful of Tyrone saying that he didn't consider himself to be an American, I asked Esmeralda if there were Americans who are not White. Seeing things differently than Tyrone, Esmeralda replied forcefully, "Yes! You are looking at them, yeah! You are looking at them!" Esmeralda was looking at all the youths sitting at the table, indicating that they as a group were an example of non-White Americans. After spending some time reckoning with what Esmeralda said, Tyrone altered his statement: "I am half Dominican and half American." With this statement Tyrone was resisting the exclusivity that these terms seemed to claim. He was claiming not having to choose between them.

At this point the time of our class session had come to an end. The youths filtered out of the meeting room and then Chris arrived as I was packing up materials, erasing the board, and getting ready to leave. He settled into one of the chairs and I asked him why he couldn't come earlier. He said he had other things to do. Describing what we did during the session and while I continued to pack up, I started asking him similar questions to those I had posed to the group earlier. I asked him if he knew what the term "Latino" meant. In response he asked, "Is like they are Spanish but they don't speak any [Spanish]?" I offered, "So, Latino is like people that have Latin American origins, even if you were not born in Latin America but your parents [were], then you could self-identify as Latino or Latina." Chris was interested, and he followed up, "Like, born where?" I said, "Like, you could have Colombian parents, like Ela has a Colombian mom and she

has"—Chris completed my answer for me, saying, "a Dominican dad." I continued, "Right, then she could self-identify as Latina, but she also doesn't have to."

Almost immediately, Chris said, "So, I am Dominican from my mother's side and Puerto Rican from my father, so I am"—and then he paused. Right then, a person at the door interrupted us and my focus shifted. When transcribing this conversation after the fact, I realized that I had missed a crucial moment. Chris was asking me if there was a single answer that summarized the multiple things he could place in that blank space of the sentence. He was asking a question: "so, I am" what, exactly? But instead of addressing this question, I continued with another: "If you look up in the [Worldwide] Web for Latino or Latina artists you will find people in the U.S. or who were born in the U.S. and that have Latin American heritage." Chris responded, "Like my parents?" and I answered "Yes, like your parents."

As I look back on our conversation, it is obvious that I missed a significant moment for Chris. In my head I did not want to impose any identities on him, I did not want to tell him "this is how you should name yourself." I also did not have a simple answer for him. I missed that what was needed was an answer that said, "Yes, you exist! Yes, you belong! Yes, being Caribbean, Latino, American, Dominican, Puerto Rican can all coexist in someone's identity, their personal history. These multiple identifications are powerful sources for you!" I imposed a pressure on myself to push Chris toward an answer that did not classify him and, as a result, I missed an opportunity to be clear about how the terms Hispanic and Latino are not pejorative, how one does not have to speak fluent Spanish or have to have been born in a particular place to be Latino. I wanted to

talk to Chris with clarity about what Latin America was, where the Caribbean was, what the terms Hispanic and Latino can mean. I wanted him to have some answers that would help him defend himself from hostile versions of these terms. We didn't quite get to where I had hoped, but I read in our conversation how Chris was trying to make sense of the limitations of nationalities and maybe seeing the potential of the term Latino to name the complex multi-layered identities of his lived experiences. I would have hoped that the term Latino, in the way we were talking about it, would take the feeling of not completely belonging to a place but to multiple places; that it would take away the deficit of framing culture and roots through national-state borders.

Some days later I had a similar conversation with Illán and Carmelo. Most of the students in the afterschool club were involved in a different activity that day and the three of us waited at the entrance of the Community Center sitting around a table. I asked both Carmelo and Illán what the term Hispanic meant. Carmelo answered, "It has *habichuela con dulce* [a sweet Dominican bean recipe] all over it." Wanting him to say more, I pleaded, "So, what does that mean?" He replied by naming another typical Latino food: "Plantains." Hearing my question and Carmelo's response, "Does it have anything to do with the language you speak?" I asked. "Culture, culture" said Carmelo. I followed up by asking for a definition of culture. Carmelo said culture had to do with history. Illán continued, "History, like something you grew up in, like a nationality?" Carmelo added, "Culture is everything that involved a nationality." When I go back to this dialogue, I interpret Carmelo's definition of culture as one based on nation-state borders.

Moving back to my original question, I asked them if one could be Hispanic and not speak Spanish. Carmelo confirmed that one could, saying "*Ajá,*" an expression frequently used to say "yes" in Latin American Spanish. Illán agreed: "Cause I am that!"

