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GEOGRAPHIES OF LEARNING:

PLACE, SPACE, AND EMBODIED EXPERIENCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

FIELD COURSES

A Thesis in

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Andrei Leon Israel

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The thesis of Andrei Leon Israel was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Roger Downs
Professor of Geography
Thesis Advisor

Petra Tschakert
Assistant Professor of Geography

Karl Zimmerer
Professor of Geography
Head of the Department of Geography

*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School

ABSTRACT

Geographers argue that geographic context matters to all kinds of social processes, but geographers have rarely addressed the role of that context in the spatial dynamics of the circulation of knowledge. And yet, the production, reproduction, transmission, and application of knowledge all occur in particular types of places and through particular spatial processes. Some recent scholarship does address the role of place and space in the production and transmission of knowledge, through the conduct and dissemination of scientific research. I examine another integral moment in the circulation of knowledge—the reproduction of knowledge in formal educational programs. I argue that place and space matter to teaching and learning, and I illustrate this importance through an examination of two university field courses in geography. Field-based courses, which are central to geography education, exhibit a variety of spatial arrangements not seen in traditional classroom-based courses. I develop and explain an eight-dimensional conceptual model that illustrates the characteristics of various field education programs. I then examine the spatial dynamics and experiences of students in the two case study courses. This analysis shows that students' experiences are situated within multiple geographies and that these geographies structure the experience in essential ways. Based on this analysis, I argue that both the process and the outcome of learning that occurs in formal educational programs is crucially dependent on the situated, embodied experience of students in particular places.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Geographies of Learning

As embodied activities of human beings, teaching and learning always take place *somewhere.*
Geographers argue that "place matters" to all manner of social processes, but geographers have
largely neglected to examine the geographies involved in teaching and learning. This omission is
somewhat strange, since much of the practice of geographic scholarship occurs within institutions
of higher education. Academic geographers conduct research (*i.e.,* produce new geographic
knowledge) and teach geography, but there has been very little geographic scholarship on the
spatial dynamics of educational programs or how place matters to student learning.

This question forms one part of a larger inquiry into the (also largely unexamined)
geographies of knowledge. Recent scholarship has begun to address this lacuna in geographic
research, investigating the many roles of place and space in the production, transmission, and
circulation of knowledge. Livingstone (2003) outlines the importance of specific spatial
characteristics to the conduct of scientific research and the circulation of scientific knowledge.
Taking quite literally the notion of situated knowledges, Livingstone examines the particular
spaces and places within which scientific knowledges are produced and shows how they leave an
imprint upon those knowledges.

Turning to the specific spatial characteristics of geographic research, recent investigations
have examined "the field" as a site of geographic knowledge production. Driver (2000) argues
that the field cannot be taken for granted as a realm awaiting exploration, but rather that it is
always produced through the spatial and discursive practices of geographic scholars. A recent

special issue of *The Geographical Review* (DeLyser & Starrs, 2001) provides a thorough look at the myriad field practices of geographic researchers. This collection of fifty-six personal reflections on fieldwork from a wide range of active geographers shows the range of places inhabited and activities performed by geographers in the course of producing geographic knowledge.

In this thesis, I will extend this nascent line of inquiry by turning from the production of knowledge to the reproduction of knowledge in formal educational settings. I will argue that location and situation do in fact matter to teaching and learning, and I will explore the importance to student learning of the various geographies involved in two collegiate geography field courses. Field courses have a distinctive geography in comparison with typical college courses. Field courses are located away from the typical campus settings, and they involve a wide range of local spatial practices that differ from classroom activities. I will examine these geographies and articulate how the distinctive geographies of field-based education are implicated in the reproduction of knowledge in these courses. Thus, this inquiry will make explicit the connections between the emerging scholarship of fieldwork in geography and Livingstone's investigations of the geographies of scientific knowledge: I will show that the particular geographies of field practice matter to the production and reproduction of knowledge in these activities.

Moreover, this investigation will extend the inquiry into the geographies of geographic knowledge by highlighting the connections between the production of knowledge through research and the reproduction of knowledge in teaching. Typically, the production of knowledge (through research) and its reproduction (through teaching) are seen as entirely separate processes, and, too often, production is prioritized over reproduction. I will argue in this thesis that teaching and learning are as significant as research as moments in the circulation of knowledge. That is, instead of a hierarchical relationship, I will argue that teaching and research are co-constitutive activities, and therefore that educational practices and learning processes are worthy of serious

scientific study. This investigation, thus, will point the way toward a more robust theorization of the geography of student learning and toward more effective practices in geography education.

The Plan of the Following Chapters

The first part of this thesis articulates the connections between knowledge and geography and explores their manifestations in educational programs. In chapter two, I present the argument that geography matters in the production of scientific knowledge and that it matters equally in the reproduction of knowledge. I then explore some of the geographies of higher education. In chapter three, I explore the geographies of fieldwork, a spatial arrangement of research and education that is particularly relevant to the discipline of Geography. In chapter four, I summarize the emerging scholarship on place-based education, which has largely occurred outside of Geography, although the outside-the-classroom educational practices involved are akin to field practices in geographic education.

The second major section of this thesis examines the connections between geography and learning empirically, through an analysis of two field-based geography courses. In chapter five, I explain the empirical research questions and introduce the two case studies. In chapter six, I describe the research process, including the methods of data collection and my ethical position with regard to the participants and the programs studied. Chapters seven through nine present the results of my empirical research. In chapter seven, I summarize the backgrounds and expectations that students bring to these courses. In chapter eight, I describe in detail the activities involved in each course. In chapter nine, I characterize the lived experiences of students in each course, describing their affective and intellectual responses to the various spaces encountered during their field experience.

In chapter 11, I synthesize these empirical findings and compare student experiences between the two courses. I then articulate the ways that the different geographies of the two courses have impacted student learning and growth. This discussion shows how the reproduction of knowledge in these courses depends crucially on the many geographies within which student experiences are situated.

Chapter 2

Geographies of Knowledge – Production and Reproduction

The idea of a geography of knowledge seems counterintuitive at first. We typically think of knowledge as existing independently of places and spaces: if two plus two equals four in Pennsylvania, it ought to equal four in Oklahoma or Shanghai. But any particular instance of knowledge is always located somewhere, since it is someone's knowledge of something, and that individual is somewhere. That is to say, knowledge is always embodied and located, and the processes by which knowledge is produced and reproduced always involve particular people in particular places. In *Putting Science in its Place*, David Livingstone (2003) examines the geographical characteristics of the production and transmission of scientific knowledge. Through myriad examples, he shows that the places and spaces of scientific research bear significantly on what knowledge is produced, how that knowledge is produced, how that knowledge is received by various publics, and how it circulates through the world. Rather than being universal, or independent of place, Livingstone argues that scientific knowledge is produced through particular practices that occur in particular types of places, involving particular people.

But Livingstone's geography of science only addresses one aspect of the circulation of knowledge—namely, the production of knowledge through scientific research. A similar argument, however, should hold for the reproduction of knowledge through formal educational programs, as well as for other moments in the circulation of knowledge, such as the application of knowledge in public policy or the consumption of knowledge in popular media. Research and education are generally considered separate though related activities, but as the production and reproduction of knowledge (respectively), they are intimately connected. In all of its manifestations, knowledge is marked by the places where it occurs.

In this chapter, I will rehearse in some detail Livingstone's account of the geographies of scientific knowledge. I will then articulate the connections between the production and the reproduction of knowledge. With that foundation, I will use the geographies of education to suggest a new way of conceiving of the connection between geography and knowledge. I will end with a discussion of the theory and practice of place-based education, which points toward an implementation of the geographically informed knowledge I have suggested.

Livingstone's Geographies of Science

In *Putting Science in its Place*, Livingstone (2003) argues that geographies, at many scales, "profoundly influence" both "the doing of science" and "the knowledge claims that practitioners [make]" (2003, p. 88). That is, scientific knowledge cannot be understood fully without reference to the socio-spatial-temporal contexts of its production and circulation. Instead of construing scientific knowledge as separate from these contexts, Livingstone argues, instances of the assertion of scientific knowledge must be understood as geographic (and historical) events. Place-time contexts structure all aspects of the scientific endeavor, including who participates in scientific inquiry, what questions are asked, what tools are available and considered appropriate for addressing those questions, what counts as an adequate answer, and how the answers produced by scientists are received in the wider world. In all of these aspects, Livingstone argues for a view of science and scientific knowledge as a process and an activity of human beings. Thus, science is always situated and embodied.

Livingstone specifically addresses three exemplary aspects of the geographies of scientific knowledge(s): the sites of scientific practice, the imprint of regional differences upon scientific practices, and the flows of scientific artifacts and knowledges across space. First, he addresses the sites in which scientific knowledge is produced and consumed. He observes that scientific

activity takes place in particular, specifically constructed venues, such as laboratories, museums, or botanical gardens. These sites structure the bodily practice of science in several ways:

> For a start, the disposition of equipment and other accoutrements regulates human behavior in one way or another. Frequently the site is constructed so as to restrain or promote certain interactions; in some cases entry is carefully controlled by formal or informal mechanisms of boundary maintenance. (2003, p. 18)

These sites, then, regulate what kinds of experiences can and cannot occur within the spaces of scientific practice. Beyond regulating the physical interactions that occur within them, these spaces also serve a social function, for "within these spaces… students are socialized into their respective scientific communities" (Livingstone, 2003, p. 18). The construction of the spaces of science as separate from the world-at-large facilitates the reproduction of specific scientific (sub)cultures, at least in part independent of the wider society in which they are embedded.

This description fits well for the spaces mentioned above and other spatially fixed sites of knowledge production. But geographers (and scientists from many other disciplines) also practice their science in the mobile, fluid setting of "the field." Livingstone's account addresses the field as scientific space in two ways. First, he notes that the chaotic and necessarily opportunistic nature of field study has led to suspicion and rejection of the work of field scientists. He quotes anatomist Georges Cuvier as characterizing field observations as "broken and fleeting" (quoted in Livingstone, 2003, p. 40), whereas, in contrast, "the bench-tied student of nature [has] the time to spread out samples, to collate and analyze them, and thereby come to reliable conclusions" (2003, p. 40). On the other hand, "the field" as a geographic construct does in some ways function similarly to the laboratory or other spatially-bounded sites. Like the isolation of the laboratory, extended stints of fieldwork in distant realms acculturate newcomers into disciplinary practices (cf. Nairn, 2003), thereby reproducing the culture of a scholarly discipline. While fieldworkers might be in the midst of "locals" and other travelers, as well as rich physical environments, the separation from their "home" society serves to maintain the field

as a distinct scientific space, at least in the social imagination—field researchers "go into the field," reemerging months or years later, just as researchers in other disciplines disappear into libraries or laboratories (albeit for shorter periods of time).

Livingstone next addresses the geographies of science at a regional scale. This examination provides a counterpoint to the first, for at this scale, the spaces of science are seen to be enmeshed within various regional geographies, rather than isolated from those contexts. Livingstone shows that the provision of resources for scientific endeavor and the impetus to undertake a scientific investigation are invariably wrapped up in political, economic, and cultural characteristics of the region. Because of these dependencies, the science that is conducted varies from place to place, such that one can refer to *English* science as distinct from *French* science.

The third aspect of the geographies of science that Livingstone addresses relates directly to the motive for his inquiry. If scientific knowledge is produced in particular sites, and that scientific activity is regionally specific, then how do scientific knowledges come to be universal and ubiquitous? Livingstone argues that this universalization occurs through specific social and spatial practices of transference and standardization. Moreover, he argues, these practices are always tenuous and contingent: the production of universal scientific knowledge is never completed, but always an ongoing process.

In the conclusion to *Putting Science in its Place,* Livingstone asserts that his argument need not lead to philosophical idealism or relativism. He differentiates between his argument that the production and evaluation of any knowledge claim is invariably influenced by spatio-temporal contexts and the claim that all knowledge or truth is relative or chimerical:

> it is entirely plausible to argue… that what *passes* as knowledge, what a person is *warranted* in believing, what *counts* as good grounds for a claim are relative to the circumstances people find themselves in without insisting that truth itself is relative to such factors. (2003, p. 185, emphasis in original)

With the conditional language in this statement, Livingstone stakes out an agnostic position on the "ultimate matters of truth" (2003, p. 185). But while Livingstone relegates those questions to the realm of philosophy (and therefore peripheral to his inquiry), he cannot so easily dismiss them, since what is at stake is the very validity and utility of scientific practice. For science as a social-spatial practice (the topic of his study) is made up of those knowledge claims that he shows to be thoroughly situated. Thus, while his argument may not bear upon the deep questions of metaphysics, it can inform an evaluation of the practice of scientific research.

The implications of Livingstone's analysis for science can be addressed from two perspectives. First, while Livingstone's accounts of scientific knowledge production describe the *influence* of geographical contexts upon the process, he never suggests that the process is fully *determined* by those contexts. To argue for such thorough determination would be to deny any possibility for agency on the part of either the scientist(s) or the phenomena being studied, a denial that would amount to explaining away a great deal of commonplace experience. Indeed, if, as Livingstone has shown, the influence of geography on scientific inquiry occurs by means of specific material spatial practices that promote or impede certain types of interactions and experiences, it would be very strange to deny utterly the importance of the encounter of scientist with phenomenon.

On the other hand, Livingstone's argument does have implications for the practice of science. The motif of his text is that science understands and presents itself as independent of geographical context. The knowledge produced in scientific research is treated as placeless and disembodied, such that the specific people and places involved in its production are merely incidental details. Indeed, we are so accustomed to thinking about science this way that it is hard to imagine doing science any other way. But Livingstone's analysis suggests that another way to do science is possible, a way that takes seriously the spatio-temporal contexts in which the research is enmeshed. Taking the argument a step further, Livingstone points toward a new way

of conceiving of knowledge. To articulate this new vision of knowledge, one that takes spatio-temporal contexts seriously, we will look not at the production of knowledge, but at the reproduction of knowledge through education.

Geographies of Education

The analysis of the geographies of science serves as a useful prolegomenon to discussion of the central focus of this thesis, the geographies of higher education. Typically, scientific research is conceptualized as an autonomous activity, separate from the educational programs that disseminate the knowledge produced in this research. But if we recognize research and education as, respectively, the production and reproduction of scientific knowledge, we can see that these are interconnected moments in the circulation of knowledge. As Downs (2009 forthcoming) argues, academic research and classroom (or out-of-classroom) teaching, as well as popular publication, policy implementation, professional practice, and myriad other activities, are inseparable constitutive sites in flows of knowledge. Thus, while Livingstone focuses on the geographies of research, formal educational programs comprise another arena for examining the geographies of knowledge, in this case considering its reproduction.

Livingstone and others have shown that geography influences the production and transmission of knowledge in essential ways; my argument is that geography matters equally in the reproduction of knowledge through formal educational programs[1]. Schooling, like science, occurs in particular types of spaces, and geographies at many scales play constitutive roles in the student's educational experience. I will be focusing on higher education in the United States, but

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[1] I would make the same claim about the reproduction of knowledge in the myriad of informal educational settings, but for the purposes of this thesis I am restricting my focus to formal educational programs, namely schools.

while the specific geographies differ by national setting and educational level, I argue that the crucial role of those geographies will obtain in all educational contexts.

At the finest scale, American higher education (like schooling at other levels) occurs in classrooms of various kinds. As with the laboratory, the classroom structures social interactions in particular ways. The arrangement of the physical space of the classroom facilitates certain types of interactions and inhibits others, thereby shaping the kinds of experiences students will have in that classroom (Hutchison, 2004). For instance, a typical lecture classroom focuses attention on the teacher at the front of the room, reinforcing the authority of the teacher and deterring students from (potentially disruptive) interactions with one another. In addition, this arrangement allows the teacher to observe and monitor students (Markus, 1993). In contrast, a seminar-style classroom with seats arranged in a circle facilitates direct interaction and exchange between students and promotes participation in class discussions. But this arrangement also constrains bodily movements, for the chairs or seminar table generally occupy the bulk of the room. In the seminar room, the circle of participants constitutes a (perhaps ephemeral) community with an inward focus, drawing attention away from the outside world. In both cases, the physical structure of the classroom as a defined, isolated space focuses student attention on the matters selected by the teacher and away from external matters.

At broader spatial scales, the college campus is the definitive space of American higher education. In many ways, the campus functions like an extension of the classroom at broader spatial and temporal scales. The campus is space marked off from the rest of the world—in some cases, such as Yale University's urban campus in New Haven, CT, by walls and fences; in other cases simply by isolation from metropolitan areas, as with rural college or university towns like Bloomington, IN (home to Indiana University), Ithaca, NY (home to Cornell University), or

College Station, TX (home to Texas A&M University)[2]. This spatial separation marks a student's time spent at such an institution as "a college education." As with laboratories and the production of knowledge, college campuses produce college-educated students through particular spatial structures and social practices that regulate entrance and confer authority upon the institution to certify the education of students.

The prominence of this spatial form becomes significant with respect to disciplines, such as geography, that emphasize field experience in education. Since the spatially-fixed education that occurs on a campus and in classrooms abstracts students from the complexities of the messy world, geography education has needed ways to take students out of the campus environment. But before considering programs that take students away from these insular campuses, we should note two manifestations of higher education that function with a different spatial arrangement— commuter campuses and online education. Most community colleges, and many four-year schools, primarily draw students from their immediate area and do not provide on-campus housing for students. At these institutions, students commute onto campus only for classes, returning to their lives in the "outside world" after class. In this case, the campus becomes merely a container for classrooms and the offices and other facilities needed to support them. But despite the living situation of most students, many such institutions attempt to facilitate on-campus activities that would be found on a residential campus, in an effort to build community among students (D. R. Kenney, Dumont, & G. Kenney, 2005). Such efforts show that the experience of a college campus is understood as central to a college education, for these institutions try to generate a campus atmosphere in spite of a very different pattern of student activity from a residential school.

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[2] In contrast to this model, some campuses are fully integrated into an urban fabric, like that of George Washington University in Washington, DC. In this case, while the usual landscape structures of a campus are missing, the density of academic buildings and student residences sets up a spatial performance and experience of "campus" by students. In my experience, this campus does have clear, if subtly marked and porous, boundaries.

The more radical exception to the typical spatial arrangement is online or distance education. These programs do away with physical campuses entirely, conducting class activities through Internet sites[3]. Thus, this type of education does not occur in a specialized space—instead, students and faculty participate from their home or office, bodily immersed in the very "outside world" that a classroom and campus serve to shut out.

My study addresses another alternative spatial arrangement to traditional schooling, namely, educational programs that take students away from the confines of the campus and into "the field." Like online education, field education represents an alternative to spatially-fixed, campus/classroom-based educational programs. But in online education, the embodied location (and condition) of the student is entirely insignificant; in contrast, in field education the relocation of students is central to the purpose of the course. Just as field research has traditionally been central to scholarship in geography, field education has long been central to geography education. To understand the significance of this field-based spatial arrangement of education, we will need to consider in more detail the role of fieldwork in the production and reproduction of knowledge.

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[3] For-profit universities such as the University of Phoenix often have physical sites, in addition to online programs, but these sites are generally rented office suites, lacking any of the trappings of a college campus.

Chapter 3

Fieldwork in Geographic Research and Education

Livingstone (2003) observes that the structure of the space of fieldwork is quite different from that of a laboratory, although in some ways the spaces are similarly constituted as spaces of scientific research. Indeed, the difference in spatial structure is fundamental enough that some laboratory scientists have rejected field research as unscientific. But Livingstone's analysis of the geographies of scientific knowledge challenges such a stance by showing that *all* spaces of scientific research leave their mark upon the research that is conducted. In his account, the laboratory emerges not as a neutral space where distracting influences are removed and science can be pursued freely, but rather as a particularly constructed and maintained space that actively structures the content of the knowledge produced within it.

But Livingstone's account also suggests that if we reject the laboratory's claim to be the definitive scientific space, we must equally reject any grandiose claims of field researchers to a privileged access to knowledge based on physical presence in distant locations. Instead, we must consider how each of the many spaces of science functions by promoting certain spatial and embodied practices and discouraging others. These spatial dynamics lead to different kinds of interactions and experiences within different types of spaces, resulting in the production of different knowledges.

Field Research in Geography

In a short editorial, Driver (2000) neatly encapsulates the ambiguities associated with thinking about "the field" and "fieldwork" in geography. While geographers talk about going into the field as though it were a place waiting to be visited and explored, the field is actually "a

region which is always in the process of being constructed" (Driver, 2000, p. 267) through the activities of geographers. As Driver (2000, p. 267) notes, "The field in this sense is not just 'there'; it is produced and re-produced through both physical movement across a landscape and other sorts of cultural work in a variety of sites." He then articulates three separate realms within which the field is produced:

> The field is produced *in situ* through a variety of embodied spatial practices, discursively through presentation (in publications, for example), and institutionally through scientific and other networks across a range of different spaces. (2000, p. 267)

These three interrelated realms impact the way the field functions as a space of research and education. First and foremost, the fieldworker constitutes the field through particular physical, bodily movements. But, as Driver notes, geographers also produce the field in discourse. To his example of formal presentations, I would add that geographers also continually (re)produce the field as discourse in casual conversation about research activities. Finally, these discursive manifestations of the field become codified in institutional structures such as funding mechanisms to support fieldwork, fieldwork requirements in academic programs, or field camp facilities maintained by academic departments in locations remote from the university campus.

These realms do not function independently: these discursive and institutional structures encourage certain types of activity as fieldwork, and discourage others; conversely, discursive and institutional representations of the field are influenced by the actual practices involved in fieldwork. But these discursive and institutional reproductions of the field are also situated within a disciplinary history[4]. Livingstone's (2003) examination of nineteenth century conceptions of the field explores the historical roots of present-day field practice (cf. also Mathewson, 2001). Livingstone describes a particular version and vision of fieldwork—a version

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[4] While the history of Geography as an institutionalized academic discipline has primary relevance to contemporary practice, the development of fieldwork traditions in other disciplines, such as geology, anthropology, and ecology is related to this history in geography.

of fieldwork in that it includes certain specific fieldwork practices, and a vision of fieldwork in that the actual circumstances of nineteenth century fieldworkers are not as important as the way those activities were perceived within the scientific community and society at large. This version of fieldwork involves travel over great distances into remote and primitive environments, extended stay in those locales, and subsequent return to "civilization" with stories and specimens.

Thus, while fieldwork in geography today involves an immense diversity of practices (DeLyser & Starrs, 2001), the nineteenth-century version of fieldwork described by Livingstone has been influential both as model and as foil in the development of field practice in geography. This version of fieldwork refers to the nineteenth-century journeys of Humboldt, Darwin, Wallace, and other explorer-naturalists, who were the precursors to contemporary geographic fieldworkers (Mathewson, 2001). In this version of fieldwork, sheer distance maintained the separateness of field-space, since these researchers left Europe to travel in tropical regions and overseas for years at a time. Fieldwork involved literally dropping off the map for a time.

