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The Spatial Manifestation of Neoliberal Discourse: Mapping Chicago's Education Reform Debate

By

Sarah Bell

Accepted in Partial Completion
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

Kathleen L. Kitto, Dean of the Graduate School

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MASTER'S THESIS

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Sarah Bell

November 12, 2013

The Spatial Manifestation of Neoliberal Discourse:
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A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science

by
Sarah Bell
September 2013

Abstract
During the last decade, after thirty years of disinvestment in public education, the United States has rigorously implemented high stakes testing, the results of which have provided public school officials, politicians, and real estate developers with an identifiable pool of "failing" schools. This thesis focuses on the school choice debate as it plays out in Chicago's news media by exploring the city of Chicago's early implementation of school choice policy and by considering school choice policy as part of the larger neoliberal spatial project. The hegemonic naturalization of school spaces as "failures" or "successes" in Chicago has been perpetuated by an elite few who have access to the space-creating process of journalism (news reporting and opinion articles). These labels that schools take on have been a large part of the rationalization for Renaissance 2010, Chicago's most powerful piece of school choice policy. Renaissance 2010 (2004-2010) was an initiative that gave city officials the power to close 60-70 traditional public schools and replace them with 100 school choice schools, two-thirds of which are privately-run charter and contract schools. The research conducted in this thesis contributes to understanding how the dominant discourse surrounding the school choice policy debate manifests itself spatially, both in physical and theoretical space. This paper presents the school choice policy debate as it is deliberated in the news media by mapping, in physical and discursive space, the emergence of these discourses from news media as they shape the spatial identity of Chicagoans. The resulting maps and analysis show that the discourse of the spatial project of school choice policies in Chicago pathologizes the education spaces (schools and neighborhoods) that serve lower-income African American Chicagoans.

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Table of Contents

Abstract……..……..…..iv

Acknowledgements……..……..….v

List of Figures and Tables……..……vii

Introduction…….…....…..1

Chapter 2: Public Education Policy & the Contextualization of Human-Occupied Space…..18

Chapter 3: The Rise of School Choice Policy……..……....…42

Chapter 4: Mapping the Intersection of Social and Geographic Space….……..……78

Chapter 5: Presentation & Analysis of Results……...……..99

Conclusion……...……..…….…..…....134

Bibliography……..……....…….…….....……140

List of Maps, Figures, and Tables

Maps

Map 3.1 - Chicago & Surrounding Metropolitan Areas……...…….……..…..59

Map 5.1 – The Ren2010 Debate & Median Income…….…….105

Map 5.2 – Patterns of School Choice: Race & Renaissance 2010……..……..108

Map 5.3 - Frequency of Schools Referenced in the Ren2010 Debate.....122

Map 5.4 - Frequency of Neighborhoods Referenced in the Ren2010 Debate.....124

Map 5.5a - The Theoretical Real Space of CPS School Types Positioned by News Media Discourse……127

Map 5.5b – Theoretical Space with Theme Symbols Only…..……130

Map 5.5c - Interpretation of Degrees of Similarity……..……131

Figures

Figure 4.1 - Chicago Tribune & Sun-Times News Articles Pertaining to Renaissance 2010..82

Figure 5.1 - Bar Graph of the number of Chicago Tribune & Sun-Times Articles over time in six-month increments versus the percentage of opinion articles over that same period…...101

Tables

Table 3.1 - Top Ten Largest U.S. Cities and Related Rankings……..…….…..…...…...…..59

Table 3.2 - Chicago Public School Types….……....……..….....…...75

Table 4.1 - U.S. Top Ten Most Widely-read Newspapers……...…..…81

Table 4.2 - Chicago Tribune & Sun-Times news articles that reference Ren2010 by type.....82

Table 4.3 - Example of a contingency matrix used for MCA analysis……..…..97

Table 5.1 - Number & Percentage of Total Articles versus Opinion Articles from Reading Sample……...…….100

Table 5.2 - The letters and opinion pieces written for the Chicago Tribune and Chicago Sun-Times……..103

Table 5.3 – Percentages of schools mentioned by aggregated ZIPs based on median income……..…….…….106

Table 5.4 – Neighborhood Themes as they emerged through the coding process….…...…110

Table 5.5 – School Themes as they emerged through the coding process……...112

Table 5.6 - MCA output factor analysis for Map 5.5a-c…….…….128

Introduction

Society, Space, and Education in Chicago

During the 2006 school year, 16-year-old Stephen Flagg and many of his fellow schoolmates travelled several miles every weekday from the Austin neighborhood, a predominately African American area of Chicago, Illinois, to the mostly Latino neighborhood of West Town. Austin Community High School, where these students' older brothers and sisters would have attended was in its second year of being *phased out*. A phase-out is a method of shuttering schools that allows the current students to graduate from that school without accepting new students in subsequent years. The Austin students who were too young to make their high school's phase out cut had to take the journey on the Number 70 bus from an area of Chicago where the high school retention rate was already known to be very low. Their destination was Clemente High School.[1]

At 7.1 square miles, the Austin neighborhood is the third largest of Chicago's 77 official Community Areas. During the time Flagg attended Clemente, Austin had roughly 8,000 other high school aged residents[2]. It may seem strange that a virtual school desert could exist in a large city like Chicago, especially in a neighborhood with this many high school kids. But the situation that Stephen Flagg and his fellow Clemente schoolmates found themselves in was actually part of the fix for faltering public schools that was authored by Chicago's political and corporate elites as part of their efforts to increase Chicago's status as a global city by restructuring its public education system through school choice reform (Brogan 2013; Lipman 2004).

---

[1] The information of Stephen Flagg and the Austin High School closures and Clemente absorption of Austin students comes from a Chicago Tribune news report by Stephanie Banchero reported in May 2006.

[2] Based on the 2010 U.S. Census tract level data for residents between the ages of 15-19 years old.

By the time Stephen Flagg arrived as a student at Clemente, the school already had one year of *receiving school*[3] status under its belt, having taken in displaced Austin students the previous school year. With a new crop of freshmen and sophomores shuffled in from racially different communities in a city where high school students are strategically aware of territorial street gangs, severe tensions arose. Reports about Clemente's spike in violence started frequenting the newspapers; Chicago residents could read about 40-student schoolyard brawls, chokings, stabbings, and even parents beaten up while visiting the school. Consider this excerpt from a Chicago Tribune article reporting on the spike in violence in schools that were receiving displaced students as a result of the school closures:

> By early October, gang warfare erupted. School officials, security guards and students say the Gangster Disciples from Austin warred with the Latino Vice Lords and Lovers [from near Clemente] for control of the school. Students were jumped outside the school as they exited for fire drills. Fistfights broke out in the hallways. (Banchero, 2006)

The story of Stephen Flagg and Clemente High School is not an isolated situation in Chicago. Nor are violence and displacement simply inconveniences that all Chicago families with school-aged children endure when their city undergoes education reform. The circumstance that Stephen Flagg and his fellow Clemente students found themselves in after Austin High School was shuttered illustrates a larger and very crucial point: Urban education policy under the neoliberal agenda is as much a spatial project as it is an educational one. Yet it is not simply a struggle over geographic spaces, but also of social spaces and the discourses we use to construct them. Neoliberalism, marked by the notion that "individual freedoms are guaranteed by freedom of the market" (Harvey 2005, 7), has given rise to the very policies that are reconstituting the spatial layout of Chicago's public

[3] Receiving schools, sometimes called *absorbing* schools, are the schools designated to take in the students whose schools have been shuttered due to school choice policy reform.

schools and students. This type of education reform, often called *school choice policy*, treats public education as part of the machinery of production relations that Edward Soja describes as "simultaneously social and spatial" (Soja 1989, 78). Therefore, neoliberal values such as "choice" and "competition," specifically private competition, are applied to school reform so that public education can support the capitalist mode of production (Brogan 2013, 304). It is not surprising, then, that many of the proponents who advocate for school choice policy represent large corporations and other major players in the capitalist network.[4] These corporate representatives advocate for school choice policy in several ways including providing startup capital for charter schools, which are schools within the public education system that are run by private entities[5].

The research conducted in this thesis contributes to understanding how the dominant discourse surrounding the school choice policy debate manifests itself spatially, both in physical and theoretical space. By first understanding neoliberal policies as space-contingent and space-changing, I am able to present an aspect of the spatial manifestation of education reform policies in Chicago as a part of the greater neoliberal project[6]. Within the framework that considers school choice policies as part of a larger neoliberal spatial agenda that restructures urban spaces in order to reflect or support free market values, I explore the discourses of the political debate that emerges from such policies. By using Pierre

[4] Chapter three details the corporate network that supports the marketization of schools. See chapters four & five for visualization and analysis of the corporate and elite access to the directional influence of the school choice policy debate.

[5] Chapter three provides detailed descriptions of all Chicago Public School types including privately-run charters and contract schools (see Table 3.2).

[6] My use of the term *neoliberal project* comes from Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell's *Neoliberalizing Space* (2002), where they describe neoliberalism as a global spatial project that is embedded in hegemonic discourses (383), yet not monolithic nor distributed evenly across space. David Harvey (2005) also refers to neoliberalism as a project which required a discursive mass appeal or "consent" (38-41) in order to proliferate (see Chapter three). Finally, Michael Apple (2000) introduces school choice policies as part of what he calls a project to support neoliberal and neoconservative motives of connecting public services, specifically schools, to a competitive economy (60-62).

Bourdieu's theory of *linguistic habitus* and James Gee's work on *Conversations,* or social debates, I present the school choice policy debate as it is deliberated in the news media. This thesis considers the news media as one of the dominant *linguistic markets* that Bourdieu writes of when he states:

> [T]he more formal the market is, the more practically congruent with the norms of the legitimate language, the more it is dominated by the dominant, i.e., by the holders of the legitimate competence, authorized to speak with authority. (Bourdieu 2002, 505).

My project focuses specifically on news reports and editorial pieces on education reform in Chicago. I will show that the "holders of legitimate competence" have the most influence in news media production, where news media production is conceived of as a cartographic creation of place identity. This process will allow me to cartographically illustrate the discourses Chicago's school choice debate have pathologized the lower income African American spaces of Chicago. These discourses are hyper-focused on the schools and neighborhoods that educate low-income and majority African American areas, while at the same time the spaces of whiter higher income areas are largely left out of the debate.

Advocates and opponents of school choice are not creating actual maps when they strategically engage the legitimate markets of discourse, such as major media. Nonetheless, a community's spatial identity is shaped by the labels that schools and neighborhoods receive through the greater political discussions on school reform. These labels are codified in standardized test results, and are widely disseminated through the news media. The constant reification of hegemonic school labels naturalizes schools' spaces as ones of success or failure (Klaf 2013, 296-299). This naturalization process is carried out by the most dominant voices in the politics of place, and has intense socio-spatial implications for cities (Klaf 2013). Treating Chicago's two largest newspapers as sources of these dominant voices,

I have thoroughly geocoded the news articles that discuss *Renaissance 2010* (Ren2010), one of Chicago's most historically powerful school choice policies. Through this investigation, I have been able to produce maps that help to illustrate the spatial manifestation of the highly contentious debate of school choice reform. The maps produced from this thesis visually link the political discourse of neoliberal strategies to the space and society which the discourses seek to remake in its own image (Peck & Tickell 2002, 382).

In addition to the many proponents of school choice policy there are also many active critics. Both of these larger groups, along with vocal skeptics who fall somewhere between, disseminate their values through various means in order to convey their positions of how and why their preferred method of public education reform should be carried out. This type of active political discourse is specifically intended to shape and influence the outcome of the school reform debate. Pierre Bourdieu argued that the *linguistic markets*, or the places where these debates take place (such as church sermons, family dinner tables, scientific analysis, and media) each have their own level of legitimacy, which is to say that people give more credence to certain markets and less to others depending on the debate (Bourdieu 1991). This supports James Gee's theory that those who have social and political access to the most legitimate discourse markets will have a greater advantage in influencing the outcome of political debates like that of public education reform (Gee 2005).

As illustrated by Stephen Flagg's experience at Clement High School, school choice policy strategies are very spatial in nature. Accordingly, the political discourse used in the school choice policy debate is oftentimes spatial as well, by means of attaching values to schools and neighborhoods; these values can usually be categorized into labels of "success" or "failure" (Klaf 2013; Lipman 2004, 3; Lipman & Haines 2007, 479).

> This widely disseminated binary is central to the contemporary auditing culture and manifests itself in geography of "good" and "bad" schools. Labeling is a technique of governance used to identify, define, and classify school space and perpetuate dominant representations of schools. (Klaf 2013, 297-297)

These spatially-charged debates, and the labels that are attached to the schools and neighborhoods as spatial objects of the debates, are manifested within a community's perception of their own space in which they live (Klaf 2013).

As this paper will discuss, socio-spatial theories of education have been a hot topic of academic interest and political debate over the past decade and a half (Taylor 2007; Gulson 2007; Sundstrom 2003). In particular, these debates draw from previous theories on space claiming that modes of production, such as capitalism, actually produce the spaces that encompass society. Moreover, the socio-spatial layout of society shares a dialectical relationship with the mode of production. That is to say social space is not just a product, but also acts by changing or (re)producing the dominant mode of production (Soja 1989).[7] Social spaces and our positions within them are oftentimes taken for granted as some sort of natural order. Yet, sometimes a drastic shift in production calls attention to the reality that social spaces are human-created. For example, the shifts that involve transferring political weight from a socialist system to a more capitalist mode of production are commonly the result of a system that is left suffering from a slow-moving or catastrophic disaster, whether that disaster is perceived or real. The historically catastrophic Hurricane Katrina of 2005 is an oftentimes-cited example of the post-disaster economic shift in public education. The category-five hurricane displaced a large proportion of New Orleans' African American population, and consequently many neighborhoods' schools experienced very low

[7] Chapter two elaborates in depth on social space as a product that can also react back upon the mode of its own production, thus sharing the dialectical relationship as written about by Edward Soja.

attendance rates and/or structural damage by the storm, making way for the neoliberal project in public education to steadfastly root itself in the city's k-12 education system (Buras 2009 & 2011; Huff 2013). In public education, the transition from a fully public system to a marketized one is usually much slower than what took place in New Orleans, as the disaster that justifies such a transition is usually the human-caused disaster of schools and their neighborhoods left struggling after years of disinvestment (Klaf 2013) rather than by an abrupt catastrophe.

Public education in Chicago exemplifies the type of transition that follows the long-term human-created catastrophe brought upon by *disinvestment* (Katz et al. 1997, 147; Lipman 2009), whereby state and federal funding for public services are reduced over time, leaving the public services struggling. Another means by which Chicago has been categorizing its schools as spaces of success or failure is based on punitive standardized testing conducted since 1996, which creates clusters of schools that can be blamed for an overall struggling school district. Consequently, the weakened system with identifiable spaces of failure allows dominant voices to single out those spaces as those in need of reform (Apple, 2000; Klaf 2013; Lipman & Haines 2007). When schools are labeled as "failures" through punitive neoliberal mandates such as high stakes testing,[8] the reform that is used to fix them reflects the spatial goals of neoliberal policies as well; education reform that is justified by the results of underfunded schools and standardized testing does not necessitate a marketized public education system based on competition, "choice," and other free market values. Yet, as this paper will explain in chapter three, school choice policy is

[8] High stakes testing, like those implemented through George W. Bush's 2002 *No Child Left Behind* mandates, receive their name because they are tests that schools must administer, and carry a significant amount of reprimands dependent upon the test results. See chapter three for a detailed discussion on high stakes testing.

the dominant reform that is filling the void in a public education system that has been negatively impacted by disinvestment as part of a gentrifying strategy to globalize urban areas (Lipman 2007). In Chicago specifically, through the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) Plan for Transformation Act of 2000, Chicago politicians and developers demolished 19,000 homes in predominantly black neighborhoods in order to make way for mixed-income housing developments (Lipman & Haines 2007), displacing several thousand families in the process. The Plan for Transformation Act was followed by the subsequent MidSouth Plan, a subsection of the *Renaissance 2010* initiative. The MidSouth Plan specifically called for closing 20 of the 22 public schools in the African American Mid-South neighborhoods of Chicago. The MidSouth Plan and Ren2010's shutter-and-replace method to fix urban schools works in concert with the city's replacement of public housing residents with middle-to-upper-income families. Ren2010 aimed to transform the socio-economic face of poor African American neighborhoods into new spaces that attract middle-to-upper income residents and investors (Lipman 2009; Smith 1987; 2002).

School choice relies on the belief that when education is treated as a good within a consumer market, consumers (parents and students) will make rational decisions about which products and services (curriculum, teachers, and schools) to use. This quasi-market strategy that has seeped into the public education system in the United States over the past 30 years (Apple 2005; Lipman 2004) includes the idea that charter schools will lead to greater choice and a competitive education market where success is guaranteed to those who put in the work. Many have argued, however, that school choice actually exacerbates an already-stratified public education system based on socio-economic status and race (Apple 2000; Brogan 2013; Lipman 2004; Parrillo 2009).

Currently, Chicago reflects spatial embodiments of global capitalism within city-level public education; the aforementioned disinvestment in public education in Chicago was commonplace practice that began at least as far back as the 1970s (Lipman 2004) when the city had already solidified its reputation as a very racially segregated place. The strain that is imposed upon a public education system from cuts in funding leaves the struggling system open for scrutiny. Since the 1980s, the political battles over how to save struggling urban schools produced real legislation for Chicago Public Schools (CPS). The State of Illinois and City of Chicago have enacted neoliberal education reform policies that are tied to above-mentioned aims at making Chicago a globally attractive city to investors and middle-to-upper income families (Lipman 2004).

In 1995 CPS went through a major recentralization, making what was a highly democratic institution into one controlled by the mayor and a handful of mayor-appointed officials. By 1997 the city became one of the first in the United States to embrace school choice reform through the introduction of 15 new charter schools.[9] During the first few years, these charters were celebrated as a major success by Mayor Richard M. Daley and some other city officials and charter school operators[10] (Daley 2004; New Schools for Chicago website 2013). In 2004, on the wave of this victory, Mayor Daley announced *Renaissance 2010* (Ren2010), a powerful piece of Chicago public education policy created by a joint effort between city officials and the Civic Committee of the Commercial Club of Chicago (Commercial Club), with a membership made up of business elites who "consider needs and plans for the development of the Chicago metropolitan area" (Commercial Club website 2013). In the Commercial Club's own words, Ren2010 was an unprecedented

[9] In 1991, Minneapolis, Minnesota became the first U.S. city with charter schools.
[10] http://www.newschoolsnow.org/about-us/our-history/

"ambitious public school choice agenda" (Lipman & Haines 2007, 471) with the goal of "open[ing] 100 new schools and provid[ing] all students, regardless of socioeconomic background, with the opportunity to compete on the global playing field" (New Schools for Chicago website 2013). This plan was to be accomplished by the year 2010. Ren2010 was introduced by Mayor Daley to the public at a Commercial Club event in June of 2004 during a speech announcing a major revitalization plan for the suffering CPS system.

According to the Ren2010 plan, accomplishing this proposed major revitalization of CPS was a two-fold process: On the one hand CPS would be shuttering 60-70 traditional public schools that were considered to be under-enrolled, underperforming, or failing. While the terms *failing* and *low enrollment* might conjure up specific imagery in the minds of those envisioning an improved public school system, city officials never actually specified the criteria that would deem a school as *failing* or *under-enrolled* under Ren2010 policy. Therefore, Chicago residents by and large had no clear way of knowing whether or not their child's school was facing closure under Ren2010 as little as just months prior to closure (Lipman & Haines 2007).

The second strategy through which CPS would accomplish their Ren2010 goal of system-wide revitalization was to replace the shuttered schools with 100 new *school choice* schools called *Renaissance schools*, which would consist of one-third charter schools, one-third contract schools, and one-third as CPS-run performance schools (Lipman & Haines, 474). This meant that two-thirds of the 100 new schools in CPS would be run by private entities, and would not be bound to hiring teachers from the Chicago Teachers Union (CTU). By chipping away at organized labor power, Ren2010 falls in line with the neoliberal goal of accomplishing what is often referred to as "flexible labor" (Lipman & Haines 2007; Peck & Tickell 2002). Ren2010's wide scale shutter-and-replace strategy of "failing" or

"under-enrolled" traditional public schools with new privately-run schools signaled a bold commitment of Chicago's determined push towards quasi-market-based public education reform.

CPS's drastic measures for system-wide invigoration (shuttering and privatizing) were not welcomed by all residents. Critics of Ren2010 included teachers, students and parents who rallied against Ren2010 due to the socio-geographical hurdles that the initiative presented. The following chapters will describe the facets of Ren2010's opposition. However, their brief introduction here is needed for understanding this paper's discussion of Ren2010 as a political debate that has (two or more) sides that reflect the vested interests of the debate's participants. There are six specific hurdles that Ren2010 posed to many Chicagoans that are discussed in this paper. All six hurdles are inter-related, yet teasing these issues apart into their individual characteristics helps highlight school choice as a debate that is as much about the politics of space as it is about education.

The first two hurdles are student-centered challenges, but they also placed heavy burdens on parents, teachers, and CPS: 1) Shuttering schools would require transferring some students across town, sometimes across and into new gang territories; often, these same students were already at risk of dropping out. 2) Ren2010 would also place heavy burdens on schools that were designated to receive these displaced students. These schools are often called receiving or absorbing schools.

The third and fourth challenges are specific to teachers, but also have direct ramifications for students and parents: 3)Teachers unions were by and large against Ren2010 since dozens of schools that were once taught by members of the CTU would be replaced by schools that would not be required to hire any union teachers. 4) Among the many other aspects of Ren2010 that teachers opposed was that the new policy included

school *turnarounds,* where a school's entire staff could be replaced in very short notice under the guise of reform. 5) The fifth challenge that Ren2010 opponents took issue with is the initiative's gentrifying motives; Schools that faced the Ren2010 axe tended to have a high percentage of minorities, and were located in areas that had experienced levels of disinvestment unseen by neighborhoods where fewer or no schools were being shuttered (Lipman 2009), leading many Chicagoans to conclude that the law was a racially motivated piece of a larger objective to gentrify the city. 6) Finally, reviving a public education district by introducing free-market values of choice and competition meant that schools would now have to compete for private funding from corporations and individuals in order to succeed.

Ren2010 is marked by many classically neoliberal characterizations, such as disinvestment followed by the implementation of free-market values that celebrate private enterprise and the individual, and at the same time despise state-run collectivist solutions and support the diminishing of social programs. For this reason, Ren2010 cannot be myopically viewed as simply a Chicago-based solution for a Chicago-based public education system. However, the following chapter will demonstrate Chicago's particular history, historical figures, unique socio-geographical landscape, and global-political juxtaposition that must be accounted for when understanding the emergence of such a powerful piece of public education policy like Ren2010. Sociologists, geographers, and others interested in studying this type of school reform have drawn from socio-spatial justice theorists such as Edward Soja (1989), David Harvey (2009), and Henri Lefebvre (1976) in order to build a broad and respectable working theory of how public k-12 schools as a mode of production play a role in the spatialization of society.[11] The idea that market-driven strategies play a role producing social spaces is not new. However, as Chris Taylor

[11] See Pauline Lipman (2007), Michael Apple (2000), Suzanna Klaf (2013).

(2007) points out, cartographies of these "contemporary sociological theories of space" are greatly lacking particularly in the area of education, even as Geographic Information Science (GIS) burgeons. This thesis sets out to map these contemporary theories of space in public education that many scholars claim are lacking.

Historical Background and Theoretical Framework

Because I draw from many areas to formulate my spatial and theoretical analyses in order to understand the spatial manifestation of the school choice policy debate in Chicago, this project begins with a three-part literature review. The first section presents human-occupied space through the lens of social space theory, which considers space as a human-created construct that supports economic and cultural modes of production (Sayer 2000; Soja 1989). Thus, we can gain a deep understanding of society by how it spatializes itself. This presentation of social space theory continues, drawing upon Pierre Bourdieu's *field theory*, whereby groups and individuals can occupy an actual position in social space; this position is determined by a person's lifetime experiences and capital accumulation (broadly conceived)[12], as well as by the other occupants of that space.

After laying the framework of social space theory, I discuss how social space is packaged and presented as texts through which society and individuals understand their own spatial identities; social space is iterated and reiterated through these codifying texts. This section on texts will specifically focus on discourse as a tool used to contextualize social space. Discourse is presented as valued assets that can be "spent" in linguistic markets in order to achieve a desired outcome. In political debates like that of Ren2010 and school

[12] See Chapter two for an elaboration on capital and social space positions.

choice policy, the most dominate discourses are those that tend to have the most spatializing impact on urban areas (Klaf 2012; Lipman 2009).

The second part of my literature review consists of a critical analysis of two media forms through which spatial discourse is disseminated: news media and maps. Since only a relative few have access to cartographic and news production, this section will demonstrate the skewed nature of news media and maps, and the political power they are imbued with. Moving on, I build my argument of the spatial emergence of political discourse upon the theory of critical cartography that views maps as political documents loaded with biases. These biases begin with what the cartographer chooses to include or omit from their maps. For this reason, I present an example of map production in Chicago as an outstanding representation of the political act of cartography. In this example, cartographer Elliot Ramos has chosen to include Chicago gang data is traditionally omitted from government-produced maps. Rather than being a side note to this thesis, the example of Chicago gang maps will illustrate the spatial manifestation of social discourses. Furthermore, the cartography in this example is a quintessential instance of counter-mapping. Counter-mapping is the act of generating maps that challenge the social power structures that are reiterated through traditional maps (Peluso 1995). Nancy Peluso first coined the term in her quest for finding "[s]ub-national or alternative mapping strategies and their potential for confronting hegemonic government maps and map agencies" (1995). The discussion on counter-mapping and presentation of Elliot Ramos' Chicago gang maps – as concrete examples *of* counter-mapping – allows me to present the maps that I have made for this thesis as counter-maps that illustrate the spatialized discourse of the school choice policy debate and its relationship to other spatial variables, such as income and race. These maps will also illustrate that the overall school choice policy debate emerges across the entire

space of Chicago, but that the magnitude of the spatialized debate is stronger in lower income and high minority regions of the city.

Once the theoretical frameworks of social space and critical approaches to discourse and cartography have been presented, I trace the history of school choice policy in the United States. This historical timeframe begins with the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling against "separate but equal" mandates and the simultaneous rise of neoliberalism in America. I will show how Milton Friedman's and others' utilization of public schools as an arena to test free market theories was embraced by seemingly unrelated causes, such as racial segregationism, in the years following the *Brown* ruling. Several people opposed the practices that school districts took to desegregate themselves; some, but not all of this opposition was racially motivated. Anti-state-interventionism was growing during this time; this movement also shared a propensity to latch onto free market ideals. Rooted in David Harvey's argument that neoliberalism is deliberately sold to the public through manufactured consent (Harvey 2005), I show how neoliberals were able to convince many from across the ideological spectrum to eventually support school choice policies.