Hearing this I wondered if they had heard the term Latino and if they knew what it meant. "I have no — like, Latin?" wondered Carmelo. Illán quickly replied, "Hispanics and Latinos are different." When I asked how they were different, he said, "Like different…like, different places…. like, Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico would be Hispanics and something else would be Latino." I believe the distinction that they were trying to make with these terms was the difference between being from the continent and being from the islands, an important marker of identity in some countries of Latin America.

Trying to understand better, I asked: "So, if I say I am Colombian, what would I be?" Carmelo answered: "Latino." Illán considered this and then asked, "Is that right?" I then said that there is no clear-cut definition to these terms and that some people would say that Hispanic is someone of Spanish heritage, but that there are also many Hispanics who do not speak Spanish in the U.S.

Illán responded, "So, Latino is when you have been around some Spanish but you can't speak it?" Reflecting on this exchange after the fact, I can see how this question I posed about the terms Latino and Hispanic was being used by the youths to point out differences between people from continental Latin America and people from islands in the Caribbean. The question also worked as a way to address some anxiety about people who have "Spanish" heritage but who don't speak Spanish.

I answered Illán's question by saying that it would be possible to be Hispanic or Latino and not speak Spanish. I continued, "As you say it's more of a cultural thing, it doesn't mean that you speak the language but that you've been exposed to the language, and you can always learn it later on." Unlike when I was talking with Chris, I found myself in a position in this moment of trying to provide an answer that was affirming. Carmelo picked up my idea and added to it, saying, "That you've been around it," and I said, "Right!"

Having arrived at some common understanding, I then asked them, "What about the term *Caribbean*? Have you heard of it? What does it mean?" Illán responded, "I've heard it before — I think of traveling to places when I hear it." Carmelo, looking at some paintings that were hanging on the wall behind me, said, "That's tropical, right? Right there," and he pointed at the paintings that depicted palm trees and the ocean. With his attention also shifted to the paintings, Illán said, "All of them, all of them are tropical, you can tell by the trees." Carmelo quickly replied, "What? That tree is dead, especially the one in the middle." Both Illán and I responded that they were palm trees. I then continued, "So, the Caribbean is from the Caribbean Sea. So, the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico, for example, and Haiti, are all in the Caribbean Sea. So, some people would identify themselves as Caribbean." Even though Illán and Carmelo both could recognize the term Caribbean it did not serve as a resource for cultural and ethnic awareness. Even though both children self-identify as Dominican, the term did not serve as a way for them to seek belonging and affirmation of their social worlds.

In this story you see multiple moments of authentic inquiry and resistance to questions about places of birth, origin, heritage, nationality, language, and different forms of identification in general. There are inquiries, positions, and negotiations around multiple (sometimes conflicting) identities in relation to questions that typically demand a single answer. Moreover, not having a simple, clear answer seemed to question belonging itself or the very right to be in a place. For example, Tyrone thought it was important for him to address how long he had been in America when introducing himself. "I was born here" is an answer that seemed to end any questioning regarding who he was, and perhaps more importantly, why he was there. However, when I asked Tyrone if he was American, he denied it, saying that he did not like White culture because it establishes a conflict between being American and being a person of color. Esmeralda introduced herself as Dominican, but when I asked her about whether there were Americans who were not White, she self-identified as American, an answer that opened a different space into the group's conversation. My conversations with Chris, and later with Carmelo and Illán, troubled questions that demand single answers to multiple languages (with different levels of fluency), parents and relatives of multiple nationalities, places of birth and nationalities, juxtaposed geopolitical and cultural borders.

President's Day

At the beginning of a 7th grade World History class that I observed during the Spring semester of 2017, there were two questions listed on the whiteboard as a warm-up activity:

1) In a paragraph, explain why we did not have school yesterday.

2) List as many presidents as you can.

The students entered the classroom carrying their notebooks and sat down in their assigned seats, pulling out the textbook under each chair because they are not permitted to take the books home. Seeing the questions on the board, they began to respond in their notebooks while the teacher, Mrs. D., cut up papers related to a Presidents' Day assignment they would receive later in class.

When the students had silently completed the activity, Mrs. D., while setting up the SmartBoard and loading a YouTube video, asked the group, "What presidents did you list?" One student, Jayden, immediately shouted, "Barack Obama." A second student, Juan, laughing, offered "Trump," to which a third student, Luis, asked, "Does Donald Trump count?" Juan responded to Luis, "shut uuuuuup!"