Because of this distance, researchers spend months or years at a time in the field. Unlike a laboratory, where one spends working hours but returns home in off time, a researcher is in the field all the time. All the basic processes of life—for example, sleeping, eating, recreation, medical care—occur "in the field." Thus, in the field, spaces of research blend fluidly into spaces of daily life. But, conversely, the researcher typically is a visitor in the field setting, whereas the laboratory is unequivocally the scientist's domain. The laboratory is designed to shut out the world-at-large, but the field site, in contrast, is of scientific interest precisely because of its situated-ness in the world. Because of its in-the-world-ness, Livingstone notes, the field as site "is less easily defined, bounded, and policed than its intramural counterparts like the laboratory or the museum" (2003, p. 42). Thus, traditional fieldwork always involves a tension between the immersed quality of inhabitation and the fact that the researcher ultimately does not belong and cannot remain in the field site.

A consequence of this particular structure of traditional field research is that the body of the researcher becomes more conspicuous than in spatially-fixed research activities. We have already noted that the body of the researcher is in some sense out of place and intrusive in field settings. In addition, traditional fieldwork often involves intense physical challenges associated with traveling long distances and living in primitive conditions. Complementing this bodily struggle, fieldwork involves feelings of excitement and joy, affects that would probably seem out of place in a laboratory setting. Indeed, one of the critiques leveled by laboratory scientists on field research was that it was merely "high adventure" (Livingstone, 2003, p. 42), rather than sound science. As Livingstone (2003, p. 42) summarizes the argument, "Fun was one thing, physics something else." To some laboratory scientists, the prominence of the body and emotion in field science research undermined the legitimacy of that research.

This description of the spatial dynamics of traditional fieldwork, drawn primarily from Livingstone's account of nineteenth century practices, describes many aspects of some contemporary field practice in geography. For instance, political ecology often involves extended periods of in-depth, on-the-ground observation and data collection in order to assemble ethnographies and land-use histories (Robbins, 2004), and while recent trends have introduced topics from the developed world, most political ecology research occurs in less-developed settings, with indigenous communities (McCarthy, 2002).

But, as noted above, contemporary fieldwork practice includes a wide range of settings and forms, many very different from this traditional model. For the purposes of this thesis, two changes in the way geographers practice and understand fieldwork are particularly significant. First, the movement toward "insider" research (DeLyser, 2001) has challenged the idea that fieldwork must occur in a foreign place where the researcher is positioned as an outside observer. Second, some geographers have argued that the traditional practice of fieldwork was embedded in

colonialist ideologies and sought, instead, to implement a politics of liberation through their field projects.

The separation of "the field" as a space apart from the spaces of everyday life is confounded by local, urban, and insider research projects. As Denis Cosgrove (1993, p. 516) suggests in discussing the "new" cultural geography, scholars have rejected the traditional "muscular disdain for the fey and metropolitan" and prejudice toward "hairy-chested feats of scholarly endurance." Today, one need not travel to distant, primitive lands to conduct fieldwork—the familiar settings of everyday life have emerged as a legitimate object of research.

In addition, geographers have recognized that the practices of research have impacts upon the places involved and have argued that those impacts have ethical implications for researchers. Projects such as William Bunge's Geographical Expedition in post-riot Detroit sought to use fieldwork to empower marginalized communities (Bunge, 1971; cf. also Heyman, 2007). Methodologically, participatory research approaches seek to include marginalized people as co-researchers, ceding control over the process and the results of research (Pain, 2004). These initiatives view fieldwork as a political, as well as a scientific, act.

In both of these movements in the practice of fieldwork, the understanding of the fieldworker as separate from and alien to the field site is challenged. This revision points toward a praxis of fieldwork where the body of the researcher and his/her ethical and affective stances are not out of place, but rather are an integral part of the production of knowledge. Such a model of research is needed for understanding fieldwork as an educational project. But before developing that line of argument, we will first look at the use of fieldwork in geography education.

Fieldwork in Geography Education

I noted above that the discipline of geography regards the field as a space of education as well as a space of scientific research. As such, it stands in contrast with the fixed spaces of education like the classroom, just as the field contrasts with the laboratory as a space of scientific research. Thus, the preceding analysis of the spaces of fieldwork can be extended by considering the way these spaces function in educational contexts.

First, it is worth noting that fluidity and unpredictability of the field generates suspicion of its appropriateness as a site of education. As Marsden (2000) relates, critics have argued that field study narrows the student's focus inappropriately, when s/he should be learning about the world as a whole, and that while it may be a good time for students, it is not a serious educational experience. Like the expeditions of early field scientists, as discussed by Livingstone (2003), educational excursions into the "messy" world, with their emphasis on sensory experience and pleasure, are seen by some as inappropriate and ineffective. One critic asked whether "placing the local post office in 'its proper relationship to the nearest public house' truly gave insight into 'the lie of the world'" (MacMunn, 1926, p. 94, cited in Marsden, 2000, p. 20). Another complained that "the boys 'regarded it as a picnic'" (Lyde, 1912, quoted in Marsden, 2000, p. 20).

But while this fluidity and unpredictability renders field education problematic to some critics, its emphasis on first-hand, *in situ* experience, is its proponents' primary focus. Just as field scientists asserted the importance of "the immediate experience of moving through space" and encountering nature "in the raw" (Livingstone, 2003, p. 41) in the production of new knowledge, field educators assert the importance of direct experience in reproducing knowledge. As Archibald Geikie argues, "[a] fact discovered by the child for himself through his own direct observations becomes a part of his being…" (1887, quoted in Marsden, 2000, p. 18).

For the purposes of my analysis, there is no need to adjudicate between the critics and proponents of field education. What both critics and proponents indicate, though, is that education occurs differently in a field context than in a classroom: to use Livingstone's (2003) vocabulary, this argument shows that *where* matters to the educational process, in terms of *what* the students are learning and *how* they are learning it. Following Livingstone's lead, then, two questions become salient. First, what are the spatial dynamics of field education? That is, how are spaces created, occupied and traversed in various field education programs? Second, how do these spaces impact student learning (that is, the way knowledge is reproduced in these educational settings)?

To address these questions, we need to consider the practices of field education more broadly. Gold and colleagues (1991) identify five elements of variation among field courses in geography:

1) Teaching methods;
2) Venue;
3) Duration;
4) Relationship to the overall curriculum (whether required or elective);
5) Academic or social focus.

I will focus first on elements #1–3 in this list. My inquiry does not address the relationship of a field experience to the curriculum (element #4), as both courses I examine are electives, and this aspect is less applicable to my North American context than the UK context, as very few North American geography departments have required field experiences for undergraduates (Gold et al., 1991). The question of focus on academic or social goals will be addressed below.

The duration of a field education experience may be as brief as a few hours, as in a class field trip, or as long as a year or more, as may be the case for a graduate student's doctoral field study. The duration will affect the degree of intensity and immersed quality to the experience, as longer programs will likely be more intense experiences for students. In contrast, field projects of shorter duration will likely be much less clearly distinguished from the everyday life activities of students.

By the "venue" of a field course, Gold and colleagues refer both to the type of setting (*e.g.,* urban *vs.* rural) and the distance traveled (physically and socially) from the home environment of the student. The choice of setting determines what sorts of environments students will encounter and therefore what geographic topics can be addressed well on the field course. That is, in order to study issues related to urban poverty, the course venue must be an area where urban poverty exists; in order to study forest ecology, the venue must be in or near forested land. In addition, though, student experiences will be affected by the extent to which the field setting is different from the home environment of the students—that is, the extent to which students experience the field setting as foreign and exotic, or familiar.

Kent and colleagues (1997) expand the category of "teaching methods" by identifying two axes of differentiation—the degrees of student autonomy and of active participation in exploration and knowledge production (Figure 1). The "autonomy" axis describes the level of instructor control over student activity. Student activity may be entirely directed by the instructor or may proceed independently with only occasional guidance from the instructor. The "participation" axis ranges from observation, where students passively take in the field site, guided by the instructor's insights into the processes seen, to participation, where students actively conduct investigative activities, becoming producers rather than consumers of knowledge about the field site.
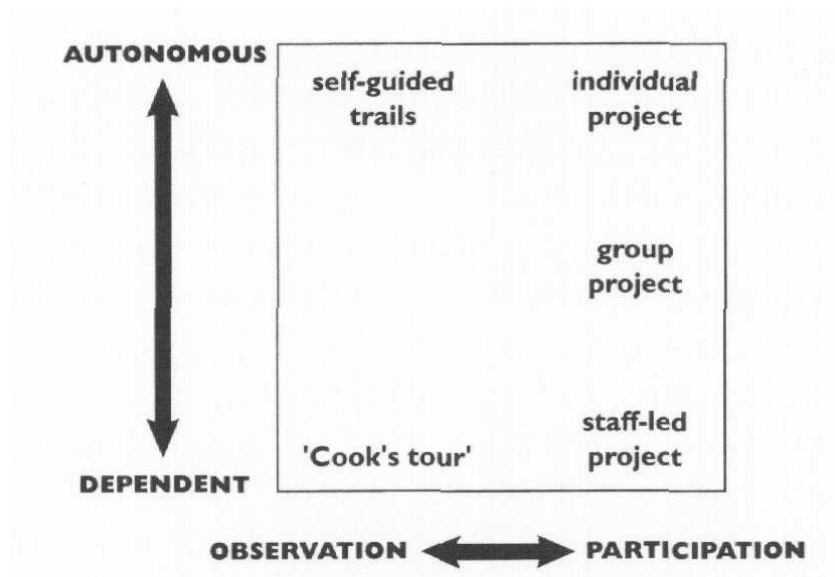
Figure 1: Continua of autonomy and participation in fieldwork. Source: Kent *et al.* (1997, p. 317).

Much of the literature on field education in Geography focuses on the intellectual aspect of the experience and the contribution of fieldwork to student acquisition of knowledge and skills. But as with field research, affective and ethical concerns are more prominent in field courses than in traditional classroom settings. Indeed, a broad survey of UK university students (Boyle et al., 2007) has indicated that the affective dimension of field experiences is a primary draw for students to choose geography as their major. Thus, students recognize that the impact of field education is affective as well as intellectual.

The fieldwork literature does acknowledge the affective and ethical aspects of fieldwork, but as secondary to intellectual goals. Kent and colleagues refer obliquely to these aspects of the field experience, calling them the "hidden agenda" of fieldwork, purposes relating to "socialization and personal development" (Kent et al., 1997, table 1). The goals included in this "hidden agenda" include "stimulation and enhancement of enthusiasm for study" and "development of a respect for the environment." Similarly, Lonergan and Andresen (1988, p. 65) state that one of the goals of fieldwork is to "stimulate… an attitude of appreciation, concern, and

valuing of [the] environment." These two examples show that despite the focus on intellectual aspects of fieldwork, affective and ethical concerns are indeed acknowledged in the literature on field education. But these authors do not address *how* field experiences advance this "hidden agenda." As a result, this literature does not indicate how affective and ethical aspects of the experience can be addressed in the design and assessment of field courses.

Recent trends in the scholarship and practice of field education have directly addressed these ethical and affective aspects, paralleling developments in the theory and practice of field research. For example, Lai (2000, p. 146) argues that the "hypothesis-testing approach" to fieldwork leads teachers and students to focus exclusively on the intellectual aspects of the experience. In this form of field education, he argues, "feelings, emotions, sensations and opinion [are] negated, as only quantifiable forms of evidence [are] considered valid" (2000, p. 147). As a counter-example to this neglect of the affective domain, Lai describes a physical geography instructor who infuses field trips with adventurous components, giving students a sense of excitement and accomplishment. For this instructor, the goals of "creation of a deep impression [on students] and enrichment of the community life" are more important than cognitive learning in field experiences (Lai, 2000, p. 163). Lai argues that affective aspects can and should be addressed directly in both assessment and design of field programs.

Similarly, field educators have foregrounded ethical concerns in the analysis and design of programs. Analyzing a British university's field trip to the Gambia, Abbott (2006) argues that field study practices in "third-world" sites are embedded in a framework of "whiteness" that legitimizes and renders invisible unequal social relations. She proposes creating a "crisis of legitimacy of geographical fieldwork" (2006, p. 332), whereby the assumptions of field programs can be examined critically:

> We need to begin to value subjectivity and the existence of differing viewpoints in field interactions, draw lessons from others (such as feminist geographers) and locate the question of geographical fieldwork within a context of historical and racialized

power relationships if at all we are to understand the standpoint of those we 'study'
and on whom we impose ourselves.

Despite her strong critique of existing practice and scholarship of fieldwork, Abbott does not call

for the abandonment of fieldwork. Instead, she suggests that field education practices can and

should engage critically with the ethical issues associated with unequal social relations and

histories of oppression.

Smith (2006) takes up Abbott's suggestion in her description of a field course in Spain. In

this course, students engage directly with politically-laded questions of authenticity, identity, and

immigration in continental Europe. She argues that the course allows students to "question the

dominance of Anglo-American geographies and offers possibilities for de-centring 'Europe'

within wider global networks." In this challenge to Anglo-centrism, students assume an active

role "in the politics of geographical knowledge production" (Smith, 2006, p. 77), thereby taking

on an ethical responsibility for their own knowledge and its effects.

Geography educators have also addressed ethical issues by way of the growing pedagogic

practice of service-learning. In service-learning courses, students participate in meaningful work

to address community needs. Mohan (1995, p. 129) describes the aims of service-learning as

follows:

> By engaging students with the problems of their immediate geographical commun-
> ity—not just as passive observers but as active participants and contributors—we
> may begin to give them insights into the causes of and solutions to social problems,
> the contribution they, as individuals, might make to solving those problems, and their
> responsibilities as citizens.

Service-learning field experiences ask students to engage with the place visited not as an

observer, but as an active participant in producing improved social and/or environmental

conditions. By giving students agency in this way, service-learning courses seek to develop

ethical commitment in addition to geographic knowledge (*cf.* Oberhauser, 2002; Jarosz &

Johnson-Bogart, 1996).

Summary

In its traditional, nineteenth-century form, fieldwork involves complete immersion in a foreign setting for an extended period of time. Current practice, however, in field research and education takes place in a multitude of settings. In any form, fieldwork renders sensory and affective experiences more conspicuous than in classroom or laboratory settings. Field settings also raise ethical concerns that are not present in classrooms or laboratories, insofar as fieldwork involves interactions with people and places outside of the academic context.

Field education programs vary in the extent to which they address the affective and ethical aspects of the experience. Many field courses seek to address the affective and ethical domains, but the scholarship on field education in geography lacks a framework for integrating the intellectual, affective, and ethical aspects of a field experience. Such a framework can be found outside of geography, however, in the theory and practice from K-12 education of *place-based education*. Place-based education specifically addresses intellectual, affective, and ethical dimensions: students *learn about* places in order to learn to *care about* places and to learn to act so as to *care for* those places. Thus, place-based education can provide a framework for ethically and affectively engaged geography education. The next chapter will explore the theory and practice of place-based education.

Chapter 4

Place-based Education

Beginning in the early 1990s, a growing body of educational scholars and practitioners has advocated educational programs that connect students with place (Gruenewald, 2003; Gruenewald & Smith, 2008; Haas & Nachtigal, 1998; G. A. Smith, 2002; Woodhouse & Knapp, 2000). This approach, generally known as "place-based education," embraces a wide range of practices, including natural history studies, cultural journalism, and service-learning, among others.

One common theme among these practices is that all involve intentionally creating connections between the K-12 school curriculum and the surrounding community and natural environment. In this way, place-based education demands a rethinking of the range of appropriate places for education, arguing that it should not be limited to classroom environments, but rather occur in a variety of places.

As seen in the preceding discussion of fieldwork in geography education, the notion that learning can and should occur outside of traditional classrooms is familiar to geography educators. But place-based education differs from tradition geographic field education in two ways. First, place-based education is not explicitly *geographical* in content or intent. That is, the learning that teachers intend to occur in place-based programs is not generally about the place itself (the typical subject matter of geography); rather, the place serves as a means to learn about other subject matter, such as English composition or mathematical computation. Second, place-based education explicitly invokes affective, ethical, and political aims. The ultimate goal of place-based education is to create a more just and sustainable world; it seeks to accomplish this goal by changing the way students feel about and act in the world.

In this review of the theory of place-based education, I will examine two of the primary theoretical sources for place-based educational thought—David Orr's (1992, 1994) ecological education and Paul Theobald's (1997; *cf.* also Theobald & Curtiss, 2000) community-oriented rural education. While both of these scholars make reference to place, I will show that their conceptions of place lack the essential insights that geographic theory can provide. My argument will show that the absence of geographic understandings limits the ability of the practices of place-based education to achieve their goals. I will then indicate how a re-articulation of the theoretical basis for place-based education might also open up opportunities for pursuing place-based education at the college level, a possibility generally neglected in the place-based education literature.

Both Orr and Theobald explicitly ground their arguments in a fundamental critique of the economistic orientation of modernist educational, social and political practices. In the introduction to *Ecological Literacy*, Orr declares:

> Education in the modern world was designed to further the conquest of nature and the industrialization of the planet. It tended to produce unbalanced, underdimensioned people tailored to fit the modern economy. Postmodern education must have a different agenda, one designed to heal, connect, liberate, empower, create, and celebrate. (1992, p. x)

Similarly, Theobald situates his argument within a critique of "modern liberals… [who] advanced the notion that one could best serve the community by pursuing one's own wishes and desires" (1997, p. 9) and see education as "provid[ing] the intellectual wherewithal for the successful pursuit of property" (1997, p. 69). While Orr and Theobald identify different problems—for Orr, the "conquest of nature" and the attendant ecological devastation, and for Theobald the collapse of community—they both see modernist educational paradigms as the source of the problem. Thus, their educational theories are motivated by a political and social project, and they regard place-based educational practices as essential to this project.

For Orr, the problem with modernism is that it attempts (in vain, ultimately) to "mak[e] an end run around constraints of time, space, nature, and human nature" (1992, p. xi), with disastrous consequences for ecological health and social well-being. Orr's conception of place as an educational construct follows from this quotation: by "place," he refers first and foremost to the natural and ecological context within which our activities are situated. Social dimensions of place only enter in naturalized form, in relation to "human nature." Thus, for Orr a place-based education is directed toward "ecological literacy," an understanding of the ecological processes that surround us.

Theobald, in contrast, identifies the problem with modernism as a devaluing and destruction of community:

> We have sent the message—via our policy choices—that community is unimportant.
> In its place has come the message that life is about getting ahead, keeping up with the
> Jones's [sic] or having things your way. (Theobald & Curtiss, 2000, p. 107)

Theobald argues that our educational system contributes to this destruction by focusing narrowly on "equipping children with the factual knowledge needed by future employers, the global economy, or the Educational Testing Service" (1997, p. 2). Instead, he argues, schools should seek to "rekindle community allegiance and nurture that suppressed part of us that finds fulfillment in meeting community obligations" (1997, p. 1). He proposes that K-12 schools can achieve this goal by "attending to their place" (1997, p. 1), through what he calls "place-conscious education." For Theobald, though, "place" is conflated with community: he makes little reference to either physical environments or ecological processes.

Orr and Theobald each advocate "attention to place," as a way that educational practices can address urgent societal needs. But, as I have shown, they mean different things by "place." David Gruenewald (2003), in his effort to articulate a theory of place-based education that includes both ecological and social aspects, uses "place" to refer to the combination of ecology and community—that is, of Orr's and Theobald's conceptions of place. For this reason, I argue

that Gruenewald's conception of place is much closer to that recognized in the discipline of Geography, which understands that places are constituted through both biophysical and social processes[5]. But geographic theory on place goes beyond this (albeit fundamental) observation.

Through geographic theories of place we understand that a place is more than the natural environment or social community that happens to exist at a site. Rather, places are centers of meaning that help us make sense of the world (Tuan, 1977). Moreover, geographers argue that a place is constructed through social processes, and additionally that a place (as construct) actively mediates and constitutes experience of this environment and community. This orientation recognizes that, as social constructs, places have embedded within them social power relations such as gender, race, and class, among others (McDowell, 1999).

While (as mentioned) he does not fully articulate the consequences of this geographic understanding of place, Gruenewald (2003) hints at this understanding of place when he calls for place-based education to adopt a critical attitude to place. For Gruenewald, a critical orientation recognizes that places are not immutable givens—rather, as the products of social processes, places are constantly revised and reproduced. Citing (and mildly critiquing) Orr's (1992, p. 130) argument that people must learn the habits of "good inhabitance," Gruenewald (2003, p. 9) argues that "good inhabitance" may require *changing* places, "especially for those living in urban environments or in many kinds of poverty, or for those whose… cultural way of being is under threat from global economic development."

The adoption of a critical orientation toward place based on geographical scholarship opens up an extension of place-based educational practice into a higher education context. As mentioned above, place-based education has developed within the realm of K-12 education. But as chapter 2 discusses, colleges and universities, particularly residential institutions, create

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[5] It is worth noting that, unlike Orr and Theobald, Gruenewald cites several geographers, such as Yi-Fu Tuan (1977, 1990), Edward Relph (1976), and Edward Soja (1989, 1996), in his work on place-based education.

campuses that separate them from the surrounding world. Unlike students in K-12 schools, who return home every evening, university students are generally full-time residents on (or near) the campus.

Thus, in the higher education context, investigations of the surrounding community or natural environment do not allow students to learn about their own home environment, which is the goal of place-based educational programs in the K-12 context. But if, as geographer Doreen Massey argues, a place is "constructed out of a particular constellation of relations, articulated together at a particular locus" (1993, p. 66), many of which relations exist at broader scales, then a critical place-based education would involve study of *many* places, in order to better understand the different aspects of these relations and how local action might change their local articulation. Collegiate place-based educational programs, then, would involve sustained contact with a place, which might or might not be nearby to the campus. Such a program would involve careful attention to the various relations through which that place is constructed and critical examination of these relations. It would also recognize that through their mere presence, the students are changing the articulation of those relations, and therefore also involve an ethical assessment of that impact and an effort to have a positive impact.

Chapter 5

A Conceptual Framework for Field Education

I have argued that the theory and practice of place-based education provides a way to understand and design field education programs that integrates affective, intellectual, and ethical aspects of the experience. But while place-based education articulates and illustrates the interconnections among these domains, the place-based education literature does not elaborate the specific characteristics of student experiences "in the field," as that concept is understood by geographers. Especially at the collegiate level, field education programs take a wide range of forms. To understand the diverse experiences of students in a field course, we need a conceptual framework through which we can understand the characteristics of that course. If, as Driver (2000, p. 267) argues, "geographical knowledge [is] constituted through a range of embodied practices—practices of traveling, dwelling, seeing, collecting, recording, and narrating," the specific details of those practices are the essential constituents of student learning in a field experience. As Kuklick and Kohler (1996, p. 3) argue, this analysis requires attention to "…the exigencies of getting to and staying in the field, to the affective aspects of natural places, [and] to the heterogeneity of field science workers and tasks."