Finally, prior to arriving at school choice policy's rise in Chicago, I describe the current socio-geographical layout of Chicago in terms of racial ethnicity, global economics, and public education. This current layout is connected to Chicago's historical past, including the city's role in the American revival of neoliberalism. This leads directly into the history of Chicago's public schools as ground zero for the discursive and political appropriation of schools as the aforementioned arenas through which to test free market theories. I will elaborate on the drastic changes in governance that CPS experienced following the election of Mayor Richard M. Daley; this elaboration includes a discussion on

the corporate partnerships shared by Daley and other Chicago politicians, which ultimately led to Chicago's Ren2010.

Methods and Analyses

Chapter four provides the methods used to conduct this project's cartographic elucidation of discourse. This project was conducted with the goal of gaining a geographic understanding of the politically charged school choice debate. My hope in conducting this project was not to prove or disprove one method of education reform as better or worse. Rather, I am interested in the dominant voices, as they have the most power in the spatial layout of the city. Although, throughout this project's research, it has become undeniably clear that the school choice debate, particularly the discourse perpetuated by the proponents of school choice, largely omits the voices of the very people whom proponents claim to be serving. Therefore, my methods chapter begins by acknowledging that, when analyzing the contextualization of space through news articles, many voices in the overall debate are ultimately left out of maps made from this analysis. I provide the criteria for choosing which news articles were to be included in this cartographic analysis, and the method that I used to geocode these articles, i.e. make the news articles into mappable data. I then present how each map was generated following the geocoding process.

The results provided in chapter five are each accompanied with an analysis of their contribution to the understanding of dominant spatial discourse in political debates, particularly the school choice debate and Chicago's Ren2010. I have created five maps, all of which place the emergence of spatial discourse within the unique socio-geographical landscape of Chicago. Each of these maps highlights the spatial relationship between discourse and income and race variables, providing new insights for the very real politics of

space through discursive perpetuation of the "other." The story of Chicago as illustrated in these maps will show that, as schools and neighborhoods are used as tools in the school choice debate, the gravity of the debate is pulled toward lower income and minority spaces as "spaces of failure" that serve the "other." The results I provide in this thesis will also show that the education spaces serving whiter and wealthier residents are discursively situated as "spaces of success" worthy of repeating. Each of these five maps is thematic; they serve a geo-visual purpose in conveying a very specific theme as discussed up until this point. Four of these five maps depict physical geography insofar as they contain recognizable features that can be identified as the city of Chicago (city, neighborhood, and water boundaries, etc.). The remaining map (5.5a) is the theoretical space of the relationship between CPS school types and the spatial discourse connected to these schools through the news media.

I conclude by discussing this project's contribution to the critical geography of education. Critical studies of education and critical geographers have built an overlapping body of work over the past few years, as education researchers have begun to include space into their socio-temporal lenses (Ferrare & Apple 2010, 209-210). After presenting the implications and contributions of my results, I go on to discuss the recent events in Chicago. Ren2010 was only ever supposed to last until the year 2010, however this does not mean the overall neoliberal project, including school choice reform, has ceased. Chicago's school closures continue; privately run charters are emerging every year, and show no signs of slowing. Thus, the door is wide open for further research on Chicago's public school reform. The topic is also open to many various approaches. Therefore, I will conclude chapter six by presenting my own hopes for future research that can lead to a better understanding of the spatial manifestations of school choice policy.

Chapter 2: Public Education Policy & the Contextualization of Human-Occupied Space

> "If space embodies social relationships, how and why does it do so? And what relationships are they?" – Edward Soja in *Postmodern Geographies,* 1989

Social Space and its Contextualization

The seemingly natural order of social space

None of us are void of spatial configuration. We all exist and conduct our lives in space and over time. This space is relational, meaning for example that if we live in the East Bay, it is because there is a bay from which to be positioned east. Physical space is a simple concept for us to grasp. Yet, just as we exist in physical space, we also exist in social space, which is constituted by "the subset of physical space that is colonized, reproduced, and transformed by human societies" (Sayer 2000, 110). Social space exists within physical space, and is as much a human construct as our religious, academic, and political institutions (Soja 1989, 80). Like other institutions, social spaces play a part in creating or maintaining a society's social order by utilizing common cultural texts to convey a sense of spatial belonging such as nationalism, for example. Like physical space, social space is relational; the introduction or existence of other spaces contributes to a person's or group's space. As well as conveying a sense of *belonging,* an individual's or group's social space can also play a regulatory role in where that person would not belong. The hegemony imposed by socio-spatial expectations seems to oftentimes be easily received by many people who live in the societies that have created the social space. This acquiescence to one's spatial order is due to its slow and gradual hegemonic evolution, and consequently, its appearance of natural order (Soja 1989). For this reason, it is oftentimes challenging to contest social space.

Although human-occupied space is a socio-material product, Henri Lefebvre noted the insufficiency in recognizing social space *only* as a product without also acknowledging that it influences production as well: "Urbanism becomes a force in production, rather like science. Space and the political organization of space express social relationships but also react back upon them" (Lefebvre 1970, 25 cited by Soja 1989, 81). Edward Soja calls this relationship between socio-spatial structures and economic production the *socio-spatial dialectic*, an association in which:

> [S]ocial and spatial relations are dialectically inter-reactive, interdependent; that social relations of production are both space-forming and space contingent (at least insofar as we maintain, to begin with, a view of organized space as socially constructed). (1989, 87)

Since socio-spatial production is often most directly related to state and market powers, the layout of human-occupied space that contextualizes our sense of spatial belonging – while in constant flux – is an artifact that reflects and usually serves the state and the predominant market/mode of production.

Stephen Flagg and the thousands of other Chicago students and families who were shuffled, displaced, and disrupted by the neo-liberally inspired Ren2010 experienced rather abruptly the reality of space as a commodity that is controlled by those who control production. Austin Community Academy High School, shuttered by school choice reform with little notice, opened in 1890 and was once considered among the best schools in Chicago. Many historic figures and icons attended Austin. Chicago style jazz comes directly from Austin High School, where a handful of students formed the "Austin High Gang" in collective pursuit of music careers during the 1920s. If you were from Austin, you went to Austin High; the school was part of the spatial identity of Austin residents. The sudden change in spatial identity that was mandated – in the absence of local residential democratic

input – through policy co-authored by a wealthy group of business owners went against the seemingly natural order of the previously-known education system, and the greater socially constructed sense of belonging of the people who lived in the predominantly African-American Austin neighborhood (Lipman 2007, 167). As stated above, social spaces are not frequently contested due to their seemingly natural order. Nevertheless, residents directly impacted by the Ren2010 shakeups voiced their opposition of the unexpectedly abrupt changes in their spatial identity:

> "We need a traditional high school like Austin was. That's the bottom line," said Betty Robinson, a mother of four sons, only one of whom attends public school. "You have to have a home (school) to go to, or you are just left out in the cold. We've got to find them a space. We don't want them to drop out." (Dell'Angela 2007)

While the Austin neighborhood did not physically move, the neighborhood's sudden lack of a traditional public high school positioned Austin into a now-present category due to Ren2010's effect on the city's landscape. During Chicago's Ren2010 era it became possible to live in a neighborhood where schools were labeled as "failures" thus adjusting one's social space as well.

The emergence of new categories that many Chicago schools and neighborhoods were now placed into following the implementation of Ren2010, in turn, created a counterpart category of neighborhoods that were *not* subject to school closures. Voicing her dissatisfaction that her neighborhood underwent dozens of school closures, Kenwood resident Juti Brown recognized these newly created spaces:

> "These actions have destabilized education in a community that desperately needs performing schools," says Juti Brown, of the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization. "Transferring students from school to school – that's a violation of these students' rights. CPS would never have subjected students in Lincoln Park or the Gold Coast to this sort of treatment." (Ahmed-Ullah 2012).

Kenwood-Oakland is a neighborhood in Chicago's Mid-South area with 80 percent black population, while the Lincoln Park and Gold Coast neighborhoods are 86 and 90 percent white, respectively (U.S. Census Bureau 2010). Neither Lincoln Park nor Gold Coast experienced the massive school closures that the Mid-South and other predominantly minority neighborhoods did.

The evolution of relational positions in Chicago, characterized by schools of success and failure, is reflective of Bourdieu's field theory, which states that the positions we occupy are relative to the other occupants' positions within social space, as well as the amount of occupants (or groups of occupants) within that space (Bourdieu 1998, 9-12); if there existed a space where everyone had the identical level of educational attainment, then such attainment would not be a differentiating factor in one's social space. Bourdieu's field theory also claims that a person's field position is determined by the volume and composition of their capital (social, cultural, and economic) (Bourdieu 1986). An example of social capital would be the people with whom a person associates – social ties that can be used to gain more capital. In the case of affecting education policy, a person's relationship with a newspaper editor could be considered social capital if that relationship is used to influence editorials, which letters are published, and even journalism. Cultural capital is the knowledge that we gain through our cultural experiences that can be used to increase our volume of personal capital. For example, the experiences a person gains from a university education, in addition to the actual degree, is a form of cultural capital that consists of social languages[13] that can be applied in various linguistic markets for capital gain.

Furthermore, these differentiating characteristics that we all possess (education, gender, race, employment status, economic wealth, and so on) contribute to our *habitus*,

[13] See the next section for more on social languages.

which are the embodied dispositions or "feel for the game" that we learn over a lifetime of experiencing various differentiating circumstances (Bourdieu 1998, 8). An individual's habitus consists of a unique set of dispositions that "literally mould the body and become second nature… provid[ing] individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives."[14] The way we conduct ourselves through certain circumstances depends on the access to the various markets that our habitus provides and that market's rules of engagement (sanctions) within that particular circumstance (Bourdieu 1991; 1998; Foucault 1972, 25-26; Gee 2005, 35). *Markets* in this sense means any arena where a person can utilize the capital (social, cultural, economic) that they earn based, in part, on their habitus (set of cultural dispositions) in order to earn more capital.

The level of formality for each market determines the discourse necessary to engage that market (Gee 2005, 35-40). As the formality of the market increases, so does the required level of specialization necessary to gain capital in that market. The term *formality* here simply refers to the exclusive norms that a person knows to follow; street gangs, church picnics, and job interviews each have their specific sets of norms that a person follows in order to be recognized by others as one who belongs. While these three situations may all require the same level of formality, the specializations required to engage within them do not carry the same level of legitimacy. Groups in society ascribe value and legitimacy to certain specializations, and the more legitimate the specialization is the more authority it tends to carry, especially as the situation becomes more restricted to only the dominant discourses.

[14] Quoted from John B. Thompson's "Editors Introduction" to Pierre Bourdieu's *Language and Symbolic Power,* p. 12.

Linguistic habitus and discourse

James Gee refers to the specialized discourse required to engage within certain circumstances as *social languages* which enable us to "enact different socially meaningful activities" sometimes by borrowing discourse through a process of *intertextuality*, which incorporates the language of others in order to add value to our own discourse (Gee 2005, 35, 46-47). Gee uses the example of a medical doctor's capacity to write a prescription to their patient to illustrate the intertextualization of discourse; for most people, the prescription carries more value than an anecdotal recommendation by the patient's neighbor. Gee takes this example of legitimacy further by illustrating that value can be added through intertextuality when a person utilizes another person's identity to validate their own discourse. An instance of intertextuality would be if that same patient's neighbor were to cite their own doctor in their anecdotal recommendation. While the neighbor's recommendation is still anecdotal, it now has the intertextual added value of a doctor's opinion.

Discourses, even neighborly recommendations, are presented with intent; they are "rhetorical devices" that can show us "how social goods are thought about, argued over, and distributed in society" (Gee 2005, 2). Discourses are often part of a greater social discussion, or "Conversation" defined by Gee as:

> [D]ebates in a society or within specific social groups (over focused issues such as smoking, abortion, or school reform) that large numbers of people recognize, in terms of both what 'sides' there are to take in such debates and what sorts of people tend to be on each side. (Gee 2005, 35)[15]

Conversations are also intertextualized with added-value discourses. Many of those participating in Conversations add value to their own argument by citing various studies

[15] James Gee's term *Conversation* is, therefore, used interchangeably with *debate* throughout this paper.

that support their desired outcome. In September 2004, just months after Ren2010 was announced to the public, a study conducted by the Fordham Institute[16] reported that 38.7 percent of CPS teachers send their own children to private schools – a much higher rate than the 22 percent of non-teacher families in Chicago who choose private schools. Supporters and critics alike used this report to tout their estimation of the benefits or drawbacks of school choice reform. Chester Finn, president of the Fordham Institute used his organization's report to both criticize Chicago school teachers and promote school choice for all.

> "It's a damn shame that more of their [teachers'] own schools aren't good enough for their own kids, but everyone should be able to choose his or her children's school, teachers included." (Ihejirika 2004)

Daley-appointed CEO of CPS Arne Duncan used Fordham's report to justify Ren2010's shuttering of some schools in order to make room for charter and contract schools.

> "I think obviously it shows, particularly in those low-performing schools, that the board is doing the right thing," said Schools CEO Arne Duncan. "We need to create schools that both the community and teachers can be proud to send their children to, because if a school is just good enough for someone else's children, then it's not good enough." (Ihejirika 2004)

However, while Finn and Duncan used the report to add value to their support of Ren2010, Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) President, Marylin Stewart connected that same report to attack the study's funders, and to defend Chicago teachers:

> "This is a conservative group that supports contract schools. You have to question the objectivity," said Stewart, who maintains there are many reasons teachers choose private schools – reasons that have nothing to do with the quality of public schools. Those range from religious choices to parents who are alumni, to seeking after-school programs, she said. (Ihejirika 2004)

[16] The Fordham Institute is an Ohio-based conservative think tank that focuses on education reform. The institute runs several charter schools in the state of Ohio (http://www.edexcellence.net/ohio-charters/fordham-sponsored-schools.html).

These three contributors to the Ren2010 debate, Finn, Duncan, and Stewart, each have a well-attuned *linguistic habitus* in the sphere of the school choice Conversation. Linguistic habitus, defined by Pierre Bourdieu as the "anticipation of the sanctions of the market" is, again, our feel for the game that we learn through our life experiences; more specifically, linguistic habitus pertains to our dispositions within the linguistic market.

Finn, Duncan, and Stewart are well-versed in the rules of engagement in the most legitimate school choice debates. This is evident in each of their executive positions held at their respective organizations: the Fordham Institute, Chicago Public Schools, and the Chicago Teachers Union. The combination of elite executive status and their well-attuned linguistic habitus gives each of their discourses a lot of influence in the Ren2010 debate.

Spatialized discourse

In order to introduce Ren2010 as a spatial strategy, this section investigates the discourses used to discuss the initiative. The discourses of actors who have a mindful interest in the debate's outcome are situated within physical space, by discursively tying their arguments to schools and neighborhoods. Consider the following excerpt from Chicago Sun-Times editorial letter written by Mayor Daley published on December 31st, 2004, where he is boasting about his accomplishments that have made Chicago "a better place to live" over the past year:

> In 2004, we expanded pre-school, after-school and summer-school programs, and we're helping thousands of Chicagoans become part of their children's educational development through our Born Learning program. As a result of the city's campaign to promote early childhood education, in 2004, for the first time, every Head Start slot in the city was filled. And through Renaissance 2010, we intend to turn around those schools that are consistently underperforming so that we will truly leave no child behind.
>
> The CHA's Plan for Transformation is almost halfway toward its goal of building or fully rehabbing 25,000 housing units. More than 3,500

> families have been relocated from dangerous, unsafe high-rise buildings into new homes and new communities. And more than 4,000 residents have been linked to new jobs. (Daley 2004)[17].

To an outsider, these two separate paragraphs may seem to be related only in that they are both part of a lengthy list of Mayor Daley's self-proclaimed yearly accomplishments. Yet, as previously stated, Ren2010 was linked to the Plan for Transformation campaign that is gentrifying these "dangerous unsafe" areas from where these 3,500 families have been "relocated." What Chicago residents know when reading this newspaper editorial is that Mayor Daley has discursively connected Ren2010's expected success to the shuttering of schools and the razing of public housing in the mostly-black neighborhoods that were subject to the Plan for Transformation Act. Daley's high-valued and spatialized discourse on Ren2010 ties the objective of turning around troubled schools to the eradication of public housing and relocation of those areas' residents.

Demolishing public housing in the name of urban revitalization, as Daley touted in his editorial letter, is always accompanied by gentrification (Helms 2003, 474). Gentrification

[17] Note that in 1966, following the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a class action law suit was filed against the CHA due to the agency's systematic racial discrimination, and HUD subsequently became part of the lawsuit, thus the case was brought to the Supreme Court in the 1976 *Hills v. Gautreaux* landmark case (425 U.S. 284 1976). At the heart of the case, the CHA was found to have built the city's public housing units in already poor high minority areas, thus bringing swaths of highly concentrated poverty to already struggling areas in the form of housing projects. The initial response of CHA and HUD was to disperse public housing residents by tearing down several existing public housing units, and erecting new public housing buildings in areas by concentrating on the predominant race of the receiving areas (Popkin et al. 2000). The focus shifted from a race-focused dispersal strategy to "new policies emphasiz[ing] the poverty rate of the receiving communities" (Popkin et al. 2000, 917). Additionally, the provision of Section 8 housing vouchers as a means to provide very low income residents access to affordable and safe housing in private residential buildings became part of the "mixed income and dispersal strategies" for addressing high concentrated urban poverty. While the changing strategies shifted throughout the years since the 1976 ruling on *Hills v. Gautreaux,* one of the strategies that remained was the tearing down of several public housing buildings. The Chicago Plan for Transformation that is written about in Mayor Daley's letter to the editor was part of this "dispersal strategy" for dealing with areas of high concentrations of poverty. See Popkin et al. (2000) for two Chicago-based studies on this issue.

is defined by Nyden et al. as "a combination of household income change, property value increases, increased numbers of residential mortgages and business loans, and new construction," which displaces residents and changes the demographics of urban areas (Nyden et al. 2006, 4-5). Gentrification is a process that is part of the neoliberal project's global spatial agenda; this agenda is largely accepted as a natural process due to its discursive normalization (Peck & Tickell 2002, 382-383), exemplified in Mayor Daley's letter.

If social space does share a dialectical relationship with the economic modes of production, as Soja and others have claimed, then those who have the most to gain from the dominant modes of production employ their specialized discourse in the most widely-accepted-as-legitimate linguistic markets. This next section shows how Mayor Daley's and others' access to the journalistic process, particularly news media, allows their highly-valued discourse the capacity to shape the identities of place for media consumers.

The Creation of Social Space and the Subversion of those Spaces

Access to news media

> "There is an anomaly in our constitutional law. While we protect expression once it has come to the fore, our law is indifferent to creating opportunities for expression." – Jerome A. Banon in *Access to the Press – A new First Amendment Right,* 1967

> "[D]iscourses in the mass media contribute to the creation and evolution of place identities. Journalism, like many forms of discourse, is a means to articulate prevailing values. Rather than reflecting reality, the journalistic process contributes to creating it." – Peter D. Howe, in *Notes on Newsworthy Spaces: The Semantic Geographies of Local News,* 2009

The journalistic process that helps shape spatial identities is accessible to only a few. If access to this process is differential, as Peter Howe writes, then those who are able to express their discourses in the media control this particular branch of place creation. This thesis focuses on the "big 'C'" Conversations[18] within the academic study of discourse analysis. Particularly, this project investigates the spatial manifestations of the Ren2010 debate as it emerges in Chicago's two largest newspapers: the Chicago Tribune, and the Chicago Sun-Times. Mass news media, like these two outlets, represent the cultures on which they report, but also assist in maintaining the infrastructure for how people map out their own sense of place (Howe 2009, 44; Buchanan 2009, 63). News production is cartographic, since the business of journalism is ultimately one of place representation, and therefore implicitly maps places through "semantic geographies" (2009, 43). Howe defines semantic geography in local media discourse as "the actual process of situating people and places in space and relation to one another" (Howe 2009, 44-45).

[18] Chapter two gives a detailed explanation of Conversations as the political and social debates that society participates in, where there are identifiable sides that participators can belong to.

In the debate surrounding school choice policy, we expect to find certain types of people on each "side" of the debate (Gee 2005). Reading the debate as it unfolded in the Chicago Sun-Times and Tribune has unexpectedly revealed a powerful network of the sides of the Ren2010 debate that make it to the mass media market (see Table 5.2). Much like socio-spatial order, this differential access to certain linguistic markets, news media included, is taken for granted so often that it, too, is almost accepted as "natural" (Gee 2005, 71-72). The hegemony of the seemingly natural order of who may access certain linguistic markets is extended to the power that each market grants, i.e. the power differential is also taken for granted as "natural." A group of parents who meet in a coffee shop to discuss their opinions about Ren2010 *is* part of the Conversation or public debate about this piece of school choice policy. However, the chances of any one of these parents' opinions achieving mass media distribution is far smaller than the chance of an opinion that reflects the side of the Chicago Public School's CEO or the Chicago Teacher Union's President. Consequently, a large majority of parents impacted by Ren2010 will not be able to participate in the journalistic process of how Chicagoans understand their own place. This imbalanced access to the political debate is by design, as this access represents one of the many boundaries that dominant members of society construct in order to uphold the commonsense view of what is politically doable (Bourdieu 1991, 172-181) and who may do or say it. One of the reasons why these boundaries perpetuate is that the dominant voices in political debates stand to gain the most from restricting access to the Conversation. The profit in a greater political debate about school choice reform can manifest as a political victory, investment opportunities, or other forms of social and cultural, even monetary capital.

Those who do not possess the dominant linguistic habitus, or who do not have access to exercise it, frequently utilize strategies of subversion (Klaf 2013; Lipman 2004). The

parents and their children who were subject to shuffling and displacement through the political-corporate authored Ren2010 policy could and did organize and protest. Local School Councils (LSCs), and other groups representing parents and students organized a University of Illinois-Chicago-funded study of the effects of Ren2010 (Rossi 2004; Lipman & Person 2007). The results of this study revealed that the schools that were closed under Ren2010 were those that were the most disinvested over past decades. The study also demonstrated that the schools receiving students from shuttered schools were not given adequate resources to support the newly displaced students. This study's results led to the proposal of a moratorium on Ren2010 school closures. Yet even in the face of the proposal Arne Duncan and other city officials continued to shutter neighborhood schools. While the study was unable to stop school closures, the collaboration between the organized community members and university researchers demonstrates that the parents and school council members knew that utilizing the linguistic habitus from those who conducted the university study would intertextualize (add value) to their own discourse in hopes to slow or stop the school closures.

People frequently legitimize their own intents and purposes by employing the discourse of others who may possess dominant linguistic habitus. This value-adding discourse can come from a university study or journalism. Value-adding discourse can also come in the form of map production. The next section focuses on traditional map production as its own form of socio-spatial contextualization. Like journalism, it is oftentimes assumed that cartography is just facts on paper, and therefore free of biases. Maps, like other social contextualizing artifacts, also communicate the dominant side of debates by depicting human-occupied spaces as those that serve powerful interests. Maps can also be created to subvert subjugating messages conveyed in dominant cartography.

The section begins with a brief discussion on cartography's role in social space, and then moves into a brief history of critical cartography. The brief presentation of cartography's history is followed by a discussion on a series of Chicago gang maps, an example of a map that were created in spite of the historical resistance of government officials to keep such a map from being made.

Cartography's maintenance and subversion of spaces

> "It is, of course, an illusion: *there is nothing natural about a map.* It is a cultural artifact, a cumulation of choices made among choices every one of which reveals a value: not the world, but a slice of a piece of the world; not nature but a slant on it; not innocent, but loaded with intentions and purposes; not directly, but through a glass; not straight, but mediated by words and other signs; not, in a word, as it is, but in *code*." – D. Wood and J. Fels., *Designs on Signs - Myth and Meaning in Maps*, 1989

In his argument supporting "social space as a social product" Henri Lefebvre asserts that "every society – and hence every mode of production with its subvariants, i.e. all those societies which exemplify the general concept – produces a space, its own space," (Lefebvre 1991, 31). A straightforward example of a society's capacity to produce its own space, as Lefebvre contends, is through the mapping of political boundaries. Maps that consist of any human-constructed boundary demonstrate a model representing relational social spaces, whereby each side of the political boundary has a different socio-political set of characteristics such as laws, economic systems and/or economic strength, political systems and/or political power differential to name a few. In fact, political boundaries may characterize the most decisive representation of social spaces. As Frank Lechner points out in his analysis of Georg Simmel's discussions on space, "Boundaries themselves… are 'sociological,' not spatial facts," (Lechner 1991, 197), and the sociological facts of political boundaries are often contested by the group(s) of people who have something to gain from

the boundary's alteration or eradication. Most people perhaps, if they take the time, have no problem accepting political boundaries as socially constructed demarcations of physical space; thus connecting the dots from political boundaries' socially produced space to their hegemonic social order is not difficult. Political boundaries ranging from the local to the nation-state *are* frequently contested because of the differentials of power or injustices they oftentimes represent. It is not always as straightforward to demonstrate the manner in which social order is imposed by the spatial delineations that, unlike political boundaries, are rarely contested or even considered.

As a cartographer, I find that the discussion on the contextualization of social space is perhaps best conveyed through a critical understanding of cartography. The political acts of cartography, news media production, and policy making are among the many practices through which social order becomes institutionalized through context. Cartography itself is rooted in a history marked by the manufacturing of power and knowledge (Harley 1989, 13), which has shaped the spatial identities of societies. The spatial science of cartography and GIS creates models that link our perceived world with the physical world. There is an assumed association between the *reality* of physical space and cartographic representations of that space. Fastened to this assumption is the often unquestioned notion that mapped phenomena are independent of the cartographer; that the map's accuracy can be measured when compared to ground truth (Harley 1989, 2-4; Edney 2005, 713). Yet falsely exempting the cartographer from having bias ignores the political history of cartography as an exercise of dominance (Crampton & Krygier 2006). Western cartography surfaced as a production *of* the state and *for* the state. The interests of the wealthy and politically powerful are the driving forces behind such state-produced maps. While it may be accurate to claim that a map portrays, for example, the precise scalar location of coveted resources of state interest,

it is also accurate to highlight such a map's deficiencies, for instance the lack of representing a local community's reliance on those resources, or the possibility of impending political conflict over state-desired resources. Therefore, critically examining maps created for and by state interests can serve as a reconnaissance into the hegemonic social spaces contemporaneous to the map's creation, as well as into the production and reproduction of these social spaces.