Still readying for the next part of the lesson and choosing not to respond to the initial comments, Mrs. D. asked, "How many presidents are there?" Several students quickly raised their hands but before Mrs. D. called on them, Juan blurted out, "forty-four, I don't count Donald Trump." Robert countered, "he is the president!" Seemingly taking offense at Trump being called the president, Juan responded, "don't call him that!" as Robert, returning to Mrs. D.'s original question, answered "forty-five."

With everything set up, Mrs. D. turned her full attention to the class and said, "Let's watch some videos." Many times, while I was observing this class, I saw how the teacher, Mrs. D., was doing everything possible to make social studies topics engaging through games, fictional writing, or simple participation dynamics such as throwing a ball

back and forth between the students and her in order to help the group engage in a structured form of conversation. Mrs. D was really good at reading the room's energy and making decisions about the activities depending on the vibration of the students.

As she introduced the clip, she said, "these are my favorite rap guys from when I taught civics before they changed the curriculum." In the video, multiple men chronologically rapped the names of the U.S. presidents. Some student heads moved with the music while all of them watched attentively. When the video ended, Mrs. D. asked about the requirements to be president. One student responded by saying the president needs to be a citizen while another offered that the president must be born in the United States.

Quickly, though, the students turned the task of enunciating requirements into a conversation about belonging and about the possibilities of becoming a citizen for people born in a different country. Robert, apparently moved by the concept of citizenship, asked, "How can you become a citizen if you were not born here?" Then, after Mrs. D. offered a brief explanation of the naturalization process, Danny asked, "Question: if a person was in the ocean and if they were in the border, she would be a citizen of--?"

The question describes an image of a person who is in the ocean, with no named land of origin, floating next to the border, about to set foot on land. The image is used to ask in what country this person could claim citizenship. I relate this image to the "wet foot, dry foot policy": a common name given to the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966, which states that anyone immigrating from Cuba into the U.S. is allowed to pursue residency after a year. Both questions, "how can you become a citizen if you were born

here?" and "if a person was in the ocean and if they were in the border, she would be a citizen of…?" are questions about where do people belong. This was not the first time I heard these kinds of questions from Latina/o youths in Hazleton.

Discussion

On multiple occasions during our conversations, youths resisted questions about origin, ethnic identity, place of birth, or simply places they were connected with: think of Esmeralda avoiding the question about where she had lived before (see p. 106); Ela gesturing in response to the question about why her family came to the U.S. (see p. 107); Tyrone commenting that he was born in the U.S. in response to a question that was not asking his place of birth, followed by his rejection of an American identity then asserting that he was half Dominican, half American (see p. 107). These responses could be interpreted in many ways, such as bad behavior or resistance to authority. However, these interpretations overlook that their avoidance, their gesturing, and their creative answers *are* responses to the questions. The youths did more than answering the questions; they stayed there, they engaged with others, they interacted with the pictures hanging on the wall, and they asked more questions. There is potential in the exchange.

In these moments and in others, youths enacted authentic inquiries into their identities and belonging, into who they are in relation to places. For example: after our exploration of multiple cases in which the term Latino could be applied, Chris inquires "So, I am—"(see p. 110) figuring out if the term could apply to his parents or to him. The

way he formulated the question placed the attention on the tension that his mom, his dad, and he each had different places of birth or identified as coming from other places.

Similar meaningful inquiries took place in Mrs. D's class. Toward the end of one lesson on the "Exploration of the New World," the teacher asked the students to go over the world map hanged on the front wall of the classroom. She asked students to say the names of the oceans and continents on the world map all at once. After they went over the continents one student asks, "If I am Dominican, what am I? Am I North American or South American?" This is a question that can be interpreted as "Where do I belong?" Or "Do I belong here, where I am?" It is similar to the question "If a person was in the ocean and if they were in the border, she would be a citizen of--?" There are also questions about citizenship in terms of a legal status in relation to the state, "How can you become a citizen if you were not born here?"

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Dissertation Summary

Too often global citizenship education exists outside the lives of students and teachers (Banks, 2014; Gaudelli, 2009, 2013). In the case of immigrant children, there is a mainstream curriculum of global citizenship that offers deficit narratives on children's cultural backgrounds and their communities (Subedi, 2013). In the last decades, massive movements of people across the world have resulted from wars, climate change, and globalization of labor, among other worldwide phenomena. Subsequently, groups of people that were connected through colonial historical relations and were geographically separated have ironically been brought together through globalization (Hall, 1996, p. 625).