To organize the key aspects of field education experiences, I have developed a conceptual model that contains the main characteristics of these programs. This conceptual model has two sections, encompassing eight dimensions. First, four categories describe the spatial dynamics of the course; second, four more categories characterize the experiences that students have within those spaces. Figure 2 lists the eight dimensions in the model. I will discuss each section of the model in turn.

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Dimensions of Field Education

Spatial Dynamics:
1) Venue
2) Mode of Inhabitation
3) Range of Movements
4) Character of Boundaries

Student Experience:
1) Duration
2) Structure of Activities
3) Mode of Interaction
4) Impact

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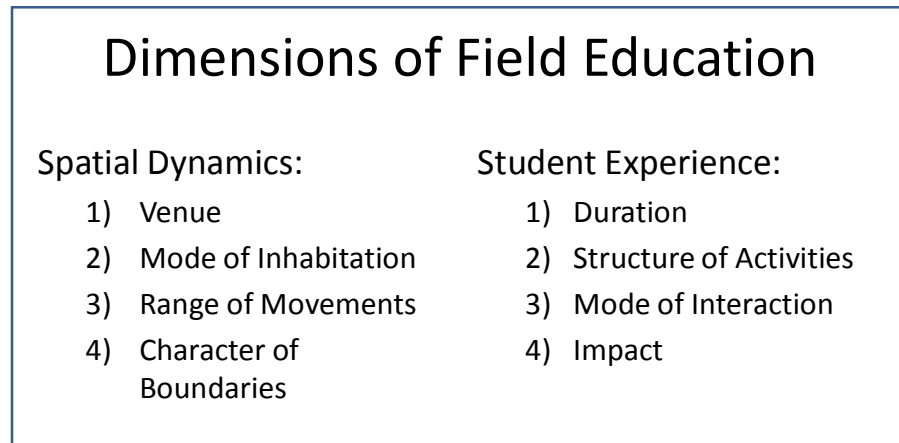
Figure 2: The dimensions of the conceptual model of field education.

Spatial Dynamics

Following Driver (2000), we can begin by noting that fieldwork involves bodily displacement of students, a movement from the campus/classroom to a (more or less) remote field site. Within that field site, however, a range of spatial practices and arrangements may obtain among the students as they conduct their field activities. The four categories that describe these spatial dynamics are: venue, mode of inhabitation, range of movements, and character of boundaries (Figure 3).

SPATIAL DYNAMICS

VENUE

Familiar   Foreign

MODE OF INHABITATION

Fixed   Mobile

RANGE OF MOVEMENTS

Small   Large

BOUNDARIES

Rigid   Permeable
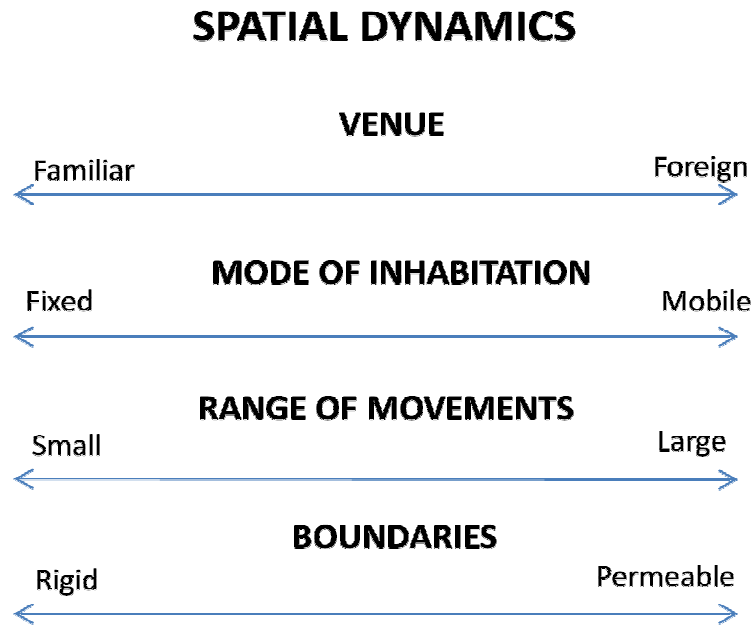
Figure 3: Conceptual model of the spatial dynamics of a field education program.

Venue

As discussed by Gold and colleagues (1991), the venue for a field program situates that

program within a range of geographies—political, social, physical, *etc*. The model situates the

venue on a continuum from familiar to foreign, according to the extent to which students will

have had contact with the site, or similar sites, prior to the field course. This variable sometimes

corresponds with physical distance traversed, but given the extent of both local segregation and

global homogenization, students may encounter foreign settings very close to home, or familiar

settings halfway around the world.

Mode of inhabitation

The "venue" determines the situation of the field activities on a broad scale, in relation to the university campus and within global geographic contexts. The next three categories, in contrast, describe the way students interact with the venue, on a local scale. The *mode of inhabitation* describes the way students relate to the field setting over the course of the program. Some programs are mobile, moving from place to place and continually encountering new environments. Other programs are spatially fixed, once students reach the field site, with students remaining in or returning to the same spaces each day.

Range of Movements

In programs with some spatial fixity, the spatial range of the regular movements of the students becomes an important characteristic[6]. Students may cover a wide area in the course of their field project activities, or, conversely, they may remain in a tightly constrained area, depending on the nature of their activities and of the program venue.

Boundaries

The final characteristic relates to the boundaries within which the students' daily movements occur. In some settings, those boundaries may be unambiguously demarcated and rarely crossed; in others, the boundaries between the field site and the wider world may be vague and permeable.

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[6] For a program that is entirely mobile (such as a wilderness backpacking trip, with different campsites each night) the spatial range of movements is not a meaningful variable—it only becomes meaningful with reference to a (however temporarily) fixed site of inhabitation.

Student Experiences

The spatial dynamics of a program produce the spaces within which students experience the field setting. But another set of non-spatial characteristics structure those experiences (

Figure 4). At the most basic level, the duration of the program sets the temporal bounds on the experience. Within that time, the structure of program activities and the mode of interaction with the field setting impact the experiences of students. Finally, these experiences may impact students in intellectual, affective, or ethical registers.

STUDENT EXPERIENCES

DURATION

Brief   Long

STRUCTURE OF ACTIVITIES

Collective   Independent

MODE OF INTERACTION

Observation   Interrogation

Intervention

IMPACT

Affective   Intellectual

Ethical
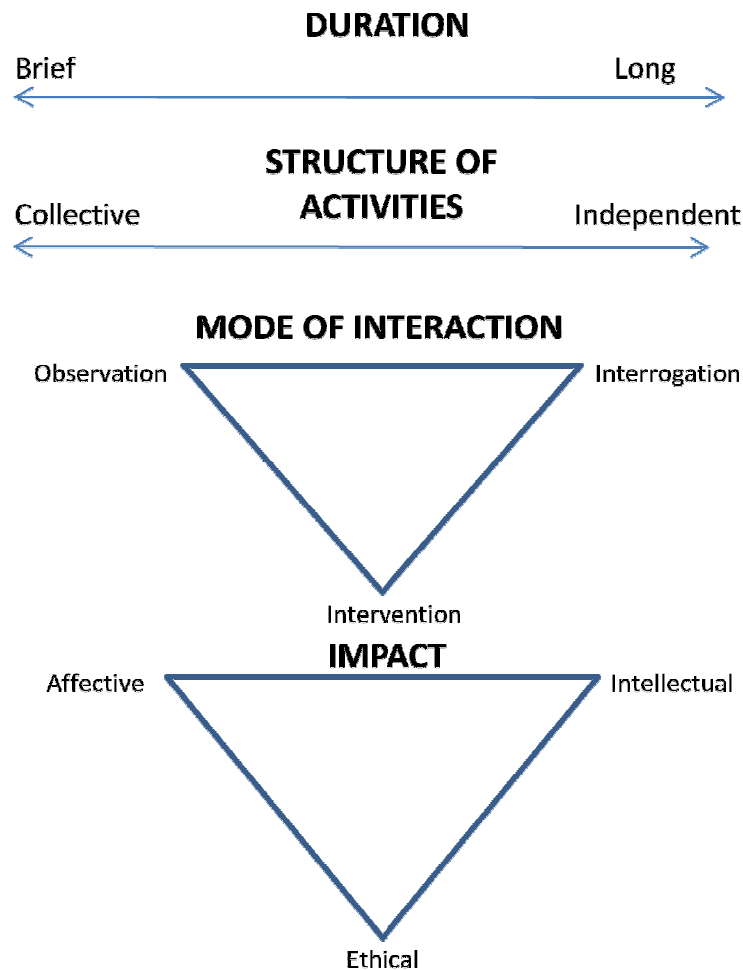
Figure 4: Conceptual model of student experiences.

Duration

The duration category is straightforward, referring to the length of time students are "in the field." As discussed above, longer programs are more likely to create a sense of immersion in the field site, whereas shorter programs will be less clearly marked off from everyday life.

Structure of Activities

This category is related to the "autonomy" continuum proposed by Kent and colleagues (1997), but the focus here is on how the field activities are undertaken, rather than the locus of control. In some programs, students work independently; in others, students work collaboratively with some or all of the class. In general, student autonomy will be greater in independent projects, and group projects are more likely to be pre-scripted by the instructor, but these relationships do not hold absolutely. In collective projects, the social dynamics of the student group are tied directly to the project work, whereas in independent projects the social dimension is separate from the fieldwork project.

Mode of interaction

The mode of interaction category springs from the continuum of participation described by Kent and colleagues (1997). The continuum of participation describes the mode of interaction with the field setting, from detached observation and appreciation to active production of data through precise measurement and use of technical instruments[7]. In my model, the mode of interaction expands beyond this one-dimensional continuum to encompass the ethical dimensions of service-learning projects and activist fieldwork. Instead of a one-dimensional range from observation to interrogation, it includes a third pole—namely proactive intervention at the field site. This addition produces a triangular space of modes of interaction, between the poles of observation, interrogation, and intervention.

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[7] For shorthand, I will refer to the "data production" mode of interaction as "interrogation," because students are addressing specific questions about the field site, in contrast to the open-ended nature of observation.

Impact on students

The final category in the model is the character of the impact on students. This category is depicted in another triangular space, representing the relative emphasis on intellectual, affective, or ethical aspects of the experience. Any program can be mapped twice in this space—prospectively, based on the instructor's objectives and the design of course activities; and retrospectively, as an assessment of student experiences[8]. A rough correspondence exists with the preceding category: intellectual emphasis corresponds with interrogation, affective emphasis with observation and appreciation, and ethical emphasis with intervention; however, these relationships are not absolute or invariant.

Applying the Model

In this model, any field education program can be characterized by eight descriptors plus a broad-scale mapping of the situation of the field site. Among the many possible configurations of these characteristics, however, a few arrangements are more common. The remainder of this chapter will describe five of the typical forms of field program, and show how they would be categorized by this model.

The study tour: educational tourism

The "study tour" is a type of program that involves travel to a distant, foreign place, with the goal of learning about the place(s) visited. These programs aim to allow students to absorb the particular character and charms of the places visited. They generally accomplish this aim through

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[8] Ideally, the student experience would match the intentions of the instructor, but my experience with educational programs shows that unintended or unanticipated outcomes are common and inevitable.

two types of activities—on the one hand, touring extraordinary sites like temples, museums, palaces, or stunning natural features; and on the other hand experiencing daily life in the place visited by spending time in parks, cafes, bars, and other such public venues, ideally meeting and interacting with "locals."

This approach has roots in the eighteenth century Grand Tour, "a circuit of western Europe undertaken by a wealthy social elite for culture, education, and pleasure" (Towner, 1985, p. 298). A modern version of this mode would be the Semester at Sea program (http://www.semesteratsea.org/), in which college students tour the world aboard a cruise ship, calling at many ports throughout the semester. In programs like this one, students learn through appreciating and enjoying the special character of a place, in both its extraordinary and its mundane aspects. Since education is linked with enjoyment here, the place visited is understood as a locus of pleasurable sensations associated with beautiful architecture, delicious (and exotic) food, fine arts, *etc*. While the focus in these programs is on the place visited, that place is constructed in a particular way—as unique and as uniquely pleasant.

Study Tour

SPATIAL DYNAMICS

VENUE

Familiar   Foreign

MODE OF INHABITATION

Fixed   Mobile

RANGE OF MOVEMENTS

Small   Large

BOUNDARIES

Rigid   Permeable

STUDENT EXPERIENCES

DURATION

Brief   Long

STRUCTURE OF ACTIVITIES

Collective   Independent

MODE OF INTERACTION

Observation   Interrogation

Intervention

IMPACT

Affective   Intellectual

Ethical
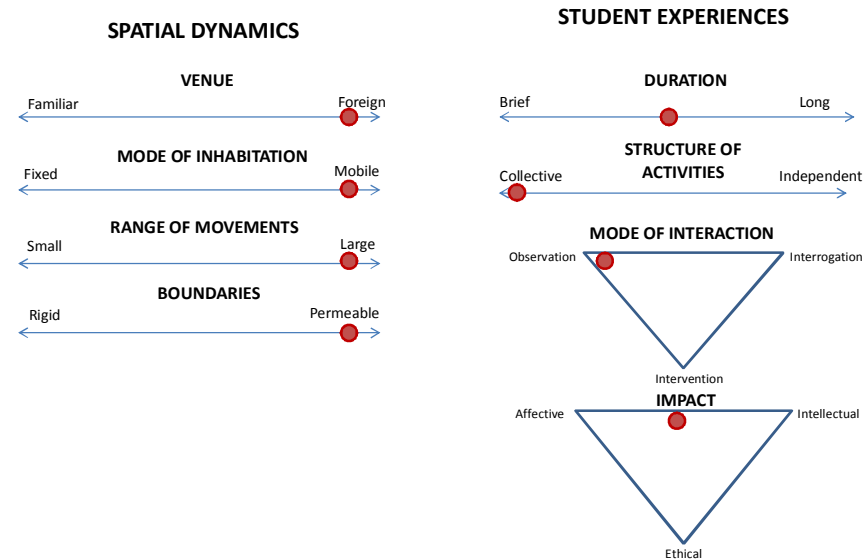
Figure 5: The study tour in the conceptual model.

Figure 5 shows the way a study tour is categorized in the conceptual model. The venue for a study tour is necessarily foreign, and often the exciting, exotic nature of the destination is a primary attraction of the program for students (Abbott, 2006). The program moves from place to place in an effort to comprehend as much as possible in a fixed time period. If the group remains in one city for some time, the daily range of movements will be as broad as possible, again to take in as much as possible, and because the emphasis is on the sights to be seen, rather than any specific terrain, there are no clear boundaries around the "field site."

The duration of a study tour may vary, but in general it will be long enough to justify travel to a distant location, but not as long as an interactive research project would require. Student activities will be conducted as a group, with little autonomy. The primary mode of interaction is observation and appreciation, with very little proactive interrogation or intervention in the field setting. The intended impact on students contains both affective and intellectual components.

Students learn in an intellectual sense about the historical sites, museums, or natural features visited. But this acquisition of knowledge goes hand-in-hand with the affective impact of simply being present at, for example, the site of an important historical event. The experience is meant to impress students as well as teach them. Ethical concerns, on the other hand, are generally not addressed in this type of program.

Producing knowledge in the field: field research experiences

At the other end of the spectrum from observation to interaction lie educational field research experiences. Like study tours, field research often involves travel to distant locations and residence there for an extended period of time. Students may work directly under a faculty member's supervision, but more often students work independently, having received guidance in their research design. Graduate students often travel to the field site by themselves, having only occasional emails or phone calls to receive guidance from their faculty advisor. Unlike touristic programs, these programs do not focus primarily on the character of the place visited. Rather than touring the area, students are engaged in the interactive, rigorous work of producing data. The students come prepared with carefully designed research instruments and methods, and their time is spent gathering the data required by their research design. The place, then, serves as a useful site for learning research skills and studying (natural or social) scientific phenomena *in situ,* and other aspects of the place have only peripheral bearing on the program.

Field Research

SPATIAL DYNAMICS

VENUE
Familiar — Foreign

MODE OF INHABITATION
Fixed — Mobile

RANGE OF MOVEMENTS
Small — Large

BOUNDARIES
Rigid — Permeable

STUDENT EXPERIENCES

DURATION
Brief — Long

STRUCTURE OF ACTIVITIES
Collective — Independent

MODE OF INTERACTION
Observation — Interrogation
Intervention

IMPACT
Affective — Intellectual
Ethical
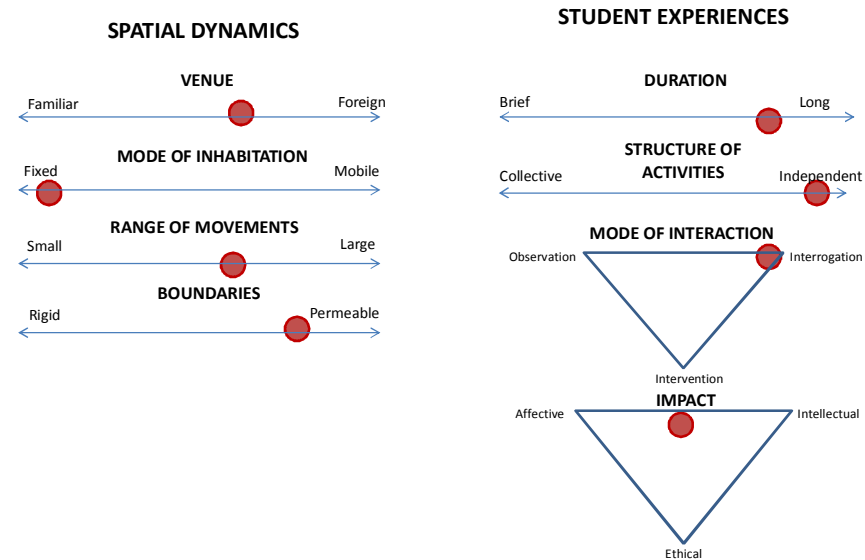
Figure 6: The field research project in the conceptual model.

Figure 6 shows the characteristics of a field research project in terms of the conceptual model. The venue is generally distant from the campus, or else residence in the field would not be necessary. But the site need not be unfamiliar to students, since the focus is on specific phenomena that present themselves at the site, rather than the *genius loci* of the place. Unlike a study tour, students typically remain in the same area and traverse the same spaces repeatedly, so as to gather the needed data. The range of movements varies depending on structure of the research project. The field site will have permeable and flexible boundaries, with students generally able to leave the area for recreation during down time.

A field research project will generally require at least several weeks in the field, and may be as long as several months. Students work independently or in small teams, designing and conducting their own projects. The mode of interaction with the field site is fully interrogatory in this type of program. The emphasis is on conducting scientific study of phenomena present at the

field site. But the impact on students has affective as well as intellectual components.

Intellectually, students gain a better understanding of geographic phenomena and they master

skills and techniques required in geographic research. But field research is also intended to be

enjoyable and exciting for students (Kent et al., 1997).

The field trip: local experience

A field trip is a guided excursion of a day or less in the region surrounding the school.

Student autonomy is minimal, as the instructor designs all the activities on the trip. Due to the

short duration, observation is the focus, and while the trip may take students to an unfamiliar

place (such as a natural environment, an urban neighborhood, or a museum or monument), the

level of immersion is limited by the time constraints. Like the previous two examples, ethical

considerations are not usually prominent, as the objective is to learn about the places visited and

enjoy being in the out-of-classroom environment.

Field Trip

SPATIAL DYNAMICS

VENUE

Familiar — Foreign

MODE OF INHABITATION

Fixed — Mobile

RANGE OF MOVEMENTS

Small — Large

BOUNDARIES

Rigid — Permeable

STUDENT EXPERIENCES

DURATION

Brief — Long

STRUCTURE OF ACTIVITIES

Collective — Independent

MODE OF INTERACTION

Observation — Interrogation

Intervention

IMPACT

Affective — Intellectual

Ethical
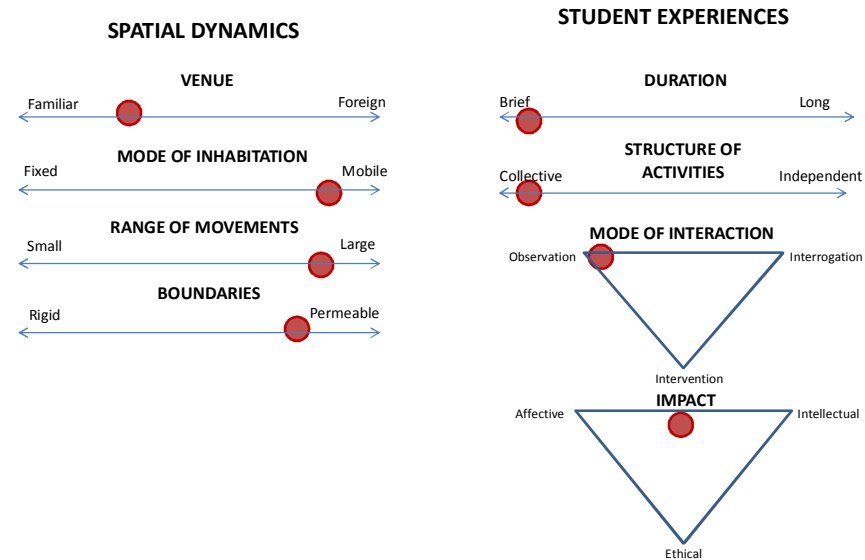
Figure 7: The field trip in the conceptual model.

Figure 7 shows how the field trip fits into the conceptual model of field education. The venue is perforce relatively nearby to the campus, and therefore somewhat familiar to students. But sites are generally chosen to be outside the everyday experience of students. The class group moves rapidly through the places visited, covering as much ground as possible, and as a result, the "field site" has very vaguely defined boundaries.

Field trips are the briefest field education experiences, lasting at most 2–3 days. Activities are directed by the instructor and undertaken by the group collectively. Like the study tour, the emphasis is on observation and appreciation, and direct interaction with the field settings is limited. Like field research projects, the intended impact on students has affective and intellectual components, both improved understanding of course material previously presented in the classroom and stimulation of enthusiasm for learning.

The service-learning trip

One of the most common forms of service-learning in higher education is the service-learning trip, in which a group of students travels to a distant location to perform service and learn about the place visited. The travel generally occurs during a school vacation (usually spring break or over the summer), and the trip lasts for a week to several weeks. Student activities are preplanned, either by the instructor or by a local contact. Often, these programs will work through a local agency, which coordinates the work projects.