The field of critical cartography, which emerged during the late 1970s and early 1980s, examines the rhetorical power embodied by maps. Poststructuralist and postmodern critical cartography suggests that "cartographic facts are only facts within a specific cultural perspective" (Harley 1989, 3). Therefore conducting mathematical spatial analysis, using precisely calibrated instruments and software, and collecting scientific data ranging from regional subject interviews to remotely sensed imagery without recognizing the role of the geographer/cartographer/GIScientist's cultural position, imposition, and subjectivity inadvertently ignores the emergence of biases embedded in maps. Deconstructing the map (Harley 1989) begins with asking questions like, *Who has access to spatial science training?*; *Is the field of GIS dominated by a disproportionate subset of the population?*; *Who or what is being mapped and why?*

Finally, perhaps the most obvious question to ask in order to understand how maps are among the many rhetorical devices through which societies understand their own socio-spatial layout is, *Who benefits from this particular map?* When admitting that mapping is political, it allows for a deeper (and perhaps more immediate) understanding of the consequences of social space that cartographies represent (Crampton & Krygier 2006, 15). When analyzing these spaces, it is important to remember that with every map's represented data, there are countless unmapped data. Maps simply cannot represent every

phenomenon that occurs within its analogical frame. The following example illustrates how investigating the *unmapped* or omitted data in maps can also assist in understanding an area's socio-political atmosphere, as well as highlight the political nature of maps.

Chicago's gang maps, or lack thereof

It is difficult to find an official map of Chicago street gangs. I set out on a quest to find out where gangs have a likelihood of occurring in Chicago since gang violence was one of the themes that kept emerging as part of the Ren2010 story as it unfolded throughout this project's research. Ultimately, my search for Chicago gang maps resulted in the discovery that the people who have Chicago gang spatial data *and* the capacity to produce official maps of that data do not want them to be publicly available. The story in this section is an exemplary portrayal of the map as a political document. This story reveals that, like any other political information, there will be groups who want to disseminate particular maps and groups who contest the validity of those same maps even more, while other groups still will strive to prevent those maps from "getting into the hands of the wrong people."

The Chicago Police Department (CPD) has produced gang territory maps created from their own data collection at least as far back as 2004, but the department is clear that they do not want their gang maps widely published. Thus, it is interesting that the CPD would provide these maps to the non-profit independent Chicago Crime Commission. The Chicago Crime Commission is comprised of city-based business leaders, and has been functioning since 1919 with the goal of improving justice and safety through public awareness (http://www.chicagocrimecommission.org). After the CPD gave their street gang maps to the Chicago Crime Commission, the non-profit organization published them in their book *The Chicago Crime Commission Gang Book: A Detailed Overview of Street Gangs in*

the Chicago Metropolitan Area (2012). Elliot Ramos, web producer at Chicago's WBEZ Public Radio, was among the many Chicagoans who read *The Chicago Crime Commission Gang Book*. Ramos decided he would use his web design skills to reproduce the maps as online interactive publications. To do this, Ramos needed to obtain the data from the CPD so that he could convert them into the correct type of files. The CPD initially rejected Ramos' data request. Finally, after repeatedly being refused the data, Ramos was able to obtain the maps through a *Freedom of Information Act* request, and went forward with creating and posting interactive web maps based on the CPD's gang data. Ramos' interactive maps are now hosted on WBEZ's website[19].

In September 2012, following Ramos' online publication of the gang maps, WBEZ's Rick Kogan interviewed Ramos on the radio station's *Afternoon Shift* program. Natalie Moore, news reporter and coauthor of *The Almighty Black P Stone Nation: The Rise, Fall, and Search for an American Gang* (2011), and Nicolas Roti, CPD Chief of Organized Crime, were also subjects of the panel-style interview. All three interviewees were Chicago residents during the time of this interview. Toward the beginning of the interview, host Rick Kogan asked Natalie Moore if Ramos' online versions of the Chicago Crime Commission maps are valuable for understanding gangs. Moore's response was blunt:

> No… and here's why. There are problems with the Chicago Crime Commission Gang book to begin with. So, I'll start there. Critics say that it's outdated. There's even a lawsuit from a man that says he's not in [the gang that the book reports him to belong]. The information gives the impression that everybody is still in this gang, and there may be people who have moved on because the information is outdated. But really the big problem is: *What is 'gang'? …In These Times* did a story about this issue earlier this year, and I love their definition: 'An unorganized smattering of largely impoverished unemployed men who rarely engage in a legal activity and do not

[19] http://www.wbez.org/programs/afternoon-shift/2012-09-24/chicago-gangs-abound-where-are-they-102612

> adhere to a code of conduct.' …the idea of *What is a gang member?* I've done reporting on that same issue. My impression is that when you do see black and brown youth in the city engage in criminal activity it's often labeled as 'gang related' when what we're often seeing is interpersonal conflict on the streets. (Moore 2012)

Moore brings up two very interesting and important points in her response. First, she says that the maps are outdated. Gang borders and members are fluid and always changing. Therefore, as Moore points out, the fluidity of gangs renders Elliot Ramos' interactive maps incorrect. Secondly, Moore highlights the difficulty of mapping a social group that is challenging to define: the gang member. The type of activity that the CPD might categorize as "gang" may be defined by someone else as something very different. This discrepancy of how the mapped phenomena is defined by various people is the main reason that Moore gives to support her answer that Ramos' maps are not valuable for understanding gangs in Chicago.

Natalie Moore is a seasoned Chicago-based reporter and renowned author on the subject of gangs. As she brings this level of expertise to form her opinion on the lack of value that the interactive gang maps have, Moore also supports her argument with the commonly held assumption that maps can be objective representations of reality (Harley 1989, 2). Moore's argument presents two issues that just about every cartographer encounters as they make or use maps: data currency and categorization; examples of this abound. For instance, before making a map of poverty in America, map makers need to decide the criteria for poverty. The U.S. Census Bureau has defined 48 different possible poverty threshold levels, based upon a "set of money income thresholds that vary by family size and composition."[20] With the various permutations of what could be considered poverty in America as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau, mapping each instance of poverty

[20] http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/about/overview/measure.html

as equal becomes problematic. Furthermore, if the cartographer does decide to use the Census definitions of poverty, they also have to ask the question "Is the data current enough to present on a new map?" Poverty data currency is continuously changing; a 1980 map of poverty in Detroit, Michigan looks very different from an updated 2010 version[21]. Yet the difficult-to-define and ever-changing social data does not halt the human desire to categorize people into discretely bounded groups, nor does it stop the production of maps containing this type of data. Natalie Moore's dismissal of the gang maps' value based upon their incorrect grouping methods and out-datedness represents one of the basic truths of maps that is also one of the most misunderstood: mapped data is outdated as soon as the map is produced.

The maps that Moore described as "outdated" represent another issue that no map maker or reader can avoid: maps are political. The political nature of maps is evident by the rejection that Elliot Ramos encountered when trying to obtain the CPD's spatialized gang data, which eventually led to Ramos' *Freedom of Information* request. During the radio interview, host Rick Kogan addressed this issue by asking CPD Chief Roti why the police department would stonewall the public when trying to get this data. Chief Roti responded:

> Specifically to the maps… I think police departments in general are wary of putting out information like that, especially into a medium that it can be sent out and duplicated, and reused in a way that you can't really control, and it can be taken out of context. (Roti 2012)

Like Moore, Chief Roti presents a critique that is not unique to gang maps. Maps have a long history of being used beyond their original intent. Nevertheless, cartographers still make maps.

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[21] The Detroitography blog, authored by Alex Hill, Matt Baker, and Matt Hampel, presents Detroit-centric cartography. This particular reference is an article that discusses two comparative views of the Urban Institute's poverty maps: 1980 Detroit Poverty vs. 2010 Detroit Poverty. http://detroitography.com/2013/07/19/detroit-poverty-maps-1980-vs-2010/

Chief Roti went on to reiterate Moore's point that gang boundaries shift over time, so once the maps are produced they can portray outdated information. Roti also cited the CPD's hesitancy for not wanting gang maps to be misused by gang members:

> We don't want to either glorify a gang, or maybe unintentionally cause a gang rift or another conflict based on, you know, you look at a map and say 'They got way more territory than us.' Or 'This map is wrong, and it's showing *them* when that's *our* territory over there.' We don't want to unintentionally start a problem. I also worry a little bit about when this goes viral, and you can link to it… I worry about painting a neighborhood, you know, with a brush. (Roti 2012)

After Chief Roti presents the problem of painting a Chicago neighborhood as gang territory, Rick Kogan, probes cartographer Ramos by asking whether or not he was worried about stigmatizing a neighborhood by publishing interactive maps of the CPD gang data. Chief Ruti instead interjects his own response: "That [point] not only goes into buying homes. That goes into businesses." Host Kogan clarifies his question: "I'm not talking about any commercial way at all. I'm talking about self-image." Ramos is then given a chance to respond, and states that he was, in fact, concerned that his maps could possibly cause residents to avoid the mapped gang territories. Ramos then continues:

> I was trying to, at least, get to the root of where… we keep hearing 'gang related, gang related, gang related. Violence, shootings, homicides,' and what-not. But there's nothing beyond that. It's gotten to the point where you open up the [Chicago] Tribune or Sun-Times every day, and the homicides are just rounded up. There are too many to actually dispatch reporters to. And you want to, at the very least, get behind what is the impetus behind that… What are the areas most affected? And we see when we look at the Trib[une] or the Sun-Times, [the newspapers have] started mapping out homicides, and you see they are in very particular areas all the time… and the tagline to that is 'It's gang related.' And in those communities you would want to know, 'How is this categorized as *gang related*?' (Ramos 2012)

Elliot Ramos' stated motivation for publishing the gang maps was his awareness of the massive exposure that Chicago residents have to gang data via Chicago's news media. In his

response above, Ramos points out that the gang related data that residents already read about daily *is* spatial, and that this spatial data is already shaping Chicagoans' spatial identity through news media. Also, Ramos states that Chicagoans have an interest in learning how gang related activity is distributed throughout their city.

About half way through the interview, after presenting the CPD's reasons for rejecting Ramos' initial data requests, Chief Ruti admits that not only has he looked at Ramos' maps, but also that they appear to be spatially accurate. Ruti then prevaricates this admission by reiterating the CPD's displeasure with the online publications:

> You gotta remember folks; this was never meant for mass publication. This is a working document that was meant for, internally, for the Chicago Police Department to help organize where we have to put manpower. (Roti 2012)

Chief Ruti is expressing the CPD's desire for the gang maps to only serve as internal documents for policing Chicago's streets, rather than to serve as what Mathew Sparke calls an "affirmation of nation" (Sparke 1998, 464), whereby the CPD would be affirming or even legitimizing areas of Chicago as gang territory.

Elliot Ramos' desire to distribute the CPD data to a wider audience clashes with the wishes of the CPD to withhold that data from the public. This political conflict between the goals of democratizing information and fighting crime in Chicago, as well as the problem of categorizing data into meaningful groups for the purpose of cartography exemplifies the politics present in maps and in the cartographic process.

The gang map example (or lack thereof) clearly illustrates that Chicago is a city where the choice to either publish or withhold spatial data is made with acute intention; where the legitimization of street gangs through cartography is highly contentious. Maps can serve as a discursive artifact that conveys for whom space exists by iterating and

reiterating the objectives of dominant institutions. As rhetorical artifacts, an official map's omission of a particular group of people also contributes to that group's identity just as much as its inclusion would.[22]

Just as the most commonsensical spaces potentially represent the most hegemonic, so too do the cartographic representations of that space. Because of the commonly accepted idea that scientifically manufactured maps accurately represent symbol-to-ground precision, maps have been used in courts of law as documents of truth upon which legal decisions can be made (Sparke 1998). Maps have also been used to solidify a sense of nationalism and identity (Harley 1987, 10). In some cases, maps have been created as tools of dissent, testing the commonly-accepted identities and objectification presented in them. Matthew Sparke elegantly articulates maps' agency *on* and reflection *of* social space when he writes, "maps contribute to the construction of spaces that later they seem only to represent" (Sparke 2007).

Elliot Ramos created a counter-map through mapping traditionally omitted subjects. Counter-mapping is the act of generating maps that challenge the social power structures that are reiterated through traditional maps. The term *counter-mapping* was first used in 1995

[22] See Mikel Maron and Erica Hagen's 2010 study on the Kibera slum of Nairobi, Kenya for a superb example of the historical cartographic omission of large groups of people. Maps of Kibera, Kenya's largest slum has between 200,000-one million residents, yet the area has traditionally been mapped as a blank spot. In order to shed light on the cartographically neglected spaces represented by slums, Mikel Maron and Erica Hagen equipped a group of Kibera residents with tools to create their own map. By tracking global positioning system (GPS) points of landmarks and transportation routes most significant to the newly-trained cartographers, the group set out to cartographically challenge the status quo produced in part by previous maps of Nairobi. The group created an information-dense subversive map confronting the long-term politically disingenuous ignorance perpetuated through the mapped representation of Nairobi up until this point. The people of Kibera plotted medical centers, walking routes considered safer for women, schools, places of worship, and many other geographical features the plotters found to be of cartographic significance (Hagen 2010, 42). The resulting map illuminated a version of Kibera's vibrant landscape depicting an area where spatially lively and active people live.

by political ecologist, Nancy Peluso. During that time, Peluso was seeking "sub-national or alternative mapping strategies and their potential for confronting hegemonic government maps" (Peluso 1995, 384). Her particular application of the idea that maps could possibly be created to challenge – instead of perpetuate – dominant political stories told by maps was made possible through the social and political conditions of academic critical cartography during the early 1990s.

Cartography is a highly specialized skill, just as writing for news articles and editorial letters is; these two arenas of space-forming and space-maintaining discourses are not the only fields through which social space is codified. The policies discussed in news media that define and defend human-created boundaries embodied in maps also represent for whom space serves. The next chapter dives into the political history of education in the United States from the mid-1950s up until Chicago's introduction of Ren2010. Using the same critical approach as critical cartography, this investigation explores education policy's role in (re)producing social spaces.

Chapter 3: The Rise of School Choice Policy

The American Historical Timeline of School Choice Policy

Spatial justice in public education

In order to convey how public education policy contextualizes social space, this section begins with the United States' most famous piece of public education policy, *Brown v. Board of Education* (347 U.S. 483 1954), and continues with an exploration of the historical timeline of school choice policy that ranges from the large scale and eventually zooms in on Chicago, Illinois and the announcement of Renaissance 2010. *Brown v. Board of Education* (*Brown*) was a direct response to what could be considered the U.S.'s most blatant socio-spatial delineating policy ever, *Plessy v. Ferguson*. The plaintiffs who brought the landmark *Brown* case to the U.S. Supreme Court beginning in 1953 were a conglomerate of four earlier lower court cases from Kansas, Delaware, South Carolina, Virginia, and Washington D.C. All four of these cases were challenging the era leading up to *Brown* that allowed states to segregate students within public school districts along racial lines by permitting "separate but equal" school facilities. This discriminatory practice was legally permitted during sixty years of preceding federal law set by *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which, in 1896, approved state-sanctioned segregation "qualified only by the limitations that the rights affected be social rather than political," (Blaustein & Ferguson 1962, 126). However, on May 17th, 1954 through a 9-0 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned *Plessy v. Ferguson* with their *Brown* ruling, by explicitly utilizing testimony to show that segregation did, in fact, impact the *social* rights of African Americans (Blaustein & Ferguson 1962; Cottrol et al. 2003):

> While they [witnesses representing the litigants] differ in their estimate of the worth of nonlegal data in arriving at a judicial decision, both groups are convinced that the segregation statues of twenty-one states and the District of Columbia were overturned

> solely on the basis of the sociological and scientific authorities before the Court (Blaustein & Ferguson 1962, 135).

The valid and necessary justification for overturning *Plessy v. Ferguson* was to achieve social justice. The issues surrounding both the *Brown* and *Plessy v. Ferguson* cases also included spatial justice, as the right to occupy a space regardless of race was sought by plaintiffs in both of these landmark cases, which is exemplified by Oliver Brown for whom *Brown* is named. Oliver Brown was one of the thirteen plaintiffs in *Oliver Brown et al. v. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. He joined the federal case because his daughter Linda Brown had to walk six blocks to her bus stop, and then ride the bus one mile to the segregated school even though the school for white children was only seven blocks from her home. By using travel distance as part of the argument for why segregation negatively impacted African American children, the social justice issue also becomes one of spatial justice. Furthermore the law of "separate but equal" supposedly meant that the public educational facilities, curricula, teacher quality, and other provisions for white children were equal for African American children in that same district**.** But in fact these school facilities that were designed to spatially separate children based on their race were usually physically inferior compared to white schools, as well as unequal in public expenditures (Cottrol et al. 2003, 54; 126).

While poor school conditions were among the many injustices that school segregation imposed upon minority students, the plaintiffs were not simply fighting for updated facilities that matched the quality of the white schools. *Brown* plaintiffs were fighting for the end of segregating the spaces where one may attend school based on socialized divisions of race. The underlying injustice did not lie in the fact that African American students were forced to be in the same classrooms together. Rather the core issue

rested in the official delineation of these children who "were in those classrooms within a larger system that defined them and their schools as inferior" (Ladson-Billings 2004, 5). During the *Brown* hearings in fact, when asked whether or not legal segregation negatively impacted the social development of African American children, Kansas University professor of psychology Louisa Holt stated that "(t)he fact that [segregation] is enforced, that it is legal, I think has more importance than the mere fact of segregation by itself because it gives legal sanctions… denoting the inferiority of the negro group" (347 U.S. 483 1954 as quoted in Whitman 1993, 60). It was this reason that the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, again, signified that the United States believed that in order to maintain a society concerned with the social wellbeing of all citizens, the country cannot simultaneously permit mandated segregation of its citizens.

Public Schools and the Geopolitical Atmosphere

The origin of all the lower-court cases that eventually constituted the federal *Brown* case was at the district level, and the cases were later brought to the city, county, or state courts, where all presiding judges felt compelled by *Plessy v. Ferguson* precedence to be unable or unwilling to overturn their respective states' adoption of a "separate but equal" public education system. Eventually, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) united all five cases into the federal *Brown* case, thereby bringing it to the national scale. The cases' multi-scalar progression, which eventually led to the Supreme Court's unanimous decision to overturn *Plessy v. Ferguson*, directly confronted the hegemony produced and maintained by the presiding "separate but equal" discourse codified in U.S. public policy.

Upon initial examination of *Brown* it may appear that the national scale is the largest possible spatial scale for gaining an understanding of the socio-political process that led to the Court's historic decision on this most famous piece of U.S. education legislation. However, the milestone ruling was also partially influenced by the United States' contemporaneous global geopolitical atmosphere. The Cold War was brewing during the 1950s, and the attempts to thwart the spread of Soviet communism with the idea that the United States was a free and democratic society was challenged by simultaneously fostering "separate but equal" policies. Indeed, even the U.S. Justice Department's amicus brief for *Brown* contended that "desegregation was in the national interest in part because of foreign policy issues" (Ladson-Billings 2004, 4). Ladson-Billings goes on to provide an example of the global geopolitical atmosphere's impact on the *Brown* decision by quoting a letter written to the Attorney General James P. McGranery by Secretary of State Dean Acheson:

> During the past six years, the damage to our foreign relations attributable to [race discrimination] has become progressively greater. The United States is under constant attack in the foreign press, over foreign radio, and in such international bodies as the United Nations because of various practices of discrimination against minority groups in this country… Soviet spokesmen regularly exploit this situation in propaganda against the United States… Some of these attacks against us are based on falsehoods or distortion; but the undeniable existence of racial discrimination gives unfriendly governments the most effective kind of ammunition for their propaganda warfare. (As cited by Ladson-Billings 2004, 4)

In this case, geopolitics at the global scale had influenced American public education at the school district level due to the message that intra-district racial discrimination sent to the international community.

It wasn't just the politicians and politically appointed who recognized the threat that "separate but equal" policies posed to the United States' global credibility as a strong

democratic nation. In their brief, the NAACP petitioned the Court by stressing the impact that *Plessey v. Ferguson* had on foreign relations:

> Foreign policy entered the briefs submitted by counsel to the Court. The lawyers for the NAACP wrote: 'Survival of our country in the present international situation is inevitably tied to resolution of this domestic issue.'[23] And in the brief submitted on behalf of the United States, *amicus curiae, i.e.,* as a friend and adviser to the Court: 'It is in the context of the present world struggle between freedom and tyranny that the problem of racial discrimination must be viewed… [for] discrimination against minority groups in the United States has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. Racial discrimination furnishes grist for the Communist propaganda mills, and it raises doubts even among friendly nations as to the intensity of our devotion to the democratic faith.'[24] (Blaustein & Ferguson 1962, 11-12).

The NAACP and their lawyers were correct, just as Secretary Acheson was, by claiming that allowing the persistence of racial discrimination in the United States provided fodder for the Soviet propagandists. Yet the immediate interest of the NAACP was not to fight communism. Nonetheless, by advantageously jumping to the international political scale to make their argument, the *Brown* plaintiffs were able to appeal to those who may not otherwise concern themselves with overturning the "separate but equal" policy.

The *Brown* decision is rightfully applauded as a large leap toward racial equality in the U.S., and the ruling is a clear example of how policy can lessen the social reproduction of spatial injustice. Nevertheless, the ruling did not end racism in America of course. Geopolitics' role in the socio-spatial justice of the American classroom did not end in 1954 either. Even today, completely understanding education policy requires knowing it by its geopolitical context (Apple 2000, 58), as this knowledge, more than being just ancillary, is

[23] As quoted: "Brief for appellants in cases 1, 2 and 4 and for respondents in case number 10, Supreme Court of the United States, Oct. Term 1953, p. 194," (Blaustein & Ferguson 1962, 315).
[24] As quoted: "Brief for the United States as *Amicus Curiae* in cases 8, 101, 191, 413, 448, Supreme Court of the United States, Oct. Term 1952, p. 6," (Blaustein & Ferguson 1962, 315).

sometimes the driving force behind some of the most powerful actors' interest in a particular policy's public reception. In fact, long before the *Brown* ruling, public education in the United States as well as other parts of the world has served as an arena to advance the socio-political ideologies of the powerful by presenting them as though they are in the common interest of all individuals (Apple 2000, 58; Lipman 2004, 14). This status of classrooms and school districts as a proxy for ideological battles would join the two forces of the racist-fueled anti-desegregation movement and new economic philosophies that were popping up in the post-war nation in an unlikely partnership that eventually would lead to the creation of school choice policy.

Brown II, Neoliberalism, and the Rise of School Choice Policy

> "'We have now announced,' wrote Chief Justice Warren, 'that such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws.' What the Court did not announce was the ways and means of implementing that decision.'" - Blaustein & Ferguson in *Desegregation and the Law: The meaning and effect of the school segregation cases*, 1962.

While the *Brown* decision is celebrated as the end of state-sponsored segregation in the United States, its implementation, known as *Brown II*, contrasted with the first ruling's egalitarian distinction (Ladson-Billings 2004, 6). The speed and degree of *Brown II* was drastically varied and uneven across the U.S. (Blaustein & Ferguson 1962, 186; Cottrol et al. 2003, 211; Ladson-Billings 2004, 5). Due to the ambiguity of *Brown II,* desegregation efforts were sluggish in many states. Many legal and education policy scholars argue that this inconsistency was due to the Court's failure to implement desegregation immediately upon the initial *Brown* ruling, and instead allow states to design their own desegregation plan at "all deliberate speed"[25] (Cottrol et. al 2003, 182). In fact many southern state legislatures

[25] "The judgments below (except that in the Delaware case) are reversed and the cases are remanded to the District Courts to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees consistent with this

fought the federal desegregation law head on by enacting laws that either made it effectively impossible to integrate or by explicitly prohibiting integration entirely (Cottrol, et al. 2003, 190; Ravitch 2010, 116).

A decade of violent events, mainly in the southern U.S., followed the *Brown II* ruling as segregationists resisted integration, not just in schools but in other public spaces as well. As a result, many school districts across the country remained effectively segregated. It was not until *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* in 1971[26] that the Supreme Court ruled that if and when schools could be identified along racial lines, those school districts' officials would be required to prove that such segregation was not intentional (Days 1984, 320). Upon failure to prove that racially distinctive schools did not occur by sanctioned means, school officials "would be required to use all tools necessary to dismantle segregated schools including the use of busing, where necessary to achieve racial balance" (Cottrol, et al. 2003, 205). The U.S. was also experiencing the Great Migration that took place during 1910-1970 as many African Americans migrated from southern states to the urban metro regions of the north for work during and after *Brown* (DeSantis 1998); the concentration of African American and other minority families grew in many urban areas while the phenomenon of *white flight* concurrently transpired, as white families moved from cities into suburban metro regions in large numbers (DeSantis 1998; Cottroll et al. 2003; Lipman 2004). Consequently, the degree of racially segregated housing patterns within city boundaries became increasingly stark (Cottroll, et al. 2003, 205-207; Lipman 2004, 5). As a result, 'forced busing,' where school districts transport students to intra-district schools with the goal of

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opinion as are necessary and proper to admit the parties to these cases to public schools on a racially nondiscriminatory basis with all deliberate speed." (349 U.S. 294 1955).

[26] See *Jenkins v. Missouri 1995* and *PICS* for additional landmark school desegregation cases in the United States.

racial integration, became the new default means for school district compliance for maintaining integrated schools as well as to overcome the social ills brought about by segregation.