One consequence of economic globalization for rural areas in different parts of the US has been the "transnationalization of rural space," resulting in the demographic transformation of these areas caused by new flows of immigrant workers (Popke, 2011, p. 245). Both urban and rural schools are subject to the impact of economic globalization, however, each are ill equipped to deal with the challenges it presents. Hazleton, Pennsylvania, the semi-rural community where this where this study took place, has experienced a drastic demographic change in the last 20 years. In its recent history, local politicians have attempted to approve anti-immigration legislation that criminalizes undocumented immigrants and reinforces understandings of citizenship as legal status

enhancing racism and xenophobia against Latinas/os (Longazel, 2016; Steil & Ridgley, 2011). Consequently, transnational immigrant Latina/o youths are faced with the complicated processes of negotiation of their identities—their sense of belonging and participation in their communities. Frequently they face having to negotiate between assimilating and resisting hegemonic narratives of citizenship in Hazleton. The stories of transnational immigrant Latina/o youth's experiences of citizenship in Hazleton shared in this study, they offer moments where this negotiation is visible.

Mainstream curricula of global citizenship in K-12 contexts often emphasize education about "others" in faraway places, disregarding the here and now of teachers and students' global affiliations, commitments and responsibilities (Gaudelli, 2009; 2013; Subedi, 2013). In order to study global curricula of citizenship that attend to the lived experiences of Latina/o transnational immigrant youths, I worked with Ted Aoki's (1986) concept of *curriculum as lived,* which centers the multiple experiences that coexist in a classroom space. Because this study focused on experiences of citizenship in relation to place, I also worked with Mark Kissling's (2012) concept of *living curriculum,* "a person's developing course of learning experiences (...) like a river, meandering across, mingling through, and mixing up boundary constructions" (p. 111). A living curriculum is a course of learning in constant development and flux that is shaped by the places in which one has lived and lives (Kissling, 2014).

In this study, citizenship, rather than focusing on the relationship between the individual and the state, is framed as affiliation or belonging to one or multiple social groups (Rosaldo, 2000; Yuval-Davis, 2006). It is also understood in terms of

subjectification or the process between self and webs of power in society (Ong, 1996, p.738). Thus, citizenship is related to identity since the latter is the connection between the individual and the social world. Identity gives an individual access to power to do something that is desired. Identity is less about what an individual or group is, and more about what they want (Hall, 1996). A living curriculum of citizenship is the course of learning about where one belongs, with whom one affiliates, in order to access power to do something in the social world. This course of learning is shaped by place and what it means to belong to certain groups in particular places with particular histories.

This study inquired into and storied some of the living curriculum of citizenship of three boys and three girls of Latina/o descent who affiliated with multiple communities inside and outside Hazleton and the U.S. The youths ranged from first- to second-generation immigrant families. Some of them arrived in Hazleton not long before this study and others had lived in Hazleton most of their lives. This study focused on the following questions:

1. What are the narratives of citizenship told by teachers in one public school in the demographically shifting, semi-rural community of Hazleton, Pennsylvania?

2. How do seven transnational immigrant Latino youths experience citizenship in the demographically shifting, semi-rural community of Hazleton, Pennsylvania?

The data gathered in this study are categorized into: 1) data from three social studies teachers about narratives of citizenship and belonging in the demographically shifting context of Hazleton; 2) data about lived/living experiences of citizenship of transnational immigrant Latina/o youth in Hazleton. Related to the first category, I

interviewed social studies teachers and observed their classes at one of the local public schools. This first data set helped me access narratives of citizenship available to students in social studies classrooms and in the school, as well as the broader community. These narratives serve as context to the lived/living experiences of citizenship from Latina/o youth from the second data set. The second category of data was collected through observation of social studies classrooms at a local public school and at the community center, two places that students attended on a daily basis. I generated data about youths' experiences of citizenship in relation to places (i.e. thoughts, memories, feelings, etc.).

I present two seminal findings. First, the narratives of citizenship engaged by social studies teachers were based on sameness (i.e., shared values, language, etc.), which offered that citizenship could be achieved through assimilation into national identity and language. Second, the experiences of citizenship of the seven transnational immigrant Latina/o youths resisted being assigned a particular form of identity or membership that contradicted or excluded their multilingual, multi-ethnic, multi-racial forms of identification. The youths authentically inquired about identities that reflected these complex and multiple forms of identification. Moreover, topics of citizenship, identity, and origin were at times both threatening and essential to the youths' identification processes.