Unlike the types of programs previously described, service-learning projects emphasize ethical concerns. Students have the explicit purpose of making a positive impact on the place visited. This orientation also can impact the way the place is understood by the students. In contrast to study tours, which construe the place visited in terms of unique virtues and pleasures available, service projects construe the place as a locus of needs and dysfunction. Students will therefore be likely to observe problems in the community, and less likely to notice community resources[9].

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[9] Conversely, study tours generally direct students' attention *away* from social problems in the place visited.

Service-Learning Trip

SPATIAL DYNAMICS

STUDENT EXPERIENCES

VENUE

Familiar ⟷ Foreign

MODE OF INHABITATION

Fixed ⟷ Mobile

RANGE OF MOVEMENTS

Small ⟷ Large

BOUNDARIES

Rigid ⟷ Permeable

DURATION

Brief ⟷ Long

STRUCTURE OF ACTIVITIES

Collective ⟷ Independent

MODE OF INTERACTION

Observation — Interrogation — Intervention

IMPACT

Affective — Intellectual — Ethical
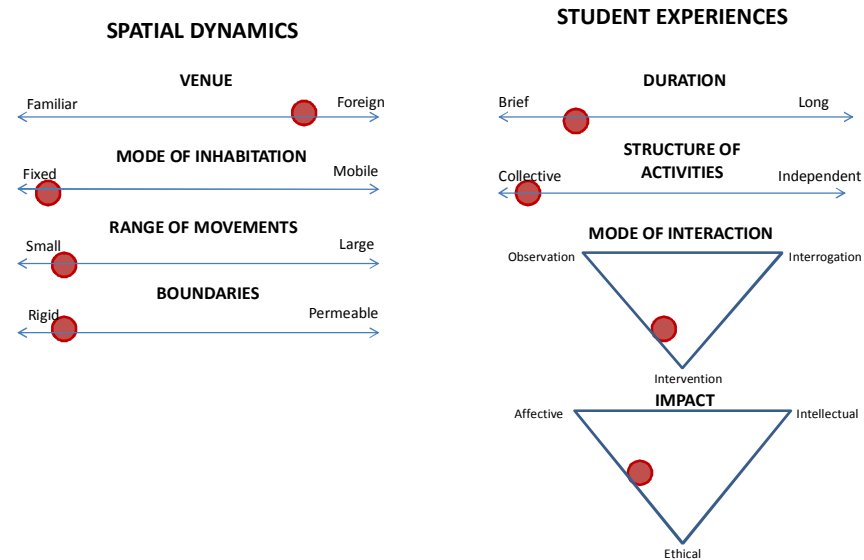
Figure 8: The service-learning trip in the conceptual model.

Figure 8 shows the characteristics of the service-learning trip. The venue is usually quite distant from the campus and the home environments of the students, either a so-called "third-world" setting or an impoverished area in the school's home country, such as a blighted urban neighborhood or an economically-depressed rural area. Once they arrive at the field site, students remain in place for the duration of the project, because their service activities require sustained work to complete. For the same reason, their daily range of movements is small, and there is little cause to cross the boundaries of the field site.

Because the travel required is greater, these programs are longer than a field trip. On the other hand, they are generally briefer than field research projects, as the time required to complete a service activity is less than that required for a research project. Because the activities are pre-planned by the instructor or community partners, work is undertaken collectively, with little student autonomy.

For the most part, student activities are oriented around intervention at the site—building houses, immunizing children, teaching literacy skills, or other such service activities. But a secondary goal of these programs is for students to learn about the place they are visiting. Thus, activities like those of a study tour will often be included as well, such as tours of the local area or attendance at cultural events. The impact on students is both ethical and affective—students come to care about the challenges faced by people in the place visited and learn to consider the impact of their everyday actions on people in similar situations.

Local community study

The final type of field experience I will describe is the study of a local community in an area near the school. This type of project takes place over the course of a semester or school year, through repeated visits to a local area. There is no period of residence in the field setting, as students return home after each day of field study. Students typically work independently or in small groups, with guidance but not direction from the instructor. Because students are researching specific community issues, the field experience is focused on collecting data, rather open-ended observation.

In contrast with field research projects, however, this type of program generally has an explicit ethical focus. The research projects seek to produce knowledge that will contribute to the community in some way, such as recording local history, or discovering the causes of environmental pollution. Thus, while the work itself is more intellectually focused than in a service-learning project, ethical concerns are more prominent than in a study tour or field trip.

Community Study

SPATIAL DYNAMICS

VENUE

Familiar — Foreign

MODE OF INHABITATION

Fixed — Mobile

RANGE OF MOVEMENTS

Small — Large

BOUNDARIES

Rigid — Permeable

STUDENT EXPERIENCES

DURATION

Brief — Long

STRUCTURE OF ACTIVITIES

Collective — Independent

MODE OF INTERACTION

Observation — Interrogation

Intervention

IMPACT

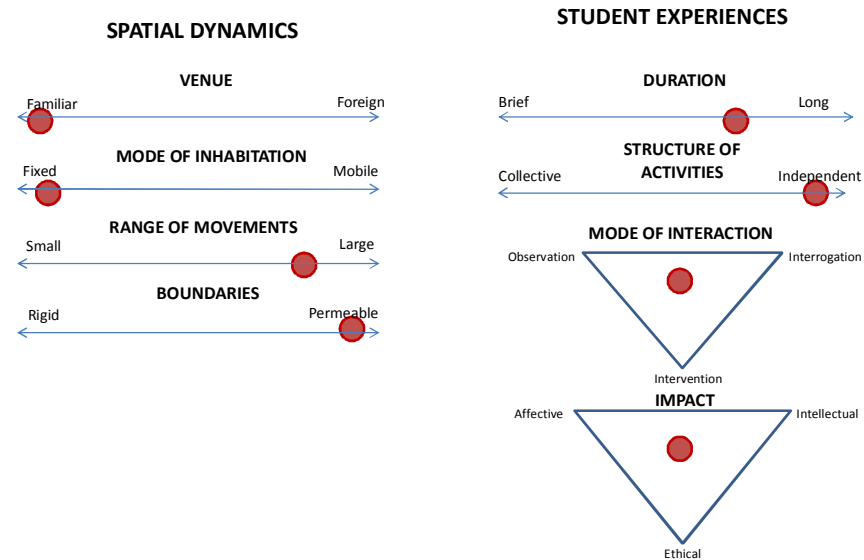Affective — Intellectual

Ethical

Figure 9: Community study in the conceptual model.

Figure 9 shows the structure of community study programs. Unlike the other types of program considered, the venue is the immediate, familiar environment. As such, the program involves sustained engagement with one place, rather than movement from place to place. Within the local setting, however, students may traverse large distances as they gather data, for instance traveling across a city to conduct an interview about local history. More than any of the other types of projects, the "field site" is not separated from other spaces of everyday life, but rather integrated with those spaces.

Like field research projects, community study requires a substantial commitment of time, but this time is spread over the course of a semester or year, interwoven with other academic and social activities. Students work independently and autonomously. While the methods of community study are often similar to those of a field research project, the mode of interaction includes observation as well as interrogation. The goal is not only data collection and assessment

of particular geographic phenomena, but also a synoptic appreciation for the place and community. As a result, these projects also have an element of intervention, although in a different form than that of a service project: a community study may actually constitute or strengthen (at least discursively) a sense of community and place that had been latent. As the discussion of place-based education indicated, these programs combine affective, intellectual, and ethical impacts on students. Students learn about the community that they study, and through that process they develop affective attachments to the community, which then guide their ethical choices in daily life.

Summary

These examples show how this conceptual model is articulated in various typical forms of field education program. Of course, actual courses often do not fit neatly into a generalized schema. But any particular course can be described through these eight categories. In the second half of this thesis, I will use this model to analyze two field courses, showing how each of the variables in the model impacts the experience of students while in the field.

Chapter 6

Research Context

Investigating the Geographies of Education

I began this thesis with a claim about the connection between knowledge and geography. I argued that each and every moment within the circulation of knowledge is situated within specific geographic contexts, and that these geographies structure the activities that produce and reproduce knowledge, leaving an imprint on the knowledge in question. The production and reproduction of knowledge are always embodied experiences, and the bodies involved are always emplaced somewhere. The placement and situation make available (and foreclose) certain types of embodied experiences, thereby structuring the way the researcher or student learns.

I then examined a particular spatial arrangement of the knowledge-geography nexus that is central to the discipline of geography, namely fieldwork. Unlike spatially-fixed sites of research and learning like the laboratory and the classroom, research or study in the field requires bodily movement to and through that part of the world in the effort to learn about it. As a consequence, fieldwork presents a different set of embodied experiences for the student than classroom learning. Thus, given the preceding argument, the learning that occurs in the field is different from that which happens in a classroom setting. In particular, field-based learning increases the importance of sensory and affective aspects of learning in relation to the intellectual aspects, which are the main focus of classroom instruction.

The necessity of bodily movement and sensory and affective experience that is characteristic of field education is shared by place-based education. In place-based education, the affective aspect is connected explicitly to ethics and politics. Bodily movement through the (natural and

cultural) environment outside of the school allows direct sensory experience of the place within which the school is situated. Through this experience, students are expected to learn to care about that place and to act to preserve and improve it. Toward this end, place-based education uses approaches such as service-learning to give students agency to promote social health and justice within the community.

Thus, place-based education involves not only physically being in different types of spaces, but also being in those spaces in different ways. This ethically-engaged attitude toward the place structures the experiences students have in these programs, and therefore what students learn in these programs.

This argument, then, raises an empirical question: do the geographies of educational programs that use the approaches of place-based education impact what students learn in these programs? To address this question with regard to a specific program, it is necessary to determine first what the geographies of that program are. The remainder of this thesis will examine collegiate geography courses that use two of the approaches of place-based education, namely, service-learning and community study. Through a careful analysis of the geographies involved in each program, I will explore how these geographies impact student learning.

The geographies of these courses have two interconnected aspects, the material and the experiential. Materially, each course involves physical relocation from a university campus to a distant location; moreover, the daily course activities involve physical movement within and through the places visited. If, as argued above, the spaces in which bodily movements and interactions occur are central to the reproduction of knowledge, noting these daily movements is essential to understanding the impact of the course on students. Thus, my first empirical task will be to characterize in detail the course activities.

But beyond material location, the experience of space and place also involves affective and intellectual aspects. I will also therefore investigate the geographies of each program

phenomenologically, characterizing how the students feel about and make sense of the various spaces they inhabit and move through. By synthesizing the embodied spatial practices of students with their affective and intellectual responses to these bodily experiences, I will be able to describe the lived experiences of students in these programs. This analysis of first-hand student experiences will show how the material and experiential geographies of these programs impact student learning.

Thus, my analysis of these two programs will address three research questions. First, what are the detailed spatial dynamics of each program? That is, where are the students throughout each day, and how do they move through various spaces? Second, how do the students experience and interpret the spaces, places, and landscapes encountered in the program? Finally, how do these experiences impact the students who participate?

Case Studies

I now turn to this empirical investigation of two field-based collegiate geography courses conducted by The Pennsylvania State University. These programs involve extended residency in a place distant from the university campus. The following sections will briefly introduce these two programs. Subsequent chapters will provide detailed descriptions of my research methods and process and relate my findings about the activities and experiences of students in these programs.

The Philadelphia Field Project

Rethinking Urban Poverty: The Philadelphia Field Project is a course offered in the Department of Geography at the Pennsylvania State University – University Park, led by Dr.

Lakshman Yapa. Dr. Yapa created the course in 1998 as a way to provide substantive outreach to underserved neighborhoods in west Philadelphia. The core of the program is a four-week residency in west Philadelphia's Parkside neighborhood, in which students each design and complete a research project on some aspect of community needs or quality of life in the area. In addition, students participate in weekly class meetings on the University Park campus after the residential component of the program, which allow them to reflect on the experience and to prepare research papers based upon their fieldwork.

The Philadelphia Field Project draws inspiration from typical college-level service-learning or public scholarship initiatives, but it differs in several ways from this typical model. First, the Philadelphia Field Project requires students to design their own projects, rather than having projects set up for students to take on. This feature allows students to call upon their own particular skills and interests in their project and to use the tools of their academic discipline to develop their contribution to the community. In addition, the Philadelphia Field Project emphasizes substantive research, where other programs tend to focus on concrete contributions to community well-being, such as park clean-ups or home maintenance. So while the motivation for the program is to meet community needs, the projects address those needs not through concrete service work but by developing the necessary knowledge for the community to address needs in the long term.

Homes of the Indian Nation (HOINA) International Honors Service Learning

For the past nine years, the Schreyer Honors College at the Pennsylvania State University, in conjunction with the Department of Geography, has facilitated summer service-learning trips to India, to provide assistance at the orphanages of the Homes of the Indian Nation (HOINA) organization. Each summer, about seven Penn State students travel to south India and spend

three weeks living in guest apartments at the orphanages, helping with basic tasks and spending time with the children. This summer, the group split their time between HOINA's girls' home, near Chennai, and the boys' home, near Visakhapatnam.

Darlene Large, the founder and CEO of HOINA and a Penn State graduate, created the program to give students the opportunity to learn firsthand about India and issues of poverty there. Students participate in weekly meetings throughout the spring semester in preparation for the trip and again in the fall semester to reflect on the experience and prepare presentations about their experience for University and local communities.

Chapter 7

The Research Process: Methods and Ethics

In this chapter, I will describe my approach to investigating my research questions about

these two programs. First, I will describe in detail my methods of gathering data. In the second

section, I will discuss the ethical considerations I made in conducting this research. I will also

describe how my personal life experiences and intellectual and ethical commitments led me to

this research endeavor and guided my conduct of the research.

Methods

I investigated these two programs using qualitative research methods. I conducted in-depth

interviews with the student participants in the Philadelphia Field Project and the HOINA

international service-learning program. In addition, I conducted participant observations in

Philadelphia during the field experience portion of the Philadelphia Field Project.

Interviews

I conducted one to three interviews with each participant.   The interview protocols are

reproduced in Appendix 1. I used an in-depth interview approach, which allows the interview to

proceed organically. I guided the discussion through the topics listed in the interview protocol,

but I expanded on areas where the participant expressed special interest and created opportunities

for the participant to suggest additional topics or areas of focus. The interviews proceeded at

different schedules for each program. I interviewed Philadelphia Field Project participants twice

during their time in Philadelphia in May, 2008. The first interviews occurred during the first week of the field experience and the second interviews occurred in the second-to-last week of the program. I conducted follow-up interviews with two of the participants in June, 2008, less than two weeks after the end of the field experience. I conducted five additional follow-up interviews during the fall semester of 2008, from August through November. The first interview addressed the student's expectations for the program, motivation for enrolling, and prior personal or academic experiences that related to the experiences of the program. In addition, the first interview addressed the student's initial impressions of the program and the neighborhood in which they were living and researching. The second interview captured a "real-time" report of each student's experiences while the program was ongoing. In this interview I asked the students about their day-to-day activities, the progress of their course projects, group social dynamics, and any insights they had gained in the program. The interviews conducted after the program was complete addressed the student's experience in the program and reflections on that experience in a more comprehensive way. These interviews also addressed any ways in which the student's experience had changed the way s/he looked at the world at large. In particular, I asked students if they thought about material in their academic program any differently or if they looked at the landscapes of State College or of their hometowns and neighborhoods differently after participating in the program.

I conducted interviews with three students in the HOINA program in the month before they traveled to India for the program. These interviews addressed their motivations for enrolling in the program, their expectations for their time in India, and their experiences in the weekly class meetings that occurred through the spring semester. When they returned from India, I interviewed two of these students and two other students who had not been available beforehand. In each case, the "after" interview occurred within the first two weeks after they returned from India. These interviews addressed the activities and experiences of the students in India and their

reflections on those experiences. In addition, these interviews addressed the experiences of the students in re-integrating into their lives at the university.

Observations

I visited the Philadelphia Field Project twice during the month the group spent in Philadelphia, staying three days on the first visit and two days on the second. In addition, I accompanied the group in April 2008 for a weekend-long field trip to Philadelphia, which oriented students to the neighborhood where they would be staying and to the program. During these visits, I sat in on group discussions of readings and on group business meetings. I also observed student interactions in the house and talked informally with students both in the house and on walks through the neighborhood. I recorded my observations in a field notebook each evening and sometimes at multiple times during the day. These observations complement the interview data, providing context for the participants' reports of their experiences. I also used the observations to identify topics for special attention during the interviews.

Analysis

I recorded each interview with a digital voice recorder. In addition, I spent up to fifteen minutes after each interview recording salient observations in a field notebook. After completing the interviews, I transcribed each interview using dictation software. I converted each transcript into a document in Microsoft Word, which I then printed and coded by hand. This coding identified the spaces experienced by students and their affective and intellectual response to those spaces. In addition, I used a spreadsheet to compile background information for each participant that I had learned through the interviews.

Rationale

This combination of interviews and participant observation allowed me to examine the subjective, embodied experience of these students as they encountered the places and events of these two programs. The interviews addressed three aspects of the field experience: I sought to learn, first, the detailed physical movements of the participants on a day-to-day basis; second, the affective responses of the participants to the environments and events experienced; and third, how the participants were making sense of these experiences. The openness of the in-depth interview format allowed participants to bring forward the most vivid or salient aspects of their experiences. Thus, the interviews reflected the program as experienced subjectively by the participants. On the other hand, by creating a space and time for the interviews apart from other program activities, I allowed participants to reflect on other aspects of their experiences that may not have seemed important at the time. In addition, the interviews allowed me to solicit feedback from participants on my interpretations of their experiences. I often posed questions about my interpretations of their interview responses or my observations, and participants sometimes contradicted my explanation or offered an alternative explanation.

The participant observation in Philadelphia helped fill in the blanks left in the participants' reports of their daily movements. Because we shared the context of the immediate neighborhood, participants could more easily explain to me where they had gone at various points in the program.

Positionality and Research Ethics

Before describing the results of my empirical research on these two programs, I will situate myself as researcher and interpreter in the context of these programs and describe my ethical

stance toward the participants. First, I must state clearly that I did not and could not approach this research project as a disinterested observer. My interest in studying these programs arose from five years of professional experience in the fields of environmental education and service-learning. As this experience would suggest, I support the goals of these programs, broadly understood. In addition, as an educational practitioner I saw many occasions where these programs worked well, creating powerful learning opportunities for students. I also saw instances where the programs failed to achieve their goals, or even produced results that contradicted those goals. I do, then, accept the power of critiques of service-learning programs, such as the arguments that these programs can de-politicize issues of social justice by focusing on service rather than activism, or that they can reinforce stereotypes of marginalized communities by construing those communities as deficient and positioning the students and the school as bringing solutions for community problems (Bickford & Reynolds, 2002). I chose to conduct research on these two programs because I believe that programs like these can be transformative educational experiences for participants and mechanisms for building a socially just society, and I wanted to understand how they work and why they do or do not achieve that potential.

That general point aside, however, I began and remain agnostic about the merits of these two programs in particular. My objective is not to evaluate these individual programs, but rather to understand the experiences that students have as participants in these programs. The goal is to examine how particular experiences in place impact student learning and growth. While this inquiry may suggest ways in which instructors or students might approach field experiences, I am not evaluating the success or failure of the two programs I am studying. In more concrete terms, the leaders of these programs do not necessarily understand their goals in terms of the literatures that I have discussed above on place-based education and fieldwork. Thus, my framework and inquiry cannot assess whether the programs have achieved their instructor's goals—such an assessment would require a different set of research questions and a different research design.

My clarity about this stance toward the programs has been central to establishing my relationships with the students and the instructors of the two programs. By making it very clear to students that I was not seeking to judge the program or the instructor, I established a more comfortable relationship with the students, such that they would feel free to share openly both the good and the bad of their experiences. In addition, I received much assistance from the course instructors, which would have been much more difficult had I positioned myself as an evaluator of their programs.

On the other hand, based on my background and my ethical commitments, I unequivocally *cared* whether the students had a good experience on the project. My presence among the students and my interviews with the students unavoidably impacted their experiences in some way. In some of the interviews, the student clearly displayed a desire to be helpful to my research and a concern that his/her responses might not have been what I needed. Such episodes indicated that the students were at some level aware of my presence and scrutiny. Given that I was unavoidably having an impact on the program, I aimed in the design of my research activities to make this impact a positive one for the students. Thus, I designed the interviews as opportunities for the students to reflect upon their experiences, thereby enabling them to gain additional insights[10].

Confidentiality and Reporting Procedures

An additional ethical consideration was the protection of confidentiality for the participants. I promised each student that nothing said in the interviews would be attributed specifically to her/him. Because of the small size of the participant group, in order to protect this confidentiality

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[10] I should also note that I was conscious of my role as researcher, not educator, and aimed to avoid conflating those positions, both out of ethical concerns for my relationship with the students and to avoid interfering with the instructor's educational agenda.

I will be careful and limited in the amount of personally identifiable information I attach to student reports or quotations. For instance, I generally could not identify a quotation as from a "freshman geosciences major," because that would clearly single out one of the participants.

In reporting the experiences of students, I will bear in mind that not all aspects of a student's background are relevant to any particular experience. The participants in these two programs each brought a particular background to the program, and as a result, each student experienced the landscapes and activities of the program in a personal way. But these different backgrounds should not be understood as a static, ever-present ground upon which these particular experiences played out. Rather, various background characteristics emerged as salient in different contexts throughout the program experience, through interactions with other students, the course instructors, other interlocutors, and other aspects of the environment. Thus, the personal experiences were not autonomous and entirely self-directed; instead, they were produced and experienced collectively, both as shared with others and as differentiated from the experiences of others.

As a result, we can best explore student experiences not on an individual basis, but in terms of shared and differentiated experiences and the characteristics that structured these aspects of the experience. This approach also affords a relative anonymity to individual students, much more so than treating each student's experience as individually unique. Most personally identifying information, such as a student's major, is not relevant to the interpretation of many aspects of that student's experience. Therefore, when discussing student experiences, I will only provide the specific differentiating information that is relevant to understanding the commonalities or differences within the aspects of the experience in question.

Chapter 8

Student Background and Expectations

In the next three chapters, I will present the results of my research on student experiences in the Philadelphia Field Project and HOINA course. In this chapter, I will provide background information on the participants. In the next chapter, I will outline the day-to-day activities of students in each program, based on the information provided in the interviews and my observations of the Philadelphia Field Project. In the following chapter, I will characterize the students' experiences in these two programs. This analysis will then allow me to assess what long-term impacts participation in these programs might have on students, based on my interpretation of their reports.

Participant Background

Thirteen students agreed to participate in this study. All nine of the students in the Philadelphia Field Project participated, and four students from the HOINA program participated. One student participant was part of both programs. Thus, five of the seven students in the HOINA program participated. This section will describe the backgrounds of these students, including demographic and personal background, academic preparation, and expectations for the program.