The practice of racially integrating schools in increasingly segregated urban areas during the 1960s and 1970s fostered the growth of an already-existing anti-state-interventionist movement. While this anti-interventionist movement did not necessitate racism, there was plenty of overlap between those who preferred maintaining a system of segregation and those who felt that forcing parents to bus their children in order to achieve a racial balance was government overreach. Additionally, while opponents of busing were not always racist, as it did inconvenience many families, several people including politicians who were interested in maintaining a racist system jumped into the anti-state interventionist camp in order to obfuscate their racial motives, which were becoming obsolete on the national scale:

> There was, and still is, a backlash and resistance to forced busing that was reflected in local and national political rhetoric. In the early stages of school desegregation efforts, powerful whites resisted the movement with logistical arguments and legal tactics… Frequently, local politicians and school boards actually fostered the creation of "anti-busing" groups and conservative school boards typically set an agenda that followed the "least compliance possible" route of any mandate of desegregation… Republican Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina summarized some of these sentiments: "I have seen poll after poll involving citizens of all races, and the American people are fed up with the wastefulness of forced busing. I think it is high time for the Justice Department and all other aspects of the federal government to get out of this business and let local administrators run schools…" Helms' statement alludes to the economic efficiency of the market which is a cornerstone of Neoliberal and conservative American political rhetoric. (Parillo, 94-95)

Jesse Helms and various other politicians whose constituents preferred the former status quo of segregation were latching onto the burgeoning idea of the free market, known by

many today as *neoliberalism,* which experienced an American revival as an abstract academic economic theory in the halls of the University of Chicago during the 1950s. Neoliberalism requires that a substantial proportion of the public holds a strong level of antagonism toward collectivist approaches (Peck & Tickell 2002, 381), which made neoliberalism a natural fit for the confluence of anti-state-interventionists and anti-integrationists' fight against busing. Neoliberalism was only in its nascent phase during the initial days of *Brown II* and anti-busing efforts. Yet this laissez faire economic philosophy eventually would become the leader in the next major shift in the spatialization of the American classroom by appealing to the common sensibilities of freedom and fear that were vulnerable for exploitation. The next section addresses the neoliberal economic philosophy's appeal to the American celebration of individualism, and how the appropriation of education reform debates allowed free market values to grow from an idea among academics to the U.S.' most popular method of education reform.

The American revival of neoliberalism & its manufactured consent in public education

> "For any way of thought to become dominant, a conceptual apparatus has to be advanced that appeals to our intuitions and instincts, to our values and our desires, as well as to the possibilities inherent in the social world we inhabit. If successful, this conceptual apparatus becomes so embedded in common sense as to be taken for granted and not open to question." – David Harvey in *A Brief History of Neoliberalism,* 2005.

In the United States, those who stood to gain the most from the neoliberal conceptual apparatus – now the prevailing economic framework – accomplished the "construction of consent" (Harvey 2005) by appealing to the greater population's commonsense view of individual liberties and freedom. Indeed, one of neoliberalism's key proliferation tools is the appropriation of seemingly unrelated causes, such as anti-busing, through the use of

slogans that petition the sensibilities of a society's values and fears in order to "mask specific strategies beneath vague rhetorical devices" (Harvey 2005, 39). As evident in the political backlash toward desegregation methods infused with discourses of free-market values exemplified in the previous Jesse Helms quote, this appropriation is oftentimes accomplished by people who have the power and access to engage the formal markets of "linguistic exchange" (Bourdieu 1991, 502).

Neoliberalism began as a post-Great Depression idea in Germany, where the term's coiner, Alexander Rüstow, theorized that a strong state with a limited role in market engagement could prevent world economic crises from occurring (Hartwich 2009). The United States, however, was leaning toward (although not fully embracing) Keynesianism, another set of economic values that emerged during the Great Depression. Keynesianism is founded on principles of a strongly regulated market and social welfare. While World War II halted the development of Rüstow's neoliberalism, Keynesianism was gaining ground in many parts of the world.

Following World War II, neoliberalism was resurrected by a handful of enthusiasts in Europe and the United States. Among these revivalists of neoliberal thought was University of Chicago economics professor and later-to-be Nobel Laureate, Milton Friedman. Early in its inception, Friedman's variety of neoliberalism became known as *The Chicago School of Economics*, which refuted Keynesian economic theories, and is markedly more radical than Rüstow's neoliberalism of the 1930s[27]. Friedman and his Chicago

[27] In 1962, just as the Chicago School of Economics was establishing its footing, H. Lawrence Miller wrote on the distinctions between "Chicago economists" and neoclassical economists, citing the "polar position that he occupies among economists as an advocate of an individualistic market economy;… the way in which he equates the actual and the ideal market;... The Chicago preference for, and advocacy of, the free-enterprise economy is surely beyond dispute. Even a cursory glance at the work of Simons, Friedman, and others in the school reveals a strong preference for an

colleagues postulated that the private sector should play a bigger role in society and have less regulation, which would lead to a freer society. This idea is still continuously vended to the public in hopes of privatizing areas of the public sector.

Propagating the neoliberal idea to the greater public requires deliberately and concertedly transforming the commonsense role of the state by artfully weaving the ideas of *individual freedom* within the virtues of free market enterprise in all sectors. Participants in this effort attempt to convert society's view of the government's role from one that is responsible for providing a minimum level of social welfare to one that allows private entities to compete for success or failure with little government regulation standing in the way (Apple 2000, 59; Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001; Harvey 2005, 5; 40; Peck & Tickell 2002, 381). In this competitive environment of market logic, consumers are then able to choose from the most successful service providers. In compulsory public education today, this requires convincing a critical portion of the population that providing school choice through a market of schools will introduce an element of competition that forces schools to either innovate in order to attract students and thereby be successful, or be ultimately defeated by the market due to a school's failure to innovate (Ravitch 2010, 115). Furthermore, it requires that many believe the only way to achieve this new system of choice (where choice is equal to freedom) is through the private market, because it is ultimately held that government regulation and bureaucracy stand in the way of choice (freedom) and innovation.

Changing a society's ideological opinion of government's role is the pioneering "software" that paves the way for "roll-back" neoliberalism (Peck & Tickell, 389). Roll-back neoliberalism is marked by disinvestment and deregulation of government-provided

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individualistic market economy combined with a distrust of power aggregates and discretionary authority in government. (Miller 1962, 66)

services, and is justified by the notion that all individuals have access to the same amount of freedom, and thus only the bare minimum of public funds should go toward social welfare since everyone can provide for themselves if they work hard enough. The neoliberal framework also insists that allocating taxes to the public sector soaks up hardworking individuals' money, which then goes toward wasteful government programs. The rationale contends that those individuals could instead invest their money in the private markets – the very same private markets that proponents of neoliberalism proclaim as the guarantors of individual freedom (Harvey 2005, 7). Roll-back neoliberal policies' dismantling of the public sector was the leading method for free market policy in the United States during the 1980s (Peck & Tickell; Brenner & Theodore 2002, 362). Still, the progression of neoliberalism through roll-back means is not as simple as convincing a portion of the public that state programs stand in the way of individual liberty. The preliminary step of selling the free-market-equals-freedom idea is immediately obstructed by social welfare programs already in place (Smith 2002). The impediment that functional welfare programs pose to the growth of free market values is unwittingly strengthened by those who are content with these public services. As a result, overcoming this hurdle by manufacturing public consent requires a crisis of sorts within the system of state-sponsored services where the government's role is being questioned. That is to say, in order for private markets to "fix" a public system, the system must be ailing. During the hyper-politicization of public education during the post *Brown* years, neoliberals were able to display their ideas on the stage of public education due to the already-present mistrust of government mandates surrounding the busing issue and desegregation in general.

The process of neoliberalism cannot be reduced to a progressively linear procedure, as that approach "tend[s]to be insufficiently sensitive to its local variability and complex

internal constitution" (Peck & Tickell, 381-382). While the progression of neoliberalism is inescapably global, it is also is necessarily multi-scalar occurring in socio-political arenas at finer scales. These smaller "local neoliberalisms" as Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell have called them, "are embedded within wider networks and structures of neoliberalism," and become the sites where the institutional hardware of neoliberalism is installed (Peck & Tickell 2002, 380, 389). School districts, as previously stated, were already serving as a proxy for social and economic ideological battles that were influenced by global issues, and whose outcome could have global influence. Attributable to the collaboration between free-market enthusiasts, anti-busing folks, and libertarian movements in fighting "a common enemy of an intrusive state" (Parillo, 56) it seems fitting that public education was among the first sectors that neoliberals used as a testing lab for carrying out the conversion of the commonsensical view of the state's role.

School Districts as "Local Neoliberalisms"

Perhaps there is no better figure than Milton Friedman – America's father of neoliberalism – to illustrate neoliberals' ideological propagation via public school districts. Friedman saw public school districts as forum for discursively exercising neoliberal ideals long before it became the hegemonic template of modern reform in all sectors:

> My interest [in writing "The Role of Government in Education"] was in the philosophy of a free society. Education was the area that I happened to write on early. I then went on to consider other areas as well. The end result was "Capitalism and Freedom," published seven years later with the education article as one chapter. (Friedman 2009, A16).

Friedman is referring to his famous 1955 essay, "The Role of Government in Education," wherein he asserts that "in such a free private enterprise exchange economy, government's primary role is to preserve the rules of the game by enforcing contracts, preventing coercion,

and keeping markets free" (Friedman 1955). It is in this paper written just months after the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling, where Friedman introduces the idea of school choice in order to accomplish this "primary role" of government. He claimed that providing parents with school vouchers equaling the per-pupil cost that government already spends on public education funding will allow parents to become consumers of whichever school in the market suits their child's needs. Friedman asserted that the marketization of schools will require them to innovate to be competitive, thus a "wide variety of schools will spring up to meet the demand" (Friedman 1955).

Friedman's discussion in his "The Role of Government in Education" was also commandeering another debate in education that was co-occurring during the post-*Brown* years in the United States; many parents who sent their children to private religious schools felt that because their children were not using the public education system, they should not have to pay public school taxes in addition to private school tuition. Friedman utilized these parents' dissatisfaction to kick start his greater free market campaign:

> This arrangement would meet the valid features of the "natural monopoly" argument, while at the same time it would permit competition to develop where it could. It would meet the just complaints of parents that if they send their children to private nonsubsidized schools they are required to pay twice for education – once in the form of general taxes and once directly – and in this way stimulate the development and improvement of such schools (Friedman 1955).

Friedman's engagement of public education as the conduit for spreading the message of a "free society" that can be made possible through the private market casted many school districts as the "local neoliberalisms" that Peck and Tickell would later write about.

By the 1970s, the idea that school choice could replace busing practices as a means for desegregation was spreading (Bell 2009, 493; Ladson-Billings 2004, 10; Parillo 2009, 3). In

fact, even independent of the busing issue, the general notion of school choice was becoming popularized by many politicians and economists who made up the second generation of neoliberals that had, by this time, taken neoliberalism into the mainstream (Ravitch 2010). At this time, however, the politicians who supported school choice inhabited the fringes of their parties; no mainstream politicians had embraced the idea of inserting school choice policies into public schools. The application of free market values through schools was only an abstract academic theory when Milton Friedman wrote "The Role of Government in Education" in 1955. However, even though his ideas on the freedom of choice through the marketization of schools was easily accepted by those who were disillusioned by the state, it was not until the mid-1980s during Ronald Reagan's presidency when, under the advisement of Milton Friedman himself, school choice policy was first championed by mainstream politicians (Ravitch 2010). By creating a quasi-market of schools from which parents could choose to send their children, school choice would transfer much of the geographical responsibility of desegregation from the districts onto the parents (Parillo 2009). Thus, the responsibility of desegregation became one's individual choice/option rather than a guarantee by government mandate. For these reasons, the support in the rise of school choice policy was two-fold in that it was a more palatable alternative for groups who resisted racial integration via busing, and a test for anti-Keynesian free market enthusiasts. In order to understand how the Chicago Public School district served as a local neoliberalism where school choice policy could be tested, the next section investigates the socio-geographical landscape of Chicago.

The Socio-geographic Landscape of Chicago

Chicago is the largest city in the Midwestern United States, and the third largest in the United States. It was one of the many northern urban areas in the United States to experience a boom in its African American population during the Great Migration; between 1940 and 1960 the city's African American population nearly tripled (Campbell 1998). Today the city's African American population is roughly 893,000, and makes up 32.9 percent of Chicago's residents; at 1.2 million, Chicago's white population is 45 percent (U.S. Census 2010). Chicago is also home to a large Latino population at nearly 30 percent, which is almost twice the national rate (US Census 2011). Chicago was also among the cities that experienced the aforementioned phenomenon of white flight during the post-*Brown* years (Lipman 2004, 23), which led to extreme racial segregation patterns that still persist today. In addition to being the third-largest city in the United States, Chicago also has the third-largest school district (Ladson-Billings 2004, 9) – a school district that serves a starkly segregated population (see Table 2.1).

According to a 2012 report by the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research, Chicago remains the most racially segregated city in the U.S., even after undergoing the second largest decline in segregation among all major U.S. cities over the last decade (Glaeser & Vigdor 2012, http://www.manhattan-institute.org/html/cr_66.htm). Situated on Lake Michigan (see Map 3.1)Chicago is also considered the second-most global city in the U.S. after New York, and the sixth-most global city in the world based on scores of political engagement, cultural experience, information exchange, human capital, and business activity (A.T. Kearney 2010, 2-3) (see Table 3.1). Global cities are defined by Neil Brenner as "key spatial nodes of the world economy, the localized basing points for capital accumulation in an age of intensified globalization" made possible by the "shift toward a

city-centered configuration of capitalism with reference to two intertwined politico-economic transformations of the last three decades: the emergence of a 'new international division of labor' dominated by transnational corporations; and the crisis of the Fordist-Keynesian technological- institutional system that prevailed throughout the postwar period" (Brenner 1998, 2; 5).

CITY	POPULATION [1]	GLOBAL CITY [2] RANKING	RACIAL SEGREGATION [3] RANKING	SCHOOL DISTRICT SIZE RANKING
Chicago, IL	**2,714,856**	**2**	**1**	**3**
New York, NY	8,336,697	1	2	1
Los Angeles, CA	3,857,799	5	7	2
Houston, TX	2,160,821	7	9	7
Philadelphia, PA	1,547,607	9	3	*
Phoenix, AZ	1,488,750	*	*	*
San Antonio, TX	1,382,951	*	*	*
San Diego, CA	1,338,348	*	*	*
Dallas, TX	1,241,162	8	10	*
San Jose, CA	982,765	*	*	*

1 - U.S. Census Bureau 2010; 2 - AT Kearney 2012 rankings of the top ten U.S. global cities; 3 - Manhattan Institute for Policy Research 2012.

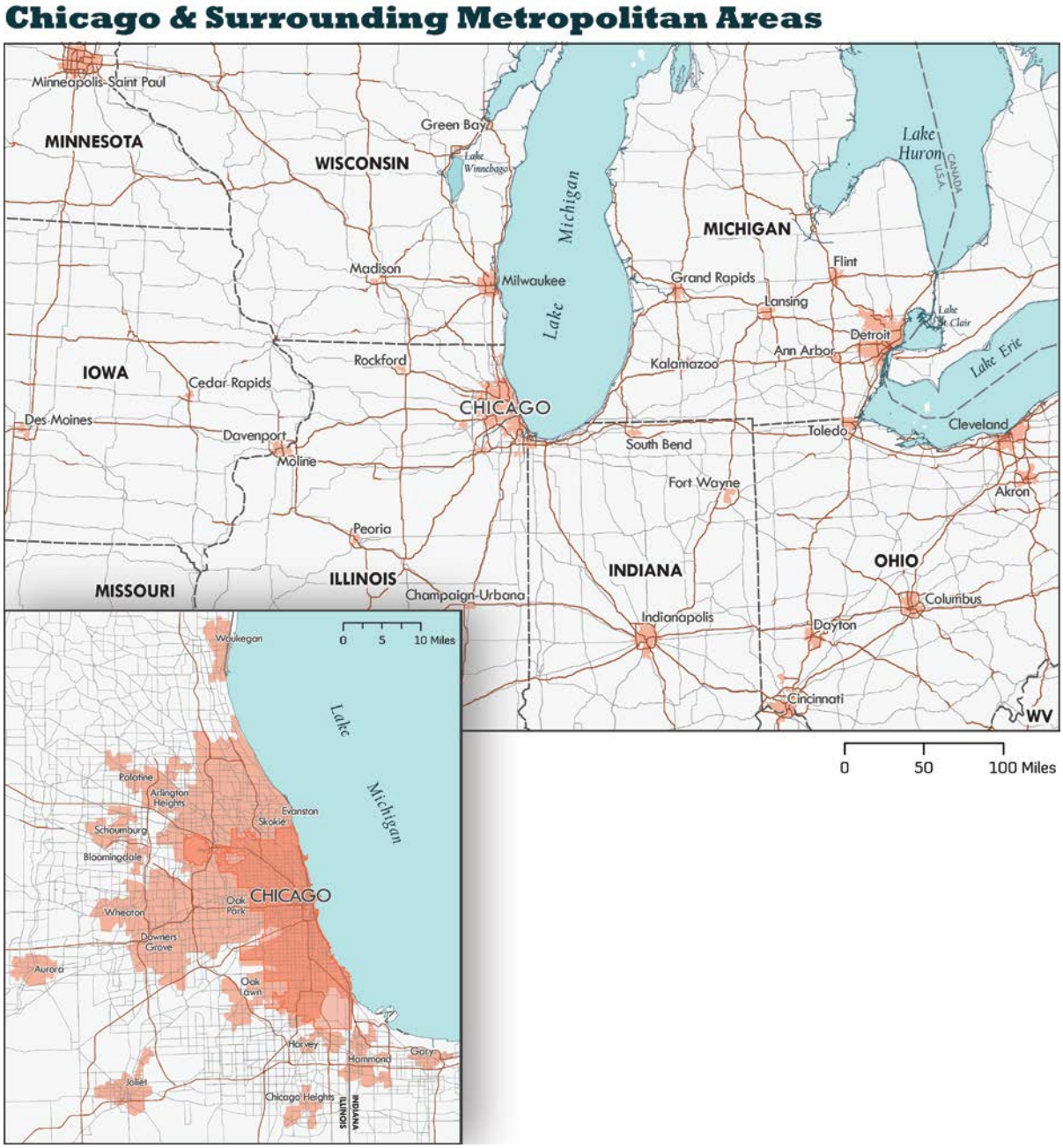
Table 3.1 – Top Ten Largest U.S. Cities and Related Rankings: The ten most populated cities in the United States, and their global city, racial segregation, and school district size in comparison to Chicago, Illinois. *no data or not in the top-ten ranked position.

Neil Smith argues that gentrification is a deliberate urban strategy found in these global cities, or "command-center cities," that rise out of modern-day neoliberalism (Smith 2002, 430). Smith describes gentrification as follows:

> The generalization of gentrification has various dimensions. These can be understood in terms of five interrelated characteristics: the transformed role of the state, penetration by global finance, changing levels of political opposition, geographical dispersal, and the sectoral generalization of gentrification. (Smith 2002, 441)

It is the "sectorial generalization" that Smith argues is the differentiating factor between the gentrification of the 1960s and 1970s, when city-center revitalization was highly regulated, and the gentrification of today, where corporate and state interests combine into a fierce arrangement of powers in order to gentrify (Smith 2002, 443). The urban areas that many suburban-bound Americans left behind due to white flight were severely disinvested as

neoliberal policies rose in popularity. This disinvestment that included public schools began as early as the 1950s (Lipman 2004, 5), and Chicago was not immune.



Map 3.1 - Chicago & Surrounding Metropolitan Areas. Map Sources: U.S. Census & Esri. Cartographer Sarah Bell.

School Choice Comes to Chicago

The de- and recentralization of Chicago Public Schools

Due to Chicago's distinct extreme socio-geographical characteristics (population, socio-economic and racial segregation, large school district, and prominent global economic status) the city's public school system frequently serves as ground zero for major national ideological debates. A pre-Ren2010 example of this can be found in former President Reagan-appointed Secretary of Education William Bennett's comments about Chicago's public schools. In 1987, Secretary Bennett flew to Chicago to address a group of Chicago business leaders. During this meeting, he used Chicago's suffering schools to express the U.S.' need to regain world economic leadership by way of labor production through schooling, a signature goal of school choice reform:

> In 1987, U.S. Secretary of Education, William Bennett visited Chicago and pronounced its schools 'the worst in the nation.' Bennett chose Chicago public schools to level a charge against urban school districts nationally and to promote his own policy agenda, blaming public schools for the loss of U.S. economic dominance and lobbying for a return to basic skills and 'rigor.' (Lipman 2004, 2)

Secretary Bennett's scathing comments about Chicago's schools angered then Mayor Harold Washington and many Chicago teachers. Still, Bennett did not back down from his comments. Instead he doubled down his unsatisfactory review of what he called an "educational meltdown" by offering a public suggestion to Mayor Washington grounded in Friedman-inspired philosophy:

> In addition, he said, the system must create a program of school-based accountability and parents must be given much more choice in deciding where their children attend school. As a way to do this, he reiterated one of his frequent themes: that the U.S. needs an educational voucher system. (Banas & Byers 1987).

Chicago's schools were, in fact, suffering. Many buildings were in great disrepair. Over half of the high schools where more than 40 students took the ACT college entrance exam scored in the bottom 1 percent nationally. Parents' frustration with the school system was extremely high, due partially to the 19-day teachers strike that had occurred just weeks prior to Secretary Bennett's comments (Banas & Byers 1987).

Even though it was impossible to deny that Chicago's public schools were struggling, Bennett's public comments drew mass criticism from many teachers, education scholars, parents, and others who had firsthand experience in urban public schools. Patrick Reardon, education reporter for the Chicago Tribune during the 1987 teacher's strike rejected Bennett's notion of fixing "the country's greatest domestic challenge" with school choice policies, calling the idea "fantasyland":

> [T]he Chicago public school system is a case of institutionalized child neglect that each year fails to provide even a second-rate education to hundreds of thousands of children, most of whom are from low-income families and need of good schooling to escape the grip of poverty... How do you tell parents to get more involved in the education of their children when they themselves are victims of the same dull-minded school system that is shortchanging their daughters and sons? How do you build character when, for many children of poverty, the reward of a high school diploma is unemployment? (Reardon 1988)

Mayor Washington and others found it even more offensive that the comments were delivered by a President Reagan-appointed Secretary of Education, since they felt that Reagan "has literally dismantled public education in this country" (Mayor Harold Washington as quoted in Benas & Byers 1987). Perhaps this feeling towards Regan's education policies came from the fact that Reagan, who opposed busing as a means of desegregation (Days 1984, 319), campaigned on abolishing the U.S. Department of

Education in order to get "big government" out of public schools, and proposed removing federal funds from schools as a penalty for underperforming on standardized tests (Ladson-Billings 2006, 1-3).

The Chicago School Reform Act of 1988

As previously stated, Secretary Bennett's tenure was during the time in U.S. history when school choice policies were finally embraced by mainstream politicians thanks, in part, to the influence of Reagan advisor Milton Friedman. But Chicago wasn't ready for the idea of full-fledged school choice policies. The city's response to its schools being presented nationally as an example of notorious failure was to diffuse CPS's highly concentrated power and enormous bureaucracy by creating Local School Councils (LSCs) as part of the Chicago School Reform Act of 1988. LSCs consisted of six parents, two community members, two teachers, and the principal. LSCs held, at this point, much of the power in a school's curriculum and management (Katz et al. 1997).[28] The 1988 reform decentralized much of the decision-making power from city bureaucrats into the hands of principals, teachers, and parents, thus making the LSCs one of the most democratic institutions in the city (Lipman 2007, 155).

While many praised the creation of LSC's in Chicago, several people criticized the 1988 Chicago School Reform Act, arguing that it ignored curriculum and pedagogy due to the heightened focus on school governance (Katz et al. 1997). But as Katz et al. observed in

[28] "Under the Chicago School Reform Act, voters elect a Local School Council for each of the city's nearly six hundred schools. Six parents, two community members, two teachers, the principal, and, in high schools, a student member (originally as nonvoting, now voting except on personnel issues) formed each council. Councils could hire principals, now stripped of tenure and placed on four-year contracts. The law also liberalized certification requirements and allowed principals to choose teachers for their schools. Councils exercise broad authority over curriculum and school management, and they control a sizable amount of state money (Chapter 1 funds allocated according to the number of students eligible for free lunch) previously routed through the central bureaucracy." (Katz et al. 1997, 121.)

their five-year study of observational visits to CPS schools, the disinvestment of Chicago's public schools had rendered many school buildings in such disrepair that, "before change [from the Chicago School Reform Act of 1988] could register in student achievement it would have to begin as a series of small victories over mundane problems that dramatically interfered with teaching and learning" (Katz et al. 1997, 125). The 1988 reform that helped start the restoration of dismal school buildings was partly assisted by the 1987 CTU strike. Even though this 1987 strike marked the ninth citywide teachers strike since 1970, this instance was significantly different in that it stirred up the community – parents, students, teachers, and business owners – in a way that made this strike something other than "business as usual"(O'Connell 1991, 3).

> Something snapped during this strike, something that broke up the business-as-usual mood – not only in regard to the strike that was keeping the schools closed, but concerning the way the schools functioned when they were open… Teacher Adela Coronado Greelye, a founder of [Inter-American Magnet School], called a meeting at her house on September 14, telling people, "We've got to organize." Out of that meeting came the decision to invite parents from other schools to weekly meetings… this was the origin of the Parents United for Responsible Education (PURE). (O'Connell 1991, 2-3)

On November 25th, 1987, just weeks after Secretary Bennett called Chicago's schools the nation's worst, Mayor Washington died of a heart attack during a morning meeting with his press secretary (Galvan & Strong 1987). Eugene Sawyer won the mayoral seat just one week later in a special election, but Sawyer was unable to hold the position for very long. In April of 1989, Democrat Richard M. Daley, son of Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley (served 1955-1976) defeated Sawyer to begin what would become the longest mayoral tenure Chicago's history. Just two months after his inauguration, Mayor Daley appointed a seven-member interim Board of Education who took action to further shrink the bureaucracy

within CPS by eliminating over 400 administration positions, which opened up the funds to return art and music teachers to the schools, as well as increase teacher salaries (Catalyst website, retrieved 2013).[29]

In 1992, even as a smaller bureaucracy allowed the city to reinstitute educational programs and raise teachers' pay, consultants hired by the Chicago business community predicted a $540 million shortfall in CPS revenue for 1996, leading to hundreds of layoffs for school clerks, library aides, and other support staff. This grave outlook prompted a constitutional amendment to increase school funding that was presented to voters on the November 1992 statewide ballot in Illinois. The issue was met by a corporate-funded anti-amendment campaign, and the 57 percent majority that the vote carried fell just 3 points shy of the 60 percent required for a constitutional amendment to pass in the state of Illinois (Catalyst website, retrieved 2013).[30]

In 1994, Republicans gained control of Illinois' legislative and executive branches, and the party finally had the majority needed to implement the changes to Chicago's schools that they had wanted to for some time. Finally in 1995, even though the budget shortfall was only half of what the 1992 forecast predicted, Mayor Daley joined Governor Jim Edgar and GOP leaders' Chicago school reform plan that would whittle the size of the School Board by two-thirds, and eliminate its democratic nomination commission:

> The mayor was given the power to appoint a five-person Board of Trustees and a chief executive officer (CEO) to run the schools… Teacher strikes were prohibited for eighteen months, and a number of educational and quality of work issues were eliminated as union bargaining issues. In short, the 1995 law consolidated power, authority, and money in Daley's office and in the offices of his appointed managers. (Lipman 2004, 36)

[29] http://www.catalyst-chicago.org/node/18754
[30] http://www.catalyst-chicago.org/node/18751

The re-concentration of CPS power into the mayor's office and a handful of Daley-appointed officials aided the state legislature's efforts to weaken the teachers unions. The 1995 modifications to the 1988 reform stripped much of the collective power held by the CTU (Lipman 2004, 39-40; Lipman & Haines 2007, 472; Paine 2008, 2).