Narratives of Citizenship and Belonging in Hazleton

Hegemonic narratives of citizenship in Hazleton are marked by sameness and erasure of difference. The resulting expectation is for transnational immigrant youths and

their families to strive to become citizens of Hazleton through a path of cultural

assimilation. This process of acculturation for immigrants demands "becoming 'alike' in

cultural patterns, such as language, behavior, and values" with hegemonic culture

(Pedraza, 2006, p. 420). For example, resources for education for Latinas/os in Hazleton

are aimed to support their assimilation into hegemonic culture. The following are some of

the expectations for cultural assimilation for transnational Latina/o immigrant youths and

their families based on this narrative.

1) **Assimilation into national identity.** Processes of assimilation that were used on

   previous generations of White immigrant groups were described as the path for

   transnational Latina/o immigrant youths. This path emphasized developing

   allegiance to the nation-state giving up those for their original homelands (Banks,

   2014). The expectations transnational Latina/o students were to assimilate, to

   express allegiance, commitment and loyalty to the US nation-state. Transnational

   Latina/o immigrant youths and their families' high mobility from school district

   to school district within the same town, city or between states in short periods of

   time, was framed as this group "lacking roots," not feeling a connection or

   belonging to the community of the school. This experience was compared as

   different from previous generations of immigrants who have lived in Hazleton for

   multiple generations. This narrative of Latinas/os lacking roots, erases students'

   identifications and affiliations with multiple heritages and places (i.e. New York,

   New Jersey, Philadelphia, etc.) that are not limited to one locale. Moreover,

   immigrant students may be viewed as nonresidents, and teachers and

administrators may not see them as their responsibility (Nervárez-La Torre,

2011). This description emphasizes the "problematic" aspect of one practice over

other and unsees that some populations might be in more control of their mobility

than others as a consequence of global economic flows and power structures

(Massey, 1994). Also, national cultures are not composed by a homogeneous form

of allegiance (Hall, 1996). To expect the same process of assimilation for new

generations of immigrants is a way to maintain mainstream established relations

of power creating boundaries around particular forms of identification.

2) **Language assimilation.** Teachers pointed out basic resources available to

Spanish speaking families and youths. The school had one translator, ESL

teachers who were not bilingual, and used a pull-out model for ELLs. They

manifested their questions, hopes for more resources that would better serve their

students and even them as teachers. "Non-speaker" is a term used to name

students who were monolingual in Spanish or emergent bilinguals in the school.

The normalization of the term "Non-speaker" in a learning space where the

majority of the student population has been exposed to Spanish, is bilingual or is a

Spanish native speaker, evidences unequal relations of power. One of the

teachers, Mr. O, used the term during our interview while he was talking about

the amount of paperwork involved in creating lesson plans and changing the

curriculum, "Well, for god's sakes, we know we have a diverse population, a lot

of non-speakers here. We know that we're using these, every single day. Why do

I have to keep including this and it's copy". The normalization of the term,

evidences that English is recognized as the only language that belonged in that

learning space. "Non-speaker," is an insult, an aggression that erases students'

access to another language and the worlds of meaning, socialization,

epistemological resources. This term comes from a place of power and of fear,

from a place that exists in the hegemonic cultural system in the school, from

feeling uncomfortable with a register that is not mastered, or meanings that cannot

be owned or controlled or possessed (hooks, 1994). "Non-speaker" comes from

an Anglo-American centric subject position and gaze; it becomes a label, a

position to relate to places--to school, to the US, to the world. This term is an

aggressive identity label present in the school that positions students as inferior in

an already existing relation of power. It silences youths, there is no thoughts, no

opinions, no desires, no exchange, no agency, no place for a "non-speaker". Its

others, creates separation, removes access to intercultural or multiple cultural

systems including those from their households or funds of knowledge (Gonzalez,

2005; Gonzalez & Moll, 2005). It is a colonial abuse to call youths that name

because it reproduces colonial hierarchies, classifies people, others people, places

some as less than, inappropriate, deficient. "Non-speakers" hurts, affects self-

conceptions, *da susto* (it scares you), paralyzes you, makes you fearful, threatens

you, breaks you, shows you what to hide, "So, if you want to really hurt me, talk

badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity-- I am

my language. Until I take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself"

(Anzaldúa, 2007, p. 81).

Transnational Latina/o Immigrant Youth's Experiences of Citizenship

The experiences of citizenship of the six transnational Latina/o immigrant youths

resisted and authentically inquired into topics of origin, place of birth, nationality, and

places they were connected to other than the U.S.