Of the nine Philadelphia Field Project participants, seven were white, one black, and one Asian. Four of the nine were from the Philadelphia metropolitan area, and three of those four grew up within the city of Philadelphia. One student was from suburban New York City, one student was from a small city in Pennsylvania, and the final three students were from State

College, PA, where The Pennsylvania State University – University Park campus is located. Eight of the students were female and one was male. I could discern no simple explanation for the gender imbalance in the program, but Dr. Yapa reported that similar dynamics had existed in prior years as well[11].

Four of the Philadelphia Field Project students were Geography majors. One of those students was also majoring in two Liberal Arts disciplines, and another was also majoring in Geosciences. The other majors represented were Sociology, Women's Studies and Journalism (double major), International Politics, Human Development and Family Studies, and Marketing. Four students were entering their fourth year of undergraduate schooling, three were entering the third year, and two were entering their second year.

Four of the Philadelphia Field Project students had taken Dr. Yapa's 100-level course, The Geography of the Developing World, in which he outlines his analysis of poverty through post-structural discourse theory. In addition, three of the students had taken Sociology 119, Race and Ethnic Relations[12]. One of the students who had taken Sociology 119 had also participated in a Women's Studies service-learning program in Tanzania the summer before. The student majoring in Sociology is also in the Civic and Community Engagement minor[13].

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[11] I am not suggesting that the imbalance was entirely random. Ample research in feminist geography (*e.g.,* Rose, 1993; Sparke, 1996) has shown that fieldwork is a thoroughly gendered activity. But my interview data and observations did not reveal any systematic pattern that would account for the disparity.

[12] Race & Ethnic Relations is a general education course in the Sociology department of Penn State. According to the bulletin of Penn State (http://bulletins.psu.edu/bulletins/bluebook/university_course_descriptions.cfm), the course has three goals: "First, the course will help you to think critically about issues related to race and ethnicity in American society…. The second objective is to foster a dialogue between you and other students about racist and ethnocentric attitudes and actions. The third objective is to encourage you to explore your own racial and ethnic identity and to understand how this identity reflects and shapes your life experiences."

[13] The Intercollege Minor in Civic and Community Engagement is a program of the Laboratory for Public Scholarship and Democracy. According to the Laboratory's website (http://www.publicscholarship.psu.edu/), the Laboratory "serv[es] as a catalyst for teaching, research and civic engagement designed to build democratic capacity," and the minor "allows Penn State students to

Of the five student participants from the HOINA program, four were white and one was South Asian. All five were female[14], and all five grew up in small cities or rural areas in central or western Pennsylvania. Two of these students were Geography majors, another was double-majoring in pre-medicine and philosophy, and another was double-majoring in finance and economics. Two of these students were entering their fourth year at Penn State, two were entering their second year, and one was entering her third year.

Motivations and Expectations

Although the interview protocols included questions and probes aimed at eliciting the participants' motivations for enrolling in the programs and their expectations for the programs, student participants did not provide very detailed explanations of either motivations or expectations. For the most part, students began the program with only a vague understanding of what would be involved. For the Philadelphia Field Project, reported student motivations included academic needs, general interest in the project, interest in Dr. Yapa's theory of poverty, convenience, and a desire to "help better the community" or to do something "fulfilling" with the summer.

Three students specifically mentioned academic requirements as a motivation for participating in the class. One student, a Geography major, needed internship credits to graduate, and as a rising senior, this student needed to earn those credits over this summer. The student in the Civic and Community Engagement minor needed field experience credit for the minor. Another student had initially planned to use the research conducted in Philadelphia for an honors

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integrate academic and creative discovery with their interest in serving the public good through the diffusion of their work as scholars, artists, and artisans into communities beyond the classroom."

[14] Because the students would be spending time at the all-girls orphanage, HOINA specified that all students and instructors in the program be women.

thesis, although this student reported that by the time the program began, s/he had arranged another research project for the thesis.

Similarly, several students mentioned logistical reasons for signing up for the program. One declared, "I really didn't want to do an internship this summer," suggesting that given the limited options available to college students over a summer break, this program seemed like a good option. Two of the students from the Philadelphia area mentioned that the location of the project was a draw, partly, as one said, because "it wasn't too far out of the way."

Other students reported intellectual interest in the project. One student from Philadelphia "thought it would be interesting to look at west Philly and see how well does it compare to [his/her neighborhood]." Another student had taken Dr. Yapa's "Geography of the Developing World" course in the spring semester and wanted to see a real-world implementation of Dr. Yapa's ideas on poverty: "I guess I wanted to see how it was going to play out in his mind, how his post-modern view would give someone agency…. I wanted to see if it would work." One student mentioned hearing that "everybody who did [the Philadelphia Field Project] had a really great time, and learned a lot, and their whole view on [urban poverty] was in some ways altered."

Finally, some of the students reported specifically ethical and affective motivations. One wanted to "find a way that we can help better the community." The student who did not want to do an internship over the summer specified that s/he did not "feel like I'd be fulfilled in the same way."

The students from the HOINA program mostly reported their motivation in terms of international travel and cultural exchange. One student said that she wanted to "[go] outside the United States to get a different perspective on how people live and on how other people either view our culture or how I can view someone else's culture." One specifically mentioned a long-held desire to go to India.

Several students described previous international trips. Only one student reported never having been outside the United States. On the other hand, only one student had ever been to India before this program. This student's parents had immigrated to the United States from India and the student had visited relatives in Kolkata many times throughout her childhood. This student was the only one of the participants who had previously engaged with issues of poverty in India: she had worked with the Penn State chapter of Asha for Education (http://www.ashanet.org/), a non-profit group that supports education for underprivileged children in India.

Chapter 9

Program Activities

In this chapter, I will describe in detail the activities that students participated in as part of each program. Carefully examining these activities is essential to understanding the students' experiences of the places involved in these two programs, for, as Driver (2000) notes, field sites are produced through the embodied, spatial practices of the students with the instructors and their fellow students. I will discuss each program in turn.

Philadelphia Field Project

Students applied to be admitted to the program from January through April, 2008. The application process included several short essays, addressing the student's academic background and goals, perspective on issues of poverty, and experience with service. Applicants then had a one-on-one interview with Dr. Yapa. Eight of the accepted students participated in a weekend-long field trip to Philadelphia on April 25–27. Two students who participated in the project did not attend the field trip, and one student who attended the field trip subsequently withdrew from the program before the field experience. One student returned to State College on Saturday evening, April 26.

This field trip oriented students to the project and to West Philadelphia. The group stayed Friday and Saturday nights at the educational annex of the Millennium Baptist Church (Figure 10), where they would stay during the extended field experience. Figure 11 shows the immediate neighborhood surrounding the annex, and Figure 12 show the location of the field site within Philadelphia as a whole.

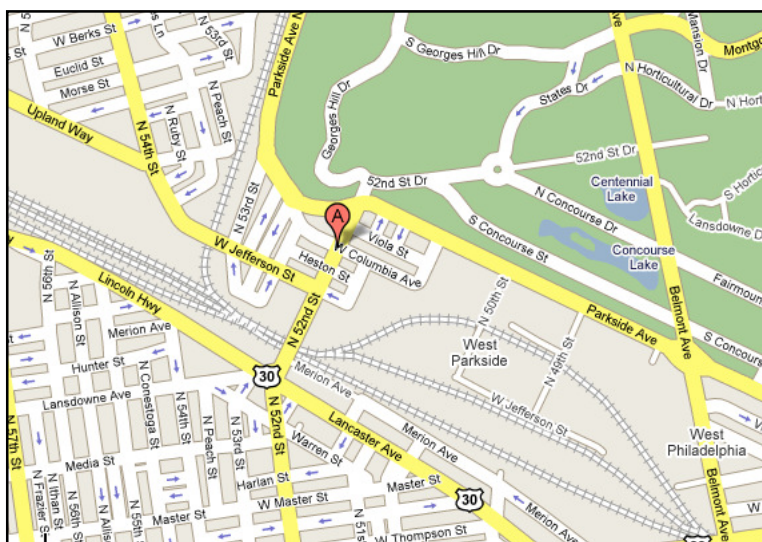**Figure 10: The educational annex building. Source: Google Maps.**

Figure 11: Location of the educational annex in west Philadelphia. Source: Google Maps.
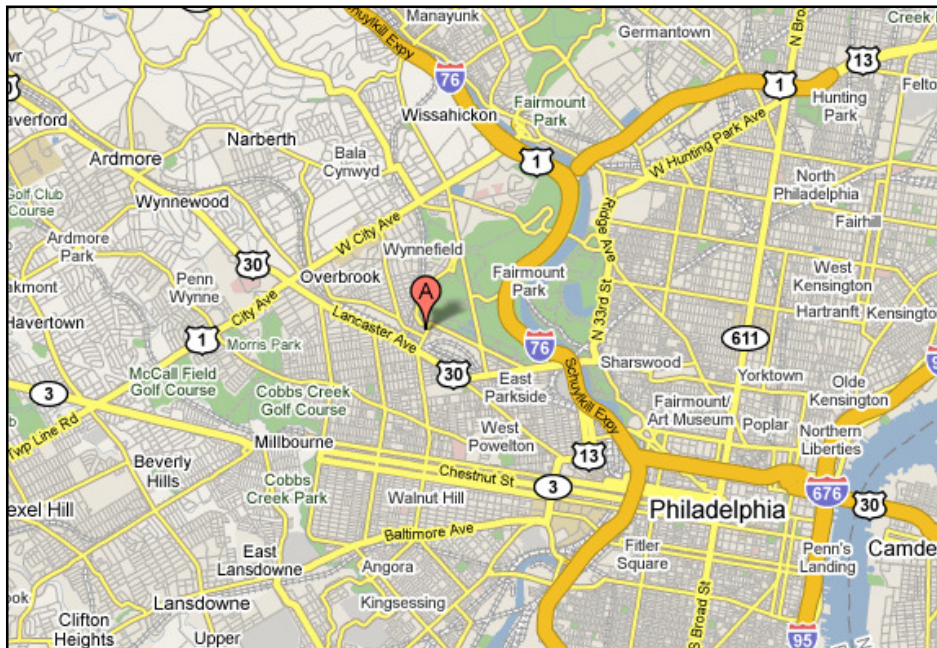
Figure 12: Location of the field site within Philadelphia. Source: Google Maps.

On Friday evening, Dr. Yapa led an hour-long walking tour of the immediate neighborhood.

On Saturday, the group spent the day touring west Philadelphia, talking with several people who

had been connected with the Philadelphia Field Project in past years. The tour addressed issues

of gentrification and displacement, as well as examples of successful community development

efforts. The group also participated in a park cleanup effort that was encountered by

happenstance. On Saturday evening, Dr. Yapa briefly introduced the theory that guides the

Philadelphia Field Project and facilitated a group discussion on issues of race and poverty. On

Sunday, students attended church at the Millennium Baptist Church (attendance was suggested,

not required, but every student attended). The group returned to State College after lunch at the

church, where they met the pastor and some of the church elders.

After the weekend field trip, the group did not meet until May 10, when they returned to

Philadelphia for the month-long field experience. Each student selected a topic for a research

project to complete during the month in Philadelphia. This research project is the primary student

activity of the Philadelphia Field Project. Dr. Yapa set two guidelines for these projects: first, that they should in some way address quality of life issues related to poverty in west Philadelphia, suggesting interventions that could improve quality of life for residents in the absence of economic development; second, they should originate from the particular expertise and interests of the student, based on their own academic and personal background.

Students spent the first week exploring possible projects and discussing their options with Dr. Yapa. Students submitted a written proposal to Dr. Yapa at the end of the first week, and then met individually with Dr. Yapa to refine their plans. For the remainder of the month, the students worked individually on their projects. Students submitted weekly written progress reports to Dr. Yapa, and he provided feedback and guidance for the next week's work. Dr. Yapa remained in Philadelphia part of the time but returned to State College for part of each week.

The group also had several group discussions of readings and films selected by Dr. Yapa. The readings addressed issues surrounding urban poverty, race, and social justice. Topics included social capital, overconsumption, uneven development, and racism. Students read some of Dr. Yapa's writing on post-structural theories of poverty and also contrasting perspectives, such as that of William Julius Wilson. See Appendix B for a more detailed description of Dr. Yapa's theory of poverty.

The educational annex (the living quarters for the program) is a three-story row house adjacent to the Millennium Baptist Church. The first floor has a common room with tables, chairs, computers, and Internet connections for portable computers. A small kitchen (Figure 13) adjoins the common room. Also on the first floor is an office used by the pastor of the church, to which the students did not have access. The second floor has three rooms, one large room that was used by half of the women, and two small rooms, one used by Dr. Yapa as his office, and one used by the one male student. I stayed in that room as well while I was with the group. The second floor also had one of the two bathrooms. The third floor had another large room, which

was shared by the remaining female students, and a smaller room used by the program manager,

as well as the second bathroom.

Figure 13: The small kitchen in the educational annex. Photo by author.

The program provided funds to the students for groceries, but students coordinated their own

shopping and meals. The group established a chore rotation that specified daily tasks for each

student, such as cleaning the bathroom or mopping the common room. Students did laundry at a

nearby Laundromat.

Table 1 lists the nine individual projects completed by the Philadelphia Field Project students

and briefly describes the activities involved. Many of the projects involved extensive reviews of

scholarly literature or examinations of popular media (newspapers or magazines) or government

documents. Three of the projects (#s 1, 2, and 9) involved participant observations in the vicinity of the Philadelphia Field Project house. One project (#8) involved interactions with the Millennium Baptist Church youth group. Several projects (#s 1, 2, 5, 7, and 9) included interviews with people in an official role of some kind (agency administrators or community group leaders).

Students occupied leisure time in a variety of ways. When Dr. Yapa was in Philadelphia with the group, he would lead morning walks through Fairmount Park with several students. Some students would run regularly for exercise, although students were discouraged from running or walking alone due to personal safety concerns. Students would also watch television programs over the Internet or surf the Internet. In addition, students would travel to other sections of Philadelphia for recreation. Some regularly visited the Center City, University City, or South Street neighborhoods.

	Topic	Activities
1	shopping center development	observations, archival research, interviews
2	use of park	observations, archival research, interviews
3	female-headed households	autobiography, literature review
4	public transportation	travel on transit routes, GIS analysis, literature review
5	bicycling	interviews, census data, literature review
6	empowerment zone / employment	census data, literature review
7	nutrition / Penn State extension	interviews, literature review
8	children's experience of neighborhood	photovoice project, literature review
9	Philadelphia Zoo	observations, interviews, archival research

Table 1: Philadelphia Field Project student projects.

Beyond these more-or-less regular leisure activities, many of the students stepped out of the ordinary routine at some point during the month in Philadelphia. A small group of students traveled to Atlantic City, NJ, for one weekend. One student returned home to State College for a weekend. Several students had friends or family visit from outside Philadelphia for a day or a weekend. In addition, one student left Philadelphia for four days for medical reasons, going home to recuperate. The four students from the Philadelphia area also spent some time at their own homes during the program. The Philadelphia Field Project rules required that students spend no more than four nights away from the program during the field experience.

At the end of the month in Philadelphia, students gave a public presentation of their projects and results at the Millennium Baptist Church. The church community was invited to the presentations, but only two church members attended this presentation. In addition, Dr. Yapa required students to submit a ten page paper summarizing their projects. The deadline for this paper was one week after the end of the project.

During the following fall semester, students met weekly with Dr. Yapa to reflect on their projects. Due to scheduling constraints, the group could not all meet at the same time, so Dr. Yapa set up two separate groups for the weekly meetings. According to students, attendance at these meetings varied, with some students participating more often than others. I did not attend these meetings.

Placing the Philadelphia Field Project in the conceptual model

Based on this description of Philadelphia Field Project activities, we can characterize the structure of the program in the terms of the conceptual model of field education. Figure 14 illustrates this characterization.

Philadelphia Field Project

SPATIAL DYNAMICS

STUDENT EXPERIENCES

VENUE

Familiar — Foreign

DURATION

Brief — Long

MODE OF INHABITATION

Fixed — Mobile

STRUCTURE OF ACTIVITIES

Collective — Independent

RANGE OF MOVEMENTS

Small — Large

MODE OF INTERACTION

Observation — Interrogation

Intervention

BOUNDARIES

Rigid — Permeable

IMPACT
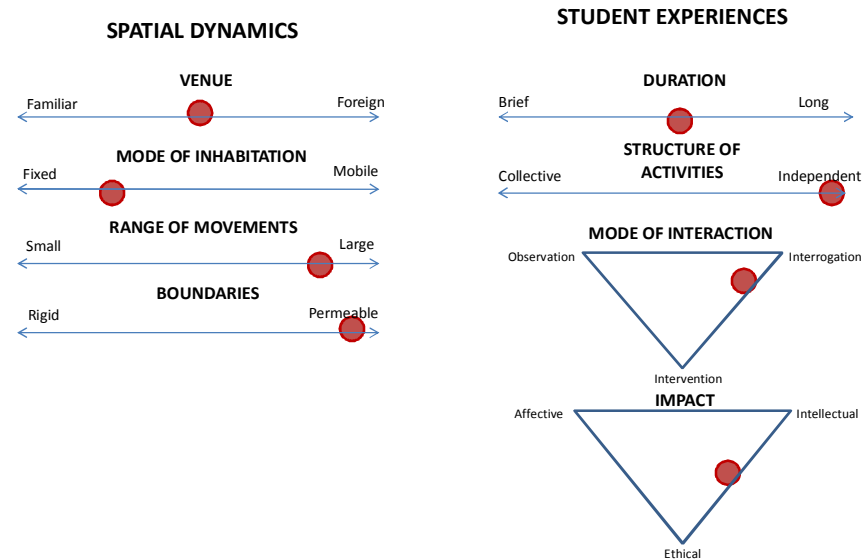
Affective — Intellectual

Ethical

Figure 14: The Philadelphia Field Project in the conceptual model of field education.

 The venue for the program was somewhat unfamiliar to most of the students, although this characteristic varied among the students, with those who were from the Philadelphia area finding the area more familiar than did those from other areas. One of the nine students was specifically familiar with the Parkside neighborhood, so for this student, the setting was entirely familiar. Even for the students from smaller cities, though, the west Philadelphia setting did not present the same degree of strangeness that an overseas site would. The students remained in the same site (the annex building and the Parkside neighborhood) throughout the project, but their movements varied from day to day, especially as related to leisure activities. The range of movements varied from student to student, depending on the needs of his/her particular research project; but in general, the students moved beyond the immediate surroundings of the annex on a regular basis. These leisure-time movements relate to the final spatial characteristic, the permeability of the

boundaries of the "field site." Students and others came and went often throughout the month that the group spent in west Philadelphia.

In terms of the student experience, the Philadelphia Field Project shares many characteristics with a field research or community study project (see chapter 5). The duration of one month is on the shorter end of the range for such projects, but longer than most study tours or service-learning trips. The research projects were conducted independently, and the mode of interaction was also entirely interrogation. The projects did have an element of intervention, however, in that the selection of topics was guided by the goal of improving quality of life in non-economic ways. That is, the projects were not only opportunities to develop research skills and to study geographic phenomena *in situ,* but also an exercise in thinking about how scholars might partner with communities to address community needs. The impact on students, then, is both intellectual and ethical. Students come to understand the needs and assets of urban neighborhoods in new ways, and they also take ethical responsibility for the knowledge they produce about those communities.

HOINA

Students applied for the HOINA program at the end of the fall semester of 2007. Accepted students then participated in weekly class meetings throughout the spring semester. The class activities prepared students for their time in India and introduced students to the region. One of the instructors described the class as a critical regional geography of India, exploring issues of social justice such as globalization, uneven development, socio-economic stratification, and patriarchy, as each issue manifests in the geography and history of India. Students read articles and watched films and discussed them together. Each student also conducted a short library research project on a subject related to India that matched her particular interests and academic

background. In addition, the students hosted a spaghetti dinner fundraiser which raised money for the HOINA orphanages.