High stakes testing and the "Chicago Miracle"

In addition to the abrupt pivot from the 1988 wider-spread democratic CPS model to one of re-concentrated mayor-appointed power and weakened teacher unions, the 1995 legislation also included mandated high stakes accountability testing. High stakes tests receive their name because they are created and administered so that their results can be used to make education policy decisions that directly impact schools and educators (Au 2007); the penal ramifications are such that the stakes for a school's performance are high:

> As part of the accountability movement, stakes are also deemed high because the results of tests, as well as the ranking and categorization of schools, teachers, and children that extend from those results, are reported to the public. (Au 2007, 258)

Chicago's students would now be subject to a "newly differentiated system of educational experiences or 'choices' that constitute new forms of internalized tracking within an already highly stratified system" (Lipman 2004, 41-42). Under the 1995 legislation, CPS teachers were compelled to teach students to meet the requirements of the academic achievement test in order to avoid school-wide penalization. In her authoritative work on the subject, University of Illinois at Chicago professor Pauline Lipman claims that high stakes accountability testing accompanied by a strict penal code, like gentrification, is part of the urban globalization strategy, which along with the centralization of schools is "widening the gap between schools serving low-income and high-income populations" (Lipman 2004, 3).

In 1996, only one year after installation, Chicago's practice of high stakes testing led to the academic probation of 109 public schools across the city, thus creating an identifiable pool of schools that administrators could now point to as in need of a fix. These were the schools that could now be labeled as either spaces of "success" or "failure" (Klaf 2013).

> School labels are based on social values and individual understanding (Hudak and Kihn 2001).They [labels of "failure"] are a mechanism intended to identify failure and name and shame schools publicly (Stoll and Myers 1998; Nicolaidou and Ainscow 2005)… Labels are a means of maintaining power, and hegemonize social values and practices (Armstrong 2003). Government and nongovernment stakeholders use the labelling of schools and districts as a mechanism to regulate behaviour. Labels are used to manage the Other by aligning school behaviour to government-established norms (Foucault 1980; Armstrong 2003). (Klaff 2013, 299).

The management of the "Other" as Klaff's above quote suggests, initially surfaces as probationary measures imposed upon the "failing" schools, which in Chicago, were schools that were drastically disproportionately high-percentage low-income students. Supporting her argument that high stakes tests widen the gap between low-income and high-income students, Pauline Lipman highlights that 71 of the 109 schools put on probation in 1996 were elementary schools, and of those elementary schools, the average poverty level was 94 percent (Lipman 2004, 43). The systematic identification of these 'problem schools' opened the gates for subsequent restraints on those particular 109 schools' LSCs that went beyond the 1995 restraints. 1996 was also the year that the Illinois State legislature passed the Charter Schools Law, approving the creation of 45 statewide charter schools, 15 of which were designated for Chicago (Catalyst website, retrieved 2013).[31] Charter schools are public schools managed by vendors, usually businesses or non-profits, through a charter agreement with the state.

[31] http://www.catalyst-chicago.org/reform-timeline-major-events-1979-2008

Two years following Chicago's aggressive shift toward high stakes testing, recentralization of executive control, and subsequent state approval of 15 new citywide charter schools, the city was again publically used as a stage for ideological battles on school reform. This time however, it was under a positive light when President Bill Clinton praised Chicago's new school reform model in his 1998 State of the Union address, urging "other communities follow Chicago's lead" (Clinton 1998). President Clinton's brief tribute to Chicago's embrace of neoliberal education reform, including high stakes testing, is often cited as a major stirring factor in the nation-wide drive toward similar reform that followed (http://www.catalyst-chicago.org/reform-timeline-major-events-1979-2008; Lipman 2004, 2). Chicago's model of school reform, sometimes called the "Chicago Miracle" (Sidarkin 2009), eventually became the impetus for George W. Bush's *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) policy (Lipman & Haines 2007, 472; Paine 2008, 2) that brought high stakes testing to all public schools in the United States.

Ren2010 advocates and opponents often agree that CPS is in need of reform. Violence and low graduation and student retention rates were among the main concerns for all sides of the school reform debate. By claiming that a competitive market-based school system will reward those who work hard enough, Ren2010 advocates appealed to the sensibilities of many Chicagoans who longed for a successful education system. Opponents of school choice policy argue that promoting a supposed system of winners and losers, where winners become so by virtue of hard work is highly problematic, since this suggestion ignores the years of systematic neglect and disinvestment that created the very situation that Ren2010 and school choice policy advocates are claiming to reform:

> But CPS leaders have succeeded in framing their agenda as the only choice against the 'failed policies of the past.' There has been no public discussion of the social, economic, political, and educational

> roots of the failure to educate so many of Chicago's children…. The Vallas[32] administration denounced any critique as support for the failed status quo…. Yet, resonant with dominant neoliberal policy discourses, CPS policies have powerfully reframed the meaning of educational equity and justice as standards and accountability. (Lipman 2004, 39-40).

The use of neoliberal market values as a means to achieve educational equality is at the heart of Chicago charter school proliferation, and is explicit in the Illinois Charter Schools Law, which claims that charter schools:

> …increase learning opportunities for all pupils, with special emphasis on expanded learning experiences for at-risk pupils, consistent, however, with an equal commitment to increase learning opportunities for all other groups of pupils in a manner that does not discriminate on the basis of disability, race, creed, color, gender, national origin, religion, ancestry, marital status, or need for special education services. (Illinois Charter Schools Law 2012).

Clearly, most advocates and opponents of school choice policies in Chicago are interested in increasing the quality of public education in their city. The debate among the two sides centers on the manner in which this goal should be accomplished, and for what purpose.

[32] Paul Vallas was the CEO of Chicago Public Schools from 1995 to 2001.

Renaissance2010 – "The opportunity to compete on the global playing field."[33]

The Son of Boss' privatization of Chicago

Mayor Richard M. Daley's father, Richard J. Daley also served as Chicago's mayor. The senior Daley was the city's longest serving mayor until his son earned that distinction. Daley I ran a political operation often referred to as the "Daley Machine" that included beefing up the number of Chicago city workers. Many argued that the increase in government sector jobs during the senior Daley's tenure was part of his political machine, in that "The [Democratic] party could provide 20,000 – 35,000 patronage jobs for the precinct workers who worked the precincts and provided constituents in return for votes" (Simpson 2006, 10). The elder Daley built up Chicago's municipal services to a robust level, and by many accounts, the foundation of strong municipal services was part of the reason that Chicago did not suffer as much as its Midwest industrial city counterparts during the 1970s economic crisis (Junger 2012). But to the surprise of many Chicagoans, the younger Mayor Daley's legacy includes privatizing much of the public municipal services that his father had established (Simpson 2006):

> Since taking the oath of office in 1989, Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley has privatized a host of municipal services. Quite unexpectedly, the "Son of Boss" has privatized parking garages at O'Hare Airport, sewer cleaning, office janitorial services, the management of public golf courses, pharmaceutical services, water

[33] This quote comes directly from the New Schools for Chicago (NSC) website, as they describe what their hopes for Ren2010 are: "In June 2004, Mayor Richard M. Daley, then Chicago Public Schools (CPS) CEO Arne Duncan, and leaders from the Chicago business community announced Renaissance 2010 (Ren10). The goal of this bold initiative was to open 100 new schools and provide all students, regardless of socioeconomic background, with the opportunity to compete on the global playing field. The Renaissance Schools Fund (RSF) was established by the Civic Committee of the Commercial Club as the fundraising and strategic partner to the Renaissance 2010 effort" (New Schools for Chicago website, retrieved 2013, http://www.newschoolsnow.org/about-us/our-history/).

> customer billing, alcohol treatment centers, abandoned car and parking ticket enforcement, office window washing, tree stump removal, equipment and fleet maintenance, and several other municipal services (Public Works 1994; Mahtesian 1994; Marshall 1995). In 1993, the Daley administration showed that its commitment to privatization had no bounds; it contracted out the management of the Richard J. Daley Center, home of the Cook County criminal justice system (Kupcinet 1993). (Smith & Leyden 1996, 10)

Through the tightly knit relationship that the Daley administration and the business community had, the selling off of city services to business contractors was just part of framework to make Chicago a global city. The second Daley's global city agenda also made it easier to implement a wide-scale urban development plan (Lipman 2004, 2 & 38-39) in an environment increasingly accepting of reform in the form of partial privatization of public services.

Renaissance Schools and the introduction of Renaissance 2010

The year 2002 was a big one for school reform in the United States. It was the year that President George W. Bush signed the bipartisan-supported *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) into law. Through NCLB, schools across the country would receive federal funds for conducting high stakes accountability testing administration. NCLB included its own penalties that schools would endure if they did not score well on these newly mandated tests. As the nation's public school districts were restructuring to adhere to NCLB, Chicago itself was again breaking ground on its own brand of reform. After nearly seven years of penalizing schools based upon high stakes testing performance, 2002 was also the year that CPS introduced "Renaissance Schools" (Catalyst website, retrieved on 2013).[34] Initially, Renaissance schools were created by shutting down a public school that was failing (see below) and replacing the staff so that the school could later be opened as a charter school.

[34] http://www.catalyst-chicago.org/reform-timeline-major-events-1979-2008

Chicago's first two Renaissance Schools were the chronically failing (according to the new high stakes sanctions) Williams and Dodge elementary schools in the Douglas and Garfield Park neighborhoods respectively. CPS closed, "turned around," and reopened these two schools after firing and replacing much of the staff with new principals, many new teachers, and essentially a new brand. This unparalleled announcement of closing and rebranding these two schools to later be opened as charters also included the permanent closure of a third school, Terrell Elementary in the South Side neighborhood.

On June 24th, 2004, with only one year into the start of two Renaissance Schools, Mayor Daley announced the start of *Renaissance2010* (Ren2010) a historically unequalled plan to revitalize CPS by closing 60-70 traditional public schools in order to replace them with 100 new schools. Daley's proposal of Ren2010 was delivered as an elaborate speech that took place at an event held by the Commercial Club, "an organization of the city's top financial, corporate, and political elites" (Lipman & Haines 2007, 472). In his announcement, Mayor Daley did not provide lengthy details on the criteria that would be used to decide which schools would be closed. In fact, the lack of explicit reasons for closing traditional public schools to make way for school choice ventures was a large part of Ren2010's opponents' discontent with the policy. Many Chicago residents who witnessed their neighborhood schools close in areas of revitalization felt that part of the unspoken criteria for closing schools under Ren2010 was a school's existence in a minority neighborhood:

> "It's all fine they want to come in with this grand plan, but it's clear this is not for us," said Shannon Bennett, assistant director of the Kenwood Oakland group and a member of the local school council at Price Elementary, one of the six grade schools slated to be closed in 2005. "We know change could have happened a long time ago, so why is it happening now? Because of gentrification. We're just bodies holding seats until the people they desire come here." (Dell'Angela 2004).

Today, the Illinois Charter Schools Law defines the term *low-performing* (the term "failing" is often used as a substitute) as a public school, "that is ranked within the lowest 10% of schools in that district in terms of the percentage of students meeting or exceeding standards on the Illinois Standards Achievement Test" (Illinois Charter Schools Law 2012).[35,36]

The skepticism felt by many Chicago residents that Ren2010 was hard-focused on minority neighborhoods was not unfounded. Several Commercial Club members who were influential in the drafting of Ren2010 also partnered with city officials in other simultaneous neoliberal pushes to globalize the city, including the *MidSouth Plan,* a subsection of Ren2010. The Mid-South area, a largely African American region of Chicago, is where 20 of the first 22 schools closed under Ren2010 were located; this massive closure of Mid-South public schools was the aforementioned MidSouth Plan. The Commercial Club formed New Schools for Chicago (NSC), a fund-raising organization established to carry out private fund distribution of Renaissance Schools, which initially raised $50 million dollars to be allocated to Renaissance Schools. The NSC website's history page on Ren2010 credits the organization's foundation for funding 100 new Chicago schools, specifically charters, while the webpage ostentatiously omits any reference to the roughly 70 neighborhood school closures that were as much a part of the plan (http://www.newschoolsnow.org/about-us/our-history/). These funds are not evenly distributed across schools, but are instead allocated at the discretion of NSC and CPS officials. This creates a system where schools

[35] Illinois Charter Schools Law, 27A-4k, 98th Gen. Assembly, 2012. Retrieved from the Illinois state legislation website, http://www.ilga.gov/legislation/ilcs/ilcs4.asp?DocName=010500050HArt%2E+27A&ActID=1005&ChapterID=17&SeqStart=164500000&SeqEnd=166400000

[36] A legal definition of "under-enrolled" was not readily available, nor was one found through an exhaustive search on the Illinois State Board of Education website, nor the Illinois State Legislature's website. However, "under-enrolled" is one of the criteria that has been used to close schools in Chicago over the past decade.

have to compete for private sector dollars in order to sustain themselves within the system of school choice (Lipman & Haines).

The new school types

The school types that were to replace the 60-70 neighborhood schools shuttered by Ren2010 were performance schools, contract schools, and charter schools. Each of these three school types were to make up one-third of the 100 or more new Renaissance schools. Charter schools exist within the public school system, but are open to any students in the district regardless of geographic boundaries. However, in spite of the open enrollment that charters boast, charter schools in Chicago serve 25 percent fewer special education students than neighborhood schools serve (Karp 2012). If the slots for a charter school fill, Illinois state law requires the charter to accept new students based on a lottery system with priority given to those who have siblings that attend the school (Illinois Charter Schools Law 2013). While charter schools are considered public schools, they are also considered non-profits that are run by private entities. Even though charter schools operate as non-profits there is still a "large financial windfall that can flow toward investors" in charter schools (Caref et al. 2012).[37]

[37] "The schemes have different forms, but all, at their core, are about transferring public wealth and resources to private hands through extreme leverage (debt) similar to the financing structures that led to the Great Recession in 2008. Private equity magnate and ardent charter supporter Bruce Rauner (namesake of Noble's* Rauner College Prep) floated perhaps the largest of these ideas in 2010. His plan was rekindled earlier this year after he became a very public and very vocal opponent of the CTU during its strike. If enacted, Rauner's plan would raise about $200 million in equity, borrow $600 million and purchase 100 CPS schools that the investor group would then lease to charter operators. In such a plan, the investor group would reap two benefits: First, they would receive steady streams of revenue from the leases, and second, they could claim tax credits from depreciation on the buildings." (Caref et al. 2012, 17) The quote goes on to explain three ways of how Rauner's plan will be a transfer of public wealth into private corporations and investors: "1. Public school buildings would be sold to private individuals, thereby limiting public access to places that are centers of communities. 2. The public would ultimately pay to lease back its own buildings. Charters' main source of operating revenue is per pupil expenditures and other support they receive from CPS. CPS is funded by tax dollars. Effectively, this plan takes the Chicago parking meter deal and applies

Like charter schools, contract schools are part of the public school system, and are run by private entities. Contract schools' admission criteria are essentially identical to charter schools. Contract schools operate under a contract agreement with CPS, which is also similar to charter schools. Finally, performance schools are traditional public schools that have competitive enrollment based on students' past performance and academic entrance exams. Overall, CPS has seven public school types (see Table 3.2).

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it to schools. These leases, which would need to be sufficiently high to ensure a profit for investors, drain money away from educating students. 3. Tax credits for wealthy investors limit available tax revenue for public projects and further shifts the tax burden away from those most able to pay and toward those with less, thereby making the tax system less fair" (Caref et al. 2012, 17).
*The Noble Network of Charter Schools operates 13 charter schools in Chicago.

SCHOOL TYPE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	ENROLLMENT CRITERIA
Neighborhood	Traditional public schools where any child may attend based on the school's attendance boundary.	358 Elementary Schools 50 High School	Any student living within the attendance boundary may enroll. Chicago-based students living outside of the attendance boundary may apply and be randomly picked by a lottery system.
Special Education	Schools for students whit special needs or disabilities. Like neighborhood schools, attendance is based on a geographic boundary.	6 Elementary schools 4 High Schools	Based on individual student
Military Academy	Highly-structured high schools intended to prepare students for college and careers. Students wear military-style uniforms. These schools offer military training.	6 High Schools	Based on academic achievement and enrollment interview
Selective Enrollment (includes classical schools & regional gifted centers)	Competitive enrollment school for high academic achieving students	10 Elementary schools 10 High Schools	Entrance exam and academic achievement
Magnet	Schools that specialize in subjects, such as languages, humanities, math and science.	37 Elementary schools 7 High Schools	Students who want to enroll in a magnet school are chosen at random through a lottery system. Students may apply to any magnet school in the city, although admission is not guaranteed.
Charter	Schools that are indep-endently operated by corporate or non-profit groups. Charters are not subject to the same laws or board policies as traditional public schools.	20 Elementary schools 71 High Schools	Enrollment criteria varies by school. Usually any Chicago student can apply. Oftentimes there are fewer open slots than applicants, in which case a random lottery system is used.
Contract	Contract schools are also run by private entities. They are considered part of the CPS system since all Chicago school students may apply to the enrollment lottery.	4 Elementary schools 3 High Schools	Enrollment criteria varies by school. Usually any Chicago student can apply. Oftentimes there are fewer open slots than applicants, in which case a random lottery system is used.
Small	Enrollment caps at 350 for elementary schools and 500 for high schools. Schools vary on focus. Each school has its own geographic attendance boundary.	14 Elementary schools 16 High Schools	Each school has its own acceptance criteria. All Chicago students may apply, but priority is given to students living within boundary and individual school requirements.
Career Academy	Career focused schools with vocational programs	5 High Schools	Schools vary. No attendance boundaries. Schools use a random lottery system when there are fewer slots available than applicants.

Source - Chicago Public Schools, www.cps.edu

Table 3.2 – Chicago Public School Types: School types within Chicago Public Schools for the 2013-2014 school year.

For whom does space exist according to Renaissance 2010?

School choice policy like Ren2010 is not merely tangentially related to the 1954 *Brown* ruling in that they are both public education policies within the United States. School choice policies gained popularity in the U.S. during the rise of busing, which was a federally mandated resolution to desegregate schools. Proposed by neoliberals who were simultaneously appealing to hangers on of segregation and cynics of government solutions, school choice policies presented a package deal that was enticing to anti-busing and anti-state intervention campaigns, while at the same time established market-based values via America's public schools. Furthermore, Ren2010 and *Brown* are both policies that rhetorically indicate for whom public education space exists. *Brown* does so by reflecting the U.S.'s social and political contextualization of space as one that is equal for all regardless of racial ethnicity, while Ren2010, in the words of its advocates, aims to foster education space as one that breeds global competitors.

The manner by which the spaces of Chicago are discussed regarding Ren2010 becomes the hegemonic atmosphere under which education policy is opposed or supported. In particular, neighborhoods and schools within Chicago are deliberated within debate of Ren2010 supporters and opponents through distinct terms that provide spatial identities for Chicago residents. These terms vary across space (neighborhoods and schools). The justification for how school choice policy is applied (or resisted) is determined by how these spaces are defined within the Ren2010 Conversation. The application of school choice policy – like neoliberalism more generally (Peck & Tickell 2002) – is very much a spatial strategy. One effective way to transmit spatial identities to residents of that space is through the media. For example, if residents are accustomed to reading about the failing schools and violence in a specific neighborhood, that neighborhood and its schools become a "space of

pathology" that warrants immediate action for reversing their spiraling trend (Lipman 2007). Conversely, if a school or neighborhood is constantly reported as a space of success, this school or neighborhood becomes the goal of spatial production or reproduction. This means that in the case of the neoliberal Ren2010 policy, which is closely tied to the large MidSouth Plan and other gentrification projects, "good model" schools would become the template for franchising the new Renaissance schools proposed by the law.

Since access to the journalistic and cartographic process is dominated by those who possess legitimate discourse, understanding how these processes create a sense of place calls for a geographic representation of the discourses found in news media. The next chapter presents the approach and procedures that I conducted for this project's research in order to understand how the legitimate discourse surrounding the school choice debate manifests itself spatially, both in physical and theoretical space.

Chapter 4: Mapping the Intersection of Social and Geographic Space

Introduction

In order to uncover how the legitimate discourse surrounding the school choice debate manifests itself in both theoretical and physical space, I have completed an exhaustive analysis on the Ren2010 Conversation as it plays out in the media. This analysis was accomplished in five methodological phases that are presented in this chapter. These phases included collecting several hundred news articles, thematically coding the discourse within these articles, followed by GIS, cartography, and multiple correspondence analyses (MCA) of the coded data. From these analyses, I was able to cartographically represent aspects of Chicago's socio-spatialization pertaining to neoliberal education reform as these aspects are contextualized through the media.

Treating news articles as documents through which residents understand their spatial identity does not detract from the multitude of factual data within these articles. An article reporting on the schools with the highest crime rate will be conveying truthful statistics about the crime rate in schools. Therefore, this project benefits greatly from the factual journalism that the sample represents; there is a wealth of information found in the news article data sources that simply cannot be provided by a literature review on school choice, or even Ren2010. Nevertheless, these facts that are able to reach the media still are brought forward by those who have an interest in conveying the story of Ren2010, whether it is to oppose or support the initiative. I maintain that the authors of each of these articles and opinion pieces were never writing for nefarious purposes. Nonetheless, the act of engaging media to report on Ren2010 – a policy that is very spatial in nature – is treated and analyzed in the same way as the act of mapping in the field of critical cartography. Hence,

the media sample for this project contains various types of reports ranging from broadcasting the contextualization of space that benefits the elite population of Chicago's residents and outside corporate and global interests, to motives that challenge the hegemony imposed by such interests. The methodologies in this project were conducted with this fuzzy boundary between reported facts and knowledge production in mind, while acknowledging that the process of journalism is a spatializing process.

Prior to a presentation and analysis of maps that are populated by data that has been thematically coded from newspapers, I would like to discuss the implications of choosing news articles as a data source. This discussion considers the issue of habitus and legitimate discourse, and parallels the study of critical cartography. My thesis up until this point includes Soja's dialectical framework wherein social space and dominant modes of production share a dialectical relationship that act and react upon one another. Furthermore, this framework also includes the idea that one's cultural set of dispositions (habitus) provides individuals with differential access to engagement within certain markets. The alignment between one's own habitus and the volume and composition of capital they possess determines their power within these markets (i.e. knowing the rules of the game is different than being allowed to play, and some players are granted advantaged positions). Therefore, many voices within the debate are not captured by news media. Choosing to use newspaper articles as the spatial data sources for mapping the debate of Ren2010 is similar to choosing to do an historical cartographic analysis of land use change only by looking at official maps while not including the stories of people whose historical land use may not have been included within the confines of official maps. Both methods leave out a large proportion of underrepresented voices in the spatial politics debate. Yet both would still uncover the most ubiquitous story for each region's human-occupied space.

I acknowledge that those who did not use the media to tell their side of the Ren2010 story were still active participants in the Ren2010 Conversation and the creation of their own space. This is a cartographic undertaking of how the greater neoliberal project, specifically Chicago's Ren2010 initiative, discursively contextualizes social space. By acknowledging that these maps omit the discourse of a large group of people who are impacted by Ren2010, these are counter-maps in the sense that they intend to shed light on how the dominant mode of production spatially subjugates the residents of Chicago through that very omission.

Phase I: Data collection criteria

The Chicago Tribune and Sun-Times news articles

The sources for this project's reading sample data are the Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Sun-Times newspapers. These two newspapers are the city's most widely read, and according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations' 2012 report, the 9th (Tribune) and 10th (Sun-Times) most widely read newspapers in the United States with a regular daily readership of 414,590 and 422,335 and Sunday readerships of 779,440 and 434,861 respectively (see Table 4.1). Due to the widespread popular reach of the Chicago Tribune and Sun-Times, this thesis considers these two media outlets as excellent resources for uncovering the discursive manner by which Chicago residents are spatialized in relation to neoliberal education reform, namely Ren2010.

I purchased online membership subscriptions to the Chicago Sun-Times' and Tribune's archives with the assistance of a grant from Huxley College at Western Washington University. The Chicago Tribune archives search engine is powered by ProQuest Archiver, and the Chicago Sun-Times archives search engine is powered by

Newslibary.com. The databases for both of these newspaper archives contain articles and opinion pieces that date back long before the advent of Ren2010 until present day, which ensures that a complete temporality[38] is captured in this socio-spatial cartographic project.

Rank	Newspaper	Daily Circulation	Sunday Circulation	Owner
1	The Wall Street Journal	2,118,315	2,078,564	News Corporation
2	USA Today	1,817,446		Gannett Company
3	The New York Times	1,586,757	2,003,247	The New York Times Company
4	Los Angeles Times	605,243	948,889	Tribune Company
5	San Jose Mercury News	575,786	690,258	MediaNews Group
6	The Washington Post	507,615	719,301	The Washington Post Company
7	Daily News	530,924	584,658	Daily News, L.P.
8	New York Post	555,327	434,392	News Corporation
9	Chicago Tribune	414,590	779,440	Tribune Company
10	Chicago Sun-Times	422,335	434,861	Sun-Times Media Group

Data Source: The Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2011.

Table 4.1 – U.S. top ten most widely-read newspapers (the USA Today's Sunday circulation was not reported in the Audit Bureau of Circulations 2011).

At least one of the following case-insensitive strings of letters had to be present within the entire article for a news or opinion article to be considered in this project's reading sample: *renaissance 2010*, *renaissance2010*, *ren2010* or *ren 2010*. 100 percent of the articles that were returned upon using these search terms for both newspaper archives were included in the sample. This provided a sample consisting of 173 and 224 pieces written in the Chicago Tribune and Sun-Times, respectively, for a total of 397 articles. Yet, there were a handful of reprinted articles, which brought the actual total of the Chicago Sun-Times articles down to 216, for a grand total of 389 articles between the two papers. Of these 389 articles, 298 were traditional news reporting (articles), 24 were editorials, 56 were letters to the editor, eight were announcements, two were special columns, and one was a newspaper political endorsement (see Table 4.2 & Figure 4.1 for the total article breakdown by type).