Moments of resistance. The story about the "President's Day" (see p. 115) social

studies lesson describes how some topics in the planned curriculum failed to consider the

context and the lived/living curriculum of students and teachers in their specificities of

place. Even though the teacher makes efforts to engage the students in the planned

curriculum by employing different strategies and learning tools, such as including their

names in the examples she is giving and trying to create cases that are related to the

students, the singularity of place underscores the lesson. The lesson emphasizes the

requirements to become a political leader of the country and reflects the implicit

requirements related to the place of birth and citizenship, which are sensitive topics in the

context of this town and within the relationships between students, families, teachers, and

administrators. This lesson took place right after Donald Trump's 2016 presidential

campaign, which promoted the construction of a wall on the U.S.-Mexico border in the

border that would stop immigration coming from Latin America, along with other and

that discriminatory immigration policies and executive orders that went into place the

beginning of his presidential period. It is important to emphasize that this teacher's class

is comprised of over 95% Latina/o students. During the week prior to the President's Day

class session, 680 immigrants were arrested by Immigration and Customs Enforcement

(ICE) across 12 states of the U.S. This class session was taking place one week after the

Day Without Immigrants, (February 16, 2017) a nation-wide social movement that

celebrated the economic and cultural contributions of immigrants to the U.S. In Hazleton,

Latino/a stores, restaurants and other business closed their doors, and according to Mrs.

D, 44 out of 132 students did not come to school on that day. The students brought up

context during the "President's Day" lesson by questioning the legitimacy of Donald

Trump as the US president, and later posed questions about the impeachment process

during the same class session. This is a moment of resistance that is manifested through

their inquiry about the process of impeachment and who would take this position of

power instead. By raising these points of tension, the Latina/o youths negotiated space

and voice within a planned curriculum that failed to take context into consideration.

There were multiple ways in which the six youths in this study resisted narratives

of citizenship based on sameness through their avoidance of topics that they did not

perceive as being safe. Even though they expressed, on multiple occasions, that the

people at the community center were "nice" and they came every afternoon to classes that

were not obligatory, they also expressed resistance to having to provide information that

would question their belonging to Hazleton and the U.S. Their resistance was manifested

in the gestures they made when questions about origins were asked (i.e. Ela and

Esmeralda in the "La Vega" story, see p. 106), in the ways that they kept their reflections

to themselves (i.e. Tyrone and Chris in the "Flags" story), and in the ways that they

negotiated their ethnic identity by trying to use different terms (i.e. Chris, Tyrone, Illán in the "So I am--" story, see p. 108) or resisted public anti-immigration discourse about Latinos/as by questioning the legitimacy of Donald Trump as president of the U.S. (i.e. President's Day," see p. 115).

Moments of authentic inquiry. Despite the youths' manifestations of resistance to the topics mentioned above, they also engaged in moments of authentic inquiry with content that was related to their multilingual, diasporic, or intercultural lived/living experiences.

Being Hispanic and not speaking Spanish. The six youths participating in this study made use of Spanish when they were exchanging with people at the community center who were not fluent in English or with their own parents or guardians. Spanish was rarely used among peers except to joke around, and there were only a few moments where I had the opportunity to talk with them briefly in Spanish. Yet, when discussing identity terms, the students inquired into the term used for those who identified as Hispanics but did not speak Spanish (i.e. Chris and Illán in the "So I am--" story, see p. 108). Illán even expressed that this characteristic of being Hispanic and not speaking Spanish describes him. This tension is described by Gloria Anzaldua (1987/2007) in the following quote: "'Pocho, cultural traitor, you're speaking the oppressor's language by speaking English, you're ruining the Spanish language,' I have been accused by various Latinos and Latinas. Chicano Spanish is considered by the purist and by most Latinos deficient, a mutilation of Spanish" (p. 77).