After the end of the spring semester, the students dispersed to various summer activities. Six of the seven students gathered on July 29, 2008, at Newark International Airport, to fly to Chennai. One student had spent the previous month traveling in Thailand and southeast Asia, and so met the group at the airport in Chennai. The group traveled straight from the airport to the HOINA girls' home. The group then spent four days at the girls' home, before traveling by train to the boys' home, a 16-hour train ride to the north. They spent ten days at the boys' home, and then returned to the girls' home for the final five days of their stay in India. Figure 15 shows the location of the girls' home, and Figure 16 shows the location of the boys' home.
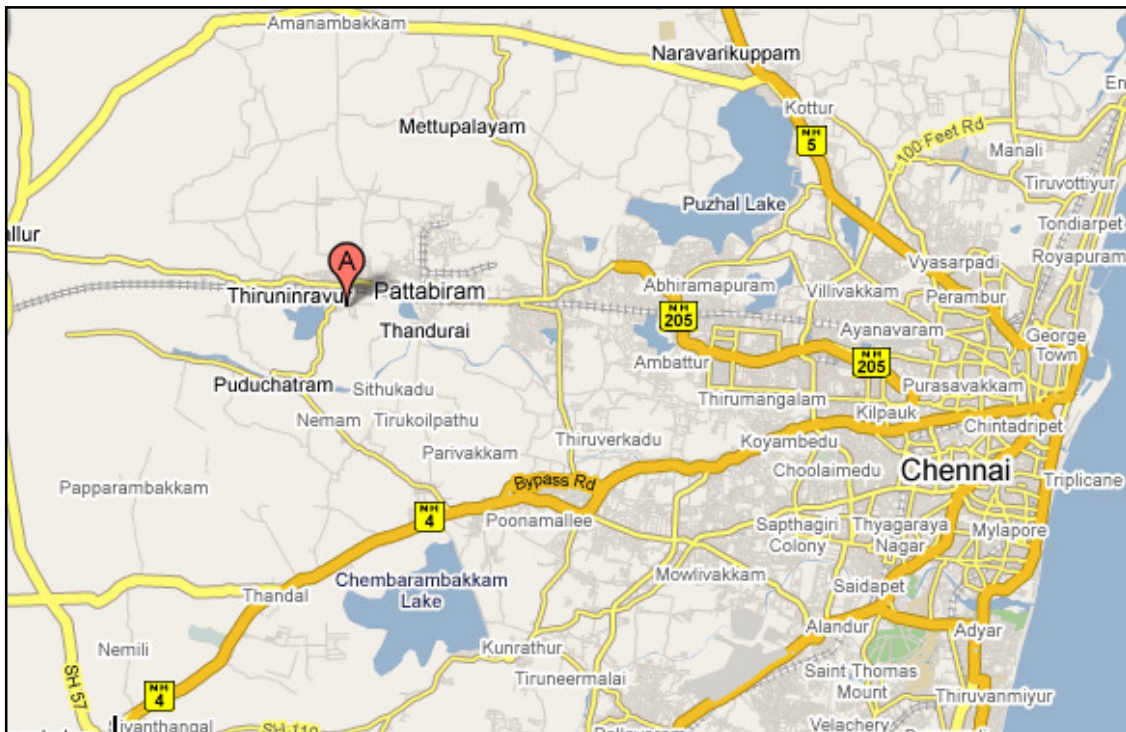

Figure 15: Location of HOINA girls' home, outside Chennai. Source: Google Maps.
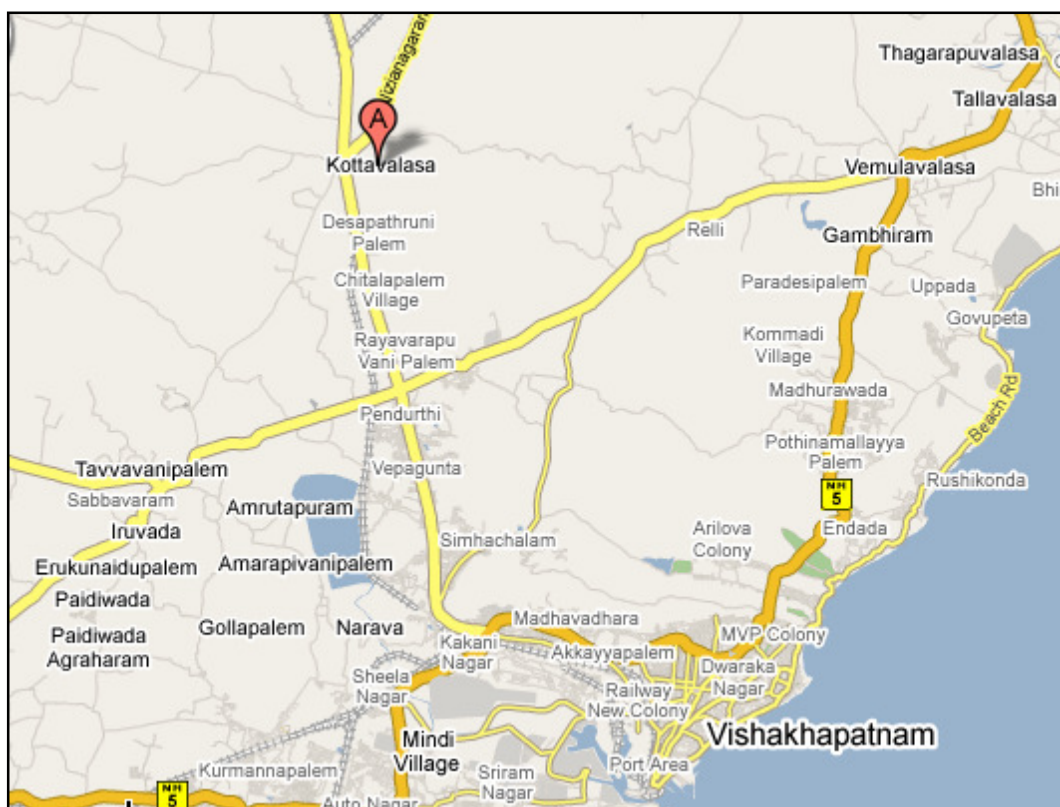
Figure 16: Location of HOINA boys' home, outside Visakhapatnam. Source: Google Maps.

In each location, the students performed a similar variety of tasks. Each day, they woke up

before 6:00 a.m. to eat breakfast and to help the children with homework before school began.

When the children left for school, the students would help with maintenance tasks around the

orphanage, such as whitewashing walls or helping prepare meals in the kitchen. After lunch, the

students had an hour-long rest time. After resting, they taught English lessons for the staff until

the children returned from school[15]. Once the children returned, the students had informal

recreational time with the children until dinner, playing games and talking. After dinner, the

children worked on homework, and the Penn State students helped them. The children went to

bed by 9:00 p.m. The students then had some time to shower and relax before going to sleep.

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[15] While the children generally spoke good English because they had learned English in school, most of the staff spoke only their regional language and very little English.

On most days, students did not leave the orphanage compounds. The compounds were separated from the surrounding neighborhood by a wall, and entry was controlled by a guard at the gate. At the girls' home, students were specifically advised not to leave the compound by themselves, out of concern for their physical safety[16]. Several times during the trip, the students left the orphanage grounds and traveled by van in the area, driven by HOINA staff. When at the girls' home, they went into Chennai to shop for Indian clothing to wear during their stay in India. From the boys' home, they spent one day painting a local government-run school, and they also went on a day-long outing to drop off supplies at another government school in a more remote village.

Placing HOINA in the conceptual model

Figure 17 shows how HOINA fits into the conceptual model of field education.

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[16] The students reported being told that a militant Hindu fundamentalist group was active in the area and objected to the presence of the Christian orphanage.

HOINA

SPATIAL DYNAMICS

STUDENT EXPERIENCES

VENUE

Familiar — Foreign

DURATION

Brief — Long

MODE OF INHABITATION

Fixed — Mobile

STRUCTURE OF ACTIVITIES

Collective — Independent

RANGE OF MOVEMENTS

Small — Large

MODE OF INTERACTION

Observation — Interrogation

Intervention

BOUNDARIES

Rigid — Permeable
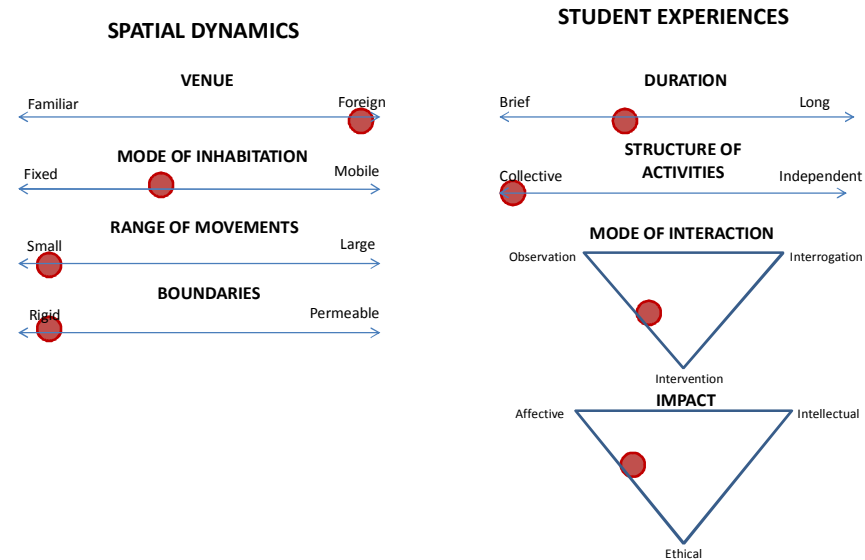
IMPACT

Affective — Intellectual

Ethical

Figure 17: The HOINA program in the conceptual model of field education.

The venue for the program was extremely distant from the university campus. Only one student had been to India before, and that student had been in a different region. None of the students had worked in an orphanage previously. The mode of inhabitation falls between fixed and mobile, as they moved locations twice during the three-week trip, traveling from the girls' home to the boys' home, and back. Their daily range of movements was quite small, as they remained within the orphanage grounds most of the time. The boundaries of this space were quite explicitly demarcated, as the orphanages were separated by a wall from the surrounding villages.

In terms of the structure of student experiences, the HOINA program is very similar to the generalized service-learning trip described above. The duration is at the long end of the typical range for service-learning projects, presumably in part due to the investment of time and money required to travel to India. Students worked collectively, either working directly together or

participating in similar activities. Student autonomy was limited, as most of their activities were prepared by Mrs. Large, the orphanage director. The mode of interaction with the orphanages was active intervention: they were there to help. In regard to sites outside the orphanages, though, the students' orientation was mostly observation and appreciation, with the exception of the one day they painted a village school. The intended impact of these activities on students was both affective and ethical: through spending time with the orphans, students would learn to care about them and act in the future out of a concern for global inequality and injustice.

Chapter 10

Student Experiences

Having laid out the students' various activities in each program, I now turn to the lived

experiences of these students during their time "in the field." The organizing structure of this

exploration will be the different spaces produced by program activities. I will consider first the

spaces specifically created by the program, within which group activities occurred, then the

spaces encountered in program activities involving contact with the local surroundings, and

finally spaces entirely outside the structured program activities. I will begin with the experiences

of students in the Philadelphia Field Project, and then describe experiences in the HOINA

program. For each space, I will address sensory, affective, and intellectual aspects of the

experiences.

Philadelphia Field Project

Group spaces

The interactions among students in the group and of the students with the instructors, and the

spaces created through these interactions, were central to the students' experiences. This

centrality is clear in a student's comment from an interview in October, 2008 (several months

after the field experience). Asked to describe her/his most vivid memory of the program, the

student replied, "the house… just the house." This student recalls the house (*i.e.,* the educational

annex, where the group stayed for the month in Philadelphia), the space where the bulk of group

activities and interaction occurred, as the focal space of the program. Thus, while the

Philadelphia Field Project is designed to bring students into contact with spaces in west Philadelphia, our examination of the students' experiences must also consider the "home base" created by the program itself.

The primary group space in Philadelphia was the annex. This space fulfilled a range of functions. In this space, students cooked and ate meals, managed housekeeping responsibilities, and hung out during down time, as well as participating in group discussions of articles and films, meeting with Dr. Yapa, and conducting the portions of the research project that involved Internet searches or computer work.

Several students experienced the annex as a space of intellectual inquiry. One student, talking about living in the annex as compared with being on campus at Penn State, declared that "I feel like my whole lifestyle is different, what I talk about, what I do, is more interesting, more educational." Another student described the program as "a think tank kind of experience." Different students responded differently to this aspect of the space. For some students, the intellectual inquiry was the main point of the program: one student described the program as "an elaboration of the 123 class[17]."

For some of the students who had not encountered Dr. Yapa's ideas previously, however, the intellectual aspect of the program was more difficult. One student reported that after reading one of Dr. Yapa's articles for the first time, "I was like, this is so foreign, is this English?" Group discussions were also challenging for some students. One student stated that "I'm just the kind of person where group discussions just have a kind of turn-off effect for me." On the other hand, some students were frustrated that discussions were not occurring frequently enough. One student felt like "discussion was constantly put off, and I really wanted to get some of it."

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[17] Geography 123 – Geography of the Developing World is Dr. Yapa's undergraduate lecture class, in which he articulates his discourse theory of poverty.

As this statement suggests, the divide between the students who found the exploration of social theory enlivening and those who found it challenging and alienating created tension in the annex and among the students. Housekeeping issues also created tension, as some students felt like others were not doing their fair share to keep the (quite small) shared space clean[18]. Thus, many of the students often experienced the annex as a space of conflict.

Given this tension and conflict, the annex was experienced very differently by those students who lived nearby and those who did not. Some of the students who were from the Philadelphia area spent considerable amounts of time at home (although generally not overnight, in keeping with the program rules mentioned above). For students from outside the Philadelphia area, the annex was their only home for the month of the project. As a result, some of these students felt more trapped in the house than those from the Philadelphia area. Another differentiating factor was that some students had personal cars with them, while others did not. Again, students without cars or nearby family had fewer escapes from the annex available when tension surfaced.

Home spaces

Many of the students left the spaces of the program and went home at some point during the field experience. Two of the students from Philadelphia lived nearby enough to the annex that they could easily go home for an afternoon or an evening and return to the annex at night. These students spent portions of many program days in their "home" environment, rather than the spaces created by the program itself.

Several other students spent some time at home at some point during the program. One student became ill and left the program for five days, going home for medical care and

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[18] As a personal observation, I would say from my experience that neither the (somewhat messy) state of housekeeping nor the conflict over cleanliness issues was unusual for a group of undergraduate students living in rather tight quarters.

recuperation. Another student returned home for a long weekend to celebrate a friend's birthday in the middle of the program. One of the students who lived in the Philadelphia area spent the last week of the program mostly at home, commuting to the annex during the day to work on her/his research project, because the tension among group participants had become intolerable for the student. These visits to "home" interrupted the immersive quality of being "in the field" in west Philadelphia, as the students moved physically and socially into different spaces for a time.

Research project spaces

In addition to spaces constituted by the group as a whole, each student traversed a variety of spaces individually in conducting research for his/her research project. In some cases, these spaces were embedded in neighborhood spaces (see next section), as with one project that involved cataloging users of a nearby section of Fairmont Park. In other cases, project space was located in the annex itself, as students conducted Internet research and analyzed census or transportation data. But in many cases, students moved through spaces that were removed from the other spaces of the program.

For instance, one student, researching transit services to the neighborhood, rode public transportation to several common work destinations for residents of the neighborhood. Another student observed visitors and talked with staff at the Philadelphia Zoo. Several students interviewed people in business, government, or non-profit agencies.

In addition, students conducted secondary research activities in a number of spaces outside of the annex. Due to interruptions in Internet service at the annex, several students used coffee shops or libraries to conduct literature review and data analysis. Several students also mentioned using the Internet at home. One student said that reliable, fast Internet access was "one of the number one reasons I was looking forward to going home [for a] weekend."

Beyond the frustrations of unreliable Internet access, many students described frustration in trying to set up interviews and connect with groups or individuals that could help with their projects. One student mentioned hearing about a professor from the University of Pennsylvania who would have been a helpful resource, but was out of town until after the field program ended. Other students talked about the challenges of setting up interviews: one commented that "the hardest thing is that people don't call you back, and so you have to keep hounding them."

Some students also felt frustrated by the challenge of designing a research project independently. As I have mentioned, Dr. Yapa provided feedback and suggested directions for the projects, but for the most part the students conducted the research independently. Several students expressed ambivalence about their topic and project, feeling that they had not selected a project that was very interesting to them, or that the evolution of their topic had taken the project in a different direction than what they had initially envisioned. Thus, frustration was a common feeling among students in relation to their research projects.

On the other hand, many students also expressed curiosity and intellectual excitement concerning their projects. In an interview toward the end of the field experience, the student who was researching at the Philadelphia Zoo said, "I went three times already, and each time there were more things [of interest] I found out about." The student then went on to describe some of her/his observations at length. Another student's project involved giving cameras to neighborhood children and asking them to take photos of important places in their neighborhood, as in the "photovoice" participatory research method (*e.g.*, McIntyre, 2003). S/he described the motive for the project as learning about the neighborhood directly from the people that live there, saying that "as an outsider, I wouldn't be able to see what they value, [and] the only way to know what resources to draw upon is to realize what these kids value." As these reports show, many of the students found their research projects interesting and exciting, in spite of the attendant challenges and frustrations.

Neighborhood spaces

While the above discussion shows that students spent much of their time either in the annex building or conducting research at dispersed locations, the Parkside neighborhood, where the annex was located, featured centrally in many aspects of the experience. Some students' projects involved conducting research within neighborhood spaces, such as the project mentioned above that investigated use of the park as a neighborhood resource, or another project that examined the recent development of a shopping center directly across the street from the annex.

Beyond the research projects, students moved through neighborhood spaces on a daily basis as part of personal maintenance activities. One student commented that they came to know the workers at a nearby Dunkin' Donuts shop quite well, as many of the students would often buy a morning cup of coffee there (since the annex did not have a coffee maker). Students also shopped for groceries at local supermarkets and corner grocery stores, used a local Laundromat, and exercised in the neighborhood (student exercise routines included jogging, bicycling, and jumping rope).

More than any other aspect of the program, this inhabitation of neighborhood space marks the experience as a field experience. It is in these spaces that students' embodied experience, both sensory and affective, is distinctly different from the experience of a traditional, classroom-based course. Many students reported feeling out of place and conspicuous in the neighborhood. Most of the female students also reported being harassed verbally while walking around the neighborhood. Discussing this harassment, one student commented that "I look really awkward… I look like I'm not from Philadelphia, so I'm obviously kind of scared…." For the white women in the group in particular, their bodily presence in the neighborhood attracted attention and comment. One female student described walking through the neighborhood and getting the sense that she "was the first white person walking by that day," and that people were

asking, "What's this white girl doing?" Reflecting on this racial dynamic, this student said "no matter what your intentions are… you're an intruder." These students, and their interlocutors in the neighborhood, understood the neighborhood as an African-American space, and therefore that their presence in the neighborhood constituted an intrusion and transgression[19].

Beyond feeling "awkward" or intrusive, students often feared for their personal safety in the neighborhood. One student described being alone in the annex for several hours one day and feeling like a "sitting duck" for robbery. Others mentioned not feeling safe walking outside after dark or jogging by themselves in isolated sections of the nearby park. But this feeling was accompanied by ambivalence about safety issues. One student opined that white privilege and the racial power structure in Philadelphia could serve to protect them: "if a bunch of white college students got attacked, living in west Philadelphia, you could pretty much imagine that the police would swarm down, and it would be huge." Another student who was from Philadelphia commented afterward that "I've been in areas now that I would have never found myself in, and there were no problems." This student found her/himself driving through neighborhood later in the summer, and observed, "I knew the area, and… I felt a lot more comfortable going through it." Similarly, another student observed that s/he "felt more safe the longer we'd been there." Also, several students alluded to being in places or doing things that they thought might have put them at risk of violent attack. Thus, while the students were (to some extent, entirely justifiably) concerned about personal safety in the neighborhood, they were also questioning that fear and re-assessing their initial assumptions about the nature and source of the risks.

This ambivalence shows that, along with fear and awkwardness, many students approached the neighborhood with an attitude of inquiry and exploration. Many of the students described features of the neighborhood that they found interesting or surprising. One student who was from

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[19] Duncan and Duncan (2006; 2004) describe a similar situation in Westchester County, NY, where dominant readings of the landscape as "white" led people to see Latinos as out-of-place there.

Philadelphia noted that s/he was "totally surprised by the fact that it's more than 80% black people" in the neighborhood, given that "Philadelphia's supposed to be a diverse city." Another student, who was not from Philadelphia, was initially very impressed by the attractiveness of the row-house architecture in the neighborhood. Other students expressed surprise at seeing the new shopping center across the street from the annex. Many of the students noted how the amount of care taken of houses and gardens varied widely from block-to-block. One student remarked on this phenomenon:

"I've noticed… how every block is really different, so that one block will be really nice, and all the houses will look like somebody with a lot of money is living there, and keeping them up… and the next block will just be houses that are completely cracked and looking like no one's really taking care of them."

Observations like these show that some of the students approached the neighborhood spaces as unknown territory, to explore, observe, and learn about. Beyond that, almost all of the students understood the neighborhood as a place very different from State College, as a space that is exotic and other.

A large part of that otherness related to socio-economic status: the students generally interpreted the neighborhood as a space of poverty. As a result, students also often adopted an affect of concern and sympathy toward the neighborhood. In one instance, two students went to a community meeting about jobs at the new shopping center and returned feeling shocked at how desperate to get jobs people at the meeting had seemed. Another student commented on a group of men s/he had passed several times on the way to the grocery store, who were standing on the stoop of a house, smoking marijuana. This student said that "I'm not that worried about the drug itself, it's more how it's acquired and sold and the gun implications… and it's just very clear that that's… very prevalent in this community." In this way, students were attuned to problems in the community.

Leisure spaces

The final spaces of the Philadelphia Field Project experience were what I will call spaces of leisure. These were the spaces inhabited when students were not involved in organized program activities—that is, in "down time." Not surprisingly, the annex itself was an important leisure space, as students surfed the Internet, played cards, or watched television (or Internet video). Other leisure spaces were far afield from the program's base. For example, three students took a long weekend trip to Atlantic City, NJ. In addition, the visits home discussed above were sometimes seen by students as leisure time. But the predominant space of leisure activities was the city of Philadelphia.

Unlike personal maintenance activities, students generally did not engage in leisure activities in the spaces of the immediate neighborhood. Instead, the students' leisure activities spread diffusely throughout Philadelphia. Students went to museums, movies, and nightclubs, went shopping in the city's fashionable neighborhoods, and walked around the city. Attitudes toward these leisure spaces varied among different students and different occasions. At times, students (especially the students who were not from the Philadelphia area) adopted touristic attitudes toward the city, appreciating the particular charms of Philadelphia by walking through neighborhoods and parks and visiting museums and shopping districts. At other times, students' interactions with the city took on a more functional attitude, as they simply enjoyed "big-city" amenities like movies, music, restaurants, and nightlife. In addition, some students, especially those who did not have a personal vehicle with them, felt cut off from the amenities of Philadelphia, since the Parkside neighborhood is fairly distant from the destination neighborhoods and the public transportation service to the rest of the city is slow and somewhat limited. Thus, given that the immediate neighborhood did not have many amenities, some students experienced a lot of boredom during times when they were not actively working on their research projects or

participating in group activities. This boredom then also added to the negative affect associated with the annex, since these students felt somewhat stuck in the building.

HOINA

In comparison with the Philadelphia Field Project, students in the HOINA program experienced a much narrower range of spaces during their time in India. They spent the bulk of their time on the grounds of the two orphanages, and they were much more fully integrated into the life of the orphanage than the Philadelphia Field Project students were into the life of the neighborhood.

Group spaces

Like the Philadelphia Field Project students with the Annex, the group of students in the HOINA program had a "home base" within the orphanages. At each site, the guest quarters where students slept became a space for hanging out, reflecting on their experiences, and taking care of personal maintenance needs. But unlike the Philadelphia Field Project students, the HOINA students did not spend much waking time in these separate spaces. All of the program's structured activities involved interaction with the children or staff of the orphanages, and these activities took up almost all of each day. But because the students participated in these activities as a group, their shared experience included these interactions with the children and staff. Through this shared experience, the students developed strong connections with one another. These connections provided an important source of support and stability. One student noted that it was comforting to have "someone to share American culture with." Another noted that "none of [the students] spoke Tamil or Telugu [the primary languages spoken by the students and staff

at the orphanages], but we could all speak with each other." Students reported no tension or conflict among the group. After the program, the students felt they had bonded with one another. One student reflected, "We're all really, really different," but "we're all friends now," and "we all kind of meshed" while on the project. Thus, the group of students provided friendship and support for one another and interpersonal dynamics and any tensions within the group did not assume nearly the importance as they did on the Philadelphia Field Project.

The orphanages

The predominant spaces of experience for the HOINA students were the orphanages themselves. As noted above, the students spent nearly all their waking moments interacting with either children or staff at the orphanages. Students experienced a very wide range of emotions and affects in regard to the orphanages, from delight to sadness to unease.