[38] The timeline referred to here is from the time the first article to the most recent that refers *Renaissance 2010*. The policy's stated ending date was 2010, yet the same practices from Ren2010 are still occurring in Chicago, as discussed in chapter five.

For the purpose of this study, the collective term for all of these written pieces will be *articles*. Their specific type will be referenced whenever this distinction is necessary.

Chicago Tribune	
Letters	20
Editorials	12
Articles	135
Political Endorsements	1
Announcements	5
Total Chicago Tribune	**173**
Chicago Sun-Times	
Letters	36
Editorials	12
Articles	163
Special Columns	2
Announcments	3
Total Sun Times	**216**
TOTAL WRITINGS	**389**

Table 4.2 – Chicago Tribune & Sun-Times news articles that reference Ren2010 by type

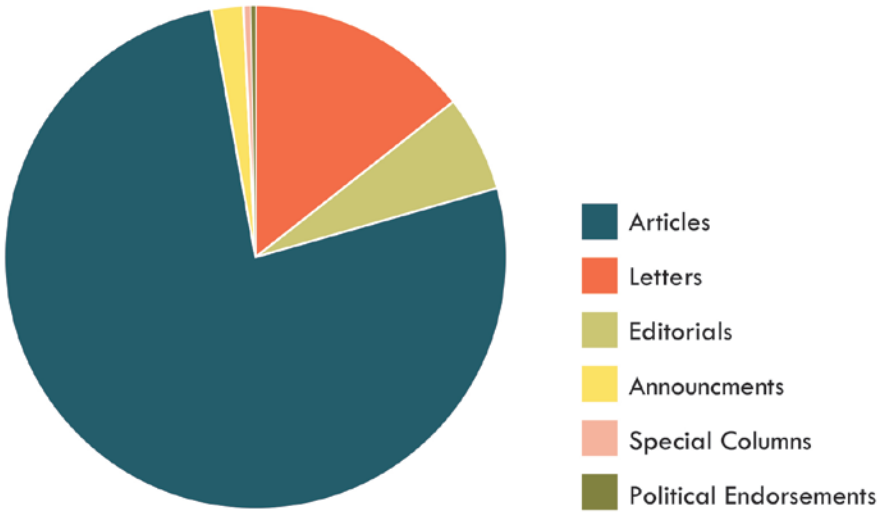


Figure 4.1 - The Breakdown of Chicago Tribune and Sun-Times News Articles Pertaining to Renaissance 2010.

GIS data

The articles that reference Ren2010 occurred in the Chicago Tribune during June 23rd, 2004 to January 9th, 2012; the Sun-Times articles referencing Ren2010 range from June 24th, 2004 to February 3rd, 2012. During this time, under the mandates of Ren2010 many schools were shuttered, and either remained closed or later reopened, sometimes in new locations. Also, many new schools started under Ren2010. Thus, as a result of some of the schools' temporal locative variability, the GIS data for the individual CPS locations were collected in two ways: Most of the schools' geolocation data was directly downloaded from the City of Chicago's own GIS website, https://data.cityofchicago.org/. On this website, the City of Chicago maintains rather up-to-date GIS data on a wide variety of city related topics ranging from snow route parking restriction locations to community youth support centers.

Several schools' spatial data were not available on the city's GIS website. The reason for this was that the schools were either closed prior to the latest shapefile update on the city's website, or the schools had been proposed but not yet opened. I was able to obtain these remaining schools' physical address from either the news articles, the CPS website (www.cps.edu), or through internet research. Once I obtained a physical address for the remaining schools that were not in the city's GIS data, I then was able to geocode them by creating a Keyhole Markup Language (KML) file in Google Maps. I then converted this KML file to a shapefile in ArcGIS's ArcMap.

The articles referred to Chicago's community areas/neighborhoods quite frequently. There are 77 official community areas in Chicago, of which I was also able to obtain GIS data through the city's official GIS website. The articles also referenced areas, such as the Mid-South or West Side, which are not among Chicago's official 77 neighborhoods, yet still have general geography that is known to the city's residents. In order to get the GIS data for these

aerial boundaries that were heavily referenced throughout the articles but not on the city's GIS website, I conducted internet research to see which of the 77 communities these larger areas contained. Through community organization websites, I was able to see what neighborhoods were considered part of these larger areas. This means that there will be some overlap between some boundaries; in some areas, overlap occurs between the two unofficial community areas or between an unofficial and official community area. For example, the MidSouth region is said to contain the Douglas neighborhood, which is one of the official 77 neighborhoods. I created KML files for these less formal boundaries in Google Maps as well.

Phase II: Coding themes as they emerged from the discourse emitted through the media

Following the data collection phase, the second phase required thoroughly reading and coding each of the 389 articles according to their themes as they emerged from the discourse.[39] A theme is a "researcher-generated construct that symbolizes and thus attributes interpreted meaning to each individual datum for later purposes of pattern detection, categorization, theory building, and other analytic processes" (Saldana 2013, 4). The articles were read in a random order to avoid a temporally linear bias in how the articles were thematically coded. The thematic coding phase was recorded in NVIVO qualitative analysis computer software. The themes by which these articles were coded were either/or: a) informed by the literature regarding neoliberalism, school choice policy, and how these two areas relate to the spatialization of society, and b) established throughout the article-reading phase of this project as the themes emerged. That is to say, during the coding

[39] Note that *coding* is used to describe the act of identifying *themes*. However, some analysts use the term "code" interchangeably with the word "theme" (Saldana 2013).

phase, there were unforeseen or unexpected themes that surfaced, such as schools or neighborhoods commonly described as *violent,* or schools that were frequently favorably discussed in quasi-market terms, such as having a *waitlist* in order to indicate market demand. The unexpected themes eventually became part of the coding scheme as they occurred with enough frequency that it was crucial to code them along with the themes that were informed by background research that also appeared in the articles. In order to ensure that all emergent themes were considered for each article, I conducted a thorough re-read of the articles that were coded prior to a particular *emergent* code. This approach to coding is called the constant-comparative method (Corbin & Strauss 2008). For example, after reading about twenty articles that described some schools as having such high demand that they were outgrowing their facilities, it became clear that the theme *outgrowing space* was going to be quite common. Therefore, I re-read and coded the twenty previously-read articles to see if they contained the *outgrowing space* theme.

The coding scheme contained five overarching thematic categories:[40] *Geographic Reference, Historical Timeline, Neoliberal Discourse, Organization,* and *Renaissance 2010 Description.* Each of these thematic categories was updated with intense organization throughout the entire reading and coding phase. This meticulously thorough process has proved invaluable in obtaining a rich database of Chicago's Ren2010 project. Because this thesis sets out to explore the media discourse tied to human-occupied physical and social space, my investigation focuses on the *Geographic* thematic category, while leaning heavily upon the remaining categories to produce a robustly informed analysis. Each of these

[40] For determining the identification of themes, I relied on Gerry Ryan and H. Russell Bernard's 2003 "Techniques to identify themes" article from the journal *Field Methods.*

overarching thematic categories contained sub-themes to further organize the data. The basic definition and an example of each category is as follows:

1. Geographic Reference: A section of an article would be coded within this greater theme whenever a particular school or geographic region was discussed in terms of Renaissance 2010. This included neighborhoods. Example:

> The closing of 10 schools forced about 3,500 students from the South and Near North Sides to transfer, however, as Mayor Richard Daley's ambitious Renaissance 2010 initiative began to take full effect. (Cholo 2008).

The geographic references in this case are two of Chicago's large encompassing areas, the South and Near North Side regions. For the purpose of tying this newspaper quote to the actual geography for later GIS analysis, their thematic coding directories from this particular quote were: *Geographic Reference* → *Neighborhoods* → *South Side* → *Displaced Students*, and *Geographic Reference* → *Neighborhoods* → *Near North Side* → *Displaced Students.* In this case, the neighborhoods would also have been coded with the theme *School Closures* as well, since, while *Displaced Students* and *School Closures* are commonly co-occurring themes, the occurrence of one did not always indicate the occurrence of another within the reading.

Schools were the most commonly referenced geographic areas within the reading. This makes sense, since Ren2010 is a major restructuring of Chicago Public Schools. Schools were coded in a similar manner as neighborhoods, but these two different geographic types did not have identical themes that emerged. One sample of how eight schools were coded is as follows:

> When the Renaissance 2010 plan was announced in June, its success was contingent on the support of the business and civic community, which promised to raise $50 million to create innovative public schools across the city…

> Each of the eight schools will be eligible to receive $500,000 in start-up funds over three years…
>
> The schools that will receive funds are Galapagos Charter, DuSable Leadership Academy, Aspira Haugen Middle School, Chicago International Charter School-South Shore campus, Erie Elementary Charter, University of Chicago Charter-Donoghue campus and Legacy Charter School. Pershing West, also included in the list, is a performance school. (Cholo, 2010)

The final paragraph of this code was placed into each of the eight school's *Private Funding* thematic directories. For example, *Geographic Reference* → *Schools* → *Galapagos Charter* → *Private Funding*.

2. Historical Timeline: This thematic category was used to file significant dates as they appeared throughout the reading phase. The following is an example of coding an excerpt by *historical timeline*:

> In a separate study, researchers found there was little difference between ACT test scores in charter high schools and in neighborhood high schools from 2006 to 2008. The report found charter high schools enrolled fewer low-income students, nearly half as many limited English speakers and "significantly fewer"students with special needs. (Sadovi 2009b)

This excerpt was coded by more than one theme, one of which however is "2006-2008" in the Historical Timeline section of the thematic coding scheme. By retaining an updated timeline of events as discussed in the articles, I can easily return to my NVIVO project to investigate different mini-eras within the lifetime of Ren2010.

3. Neoliberal Discourse: This thematic category contains an organized database of the neoliberal discursive themes that were greatly informed by the well-established literature on neoliberalism and neoliberal education reform. Below are two excerpt from separate articles

that were both coded under this greater theme of *Neoliberal Discourse*. First one from a person who favors privately-operated schools over the traditional public schools in Chicago:

> Joslin insists independent schools can operate buildings better and more cheaply than the central bureaucracy. He said he doesn't think the district is going to find 100 groups willing to start a school for $4,300 per pupil.
>
> 'I want to be empowered,'Joslin said. 'I want the janitor to report to the principal, not someone at CPS. I don't want their security guards at all. I don't want their technology. And why should I pay rent to CPS? It's shameful they are even suggesting it.' (Cholo & Dell'Angela 2004b)

The second following excerpt is reporting on the same sentiment reflected in the previous quote, where school choice advocates view government-run education as a restriction on freedom:

> Still, Ren10 schools open so far are struggling with financial restrictions that limit what they can do, as well as systemwide mandates and practices that undercut promised freedoms, school leaders say. Advocates also question whether Chicago is creating the right environment to attract quality school applicants, and whether the ones slated to open can get the job done. (Grossman 2005).

Each of these excerpts was placed into the following coding directory: *Neoliberal Discourse* → *State in the way of Freedom*, which was a code that was heavily informed through literature research (Bourdieu & Wacquant 2001; Harvey 2009; Peck & Tickell 2002).

4. Organization: This is the overarching thematic category for every reference to an organization or agency associated with the discursive Ren2010 debate as it played out in Chicago's two most popular newspapers. First is an example referencing the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, which was mentioned several times throughout the reading sample:

> The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation is upping its $30 million Chicago school investment by another $11 million, hoping to find a way to improve all city high schools, as well as replicate charter schools that work.

> The Gates Foundation has won national attention for creating new, small high schools across the country. Its latest effort is its first to help a major urban school district create a blueprint for improving all its high schools. (Rossi 2005).

The second is a reference to the Ford Motor Company's involvement in Chicago charter schools:

> Seven career and technical schools, including one featuring a partnership with the Ford Motor Co., are among the 30 new Chicago public school proposals under consideration to open next fall as part of the Renaissance 2010 school reform plan, school officials said Thursday. (Metro Brief column 2006)

These two excerpts are coded in the directory *Organization* → *Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation* and *Organization*→ *Ford Motor Company* respectively. There were several organizations and agencies mentioned throughout the reading. Since most of the letters to the editor and opinion pieces were written by people associated with an organization greatly invested in CPS and/or Ren2010 (see chapter five) each of the opinion pieces were coded under the *Organization* theme as well. Consider these two excerpts from two separate editorial letters that were both categorized in the *Organization* section under their author's names. The first example is an editorial letter written by former Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) President, Marylin Stewart:

> It is not surprising to education professionals that Renaissance 2010 has not lived up to the hype and promotion ("Daley school plan fails to make grade," Page 1, Jan. 17). Chicago Teachers Union members, community groups, parents and those concerned about properly educating our students have all raised serious reservations about Ren 2010. Education reporter Stephanie Banchero's sharp analysis of Renaissance 2010 tells us our concerns were warranted. (Stewart 2010)

This second sample is from an editorial written by then-CEO of CPS, Arne Duncan who was later appointed as U.S. Secretary of Education by President Barack Obama:

> Instead of recognizing Renaissance 2010 as an opportunity for educators as well as a chance to build strong partnerships between

> schools and businesses that can raise resources for cash-strapped schools, ex-Chicago Teachers Union President Deborah Lynch remains in attack mode, mischaracterizing the initiative and overstating the risks. (Duncan 2004)

While these two letters represent two very different points of view on Ren2010, they both reflect the characteristic that most letters had of organizational affiliation.

5. Renaissance 2010 Description: Sections of articles that used descriptors for Ren2010 were assigned this theme. The two examples below illustrate drastically opposing quotes that describe Ren2010. Consider this first pro-Ren2010 example:

> 'This [Renaissance 2010] is an unprecedented opportunity for any urban system,' said Janet Knupp, president of the Chicago Public Education Fund, a group of civic and corporate leaders whose partnership with the district will involve training leaders for these new schools.
>
> 'The consensus from the corporations is, let's put a lot of time and dollars behind this,' Knupp said. 'Let's focus and go deep.' (Cholo & Dell'Angela 2004)

This second sample reflects the view of a Ren2010 opponent:

> 'This [Renaissance 2010] is a wholesale experimentation on poor children' said Julie Woestehoff, director of Parents United for Responsible Education. 'The problem is the mayor and the Chicago Public Schools have been doing one new initiative after another, and they've been leaving shambles in their wake. Private industry has no proven track record for fixing schools.' (Dell'Angela 2004).

In the first sample here, we have a quote from Janet Knupp, founder and former president and CEO of the Chicago Public Education Fund (CPEF), an investment organization established for the purpose of private investments into Chicago's new Renaissance schools based upon their stated venture capital model:

> The Chicago Public Education Fund applies principles of venture capital to make systemic improvements in education, with a focus on talent and leadership in our schools. Our approach is further defining

> a burgeoning field of private sector investment in public education and is being studied by America's top business schools as a model of innovation in philanthropy. More importantly, the venture capital model enables The Fund to stay focused, and get results fast. (Chicago Public Education Fund website, retrieved 2013)[41]

Clearly an organization that is set up for the sole purpose of raising private sector dollars for training personnel to work in Ren2010 schools upon a venture capital model will likely describe the initiative in favorable terms. The second example above includes a quote from Julie Woestehoff, director of Parents United for Responsible Education (PURE), a parent and student public education advocacy organization. PURE describes itself as:

> PURE exists to support and assure a high quality public education for all children by informing parents about education issues and parents' rights, bringing parents into the decision making process, empowering parents in their role as advocates for their children, and assisting them in their interactions within the school system. (PURE's mission statement, http://pureparents.org/?page_id=2)

Woestehoff is coming from a student advocacy perspective, and thus skeptical about the secretive and vague methods the Mayor's office followed when carrying out Ren2010.

Phase III: The Geography of the Raw Discourse and the Chicago Demographics

Map 1 –median income and schools of the Ren2010 Conversation

After coding all the articles, I created a series of five Chicago maps and several other visualizations in order to understand how the articles' themes are distributed across the social geography of Chicago. Since this project focuses on how Chicago's socio-spatial layout, as it pertains to Ren2010, is discursively contextualized in the media, the first map focuses on the schools that were co-mentioned in articles that reported on Ren2010. These schools are highlighted with their spatial occurrence within the income distribution in

[41] http://www.thefundchicago.org/index.php?tray=topic_series&tid=top11&cid=131

Chicago. I did this by superimposing the public school GIS point data onto ZIP code aerial feature GIS data that contained median income level. The ZIP codes are symbolized by graduated colors that represent median income, making the layer a *choropleth*. The schools are symbolized in one of two ways: to illustrate whether or not they were referenced at all within the entire 389 articles. Such a map makes it possible to see if there is any spatial bias in whether or not income indicates a school's subjectivity to the Ren2010 Conversation.

Map 2 – race and schools of the Ren2010 Conversation

As previously discussed in this paper, Chicago is the most racially segregated city in the United States. Cartography historian William Rankin famously created *A Taxonomy of Transitions* map of Chicago based on 2000 U.S. Census data that illustrated the city's dramatic segregation by simply representing 25 people of the same racial ethnicity as a single dot placed inside the census block where they live. Each racial group of people (white, black, Asian, Hispanic, other) is symbolized by a distinctly colored dot, revealing the racial segregation that almost seems to be delineated by the human-constructed neighborhood boundaries and major roads. Inspired by Rankin, my second map includes the same concept, where 50 people of the same racial ethnicity who reside within the same census tract are represented by a single dot, and each group (white, African American, Asian, Hispanic/Latino, other) is symbolized by a distinct color. The schools layer from Map 5.1 is overlain on this dot density map in order to reveal any spatial bias related to race and a school's inclusion in the Conversation surrounding Ren2010 as discussed in the media.

Phase VI: The Geographical Weight of the Ren2010 Debate

Map 3 – Individual schools' magnitude in Ren2010 Conversation

It would be inadequate to deliver a map of mentioned schools vs. unmentioned schools without also producing a map that demonstrated the frequency that each school is mentioned. Map 5.3 does this by displaying only the schools that were mentioned within the 389-article sample[42]. The schools on Map 5.3 are symbolized by circles that are sized on a graduated scale determined by the amount of articles that referenced them within in the reading sample. The school symbols' sizes were not based on the amount of references *within* the articles, although one school may have been coded several times within one article. For example, consider the following two excerpts referring to Skinner North Classical, a selective enrollment elementary school in Chicago's West Loop neighborhood. Both of these excerpts come from a 2005 Chicago Tribune article entitled "School building projects on hold; Chicago makes repairs priority as state funds dry up."

> Six other major school construction projects, worth a combined $160 million, are not expected to be affected by district cutbacks because their cost is being paid by the city out of tax-increment financing money.
>
> These projects include new buildings for Westinghouse High, Albany Park Academy, DePriest Elementary and Skinner Classical, and major addition and renovations at Juarez High and Jones College Prep. (Dell'Angela & Cholo, 2005)

The above quote appears early in the news article. This quote was coded as *Geographic Reference* → *Schools* → *Skinner Classical North* → *Survived Budget Cuts*, and the remaining 5 schools were coded in a similar manner (…*School Name* → *Survived Budget Cuts*). This

[42] Note that the word "sample" or phrase "reading sample" is used to describe every single article available from the Chicago Sun-Times and Tribune that mention the Renaissance 2010 initiative. I did not read just a selection of these articles, but rather every single article; every article is included in this thesis' analysis.

second quote from the same article was also coded under Skinner Classical North's *Survived Budget Cuts* theme:

> While money for new construction appears to be safe at Skinner Classical, a selective enrollment school in the rapidly gentrifying West Loop neighborhood, the plan to replace Skinner with a new 108,000-square foot building is no closer to starting than it was five years ago when first promised.

Because the school was also discursively attached to the theme of gentrification in its West Loop neighborhood, this same quote was coded in Skinner's *Geographic Reference* → *Schools* → *Skinner Classical North* → *Gentrification* theme. This example of the thematic coding complexity is to show how difficult it would be to create school map based upon raw reference count *within* articles. Therefore, this article contributes a score of 1 to Skinner Classical's graduated symbology, even though the school was mentioned several times and via several discursive themes within that article.

Map 4 – Individual neighborhoods' magnitude in Ren2010 Conversation

Following the same principles from Map 5.3, I created a map of Chicago neighborhoods that symbolized the amount of articles mentioning each neighborhood. Since neighborhoods are an aerial geographic feature (unlike schools, which are considered point geographic features) Map 5.4 is a choropleth map, where the amount of articles that refer to a neighborhood is indicated by hue and saturation. Chicago is made of 77 official Community Areas, and these boundaries are distinct. However, as discussed in the data collection section, there were several other sub-city references that encompass two or more of these 77 Community Areas. For example, there were 5 articles that referred to the Mid-South area when talking about Ren2010. The Mid-South encompasses 6 of the 77 official Community Areas in Chicago: Douglas, Oakland, Grand Boulevard, Kenwood, Washington Park, and Hyde Park. To overcome the problem of overlapping neighborhood boundary

data, I layered the spatially larger geographic area over the official community areas, and symbolized the larger encompassing boundary by only applying the choropleth color scheme to its border, and keeping the center hollow. Thus, the encompassed smaller neighborhoods are visible. This allows the map reader to legibly read the amount of articles that represent each referenced neighborhood/sub-city region from the reading sample.

Phase V: MCA analysis and visualization

The goal in this analysis is to explore the relationship between school types and themes, and neighborhoods and themes. Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is a powerful tool that helps interpret the underlying structure of this type of thematic relationship. MCA is a data reduction technique used to represent similarities between objects (e.g. themes, neighborhoods, school types, etc.) in a contingency table (See Table 4.3) as distances in a low dimensional space (Greenacre & Blasius 2006). In MCA, distances are typically interpreted as a weighted form of Euclidean distances:

$$d_{x,y} = \sqrt{\sum_{j=1}^{p} w_j \left(x_j - y_j\right)^2}$$

where w_j refers to the specific weight of the jth dimension.

MCA has four main themes: profiles, average profile, inertia, and distance. The rows and columns of the contingency table make up the profiles, where each row's profile is contingent on each of the columns' contribution to that row, and each column's profile is contingent upon each of the rows' contribution to that column. For example, in Table 4.3 each school (row) has a profile that is contingent upon how it is distributed across the themes (columns). The average profile refers to the *centroid* or *mass*, which is the expected value for each object. This allows for the comparison of each school type to the average or expected value, or expected amount of times that that particular school type would be coded by a particular theme. The total inertia refers to the amount of dispersion (i.e. the variance) in the matrix. The goal of MCA is to represent this inertia in as few dimensions as possible.

The primary output of MCA is a map representing the dissimilarity between the column and row objects (in this case, school types and themes). Thus the MCA for this

project will illustrate the dissimilarity between the themes from the reading and the school types as they were coded by those themes.

School	Closing	Demographics	Failing	Good Model	Improving	Needs Transformation	New School(s)	Private Funding	Received Displaced Students	Succeeding
Austin High School (closed)	4	3	7	0	0	3	8	0	0	0
Austin Polytechnical Academy High School*	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0
Bethune Elementary (closed)	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Bunche Elementary School (closed)	4	0	4	0	0	1	5	0	0	0
Calumet High School (closed)	5	1	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Chicago High School for the Arts*	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0
Collins High School (closed)	13	1	6	0	0	3	0	0	3	0
Dodge Elementary Renaissance Academy*	0	0	0	1	5	0	0	1	1	0
Englewood Tech High School (closed)	4	1	6	0	0	3	6	0	1	0
Farren Elementary School (closed)	4	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Frazier Elementary School (closed)	7	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Galapagos Charter School*	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0
Grant Elementary School (closed)	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Harper High School	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Howland Elementary School (closed)	5	0	7	0	1	1	2	0	0	0
KIPP Ascend Charter Elementary School*	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
Legacy Charter School*	0	0	0	1	0	0	6	2	0	0
Locke Charter School*	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1
Morse Elementary School (closed)	4	2	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Namaste Charter School*	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
Noble Street Chrtr I	0	2	0	6	1	0	0	2	0	8
Perspectives Calumet Charter School*	0	0	2	6	0	1	0	3	0	3
Senn High School	0	1	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0
Sherman Elementary School	0	1	3	3	0	2	0	0	0	1
Wells High School	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0

Table 4.3 – Example of a contingency matrix used for MCA analysis. This matrix has real values (schools and themes, and the number of times the themes occurred with these schools) taken from this thesis' contingency matrix used to generate the theoretical spatial analysis as discussed in chapter four. In Table 4.3, the current status of the school is included in the school names.

Map 5 – Theoretical Space

My initial step in creating this thesis' main MCA map was to create the contingency table (4.3) of all schools that were mentioned within the entire news article sample as the rows, and all the themes by which these schools were coded as the columns. Following this, I consolidated the rows into school types. The reason why I performed MCA on a matrix consisting of themes by school *types* rather than by individual schools is that the school types are at the very core of school choice policy. It is the school types that are offered as choice in a marketized public education system. The introduction of partially privatized charter and contract schools subjects traditional public schools to the same competitive forces in that they are forced to compete for public and private dollars in order to succeed. Additionally, the new school types are lauded as the progressive step forward in contrast to the traditional public school system, which is criticized by school choice advocates for its adherence to stifling bureaucracy, unionized workers, and lack of innovation. Performing MCA on a contingency table that contained school types as the rows, and themes the columns produces an output that displays the underlying dissimilarities between how the profiles spatialize or distance themselves along the axes of multi-dimensional space each with different degrees of variance. Each individual axis' variance is displayed in a separate output file. (See Map 5.5c for a description of MCA degrees of variance) The objects are represented by points in the map (See Maps 5.5a, b, and c), which allows analysts to orient the output's display along whichever 2 axes they choose. The most typical orientation is to display the objects along the axes that have the highest degrees of variance. Thus, an analyst can interpret the axes that spatialize the objects in theoretical space (see chapter 4 on analyzing axes in MCA outputs).

Chapter 5: Presentation & Analysis of Results

Articles

The thematic coding phase of this project lasted three months from January 2013-March 2013. This process of reading and coding every news article written on Ren2010 in Chicago's two most popular newspapers proved to be a valuable investigative method for understanding the story of Ren2010; I was able to discover some of the key players from both sides of the debate as it played out in the news media. The organizational structure of the greater Ren2010 Conversation became quite clear during this coding phase as well. While the maps created for this project focus on how the schools and neighborhoods were discursively positioned within the Conversation, the article-coding phase resulted in a very robust database that has been very advantageous for this chapter. This database contains a wealth of information that can serve as a starting point for other potential projects related to school choice in Chicago. Some of these possibilities will be discussed in more detail in chapter six as I present the current state of school choice and school closures in Chicago. This chapter (five) presents the tables, graphics, and maps that were generated from the methods discussed in the previous chapter. Each is accompanied by a discussion on how the maps and graphics contribute to understanding how news media's dissemination of the school choice Conversation is manifested spatially, both in theoretical and physical space.