Belonging and citizenship having multiple ethnicities and coming from multiple places. Historically, in the U.S., citizenship has been tied to whiteness, property ownership, and patriarchy. These relations have only been transformed through the cultural and sociopolitical participation and struggle of marginalized groups who have fought for their belonging in the U.S. (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Oboler, 2006; Rosaldo, 1994). Youths who were participants in this study encountered a conflict between being American and not identifying as White but rather affiliating with other ethnic groups (i.e. Tyrone stating he was born in the U.S. and in the same conversation affirming he was not American because he did not like White culture in the "So, I am" story, see p. 108). I observed their constant negotiation between defining belonging and identity (i.e. Tyrone, after listening to Esmeralda, affirms he is half American and half Dominican in the "So, I am—" story, see p. 108), and their efforts to identify ways in which they could maintain multiple affiliations while still demonstrating they belonged in the U.S. During some of the map labeling activities and discussions about citizenship in their social studies classes, Latina/o youths engaged with these topics through questions about where people belonged based on their physical location (i.e. the person in the ocean at the U.S. border in "President's Day" story, see p. 115), their origin (i.e. "If I am Dominican, am I North American or South American, see pp. 117-119), or the paths through which people become citizens of the U.S. (i.e. "how do you become a citizen if you were not born here?" in the "President's

Day" story, see p. 115). Moreover, in discussions about the meaning of the terms "Latino," "Hispanic," and "Caribbean," some of the youths responded by asking clarifying questions and inquiring about the name given to people who had multiple ethnic identities (i.e. Chris, Illán and Carmelo in the "So I am--" story, see p. 109).

In what ways do narratives of citizenship, belonging, and transnational youth's lived experiences represent the tensions present in Hazleton's shifting community?

When set side by side with youths' lived experiences of citizenship, the narratives of citizenship and belonging told by social studies teachers reveal some of the tensions present in Hazleton's moment of demographic shift. On multiple occasions, the youths who participated in this study resisted questions about origins, places, and networks. The narratives of citizenship offered by the teachers revealed conceptions of citizenship based in sameness, which could only be achieved through nationalist and linguistic assimilation. There was an expectation for Latina/o immigrant families and youths to follow the paths of assimilation that that previous waves of White immigrants underwent.

Significance of the Study and Contributions to the Field of Curriculum Theory

In this dissertation, I have been concerned with the lived curriculum of global citizenship that highlights the lived experiences of students in the specificity of place.

Scholars of curriculum theory (Andreotti, 2011; Bajaj & Bartlett, 2017; Stein & Andreotti, 2017; Warriner, 2017) and social studies education (Banks, 2008, 2017; Subedi, 2013; Subedi & Daza, 2008; Merryfield & Subedi, 2006) have used critical, feminist, postcolonial, anti-colonial, and decolonial theoretical frameworks to study experiences of citizenship, including but not only focused on the relationship between the individual and the nation-state. They have made helpful theoretical and empirical work to decenter hegemonic narratives of citizenship. Some of these approaches include: 1) decentering pillars of Western modernity (i.e. nation-states, global capitalism and humanism) in education research focused on curriculum of global citizenship (Andreotti, 2011; Stein & Andreotti, 2017; Subedi, 2013); 2) conceptualizing possible forms of a critical transnational curricula (Bajaj & Bartlett, 2017; Warriner, 2017); 3) conceptualizing a critical global citizenship education (Andreotti & Souza, 2011; Banks, 2015; 2017; 2008; Merryfield & Subedi, 2006; Pashby, 2011); 4) focusing empirical studies about citizenship and identity on the lives of transnational, immigrant youth in the U.S. and in Europe (El-Haj, 2007; Maira, 2004; Nguyen, 2012; Rios-Rojas, 2011; 2018). I have addressed some of these matters in this dissertation in order to contribute to the existing literature. Specifically, this study contributes to studies about curriculum of global citizenship based on the lived experiences of transnational immigrant youth in semi-rural communities. Some of the most outstanding empirical studies on citizenship and identity have been ethnographies about the experiences of transnational youth in urban centers in the U.S. (El-Haj, 2007; Maira, 2004; Nguyen, 2012). Yet semi-rural towns that have experienced the latest wave of demographic change in the U.S. remain

marginal in research. Similar experiences of transnational youth in semi-rural and rural communities need further investigation.

Limitations of the Study

This study was done over a period of 14 weeks and in a community of which I was not a citizen and that I visited weekly. If I was going to do this research again, I would reconsider multiple aspects:

1) I would expand the time I spent building a relationships with the students, the teachers, the parents, and the school administrators. Spending more time with the students would have helped build a relationship of trust with the youths before addressing the topics of citizenship, identity, and place. Spending more time with the teachers would have allowed me to form a clearer understanding of the ways in which they contested assimilationist narratives of citizenship, deficit narratives about Latinas/os, as well as how these narratives were generated and the discourses that supported them.