Some of the students reported enjoying spending time with the children and the orphanage staff. One said, "we'd play whatever—cricket, volleyball… it was a lot of fun." But the positive affects experienced by the students were often more like satisfaction than enjoyment. One student talked about whitewashing a school: "[the walls were] nasty and gray and mossy, and we cleaned them up, whitewashed them, which was, like, a huge accomplishment." Making connections with the children was also satisfying for the students. One student noted how the children would ask them about Penn State students who had come in previous years, showing that they remembered and appreciated the students. Another student described the excitement that some of the staff expressed about the English lessons led by HOINA students. The students understood from these and similar experiences that their presence and assistance was helpful and valued by the children and the orphanage staff.

But in addition to these feelings of enjoyment and satisfaction, students also experienced unease or ambivalence regarding their presence at the orphanages. At the girls' home, the children would repeatedly challenge HOINA students to recall their names and other personal information. As one student described it, "Whenever they would see us—what's my name, sister, what's my name? and it was the first thing they would say to you, and it was kind of like, you felt pressured." Another student described frustration at this dynamic: "They wanted all of our attention, but it was always, sister, what is my name, what is my birthday? And it was like, can I not get beyond [the question of whether] I know what your name is?"

The English lessons that Mrs. Large asked the HOINA students to provide for the orphanage staff provoked mixed feelings for the students. At the boys' home, as mentioned above, the students felt appreciated and enjoyed the lessons, but at the girls' home they felt uncomfortable, due to perceived resistance from the staff. Several students felt that the staff at the girls' home was not interested in learning English. One student said that "you could tell who didn't want to learn, and who did," while another simply got the impression that the staff "didn't want to learn English," making the lessons very challenging for the students. Another student reported that during the afternoon English lessons "they were, like, making fun of us," and another said that "it was just odd the way they were responding to us, almost just like laughing, when we were trying to teach them." This student went on to say that "it was really discouraging." The tension between Mrs. Large's desire that they teach English and the staff's apparent disinterest was challenging for the students to negotiate.

The frustration students felt in these situations ties in with a deeper ambivalence described by some of the students. Given the expense of traveling from the U.S. to India, and the enormity of the social challenges that the orphanages were addressing, students wondered if their presence made any significant positive impact or if it justified the resources invested in the program. Students were keenly aware of the costs incurred by the orphanages in hosting them: one student

talked about wanting to call home to talk with her parents, but being reluctant to call because "[it was] like I was taking food from orphans every time I called." One student related conversations among the students in which they would ask themselves, "are we doing what we should be doing? Are we doing enough? Are we doing the right sorts of things?" Another student described asking herself while she was there, "What does it mean to love these people in India? ...are we truly loving them if we go in for a couple weeks and hang out with them and then leave... is anything actually going to change?" This student went on to observe that "[projects] like doing whitewash... [are] helpful, but it's hard to say how helpful it is long-term." These statements show that while they were in India at the orphanages, the students were questioning the appropriateness and effectiveness of their activities there.

The body[20]

Another central space in the experience of students was their own bodies. The ambivalence discussed above stemmed fundamentally from the expense of bodily relocation to India and the imposition of their (American, mostly white, English-speaking) bodies into the orphanage. Beyond the importance of this physical presence, the students experienced being in India through a number of heightened bodily sensations. Several students recalled fatigue as an ever-present feeling, understandably given the long hours and physically and mentally draining activities. One student noted that the length of their stay in India required them to get adequate rest, whereas on a shorter trip (like a one-week Spring Break service project) "you might be exhausted, but it's only a week, so you just suck it up and get on with it[21]."

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[20] I owe my reading of the body as a space of experience and learning to Livingstone's (2003, ch. 2) identification of the body as a space of research.

[21] I should note here that in my experience leading week-long service trips, this claim is not actually true: participants do lose effectiveness very quickly if they do not get adequate sleep, food, etc. This student's

Food and eating also assumed a prominent role in the experience for some of the students. Students reported that while the cooks at the orphanages made an effort to accommodate their American palates, the food was mostly unfamiliar. One student connected eating strange foods with the overall fatigue experienced on the trip: "My body felt awful. Just eating the types of foods I was eating, that my body wasn't used to… it was taking a toll." Students also remembered the hot weather, which contributed to the fatigue. One student described the need for a break after lunch, noting that "the heat is so exhausting that all we wanted to do was just lay down for awhile." Several students also commented on the ubiquity of "bugs." Thus, to a much greater extent than in the Philadelphia Field Project, sensual experiences were at the forefront of the students' experiences of India. Because of this visceral character, one student opined that it would be impossible to adequately describe her experience to friends and family: "I can do my best to paint a picture of it, but… you can't describe what something smells like or tastes like." Another student connected these visceral experiences with her learning process, stating that "while I was in India… I learned stuff by seeing it, smelling it, and touching it," and the direct sensual experience involved made this learning more "exciting" than other learning experiences.

India

Students understood the purpose of their trip as learning about India. As one student put it, being there gave her "a better picture of life in India." Another said offhandedly that "we were learning about Indian culture" while at the orphanages. But their encounters with "India" were somewhat limited. As mentioned, they spent the great majority of their time within the orphanage compounds. These compounds were physically separated from the surrounding areas,

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observation highlights the temporal dimension to the immersive quality of the HOINA experience—as in other aspects, here the immersion renders the needs and experiences of the body more salient for students.

and the students' interactions with Indian people were very different inside and outside of the compounds—intensely intimate inside, and functional outside. One student in particular noted the sharp differences between interactions in the two spheres. This student felt included in and integrated into the life of the orphanages, noting that "the staff and everyone there was very welcoming to us." Outside the walls of the orphanages, though, this student felt out of place, recalling the feeling of "just like watching people watch us, [when] you could tell they were talking about us." This student described leaving the orphanage grounds as venturing "outside of your little compound and your little utopia." While this student felt welcomed and integrated within the orphanages, she experience these spaces as enclaves cut off from the spaces of India-at-large, where she did not feel welcome or at home at all.

Another student interpreted the orphanages as insulated from the social problems of their surroundings, contrasting the physical environment of the orphanages to those outside: "they were like a haven. Amongst the dirt and the poverty it was like the kids were growing up in a middle-class environment." For this student, the orphanages (perhaps in part because of their American administration and financial support) were not truly India spaces, to the extent that they were insulated from some of the social problems that seemed ubiquitous in India.

The primary experience of India for the students was through the notable bodily sensations discussed above. While the orphanages were in many ways isolated from India, the heat, bugs, and strange foods were experienced as sensations of India. In other ways, as suggested by the above quotation, the visceral experience of India stood in contrast to the orphanage environment. Students experienced India as polluted, crowded, dirty, and poverty-stricken. One student described her first experience of India (upon leaving the airport in Chennai) as an intense sensory experience: "just coming out and seeing the… homeless people sleeping on the ground, and all of the rickshaws, the beeping horns, it was just kind of overwhelming." Another student commented on the extreme air pollution, recalling that "you could see the dirt in the air, like you

could see the pollution." Another visceral reaction reported by several students was fear of vehicle collisions. Automobile travel seemed extremely chaotic. One student said, "I've never been so scared in a car in my entire life." Another recalled feeling that "the driving was crazy, a ton of rickshaws and motorcycles and scooters, and there's no fear at all…."

Students associated this affective reaction to riding in vehicles with their overall sense of disorder and anarchy—for instance, one student described a near collision with a cow, noting that "there's cattle everywhere, they just walk the streets." In this way, the visceral experiences associated with the heat, bugs, food, and dirt structured the way students experienced and understood India beyond the orphanages. At the same time, as discussed above, the students did not have much direct interaction with India, outside of their experiences in the orphanages. Noting this separation, one student remarked that "we were still removed from the culture, but we got to *see* a lot of it…. We could see what was going on, but we were still removed because we were behind the walls of the bus" (emphasis added). One student described the attitude toward the places and scenes they visited:

> As much as people were looking at us like we were the outsiders, we were just as much looking at them, trying to figure things out, watching the way they live. So we were kind of in our own little bubble, kind of going through India. It felt like we were separated from it, even though we were in a mall or in a shopping district.

Thus, in contrast with their experiences at the orphanages, the students' learning about India-at-large occurred primarily visually, as they observed life outside of their "little bubble" in various settings.

For the most part, students made sense of their experiences of India as either contradiction or confirmation of their preconceptions of a "third-world country." Thus, a rat seen in the airport was understood as being there "because this is a third-world country." Another student described Chennai as having "that, like, textbook view to it, like this is what third-world country cities look like." The idea that India is a "third-world country" connected with the students' experiences of

dirt, pollution, crowding, and disorder. When I asked one of the students about the differences between homelessness in the U.S. and the homelessness she had seen in India, she replied that in India, "there didn't seem to be control of it or like there was any infrastructure in place to combat it…. It was just more visible to me [there]." Another student observed a lack of spatial segregation by economic class, noting that the group had eaten at a nice hotel (when traveling between Chennai and Visakhapatnam), where "right next door would be a grass hut with trash piled up 100 feet." She suggested that "there's no distinction between [what] is a really nice area and [what] is a really poverty-stricken area, it's all just one and the same." Another student said, "It felt like there was no organization at all…. People just throw things together to make buildings."

But students also talked about surprising discoveries that contradicted their notions of the third world. One student talked about her preconceptions of isolation and absence of modern technology being shaken by seeing mobile phones, satellite dishes, and billboards everywhere: "for some reason, in my mind, I just think of straw huts. Which there are still, straw huts, in the rural areas, but people walk around in the villages with straw huts and cell phones." Another student described her confusion when she heard that some people in villages prefer grass huts to western-style buildings, making it "really difficult… to understand what they see as poor." Like the previous student, she noted her surprise at seeing "satellite dishes on grass huts."

Beyond these observations, the students' experience of India-at-large seemed vague. In the interviews, the students did not seem well-oriented as to where they had been in India. For example, they knew that the orphanages were about a one-to-two hour drive from Chennai and Visakhapatnam, respectively, but they did not seem to know in which direction. When I asked students to situate the orphanages within an urban hierarchy (urban-suburban-rural), they struggled to answer beyond noting that the girls' home was more enclosed by development, whereas the boys' home had much more open space.

Summary

The most intense and vivid interpersonal experiences for the HOINA students occurred within the walls of the orphanages, in interactions with the staff and children. These interactions created emotionally-significant relationships between students and the people at the orphanages, such that the students continued to think fondly about their new acquaintances once they had returned to the United States. In addition, the bodily experiences of everyday life—eating, sweating in the heat, feeling exhaustion after a long day—were especially vivid for the students. These visceral experiences organized their observations about India, which focused on pollution, dirt, and disorder. Their observations tended to either confirm or confound the expectations they had of what a "third-world" country would be like.

Chapter 11

Discussion: Geographies and Student Learning(s)

I began the examination of these two field education programs with three research questions. First, I proposed to characterize the material geographies of each program—the way bodies and objects move through spaces in the various activities of the two programs. Second, I sought to analyze the geographic *experience* of students in these activities—the way students encounter, understand, and react to the places and spaces that they inhabit and move through. This two-fold analysis (material and experiential), I argued, would lay the groundwork for an assessment of whether and how those geographies imprint themselves upon student learning, or on the way knowledge is reproduced in these two programs. The previous sections have examined the material and experiential geographies of the two programs in some detail. This analysis shows that student experiences were very different in the two programs. As a result of these differences in student experiences, these programs impacted students in different ways. This chapter will review the differences and similarities in the two programs and explain their causes and impact.

Comparing the Two Programs

Figure 18 shows how the two programs compare in the terms of the conceptual model of field education. The spatial dynamics of the two programs differed in significant ways. Both venues were somewhat unfamiliar to most of the students, but that of the HOINA program was much more foreign to students than that of the Philadelphia Field Project. Both programs were mostly fixed in place—the HOINA program in the orphanages, and the Philadelphia Field Project in the annex building and Parkside neighborhood.
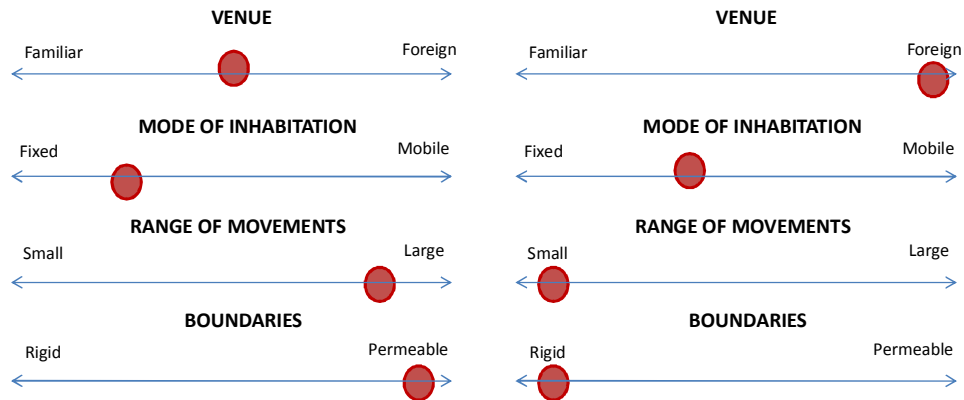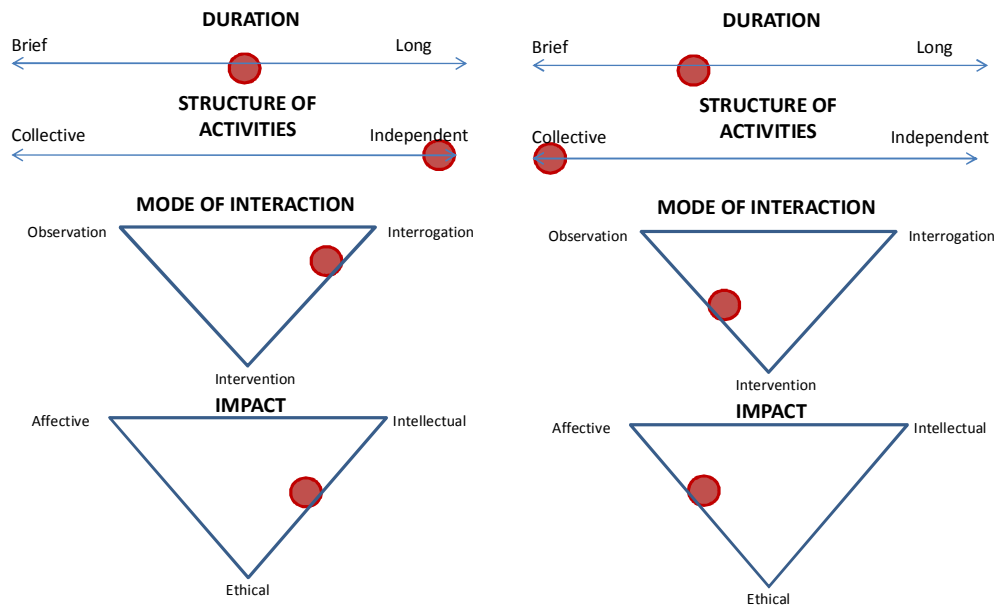
Philadelphia Field Project   HOINA

SPATIAL DYNAMICS

STUDENT EXPERIENCES

Figure 18: Comparison of the Philadelphia Field Project and the HOINA program in the conceptual model.

But each program also had an element of mobility: for HOINA, the movements between the two orphanages, and for the Philadelphia Field Project, the daily movements around the city for research, leisure, or personal maintenance. The most pronounced difference in spatial dynamics, however, was the character of the boundaries around the "field site," which in India were rigidly marked by the walls of the orphanage, but in Philadelphia were vague and permeable.

In terms of the student experiences, the Philadelphia Field Project was longer in duration by about one-third (four weeks compared with three). The structure of activities was very different—extremely collective and collaborative in the HOINA program, and extremely independent in the Philadelphia Field Project. The modes of interaction with the field setting were also quite different. The Philadelphia Field Project emphasized interrogation and knowledge production, whereas the HOINA program emphasized active intervention (*i.e.,* service) and observation. The intended impacts on the students varied as well, with more emphasis on intellectual impacts in the Philadelphia Field Project and more emphasis on affect in the HOINA program.

These differences in structure produced a number of differences in student experience. The next section of this chapter will explore the differences in four central aspects of the experience— group dynamics, interactions with the environments surrounding the field site, the sense of visceral immersion in the field setting, and the experience of the work involved in the various projects undertaken. It is in these aspects of the experience that the differences in structure between the two programs most impacted the students' experience of their time in the field.

Group dynamics

Group dynamics were very different between the two programs. Philadelphia Field Project students experienced tension, conflict, and cliquishness, although they also experienced some

camaraderie and positive bonding, and some of the relationships created in the program endured over the following school year. In stark contrast, the HOINA students reported no conflict or ill-will amongst them. Furthermore, the group experience, in both its positive and negative aspects, was much more prominent in the experience of Philadelphia Field Project students than in the experience of the HOINA students. Several factors could account for these differences. The HOINA students spent a semester's worth of weekly meetings getting to know one another prior to their trip to India, whereas the Philadelphia Field Project students had only the one weekend field trip beforehand to meet one another. The familiarity and sense of connection created through the HOINA group's weekly classes and the production of the fundraising dinner undoubtedly facilitated positive group dynamics while in India. In addition, the HOINA students were more homogeneous as a group than the Philadelphia Field Project students, all being women from small towns in Pennsylvania. Compounding this sense of similarity was the extent to which the Indian environment was different from their ordinary experience: being in a very foreign setting encouraged them to identify more closely with one another, as shown by the one student's comment about "sharing American culture" with the other students.

The bond among students was facilitated by the shared nature of their activities. Because they were all engaged in similar and often collaborative activities at the orphanages and were constantly in close proximity to one another, they could share the experience with one another. In concert with the collective nature of the experience, the physical and emotional demands of relating to the orphans and of simply navigating a very foreign environment created a sense of shared struggle and accomplishment among the students.

In Philadelphia, students did not have much chance to get to know one another before the field experience, but they lived in tighter quarters and had more opportunities to irritate or impose upon one another than did the HOINA students. The longer duration of the program likely afforded greater opportunities for conflict as well. Managing shopping, cooking, and cleaning as

a group took a lot of energy and group coordination, and the students for the most part did not anticipate the challenges of those basic maintenance activities. One Philadelphia Field Project student, who had previously participated in a similar program and thus had a broader perspective, observed, "I don't think many people reflect that living with 15 other people that they've never met before might be a problem." At HOINA, in contrast, according to one of the students, "everything [in terms of meals and living arrangements] was taken care of," thereby removing a potential cause of friction.

Additionally, the Philadelphia Field Project students participated in many more group-only, inward-focusing activities (discussions, logistical meetings) than the HOINA students. These activities provided another opportunity for students to irritate one another, especially given that academic class-like activities can provoke negative emotions on their own (regardless of any tension already present within the group). In contrast, the group activities of the HOINA group were all outward-directed, either interacting with the children and staff at the orphanages or traveling outside the orphanages.

Interactions with surrounding environments

The insularity of the Philadelphia Field Project manifested spatially in the lack of connection between the annex and the surrounding neighborhood. The annex was the "home base" for the students during the project, but they were not well-integrated into the surrounding neighborhood. While many students had a number of positive interactions with nearby residents and people who worked at local businesses or worshipped at the church, these interactions were not sustained or repeated enough to create personal relationships. As a result, many students felt out-of-place in the neighborhood. Some students felt unsafe in the neighborhood at times, and the project rules that prohibited running or walking through the neighborhood alone reflected a real (albeit

difficult to assess or quantify) fear of attack. Thus, the students did not have spaces available nearby in which to escape tension within the annex. In contrast, the HOINA students were thoroughly integrated into the life of the orphanages, and as a result, they interacted as much with the orphans and staff as with one another.

In large part, this difference resulted from the differences in socio-spatial characteristics between the orphanages and the west Philadelphia neighborhood where the Philadelphia Field Project was based. The orphanages were closed communities with restricted access (literally enforced, by walls and a guard at the gate). While children and staff moved in and out throughout the day, only people who belonged in the orphanages could enter, and the students only left the grounds as a group, with a guide and a specific destination. In contrast, the west Philadelphia neighborhood was a fluid, open space, with a much greater flux of people through the area each day. For instance, many of the members of the church did not live in the neighborhood, but drove in from a distance away to worship. In addition, thousands of people[22] passed through the neighborhood each day, walking or driving. Finally, unlike the orphanages, the boundaries of the neighborhood were vaguely defined and highly permeable. As a result of this fluidity, there was no singular, bounded community into which the students *could* have been welcomed or integrated[23].

But while the rigid boundaries of the orphanage communities allowed the HOINA students to become fully integrated and to create personal relationships within those communities, those boundaries also isolated the students from the world beyond the orphanages. The HOINA students understood their experiences at the orphanages as physically, socially, and emotionally removed from ordinary Indian life. In contrast, the Philadelphia Field Project students' experiences of the neighborhood, while less intense and intimate, were fully situated within the

[22] My rough estimate based on casual observations of traffic levels.
[23] See Young (1990) for a discussion of the necessity of boundary-drawing and exclusion in defining a community.

everyday life of that neighborhood. Here, the spatial scales involved also play a role. As mentioned above, the students thought of their trip as a chance to learn about "India." But regardless of the spatial arrangement of their stay in India, a three-week visit could hardly give the HOINA students an adequate experience of India as a whole. The scale of their experiences in place was not matched with the scale of their expectation of learning about the country as a whole. This expectation was likely unavoidable given that all but one of the students had minimal prior knowledge about India, making distinctions between Indian states or regions largely meaningless[24]. Given this context, and the fact that they stayed within the orphanage grounds most of the time, it is not surprising that their learning about India was vague.

Because their daily embodied experiences of walking around, grocery shopping, and other personal maintenance activities were fully situated within the neighborhood, some Philadelphia Field Project students were able to make very specific observations about living in the neighborhood. For example, one student (who was not from the Philadelphia area) reflected upon media representations of poor urban neighborhoods in comparison to his/her experience in Philadelphia, observing that "from TV and stuff, we just see the worst parts exemplified, but, like, when you live there it's not that bad." This student left with the impression that the neighborhood is "just another group of people… just doing the same things that we do, it's really not that different at all." Another student gained insight into the impact of popular discourse about west Philadelphia neighborhoods, observing how newspapers "would talk about these poor, impoverished neighborhoods that are drug-ridden and crime filled." This student asked her/himself, "Now I live in west Philadelphia [for the month], how do I feel about them saying that?" This student also reflected on the difficulty of obtaining taken-for-granted items or services, noting, "I had to walk two miles to get post-it notes." In comparison to the observations

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[24] The one student of Indian descent, who had previously visited family in Kolkata several times, referred to their destination as 'south India,' which, while more specific than India as a whole, is still many times coarser than the scale of their actual experiences.

made by HOINA students of general disorder and overwhelming unintelligibility, these observations reflect a more specific and more profound insight into life in the neighborhood. The comparatively manageable spatial scale of the Philadelphia neighborhood, combined with the fact that the students moved through the neighborhood in their daily personal maintenance activities, created the possibility of insight into conditions experienced by people living in the neighborhood.