Temporal fluctuation of opinion pieces

This project uses Chicago Sun-Times and Tribune news articles that report on the Ren2010 initiative. First, when looking at the article breakdown by type (news articles vs. opinion pieces) we see that while opinion pieces (letters and editorials) as an aggregate make up the second-largest portion of the total articles by type, they are still quite few in

comparison with the news articles (see Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1). However, the story of the Ren2010 debate gains even more resolution by examining the *proportion* of opinion pieces over time. Table 5.1 contains the percentage of total articles that are opinion pieces in 6-month increments[43]. This table shows that the rate of total articles decreased over time,

Time Period	Total # of Articles	Total # of Opinion Articles	% of Articles that are Opinion
Jun-Dec 2004	95	23	24
Jan-June 2005	52	10	19
July-Dec 2005	32	5	16
Jan-June 2006	42	6	14
July-Dec 2006	24	5	21
Jan-June 2007	28	4	14
July-Dec 2007	20	0	0.00
Jan-June 2008	13	5	38
July-Dec 2008	16	7	44
Jan-June 2009	20	4	20
July-Dec 2009	14	5	36
Jan-June 2010	15	5	33
July-Dec 2010	7	0	0.00
Jan-June 2011	7	1	14
July-Dec 2011	4	0	0.00
Jan-June 2012	1	0	0.00
TOTALS	**389**	**80**	**21%**

Table 5.1 - Number and Percentage of Total Articles versus Opinion Articles from Chicago Tribune and Sun-Times Pertaining to Renaissance 2010.

but continued even after the year 2010 when the policy's proponents claimed to have accomplished their goals of creating 100 new schools by 2010 and closing 60-70 traditional schools. As this rate of total articles dropped, the percentage of opinion pieces followed a general increasing trend before dropping off after the January-June 2011 time period. The bar graph in Figure 5.1 is a visualization of this temporal trend where the total articles decreased over time as the percentage of opinion articles increased.

[43] The first increment includes the last week of June, which is when Mayor Richard M. Daley announced Ren2010 to the public at a Commercial Club meeting on June 24th, 2004.

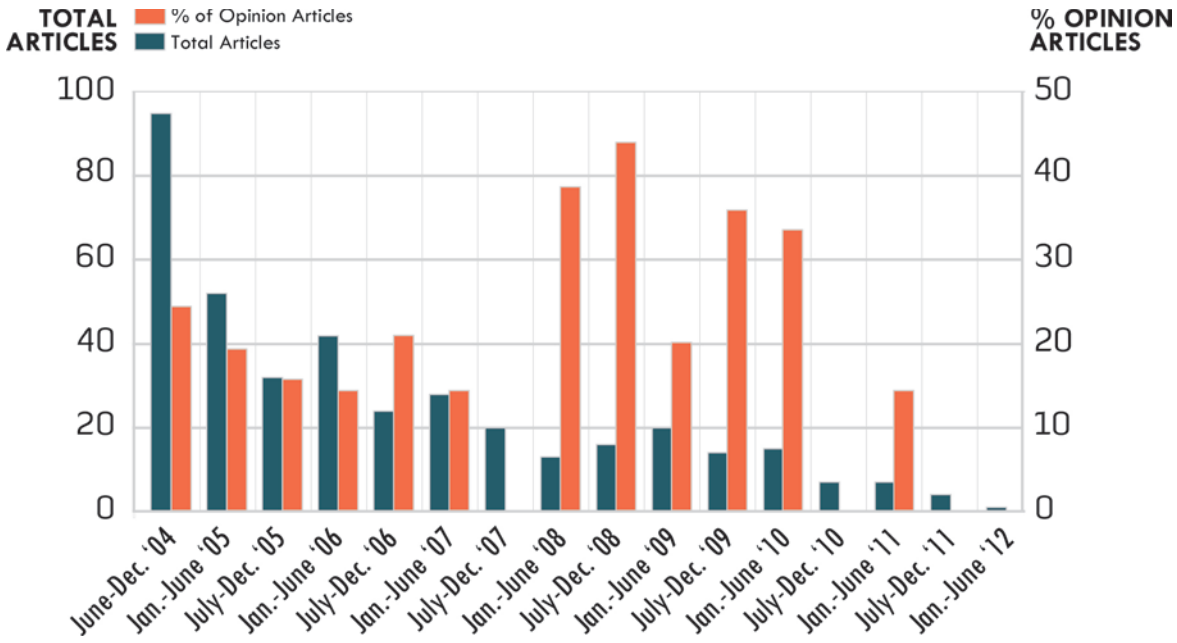


Figure 5.1 - Bar Graph illustrating the number of Chicago Tribune and Sun-Times Articles over time in six-month increments versus the percentage of opinion articles over that same period.

Ren2010's rise in contention and the linguistic habitus of editorial letter authors

There are two significant points to be made from the percentage increase in opinion pieces; both points verify news media as a valuable resource for understanding the spatialization of politically charged discourse: First, the proportional increase of opinion pieces regarding Ren2010 over time is noteworthy because it illustrates that within the Conversation of school choice policy in Chicago, the debate grew more contentious over time as schools were increasingly closed. This spike in contention is evident by the fact that, while Ren2010 became less reported in the Chicago Tribune and Sun-Times, the percentage of opinions reflected in those newspaper appearances grew.

The second significant point illustrated by this proportional increase focuses on the letters[44] of these opinion pieces. Writing opinion pieces that would be published in one of the U.S.' most popular newspapers indicates persuasive intentions. These letters' authors

[44] As explained in chapter three, editorials and letters to the editor are both treated as opinion pieces. This paragraph is referring to the letters among these opinion pieces.

are intending to persuade readers to take a particular side of the Ren2010 debate by engaging the widely-accepted-as-legitimate linguistic market of news media. As evident in the elite representation by the letters' authors (see Table 5.2), the vast majority of these letters are written by Chicagoans who have what Bourdieu considers legitimate linguistic habitus. Thus, as the debate grew more contentious, the news media's overall representation of that debate became more skewed toward the deliberate agendas of an elite few. Of the 56 letters to the editor in this project's research, 38 were written by Chicagoans who held either a corporate, non-profit, or political executive position, while seven were written by seasoned writers and/or scholars, in some cases relatively famous scholars, in the area of school choice policy (See Table 5.2). Six letters were written by self-identified Chicago Public School teachers, one of which was a charter school teacher. One was written by a lawyer representing Ren2010's co-authoring group, the Civic Committee of the Commercial Club of Chicago; two were written by people choosing not to identify their professional affiliation. Finally, one was written by a Chicago-based healthcare worker, and another by a group of republican Illinois state representatives. Therefore, nearly 70 percent of the letters were authored by a person holding a political and/or private executive position.

Date	Author	Affiliation*
7/19/2004	Nicholas Wolsonovich	Superintendent, Catholic Schools Archdiocese of Chicago
9/1/2004 3/29/2005 1/24/2010	Marylin Stewart	President (at the time) of the Chicago Teachers Union
9/10/2004	Phillip Peffley	Oak Lawn Resident
11/8/2004	Ross Freshwater	Chicago Public School Teacher
9/6/2004 11/08/04 1/21/2005 2/21/06 4/8/2008	Arne Duncan	CEO of Chicago Public Schools (at the time). Now Duncan serves as the current U.S. Secretary of Education
9/11/2004	Alexander Russo	Author on the subject school reform, and contributing editor to Catalyst, Chicago-based publication that reports specifically on education.
9/15/2004 11/3/2004 12/22/2004 1/14/2009 5/19/2009	Deborah Lynch	Former CTU President. Chair (at the time) of ProActive Chicago Teachers and School Employees, a caucus of the CTU.
10/15/2004	Lotty Blumental	Contributing writer for Substance News, a Chicago-based organization that is decidedly anti-school choice reform.
11/22/2004	David Weinberg	Founder and Chair, Illinois Network of Charter Schools manages Noble Network of Charter Schools)
12/31/2004 9/12/2005	Richard M. Daley	Mayor of the City of Chicago
7/20/2004 12/16/2004	Don Lubin*	Chair, New Schools for Chicago, the non-profit corporation that oversees the private funding of Renaissance schools.
12/31/2004 1/8/2005	(1) MarySue Barrett (2) Joseph A. Gregoire (3) Bernard Loyd (Loyd only on 1st letter)	1. President, Metropolitan Planning Council 2. Regional President of National City Bank 3. Chicago-based commercial real estate developer
2/11/2005 11/17/2005	Elizabeth A. Evans	Legal analyst for the Civic Committee of the Commercial Club of Chicago (CCC)
06/06/2005	Karen Krienik	Chicago Public Schools teacher
11/10/2005	Jonathan Turley	GWU Professor of Law Prolific contributing writer for the New York Times and other major newspapers frequent guest on news talk shows
12/11/2005	Edward E. Gordon	President of Imperial Consulting Corporation, a human capital firm based in Chicago
* The position or affiliation during the time the letter was written ** Lubin is also a member of Chicago Business Hall of Fame, and former partner at Sonnenschein Nath & Rosenthal, the law firm at the center of cronyism accusations pertaining to Daley's Renaissance 2010. *** The RSF was established by corporate elites as a non-profit extension of the CCC for the purpose of raising private dollars for Renaissance Schools.		

Date	Author	Affiliation*
2/26/06	Stella Foster	Chicago Sun-Times Columnist
3/6/2006	Laurene Heybach	Lawyer and Director for the Chicago Coalition for the Homeless
5/2/2006	Barbara Eason Watkins	Duncan-appointed Chief Education Officer of Chicago Public Schools
7/25/2006	Brian Brady	Executive Director for Mikva Challenge, a non-profit serving under-represented youth
7/25/2006	"Jim"	Chicago Public School Teacher
7/25/26	Robin Colbert	Chicago-based Healthcare worker specializing in children's nutrition
2/10/2007	Gregory Michie	Teachers, College of Education at Illinois State University frequent contributing writer to major news outlets on subject of urban education
4/2/2007	Dona Nishi	Charter school teacher in Chicago
1/15/2008	Illinois state republican representatives: Reboletti, Coladipietro, Meyer, Ramey, Durkin, & Fortner	Republican state representatives from Illinois.
8/14/2008	Ed Geppart Jr.	President of the Illinois Federation of Teachers
8/15/2008	Brian Bastyr	Chicago Public School Teacher
12/13/2006 4/2/2008 4/2/2008 6/22/2008 8/19/2008 8/14/2008 12/30/2008 2/9/2010	Julie Woestehoff	Executive Director for Parents United for Responsible Education (PURE)
2/28/2010	Thomas Sharp	Contributing writer for Substance News, a Chicago-based organization that is decidedly anti-school choice reform.
3/16/2009	Rev. Larry Dowling	St. Agatha Parish of Chicago
3/3/2010	Anonymous	Unknown
9/16/2009 1/26/2010	(1)Phyllis Lockett, (2) John Rowe (Rowe only on 2nd letter)	1. President and CEO of the Renaissance School Fund** 2. Chair of the Exelon Corporation
2/3/2011	Sarah Hainds	Chicago Teachers Union Member and writer for the CTU blog

*The position or affiliation during the time the letter was written. **Lubin is also a member of Chicago Business Hall of Fame, and former partner at Sonnenschein Nath & Rosenthal, the law firm as the center of cronyism accusations connected to Daley's Ren2010. *** The RSF was established by corporate elites as a non-profit extension of the CCC for the purpose of raising private dollars for Renaissance schools.

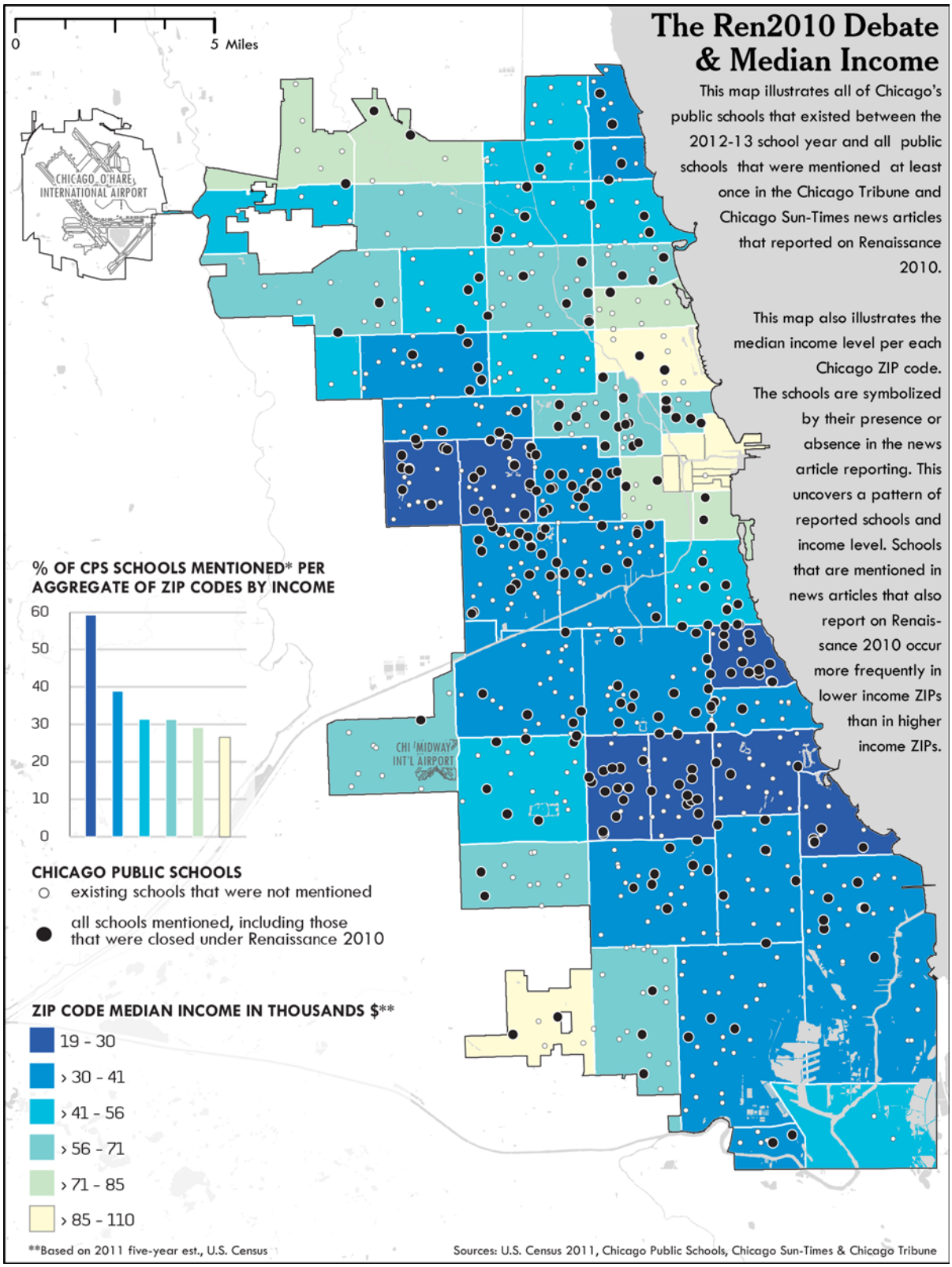
Table 5.2 – The letters and opinion pieces written for the Chicago Tribune and Chicago Sun-Times

Which Schools and Where?

In order to present the spatial manifestations of the school choice policy debate in Chicago, I will first present two maps that, together, give a socio-economic layout of Chicago by mapping income and racial ethnicity. The socio-economic spatial context presented in maps 5.1 and 5.2 is important for understanding the subsequent maps. What makes Maps 5.1 and 5.2 different than other income and racial ethnicity maps of Chicago is that they also include the public schools that were mentioned in the news articles that were coded for this project. Thus, these two maps make it possible to see any socio-economic geographic patterns among CPS schools' mere presence within the Ren2010 Conversation as the debate plays out in news media.

Map 5.1 – Income and Schools of the Ren2010 Conversation

Each school that co-occurs with Ren2010 in a Chicago Tribune or Sun-Times news article is depicted in Map 5.1 by a black dot. The ZIP code polygons are symbolized as a choropleth map depicting the area's median income. By simply observing the median income per ZIP code where each mentioned school occurs, it is apparent that ZIP codes with a higher median income level have fewer mentioned schools than those with a lower median income. In order to compare the mentioned schools with all schools, I added each public school that is currently open, and symbolized these unmentioned schools with a smaller white dot. By having all schools on this map, it allows readers to see the entire geographic spread of CPS schools, and compare the whole with the news-media-mentioned schools. When this geographic distribution of mentioned and unmentioned schools is revealed, we can still see that there is an income-based spatial bias in the rate of schools mentioned per ZIP code.



Map 5.1 –The Ren2010 Debate and Median Income – Each school that was referenced within the newspaper sample is represented by a black dot. The underlying polygons are ZIP codes, and are symbolized as a choropleth representing the median income per ZIP code area.

Median Income in Thousands	# of ZIPs	# of Schools Mentioned	# of Schools Not Mentioned	% of Schools Mentioned
19-30	7	79	54	59
>30 - 41	13	125	196	39
>41 - 56	12	34	74	31
>56 - 71	11	36	79	31
>71 - 85	5	7	17	29
>85 - 110	11	4	11	27
TOTALS	**59**	**285**	**431**	**40%***

Source: U.S. Census 2011; Chicago Public Schools; Chicago Sun-Times & Chicago Tribune. *The percentage of schools mentioned accounts for the total schools that exist today and the schools that were shuttered and mentioned within the newspaper article sample.

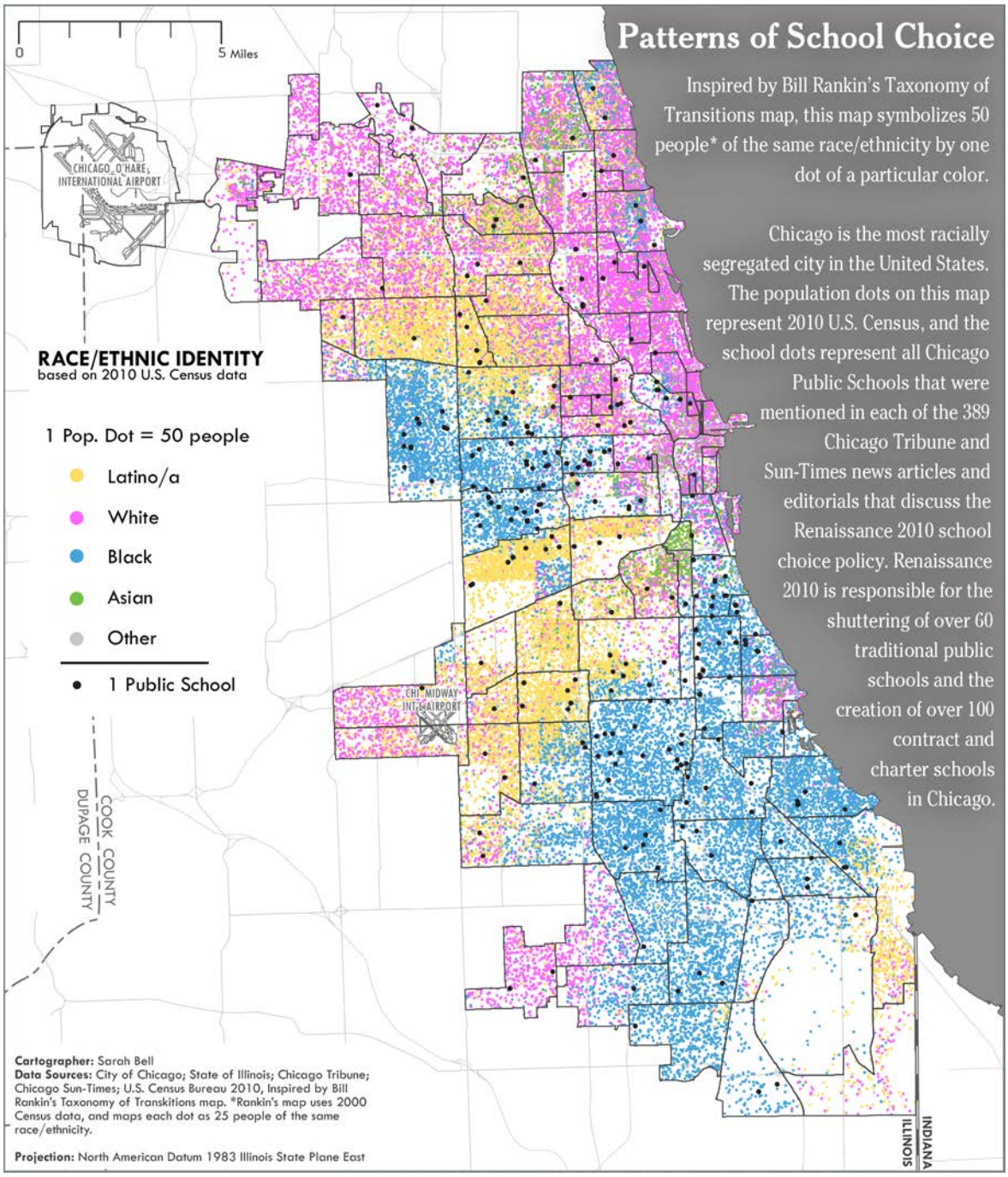
Table 5.3 – Percentage of schools mentioned by aggregated ZIPs based on median income – This table consists the data used to generate the table on Map 5.1.

I calculated the number of each aggregate of ZIP codes by income , and then calculate the percentage of schools of each aggregate's total that were mentioned within the news articles that reported on Ren2010. This calculation (see Table 5.3) also shows that the schools in the poorer income ZIP codes had a much stronger likelihood of becoming part of the political Ren2010 debate.

One issue to consider with the above map is that the resolution of ZIP codes is coarser than other aerial features that aggregate income data. By comparing the mentioned and unmentioned schools with a finer resolution, such as census blocks, we would gain a better understanding of the income-based pattern of the Ren2010 Conversation as it emerges through the media. However, I was unable to obtain current income data at a finer scale during the time of analysis. Nevertheless, Map 5.1 does visually reveal the geographical manifestation spatialized discourse pertaining to Ren2010 by connecting all the schools that co-occurred with the subject of Ren2010 in the city's most widely-read newspapers to the spatial arrangement of income in Chicago.

Map 5.2 – Race and schools of the Ren2010 Conversation

Chapter three's section on the socio-geographic landscape of Chicago outlines the city as the most racially segregated city in the United States. Bill Rankin of radicalcartography.net and others have used dot-density maps to illustrate U.S. cities' level of racial segregation. This is accomplished by using dots to represent a specific amount of people from each race/ethnicity category, usually as categorized by the U.S. Census Bureau. I created Map 5.2 following this method. I used 2010 Census tract-level data to depict all people reported to be living within the city of Chicago. Each dot on this map represents 50 people of the same race/ethnic identity, differentiating each group by a different colored dot. This map also depicts the schools that were mentioned in the newspaper reading sample. By mapping these schools with the race/ethnicity spaces of Chicago, we can see a racial pattern in the mentioned schools. Clearly, as this map visually reveals, the areas with a large white majority are far less likely to have their public schools included in the Ren2010 debate played out in the news media.



Map 5.2 – The race/ethnicity pattern of Chicago and the schools mentioned in the Chicago Sun-Times and Tribune reading sample of Ren2010

When reading Maps 5.1 and 5.2 together, we get a clearer picture of the socio-economics of the neighborhoods with schools that are utilized as conduits for propelling sides of the Ren2010 Conversation. An initial analysis of the synthesis of Maps 5.1 and 5.2 already reveals that the large majority of all schools mentioned in the reading sample occur

in the poorer areas with a high percentage of African American and Latino residents. The two maps are depicting a simple Boolean yes-or-no representation of the schools that occurred at all in the reading sample; it is quite significant that even prior to discussing the manner in which these schools were discussed (spaces of success or failure) we still see an emerging socio-economic pattern. In Maps 5.1 and 5.2, these schools were simply mapped by the fact that they were reported on, either through news and/or opinion articles.

The geovisual contextualization of these two maps indicates that the spatial agenda of school choice policy in Chicago is concerned with lower-income and less-white areas. Ren2010 news media reporting indicates to media consumers that the spaces that are scrutinized are not simply public schools. Rather, the examined spaces of the school choice policy debate are public schools that serve a very specific demographic: poor minority (mostly African American) students. Relationally speaking, the education spaces that serve a wealthier white populace are mostly off limits in the Ren2010 debate. A deeper investigation reveals that the higher concentrations of schools that are the objects in the Ren2010 news articles are in the same areas that are experiencing long term gentrification in Chicago.

These first two maps, 5.1 and 5.2, indicate if a school was mentioned even once in the article sample. Maps 5.3 and 5.4 depict the level of frequency over space that schools and neighborhoods were mentioned. Prior to presenting these maps, I will proceed with a description of the themes that emerged through the coding process.

The Themes

Now that I have cartographically revealed the news media discourse's spatial pattern of schools connected to the Ren2010 debate in terms racial ethnicity and economic class, and connected this pattern to the very real gentrification projects in Chicago, I will present the themes that emerged as I geocoded these schools and neighborhoods. The socio-economic pattern revealed in Maps 5.1 and 5.2 will be important in the analysis that concludes this section on themes.

Neighborhood Themes

The table below contains the themes for neighborhoods that emerged throughout the coding process as I read each news article from the Chicago Sun-Times and Tribune that mention Ren2010. Ultimately, these are the general themes through which neighborhoods were connected to the Ren2010 initiative (see Map 5.4 for which neighborhoods were discussed).

New Building	School Closures
New Contract School	CHA
New School	Poverty
Overcrowded Schools	Poor Attendance
Blight	Protest
Demographics	Upscale
In Need of New Schools	Failing
Gendered School	Labor Replacement
Poor QualitySchools	Displaced Students
Violence	Disrupted By School Closings
Gentrification	

Table 5.4 – Neighborhood Themes as they emerged through the coding process: All the codes that emerged for neighborhoods throughout the coding process when reading all Chicago Sun-Times and Tribune news articles that reference Renaissance 2010.