2) I would participate in already-existing structures of collaboration between schools and the community to better understand the efforts being made by students, parents, teachers, and school administrators. This would have provided access to more nuanced conversations and spaces, where the tensions that emerge from demographic shift affect how people negotiate social change and where challenges to create solidarity emerge. More importantly, doing so would have

provided some guidelines on how to make changes in the study design so that
research could have benefitted the community and not only the researcher.
3) I would discuss preliminary findings to include the responses of the
participants in the study. This would provide the opportunity to respond to the
stories presented in this study based on exchanges that happened in a particular
moment but become crystalized through writing.

Teaching and Curricular Implications

Students in the stories shared in this dissertation have been left on their own to
make sense of their lived experiences. Their experiences of citizenship are sometimes
part of the null curriculum or are left on the margins of the planned curriculum, and even
on the margins of lived curriculum within classroom and school spaces. These students'
experiences suggest the need for reevaluating the objectives of the curriculum of
citizenship education, as well as the need for new structures and opportunities of
participation and other forms of resources. The inquiries offered by the students in these
stories contribute to the sets of questions, values, and references that can help decenter an
exclusionary definition of citizenship and an essentializing curriculum of the global.

Shaping curriculum and pedagogy based on students and teachers' experiences,
on questions related to origin, citizenship, and place of birth, may initially feel
threatening. The political climate in the U.S. has made questions that would help teachers
better know their students become questions that students might feel they need to answer
in a protective way. Engaging in these kinds of questions before establishing a safe

relationship between students and teachers in the class may feel threatening in contexts where demographic shift has happened in a short period of time.

Bajaj & Bartlett (2017) have studied experiences of schools in other parts of the U.S. that have made efforts to change and better serve transnational immigrant students. Some of these schools have become fully bilingual, implemented multilingual resources, and have tried methods such as thematic reading in multiple languages, as well as other methods that support translingualism in their schools. Some of them have even pushed for the use other languages for standardized testing.

Appendix A

Methods and Texts Generated

Time	Methods	Texts
Throughout research (Feb-May)	Researcher journal, audio recording.	Researcher registers reflections, daily experiences, events, images, memories, fantasies, etc.
Throughout research (Once a week)	Audio recordings/Memos	Short pieces of writing for the exploration of connections between self and place, sense of belonging, memories, stories.
Throughout the research. (Varies)	Vignettes	Structured stories that have the purpose of exploring a concrete experience in relation to memories and fiction to "complete" the point of the story
Interviews and group sessions		
Beginning and end (February & April)	Individual interview with Hazleton students (1 interview per student)	Audio recording; transcription
March	Semi-structured interviews with Hazleton teachers (1 interview per teacher)	Audio recording; transcription
Feb-April	Youth interviews -Group discussions -Audio recording/Filming for podcast	14 Weekly group sessions. (Audio recordings, transcripts, audio notes) 1-minute short film
Feb-April	Social studies class observations in middle school	At least 14 school-days

Appendix B

Afterschool Club Session Programing

Session	Theme	Activity	Product
1	Who are we?	Introductions: Flags activity Building big puzzle together	Personal flags Large puzzle pieces
2	Who are we?	Co-constructing rules Familial memories: Do these memories connect more than one place? Do they connect different tensions? Do they connect people? Why is this memory important to you?	Audio recorded session, large puzzle pieces
3	Mapping exercise	Co-constructing rules Voting on project (podcast and topics) Mapping of favorite spots in Hazleton, frequent paths (smells, sounds, tact sensations, images, foods?), boundaries, classification of areas	Audio recorded session Written stories
4	Stories	Storytelling session Practicing interviews for podcasts Technological use of recorders and cameras	Video & audio recorded session
5	Stories	Voting on short-film or podcast Technological use of videocameras Script	Video & audiorecorded session
6	Stories	Filming scenes of "Bullying"	Audio recordings, film shots
7	Stories & places	Filming "Bullying" Discussion of places	Audio recordings, film shots
8	Stories & places	Filming "Bullying"	Audio recordings, film shots
9	Stories & Places	Shooting video on the Basketball court Discussion of places	Audio recordings
10	Scripting stories	Reviewing "Bullying"	Audiorecorded sessions, story boards, other forms of plan.
11	One-minute short film	Filming last scene of "Bullying"	Audiorecorded sessions, story boards, other forms of plan.
12	Penn State	Visit to Penn State	Scripts, audios, audio recording
13	One-minute short film	Watching "Bullying" together Conversation about identity	Scripts, audios, audio recording
14	Closing	Final meeting	

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PUBLICATIONS

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ACADEMIC INTERVIEWS

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