Immersion and viscerality

The experience being in the field setting was much more intense and visceral for students in the HOINA program than for Philadelphia Field Project students. HOINA students were fully immersed in a foreign environment for the entirety of their trip[25]. In contrast, the Philadelphia Field Project was a much more fluid and porous experience, with students and visitors constantly moving in and out of project spaces.

The bodily experience of being in India was very vivid and literally visceral for the students. This vividness arose from two sources. First, India is indeed very far removed from the ordinary experience of most of these students. Thus, the sensations associated with being in India were very different from what the students were accustomed to, and therefore notable. Equally important, though, was the fact that the students thought of India as a foreign, exotic place. Since the students were expecting to experience a foreign place, sensations of warm air temperatures, strange foods, or cacophonous traffic noise became markers of the foreignness of that environment.

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[25] The students' reaction to the incident of seeing a rat at the airport before their flight home highlighted this fact: even in the airport, mere minutes from boarding their flight, they understood their environment as foreign and strange.

In contrast, the environments that student experienced in Philadelphia were much more familiar. Even within the immediate neighborhood, the presence of chain stores, the fact that English was the primary language, and even the familiar weather and vegetation, all contributed to a sense of familiarity. In this aspect, the students from smaller cities had very different experiences from those who were familiar with big-city environments. In general, the students who were less familiar with cities made more observations about the neighborhood, whereas for those students for whom the landscape was more commonplace, neighborhood features did not stand out as noteworthy.

But it was beyond the immediate neighborhood that the immersive quality of the Philadelphia Field Project experience fully broke down. From their location at the annex, a 15-minute drive or 30-minute trolley ride could take students to the more familiar settings of university campuses, shopping districts, parks, or downtown Philadelphia. Given that the boundaries of the neighborhood were only vaguely-defined, students traversed boundaries between the familiar and the unfamiliar on a daily basis.

Finally, the movements of students and others in and out of program spaces further reduced the immersive quality of their experiences. Students would leave for a day or two, or family or friends from the University would come to visit, and Dr. Yapa would come and go from State College, all reinforcing the porosity of the experience and their proximity to familiar settings. Also, students communicated freely with people outside the program through email and the Internet. All of these factors attenuated the sense that the time spent in Philadelphia and the places visited in that time were marked off as separate from the students' ordinary experiences. As a result, the students' descriptions of their experiences indicated that they did not observe their environment as closely as the HOINA students did, and their experiences of that environment were much less vivid and visceral.

The work

The actual work performed by students was very different between the two programs, and these differences impacted student experiences profoundly. Prior sections have discussed the fact that the work performed by the HOINA students almost entirely took place within the orphanage compounds and was performed more or less together, as a group. In contrast, the research projects of Philadelphia Field Project students were completely independent and work on these projects sent students in many different directions throughout the neighborhood and the wider city. Because of these different spatial arrangements, students' encounters with the field settings were very different between the two programs.

In addition to the spatial differences, the students performed very different types of work. The work of the HOINA students involved physical labor (whitewashing) and interpersonal interaction (teaching and playing games with the orphans). In the Philadelphia Field Project, students conducted research, which included reading scholarly articles, surveying archived newspaper and magazine articles, analyzing census data, conducting interviews, and making field observations. Furthermore, each student's project required different activities, such that some students spent a great deal of time in the immediate neighborhood, while others traveled further into the wider city, and some conducted nearly all the research online.

Even considering the wide range of differences between research projects, the research experiences of the Philadelphia Field Project students as a whole were quite different from the service experiences of the HOINA students. The research projects in Philadelphia generally did not involve an affective connection with the subject matter, whereas affective responses were central to the experiences of the HOINA students. The one exception was the "photovoice" project, in which one student gave cameras to several children from the church's youth group and asked them to document important features of their neighborhood. But even this project involved

much less personal interaction than did the daily experience of the HOINA students; moreover, this student generally described her results as "interesting," whereas HOINA students were more likely to describe their experiences in affective terms, such as "touching."

Both groups of students found the work challenging, but in different ways. The HOINA experience was physically exhausting and emotionally draining for students; in contrast, the Philadelphia Field Project research was not particularly exhausting, but it was very intellectually demanding. As with the challenges with housekeeping, students may have underestimated the challenge of conducting independent research: one student said at the beginning of the field experience that s/he preferred the research approach to a hands-on service project because "it's like actually thinking about poverty and I really would rather research it than have to get my hands dirty." As described above, the students found designing and conducting their own research projects challenging and often frustrating.

While the HOINA students also experienced frustrations, they were much more likely to describe their work as "rewarding." The concrete physical work produced a feeling of accomplishment and satisfaction, since the results were plainly visible (even though, as discussed above, students wondered if this work had a significant long-term impact). The personal relationships they developed with the children and orphanage staff were also emotionally satisfying, even if the impact was less immediately visible.

Finally, the impact of the research projects on Philadelphia Field Project students varied considerably from student to student. Some students were more successful than others in designing a project that addressed a personally interesting topic and involved interesting and enjoyable research activities. With some exceptions, the students whose projects involved more direct contact with the neighborhood found their projects more exciting; conversely, the projects that mostly involved online research were less exciting to the students.

Summary

This discussion has shown that the impacts of these two programs on students were complex and multifaceted. I highlighted four aspects of those impacts—relationships with fellow students, interactions with people and environments in the places traveled to and through, the visceral feeling of immersion in a foreign environment, and the projects that students completed during their field experience. In each of these aspects, the experience impacted students in distinct ways. These impacts were both affective and intellectual, although one or the other of these realms assumed greater importance at different times.   These affective and intellectual impacts were structured by the various, multi-scale geographies of the two programs. The global-scale differences in physical and social distance between Philadelphia and India impacted student experiences, but the micro-scale geographies of each site did so as well, as seen in the importance of the bounded-ness of the orphanages compared to the fluidity of the neighborhood in Philadelphia (and the bounded-ness of the annex). These geographies created the conditions for the sensory and affective experiences of the students; thus, student learning occurred in and through the situated, embodied experiences structured by the geographies of each program.

Limitations

I have focused my investigation on the student experience of being "in the field"—for the Philadelphia Field Project, the month-long residency in west Philadelphia, and for the HOINA program, the three weeks in India. I sought to answer three questions: first, what are the detailed spatial dynamics of each program? That is, where are the students throughout each day, and how do they move through various spaces? Second, how do the students experience and interpret the

spaces, places, and landscapes encountered in the program? Finally, how do these experiences impact the students who participate?

The preceding chapters have reported the data and analysis yielded by my empirical study of these student experiences. As the prior section of this chapter shows, my interviews and observations produced a rich set of answers to these questions. This analysis has shown the many ways that various geographies impacted the experiences of students in these programs. But my data also revealed some limitations to my research design and execution. This section will discuss some of the ways in which my data may not have fully or accurately reflected the activities and experiences of students. I will also assess the extent to which these limitations provide important insights into how researchers can successfully conduct projects like this one.

After collecting and analyzing the empirical data, I have seen that the three research questions as framed above could not be answered as clearly and precisely as I had imagined, at least using the methods I had chosen. Regarding the detailed spatial account of student activity, the participants for the most part could not provide a detailed account of their whereabouts on a day-to-day basis. Several times, different participants recalled the same events as having occurred on different days. I may have encountered the challenges Dydia DeLyser (2001) reports in doing "insider" research, namely that participants were reluctant to tell me things in our interviews that they assumed I already knew from observing group activities. Also, the fact that I could not accompany the HOINA group to India or interview those students in the midst of their experience made collecting detailed information more difficult.

Beyond those challenges, though, the participants simply did not experience (or could not articulate their experience of) the spaces and places of the programs in as clear or vivid terms as I had expected. My attempts to discern their readings of the place often yielded vague replies. Many of the students seemed unsure of how to situate their experiences in broader-scale geographies. They were often preoccupied with group spaces and dynamics, not paying much

attention to their local surroundings. Also, they seemed more attentive to place and landscape during extra-ordinary events, such as a day-long field trip in India, than during day-to-day activities. In either case, while the students presumably were continually experiencing the places in which they were situated, that experience and learning did not occur at a conscious or articulate level. Instead, the students' conscious, articulated experience of these geographies was inconsistent, discontinuous, and punctuated rather than coherent and homogeneous.

Finally, this incoherence in the geographical experience of the students renders problematic my intention to isolate the impact of these programs on the students. My question supposes that each student would have a clearly-defined geographic experience of traveling to and living in a new place; instead, students had a variety of overlapping geographic experiences, related in different degrees to being in a new place. In addition, the preparation for the field experience and the subsequent follow-up meetings had important impacts on the student's learning from the experience in the field. In a broader sense, the significance of the field experience for each student is produced partly in experiences prior and subsequent to that experience; therefore, that significance and the impact on the student is constantly evolving, and my interviews a few months after the end of the field experience capture only one version of that impact.

Some of these limitations suggest alternative or additional research methods that could have gathered the needed data more effectively. For instance, I could have asked students to keep a daily log of their activities and movements, which might have provided a clearer account of exactly where they traveled each day. It is not certain, however, that the students would have been able to keep such a log up-to-date consistently and accurately; furthermore, such an approach would have imposed my research project more prominently into their experience, an imposition I did not want to make. As another example, I could have observed the on-campus class activities and interviewed students earlier and later in their participation in course activities. But here again, such observation would have made my project more obtrusive for students and

instructors. Also, the need to complete this project within one year precluded a greater temporal range in the interviews.

I could have also added a visual dimension to the data collection, beyond the narrative form of the in-depth interview. As the interview protocols (reproduced in Appendix A) show, I did ask participants to draw a map of the area and locate their experiences. In most cases, this exercise helped spur conversion, opening up new topics in the interview. But my instructions to participants were too vague or inconsistent for the drawings themselves to be used comparatively: the participants each interpreted the prompt in very different ways, from a sketch map of the city of Philadelphia to a drawing of litter in a vacant lot. For the HOINA students, even drawing anything proved challenging, as they were removed by a week and several thousand miles from the field sites by the time I could interview them.

The visual/spatial approach might have been more fruitful if undertaken collectively, as a participatory mapping activity (*cf.* Chambers, 1994). Since the collective experience created these spaces for students, a group effort to situate their experiences within the immediate and broader-scale surroundings might have yielded a more coherent picture. Such an activity might also have helped students make sense of their experiences for themselves. Again, however, I would have encountered the tricky ethical position of a researcher studying an educational program, for I did not want to usurp the instructor's role.

But beyond these technical considerations, the limitations I have discussed also illuminate the difficulty of assessing the impact of a field experience on a student. I have shown that the experiences of students in these programs are in part constituted from the students' prior experiences. In addition, these experiences are embedded within the experience of an undergraduate college education. In part, the students were experiencing these courses as part of their much broader experience at Penn State, and the long-term impact of the course on a student will be inextricably entangled with a myriad of other Penn State experiences. For instance,

several of the Philadelphia Field Project students reported that their interest in the program had

arisen from their experience as students in Sociology 119 – Race and Ethnic Relations. Thus,

Sociology 119 contributed to the expectations and frameworks within which they experienced

their time in Philadelphia. Accordingly, an examination of their experiences in Sociology 119

could illuminate the experience of these students in the Philadelphia Field Project. For any one

student, many examples like this one may pertain. Thus, a simple temporal expansion of the

research design, while useful, could not yield a definitive statement of the impact of the field

experience on a student, for such a definitive statement is not achievable. Rather than a definitive

statement, my research has yielded a partial articulation of the embodied experience of students in

these two programs and the impacts of that experience on the students. Although limited, this

narrative does indicate ways that the various geographies involved in each program and each

student's experience mattered crucially to that experience.

Chapter 12

Conclusion

Education is often conceived as a "placeless" activity. In this view, students entering the classroom are thought to leave behind the mundane world of day-to-day practicalities and enter a realm of ideas that are universal in scope and validity. That is, the knowledge learned in school is understood to be true and applicable independent of specific geographic context. But Livingstone's (2003) scholarship shows that every moment in the circulation of knowledge is marked by distinct spatial dynamics. We cannot understand the production, reproduction, transmission, or application of knowledge without considering the places within which and the embodied activities through which it occurs.

Extending Livingstone's argument, I have argued that the geographies involved in formal educational programs figure centrally in the impact of those programs upon students. That is, *what* students learn in a course depends upon *where* the course takes place (understanding "where" in the broadest sense to include all the various, multi-scaled geographies within which any activity is situated). Going beyond Livingstone's factual claim, I have also explored educational theories and practices that imply that geography not only *does*, but *should* matter to the design of educational programs. This argument holds that the conception of learning as a placeless activity not only misstates the fact, but hampers the effectiveness of educational programs.

I first considered the tradition of fieldwork in geographic research and education. The attachment to this practice within geography rests upon an argument about the proper settings within which to produce and reproduce knowledge about the world. In short, geographers have long argued for *in situ* observation as a means of learning about the world. I argued that the

spatial dynamics of field education render the body and its sensory and affective responses more conspicuous in field settings than in traditional classroom settings. Moreover, because fieldwork involves interactions with people and places outside of the school, ethical concerns are more prominent here than in the classroom, as teachers and students consider the impacts of field projects upon those people and places (albeit that these considerations may be ignored in practice in spite of their prominence).

I then introduced the theory and practice of place-based education. Like field education, place-based education involves spatial practices that bring students into contact with people and places outside of the school. As a body of scholarship, place-based education directly asserts what geographic field education implies—namely, that education must engage with its geographic context and that the school should be integrated with, not separate from, the outside world. The place-based education literature also foregrounds the sensory, affective, and ethical dimensions to learning.

With this theoretical background, I proceeded to the empirical examination of two geographic field courses that use the approaches of place-based education. This investigation showed that the role of place on student experiences and learning in field courses involves many more dynamics than the relocation of the learning experience into a new setting. Each student experiences the field setting through a myriad of geographies—some personal, relating to individual background, some constituted by the micro-scale activities of the student group, and some structured by larger socio-cultural processes. Student learning in these programs cannot be separated from the specific sensory and affective experiences that students have on a day-to-day basis. Moreover, these experiences are structured by but also constitutive of the student's understanding of the place visited: the intellectual aspects of the experience are dialectically interconnected with the sensory and affective aspects.

The role of place and geography in learning, then, is primarily that multiple geographies determine both what embodied experiences a learner can and cannot have and how the learner will understand those experiences. The reproduction of knowledge, like its production, occurs in embodied activities and experiences, and any account of these activities as occurring in a disembodied realm of ideas fails to apprehend its object.

Further Research

This thesis points suggests the need for further research in a number of areas. First, extending the breadth and/or depth of data collection on these types of courses would enrich the results. The data could be broadened by examining more different courses or by examining several years' iterations of these two courses. In either case, the greater breadth of examples and circumstances would reduce the significance of the numerous contingent details associated with these particular courses, the unique combination of students involved each year, and the happenstance external circumstances that impact the experience in any given year. Such a broader dataset might reveal additional dimensions to the role of geography in student experiences or might indicate that some of the impacts I have identified were simply artifacts of one course-year's peculiar character.

The data could be deepened through a longitudinal study of the participants from before their participation in the course until many years afterward. Such a study could reveal which aspects of the experience have more durable impacts and which are more ephemeral. Expanding the study cohort to include other similar students who do not enroll in the course could also provide a basis of comparison in these long-term impacts. If this cohort could be assembled before students decide whether to participate in the course or not, the researcher could assess why students sign up for such courses and what their expectations are for their experiences.

Looking beyond this specific type of course, research along similar lines on other forms of off-campus/out-of-classroom educational programs would expand the frame of this inquiry. The conceptual model of field education suggests several additional types of programs to study that have different characteristics from the two courses considered here: 1) study tours, 2) traditional field research assistantships, in which students work directly with a faculty researcher on scientific research projects; 3) local service-learning or field-study programs, where students work / study in the environs of their university; 4) summer or semester-long internships. Each of these types of program involves different spatial characteristics. For instance, internships are individual experiences, in which the group dynamics that were so central to the case studies examined here would not pertain. Likewise, local experiences eliminate the visceral immersion that was central to the students' experiences in the HOINA program.

Finally, further studies could examine the experience of place on traditional college campuses. Campuses have a distinctive landscape and spatial arrangement, but little geographic research has examined the connection between these features and student experiences and student learning. If, as I have argued, place matters in education, then such a study would show how that impact is articulated in this ubiquitous spatial form of American higher education.

In conjunction with this study, research should also examine alternatives to this traditional spatial arrangement. Distance or online education occurs through a very different geography from the college campus and promises to make higher education more affordable and more accessible to students with work or childcare responsibilities. If geography does indeed matter to teaching and learning, distance education programs provide a very different learning experience for students, and research to articulate those differences is crucial to understanding and evaluating the prospects for distance education.

Complementing these studies of formal educational programs, research on the role of place in education should also address informal educational activities. Cremin (1977) identifies

workplaces, families, popular media, civic organizations, and religious communities as sites of education of equal importance to schools. The wealth of existing geographic scholarship on many of these arenas would serve as a useful foundation for inquiry into how people learn through contact with and involvement in these social arenas.

Finally, this thesis shows that the (often unexamined) traditions of geographic research—conducting *in situ* fieldwork, interrogating context(s), crafting synthetic rather than reductive explanations—lay the groundwork for practices of research and education that take their own embodied geographies seriously. I have shown that visceral and affective aspects of experiences are central to student learning.

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Appendix A

Interview Protocols

In-depth Interview with Students Prior to Field Experience

Student background:

1. What year and semester are you in at Penn State?

2. What is your major?

3. Where do you call home?

Expectations for course:

1. How or from whom did you hear/learn about this course?

2. Why did you enroll in this course? Does it fulfill a requirement for your degree? Tell me how that works.

3. Beyond requirements, what about this course interested you? What led you to apply?

4. What did you know about the course before you signed up?

5. What are your expectations or hopes for this experience?

Experience in course activities:

1. What have you done thus far in the course?

2. How have you found these activities? Have they been useful, meaningful, or enjoyable for you?

3. Has the course so far met your expectations? If not, what is different? In a good or bad way?

4. Have your expectations for the experience changed as you've participated in course activities thus far?

In-depth Interview with Students Immediately after the Field Experience

1. Tell me about your experiences in the program.

2. What were your typical activities?

3. How do you feel about your experience? Would you do it again, knowing what you know now?

4. Looking back, which experiences do you remember most vividly?

5. Did anything surprise you?

6. Did anything happen that you found disturbing or frustrating?

7. Do you feel like you got to know the community well? Did you have chances to get to know individual community members?

8. What was your experience of interactions with the community members?

9. What did you learn about the place? Do you see the place differently than you did before this experience? What has changed?

10. Looking back on your previous maps and drawings of this place, is there anything you'd like to change? What and why? What have you learned about these places?

11. Thinking back to your expectations for the program, how did those play out? Do you think you were well-prepared for the experience? How could you have been better prepared?

12. Do you have a project you're working on for the course? Tell me about it.

13. Are you planning to do any follow-up with the community for this project?

14. Finally, do you think the course has changed you in any way? How do you feel about these changes—do they seem good or bad?

15. Do you look at the world around you differently now? Has this experience changed the way you see your home, the University, or any other places?

16. How would you describe your experience to family and friends?

17. Is there anything you learned that you try to share with others? If so, how have they responded?

18. Would you recommend this experience to others? Why / why not?

19. What are you doing now for the rest of the summer?

Relevant prior experiences:

1. What has been your previous experience with (Philadelphia / India)? Have you visited the area?

2. Can you describe your general impressions of the area you'll be working in? What do you know about the area?

3. This is not a test, just an exercise: can you draw a map of the area where you'll be working? Envision the place—what does it look like to you? Draw your picture if you can.

4. Can you talk me through what you've drawn?

5. Have you participated in any kind of community service projects in the past? What have you done? What have those experiences been like for you?

6. Have you participated in any formal service-learning courses (for school credit), at Penn State or at other schools? Tell me about those experiences.

   Intellectual context for the experience:

1. What do you see as the main social issues addressed in this course?

2. Have you taken courses that relate to these issues (e.g., human geography, sociology, political science, women's studies)? Tell me about those courses: what did they cover? What impact did they have on you? What stuck with you from the course? How did you feel about that experience?

3. Have you had any other experiences that relate to these issues?

In-depth Interview with Students while in the Field

1. Tell me about your experiences thus far. What have you been doing on a daily basis?

2. How is your living situation?

3. What have you been doing with your "down time"?

4. Can you draw a map that shows your service site, living space, and other important local spots? Don't worry about being 100% accurate, to scale, or totally complete—this will just help me see what you've been doing and will help us talk about this place in more concrete terms. How does this compare with what you thought before you came here?

5. Where are you in this map? What is your connection to this place?

6. Do you feel like you are getting to know this place well? Have you had chances to get to know individual community members?

7. What have you learned about this place?

8. On your map, can you mark important sites for this community? For some of the individuals you've spoken with?

9. How are you feeling about your time here?

10. Have you had any experiences that have struck you as memorable, moving, or especially significant? Can you tell me some of those stories?

11. Has anything surprised you?

12. Has anything happened that you found disturbing or frustrating?

13. Thinking back to your expectations for the program, how have those played out? Do you look at the program in the same way you did a month ago?

14. Is there anything you wish you had done differently to prepare for this experience? Is there anything you wish you could change about what's happened thus far?

15. What's happening for the remainder of your time here?

16. Is there anything that you are looking forward to, or worried about?

17. Is there anything you hope will happen (or, you'll be able to do/achieve) in the rest of

your time here?

Appendix B

Theoretical Basis for the Philadelphia Field Project

The Philadelphia Field Project is guided by a poststructural approach to understanding and combating poverty, as articulated in the work of Lakshman Yapa (1996, 2002, 2007). Yapa argues that conventional ways of thinking and talking about poverty prioritize economic issues, particularly income. This conventional approach limits anti-poverty interventions to efforts to increase incomes for poor people by creating more or better-paying jobs. Consequently, this framing of the issue also eliminates the agency of anyone without the particular expertise and tools required to create or manipulate economic activity, and of institutions not directly charged with economic development responsibilities.

Echoing Lyotard (1984), Yapa rejects grand narratives that identify lack of wealth and income as root causes of poverty. Instead, Yapa argues that each of the many material circumstances that are aggregated discursively under the term "poverty" is constituted through a variety of processes at many sites and through many institutions. By articulating the web of relations associated with issues like community health or public safety, Yapa argues, a myriad of sites of agency and intervention emerge. The Philadelphia Field Project therefore engages university students from a wide range of disciplines in research projects that apply the student's particular expertise and interests to address issues associated with poverty. These projects serve as illustrations of the multiple forms of agency that become visible within a post-structural view of poverty, as well as identifying concrete interventions that can improve quality of life.