The 21 themes in Table 5.4 are those that occurred frequently enough to be considered part of this thematic analysis on discourse. As the next section will discuss, neighborhoods are the spatial units that neoliberal education reform seeks to change through schools; schools are not the spatial units that will change through neighborhoods. This is to say that schools are the conduit of improvement through marketization, thus schools were referred to much more frequently than neighborhoods. Nonetheless, it is important to notice in Table 5.4 that most of these themes contribute to neighborhoods as spaces of failure or spaces in need of transformation.

School Themes

Table 5.5 contains the themes for schools that emerged throughout the coding process. These themes contribute and/or reflect and perpetuate the labels of "success" or "failure" that stem from high stakes testing results (Klaf 2013) and other school choice policy actions carried out in Chicago. The themes are color-coded to represent labels of "success" or "failure." The blue themes are those that, after an exhaustive literature review and news investigation of Ren2010, I can confidently claim were connected to schools in order to present those schools as spaces of success. The red themes are those that presented schools as spaces of failure. The themes that are black are either neutral or ambiguous in their contribution to the schools as a space of success or failure. Below is a detailed explanation of the difference between the red and blue codes, as well as the black codes.

Closing	Labor Replacement	Protest
Compliance to Save	Needs Transformation	Public Funding
Consolidating	New Facilities	Received Displaced Students
Cronyism	New Program	Ren2010 Failure
Demographics	New School(s)	Replaced
Displaced Students	New Ways to Oppress	Rescued by School Choice Reform
Divided Up	NIMBY Protest	School Type
Failing	Outgrowing Space	Segregation as Part of Reform
Free Market	Overcrowded	Succeeding
Gentrification	Poor Facility Conditions	Suffered Budget Cuts
Good Model	Inadequate Funding	Survived Budget Cuts
Growing	Prestigious	Good Staff/Teachers
High Mobility Rate	Private Funding	Violence
Improving	Private Mode of Governance	Waitlist
Labor Cuts	Program Cuts	

Table 5.5 – School themes as they emerged through the coding process

The red themes are those that contribute and/or reflect and perpetuate the labels of "failure" that some schools receive through the political process of school choice. It was clear in some instances that these themes were written about consciously as "failure" or in a negative light. For example, when schools were coded by "suffered budget cuts" or "high mobility rate" the sentiment was that these schools were experiencing circumstances that made it difficult to be a space of success, and thus much easier for readers to view these schools as spaces of failure. Yet, when schools were tied to gentrification in their reporting, it was not always in a positive or negative light. However, the full investigation of Ren2010 combined with the literature review on neoliberalism and school choice strongly indicates that if a school is being discussed alongside the theme of gentrification, it is likely that the school is subject to the changing mechanisms of neoliberal spatial agendas, i.e. the school is likely considered to be standing in the way of the neoliberal spatial agenda. Ultimately, if the residents who attend that school are displaced as part of that agenda (gentrification), it is likely that the school itself will soon be displaced. This is the Chicago-style spatial pattern of

school choice reform. The following news article excerpt is an excellent example of this pattern where perhaps seemingly unrelated development projects can predict the success or extinction of Chicago's neighborhood schools. This excerpt reports on McCorkle Elementary School in the Mid-South neighborhood of Bronzeville:

> Principal Janet House said she thinks REAL drew quality candidates to her school [McCorkle Elementary], located across the street from the now-toppled Robert Taylor Homes, and hopes the program will encourage them, and others, to stay.
>
> REAL requires that all teachers be observed at least four times a year by the principal or teacher leaders, using an eight-page scorecard. (Rossi 2007)

The above excerpt comes from a news article that boasted the changes that McCorkle Elementary was undergoing in order to retain teachers and be attractive to the developers connected to the MidSouth Plan. The phrase "located across the street from the now-toppled Robert Taylor Homes" is the reason that McCorkle Elementary was coded with the theme "gentrification." The Robert Taylor Homes was a Chicago Housing Authority subsidized housing project that was torn down in 2005, resulting in the displacement of thousands of residents, most of whom were African American. However, this article mentions the Robert Taylor homes only in passing as a building that was torn down across the street from McCorkle Elementary; gentrification is not the subject of this article, but by mentioning that the now-toppled public housing is located directly across the street from a school that is taking measures to appease city officials and private developers, gentrification is discursively tied to McCorkle Elementary. Incidentally, McCorkle Elementary was permanently closed in 2010.

The other theme of "failure" on this table that may seem ambiguous at first glance is "compliance to save." This theme emerged as a combination of the literature review on

neoliberalism and school choice policy and through the coding process; as I read each individual article it became increasingly apparent that several schools' staff were taking painstaking efforts to comply with the new school choice environment in Chicago. It was necessary, especially in neighborhoods like Bronzeville where McCorkle Elementary was located, for schools to fit into this new free market paradigm if they were likely to survive the Ren2010 closures.

A simple question to ask when deciding whether the theme should be considered one that contributes to a school's success or failure is "Does this theme *cost* or *benefit* the school?" It is important to note that these themes do not reflect an opinion. Rather, the themes are considered as either contributing to the school's identity of spaces of "success" or "failure" almost in an evolutionary sense of the words; they help predict an answer to the question "Will this school survive *Renaissance 2010*?" So we can then consider the blue themes "Cronyism," "NIMBY Protest," and "Private Mode of Governance" as qualities that help a school's survival in a district that is focused on school choice even if we may or may *not* think of these as positive terms to be attached to public schools. To elaborate this point, "Cronyism" was a theme attached to charter schools that Ren2010 opponents suspected were being supported by city officials due to a tight relationship with the corporations who were providing the startup capital for that school:

> A month after an alderman accused a law firm that is starting a Chicago charter school of unfairly scoring a sweetheart deal on a building, the firm has found a new home.
>
> The Legacy Charter School, proposed by the law firm of Sonnenschein Nath & Rosenthal[45], now hopes to open its new public school in August at Mason, a North Lawndale school with extra space. The Chicago Board of Education is expected to vote on the move, which will be temporary, Wednesday.

[45] The law firm attached to the cronyism accusations as explained on Table 5.2's footnotes.

> Legacy initially got the nod from Chicago public schools officials to take over Howland, another North Lawndale public school, which closed last week because of poor performance.
>
> But the local alderman, Michael Chandler (24th), said the deal smacked of cronyism and accused the firm of bypassing new procedures for deciding what should happen to a closed school.
>
> One Sonnenschein partner, Donald Lubin[46], is chairman of a new organization that is raising $50 million for Mayor Daley's Renaissance 2010 plan to create 100 new schools out of up to 70 troubled ones.

The excerpt above cites Chicago Alderman Chandler's "cronyism" description of the deal between the law firm Sonnenschein and city officials to open Legacy Charter School. While Alderman Chandler is not using the term in a positive light, the label itself is attached to a new charter school. Therefore, a school that is forming out of what this news article calls a "sweetheart deal" between a prominent Chicago business, like Sonnenschein, and city officials, the school is likely to survive in the new partially-privatized marketization of compulsory education.

"NIMBY Protest" contributed to the success of the school because this theme was coded when parents with children who attended a Renaissance contract school were protesting sharing their own education space with the students of neighborhood schools:

> The Chicago High School for the Arts — the city's only public performing arts school and modeled after the fictional "Fame" high school — has outgrown its space. Where it will go next is raising controversy.
>
> Chi Arts currently shares space at 3200 S. Calumet with Pershing West Middle School, a magnet school in the gentrified Gap neighborhood of the Near South Side.
>
> A proposal to move it to Wells High School at 936 N. Ashland, where it would share space with a school on academic probation in a less safe neighborhood on the West Side, has some parents up in arms.

[46] Donald Lubin, law partner at Sonnenschein Nath & Rosenthal, is the editorial letter author of two of the letters in Table 4.2. Both letters are written in support of Renaissance 2010.

> "The artsy child is a whole different type of child," said parent Kimberly Eulingbourgh. "They're colorful children, diverse in race, sexual orientation and background. They respect each other's boundaries. We're concerned about their safety at a low-performing school where kids have to go through metal detectors."
>
> Opened in 2009, the school is run by a prestigious board representing arts groups that came together in 2004 with the goal of increasing diversity in Chicago's arts community. Private funds support its arts programming.
>
> "We are reviewing and evaluating several options involving the location of Chi Arts," CPS spokesman Frank Shuftan said. "We value Chi Arts and are working on this issue with the school leadership in addition to stakeholders." (Ihejirika 2011)

Even though this article was written in 2011, after the Ren2010 school closures and openings were said to have ended, the following chapter will address how the massive school closures in Chicago are still occurring today. Therefore, the discursive creation and/or maintenance of schools as spaces of success or failure still contribute to their survival in the new free market atmosphere. Kimberly Eulinbourgh, parent of a Chicago High School of the Arts (Chi Arts) student, is voicing what can be collectively categorized as "NIMBYism."

The acronym NIMBY (not in my back yard) generally refers to unwanted development in one's own neighborhood. NIMBYism oftentimes signifies people who, regardless of their supposed support for the aims of such development, do not want to sacrifice their own recreational habits nor have their lifestyle altered because of those aims; the term usually carries an elitism connotation as well. An example would be if a person supports energy alternatives to oil and gas, but protests the construction of wind turbines that block the mountain view from their home. Patrick Devine–Wright has expanded the application of the term NIBMYism to describe "place-protective action" that people take when they feel that their sense of place identity is under threat, and the threat is endangering their *social* identity as well (Devine-Wright 2009). This place-protective action

differs from the protests of parents whose children were displaced due to closures. The participants of the NIMBY protests support Ren2010, as is clearly indicated by their decision to send their children to a Renaissance school like Chi Arts. Yet these parents actively voiced their opposition to participating in the *physical* space-changing parts of Ren2010, since this would threaten their own sense of socio-spatial identity.

Schools were coded with the NIMBYism theme when parents expressed the sentiment that some students' educational experience will be diminished if they have to intermingle with students from schools that are not part of the new "choice" environment. Eulinbourgh and many other parents conveyed this NIMBYism sentiment after it was proposed that their children would temporarily share space with Wells High School students. This sentiment supports the argument held by many educational scholars that school choice, while touted as an answer for providing quality education to all students, regardless of income, actually exacerbates the already-existing socio-economic gap. One statistic that supports this claim is that at Wells High School, where Chi Arts parents were organizing to keep their students from sharing education space, has a 92.2 percent rate of low income students; the rate of low income students at Chi Arts is just 51 percent (Chicago Public Schools website, retrieved 2013). The example also illustrates that the actors in the maintenance of Chicago's spaces of education consist of more than just the teachers, students, and parents who oppose Ren2010 or the politicians and private interests that support Ren2010. Many parents maintain and perpetuate Chicago's schools as spaces that can be classified as success or failure.

The term "Protest" however was a theme that was coded as one that indicates that a school is a space of failure. Schools were coded by this theme whenever community activist groups made of parents and students, and sometimes teachers, protested on the streets or at

town hall meetings to fight the closure of their schools, and to protest against the displacement and shuttling of students across long distances to receiving schools. Here is an example of the theme "Protest" coded for Robinson Elementary School:

> Since 2002, Duncan has closed, consolidated or turned around 61 schools while opening 75 new ones…
>
> On Saturday, Deshunn Bray was among about 500 [parents] who attended a meeting to protest the latest closings. Bray, whose daughter Asya attends Jackie Robinson Elementary, said Duncan must do a better job of reaching out to constituents.
>
> "I believe Arne Duncan is a businessman and he has been running the schools like a business. He should personally see how the neighborhoods and the students are affected," Bray said.
>
> But Phyllis Lockett, president and chief executive officer of the Renaissance school fund, defended Duncan's emphasis on giving parents more choices.
>
> She said Duncan showed courage in dealing with academically failing schools by closing them; that he created an environment that fostered innovative approaches to learning; and that his efforts to recruit business and university leaders as partners meant that more stakeholders were making sure schools succeed. (Sadovi 2009a)

The above excerpt clarifies the difference between the themes "NIMBY Protest" and "Protest." The second of the two themes is exemplified in Deshunn Bray's and the 500 other parents attempt to save their children's school from closing under Ren2010. Whenever a school was coded by "Protest" it was indicative of that school's likely or imminent closure.

The themes "Waitlist" and "Overcrowded" occupied the same space in two very different universes. Both themes occurred when articles were referring to schools that had the problem of too many students for the slots available. Schools that were reported as having a waitlist were presented as spaces of success, as they were schools either to model future franchises upon or to tout Ren2010 successes.

> Charter schools and similar "contract schools" are a critical part of the Renaissance 2010 reform plan, although the system is close to reaching its state-mandated cap of 30 charter schools.
>
> There are many reasons why charters work. They have smaller classes, more flexibility, involved parents, dedicated teachers. We don't yet know whether there is a limit to the number of charters the system can successfully offer, and financial and political considerations can be obstacles to expansion. But clearly, there is room for more – and long waiting lists at the existing charters show there are many parents waiting to have that choice. (Chicago Sun-Times editorial 2006)

In a new marketized school district, schools that are in high demand are described as good models to repeat, thus supporting Peck & Tickell's claim that "[e]ven as they misdescribe the social world, discourses of globalization and neoliberalism seek to remake it in their own image…" (2002, 382). "Overcrowded" was used to describe neighborhood schools that lacked adequate resources for serving its students. For this reason, "Overcrowded" is a theme that is considered to *cost* a school, or work against its chances of surviving.

Analysis of school and neighborhood themes

A major difference exists between how schools and neighborhoods are talked about in the school choice debate, while both sets of themes are mostly overlapping. Schools, as a whole, took on a larger number of themes than the neighborhoods did during the coding process. Furthermore, most of the neighborhood themes that arose are referencing the schools in a particular neighborhood rather than the neighborhood itself. For example, the neighborhood themes "New Schools", "New Buildings", "School Closures", "Labor Replacement" and others are referring to a neighborhood receiving a newly-created school, or the neighborhood experiencing a large number of school closures, or finally the schools in that neighborhood experiencing labor replacement. Neighborhoods are fixed areas of a city; they are the spaces that development plans, like Daley's Plan for Transformation or

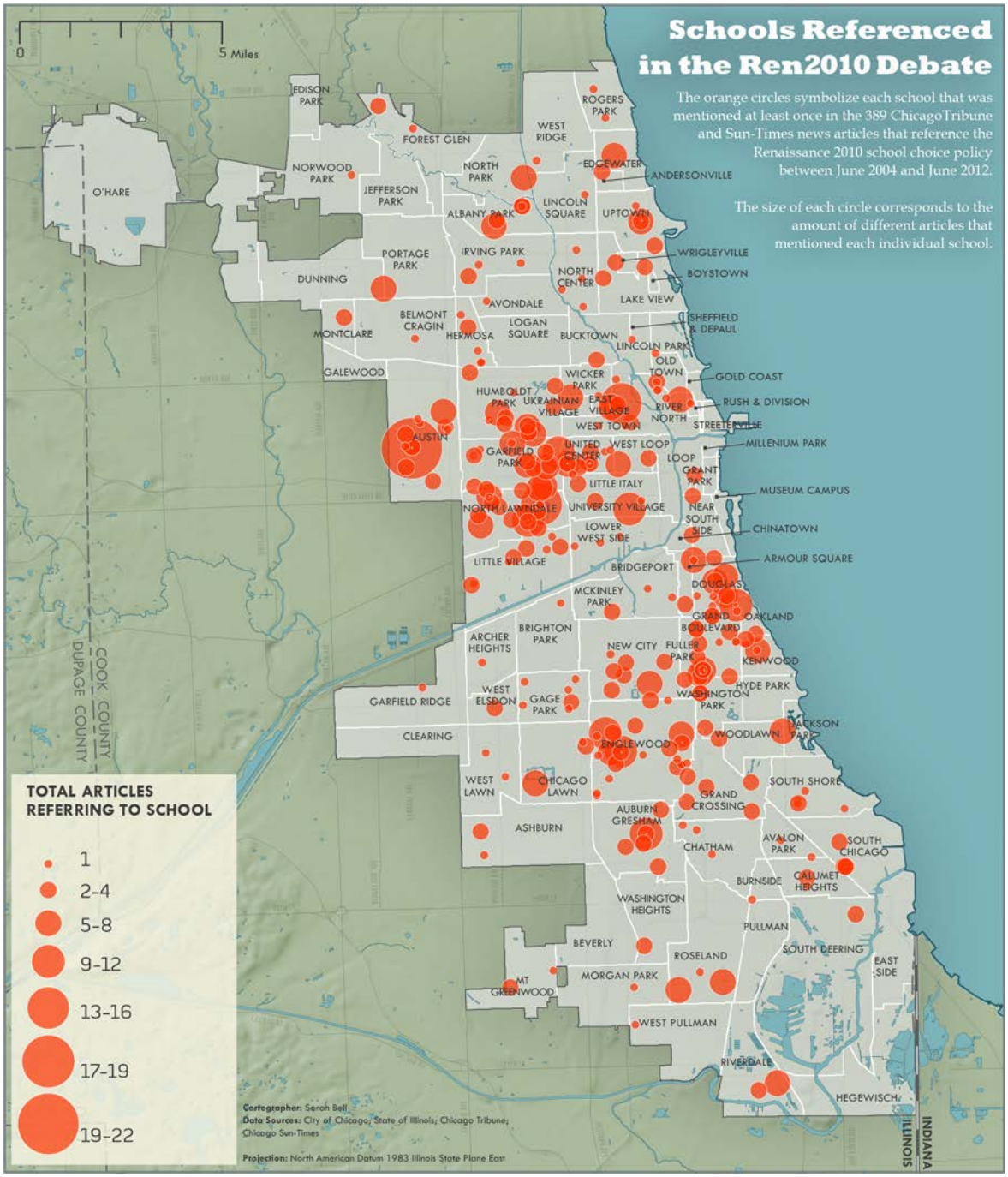
Ren2010, seek to "revitalize." Schools, on the other hand, are less fixed. As Ren2010 proved, schools – unlike neighborhoods – can be closed with very little public notice. They are sites of cultural reproduction that are embattled by ideological struggles (Apple 2000). Schools are thus the nodes through which the neighborhood/space revitalization is anchored in school choice reform policies. Neoliberal policies transform the city's spatial network so that the network supports the dominant mode of production; in the marketization of schools, schools are positioned within neighborhoods as the vehicles for this transformation.

Physical Spatial Analysis

Map 5.3 – Individual School's Magnitude in the Ren2010 Conversation

Returning to the *physical* spatial manifestation of school choice discourse, Map 5.3 is a thematic map of the schools that were referenced in the entire reading sample. Each school is represented by a graduated symbol; the size of the symbol indicates how many individual articles mentioned each individual school. Schools that were not mentioned in the articles are not part of this map. It is evident from this map that the schools that were referenced the most by individual articles are located in the Mid-South's Douglas neighborhood, Austin, North Lawndale, and West Town. Map 5.3 indicates where the gravity of the Ren2010 debate is located by schools. Map 5.3 is enriched when accompanied by Maps 5.1 and 5.2, where we can compare the gravity of these highly-referenced schools with how Chicago has spatialized itself by race and income. In doing so, the Ren2010 story becomes much clearer; the schools that gained the most individual news article, editorial, and letter references tended to be located in majority-African American neighborhoods as well as lower-income areas of Chicago.

The fact that the gravity of schools in the Ren2010 Conversation is weighted toward lower-income neighborhoods with a high percentage of minorities, as indicated by this map, would not surprise most opponents and critics of Ren2010. As this thesis has already stated, parents and students protested the initiative due to their skepticism that Ren2010 was only focusing on Latino and African American neighborhoods. Recall parent Juti Brown's frustration when she stated that "CPS would never have subjected students in Lincoln Park or the Gold Coast to this sort of treatment [of transferring children "from school to school"]"



Map 5.3 – Frequency of Schools Referenced in the Ren2010 Debate: CPS schools mentioned in the reading sample marked by a graduated symbol, where the symbol's size represents the amount of articles that mentioned the individual schools.

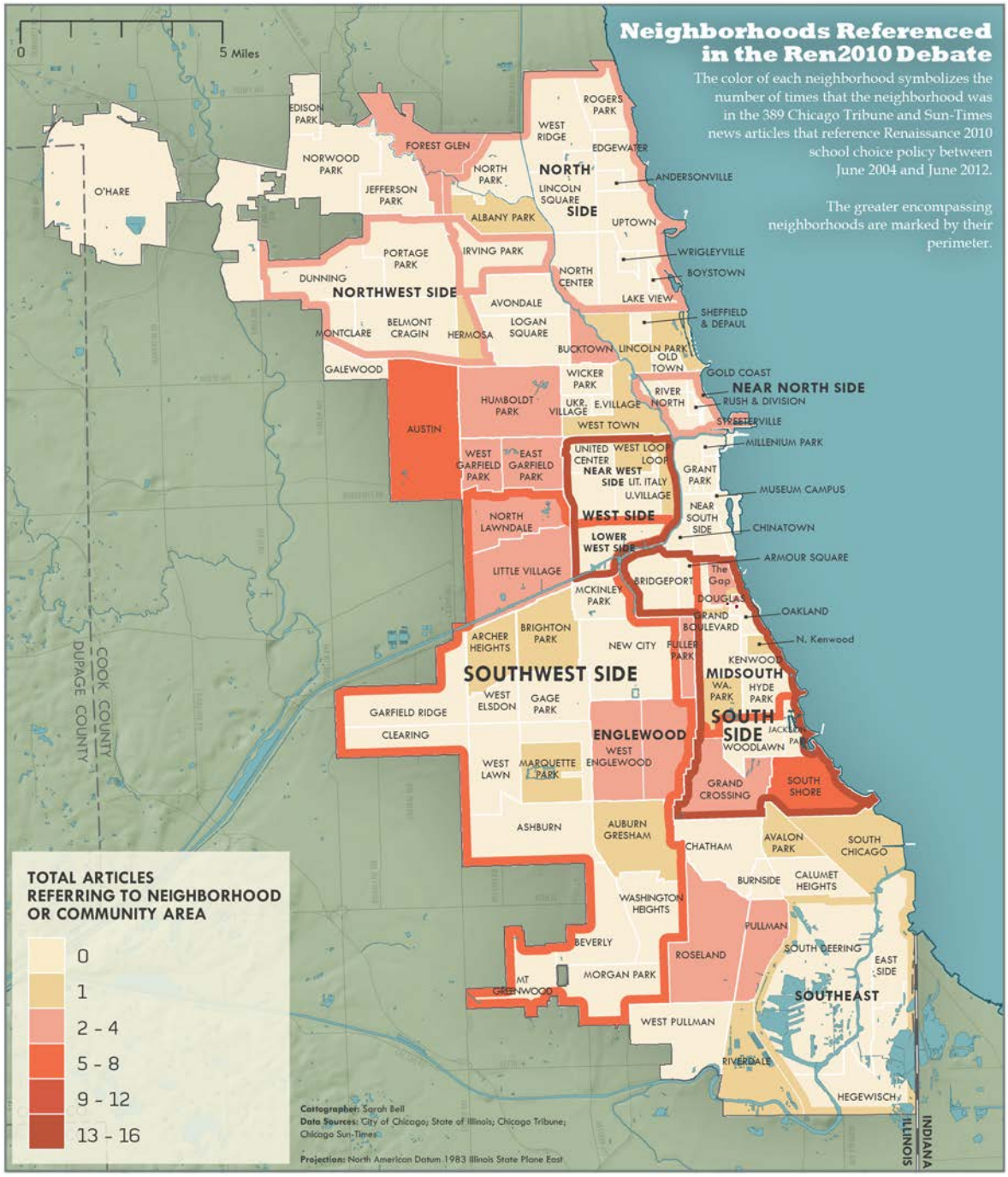
(Ahmed-Ullah 2012).[47] In fact, throughout the entire reading sample, Juti Brown's reference to the Gold Coast and Lincoln Park neighborhoods are those two neighborhoods' only references.

Map 5.4 – Individual neighborhood's magnitude on the Ren2010 Conversation

The final physical space map, 5.4, is a choropleth map of Chicago's neighborhoods. Each neighborhood is symbolized by a color that represents the amount of articles in the reading sample that mentioned the neighborhoods. As explained in chapter four, the larger areas that were not one of the official community areas were included in this map. Their boundaries are a bit ambiguous, i.e. when someone is speaking about the Southwest Side, they might only be speaking about Englewood and Auburn Gresham. My only method of gathering boundary data for these larger areas that encapsulated several neighborhoods was to perform internet research on Chicago community groups, development, etc. that define these greater areas, and create new boundaries based on the most common description of these areas.

Much like Map 5.3, this map reveals the gravity of the Ren2010 debate by the neighborhoods that were being spatialized through media discourse. Again, when Maps 5.1 and 5.2 accompany this map, the resolution of the Ren2010 debate is strengthened. We see that, within the newspaper article sample that reported on Ren2010, the neighborhoods that have the most article representation are located in majority Latino/a and African American areas of the city.

[47] See page 19 for complete excerpt.



Map 5.4 – Frequency of Neighborhoods Referenced in the Ren2010 Debate. The neighborhoods of Chicago symbolized by the amount of newspaper articles referenced them in the 389-article reading sample mentioning Ren2010 from the Chicago Sun-Times and Chicago Tribune.

Implications of the Ren2010 Conversation's Geographic Distribution

The obvious finding from Maps 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4 is that the schools and neighborhoods that serve poor African American and Latino children are referred to more frequently within the Ren2010 Conversation as it is disseminated through news media. Additionally, by looking at the themes that emerged through the coding process, the discourses disseminated through news media usually describe these schools and neighborhoods as failing or ailing spaces. Yet when applying the theoretical framework presented in this thesis, we gain a deeper understanding of how social space and physical space interact through school choice policy discourses in the mainstream print media. These first four maps illustrate the intersection of the neoliberal project; that is the neoliberal discourses of the Conversation not only pathologize schools, but also pathologize the people who attend those schools. The Chicago residents who are subject to the school closures and revitalization (gentrification) projects carried out via a powerful civic-corporate partnership are the personification of the themes. That is to say, the residents in these spaces are those whom news media readers will consider as *in need of new schools* and *violent*; they are also the residents who are expected to accept *labor replacement* and *school closures* as part of their schools' contribution to school reform. These residents are also the same people who are expected to allow their children to be the *displaced students* for the "greater good" of long-term revitalization. The residents who live in the areas of Chicago where the gravity of the Ren2010 debate is pulled are expected to transform the most – to become more like the whiter more affluent areas of the city – in order to retain and improve the city's global status. The whiter more affluent areas of the city are either exempt from being subjugated in the Conversation, or serve as the models for cultural reproduction for Chicago's school choice policy reform.

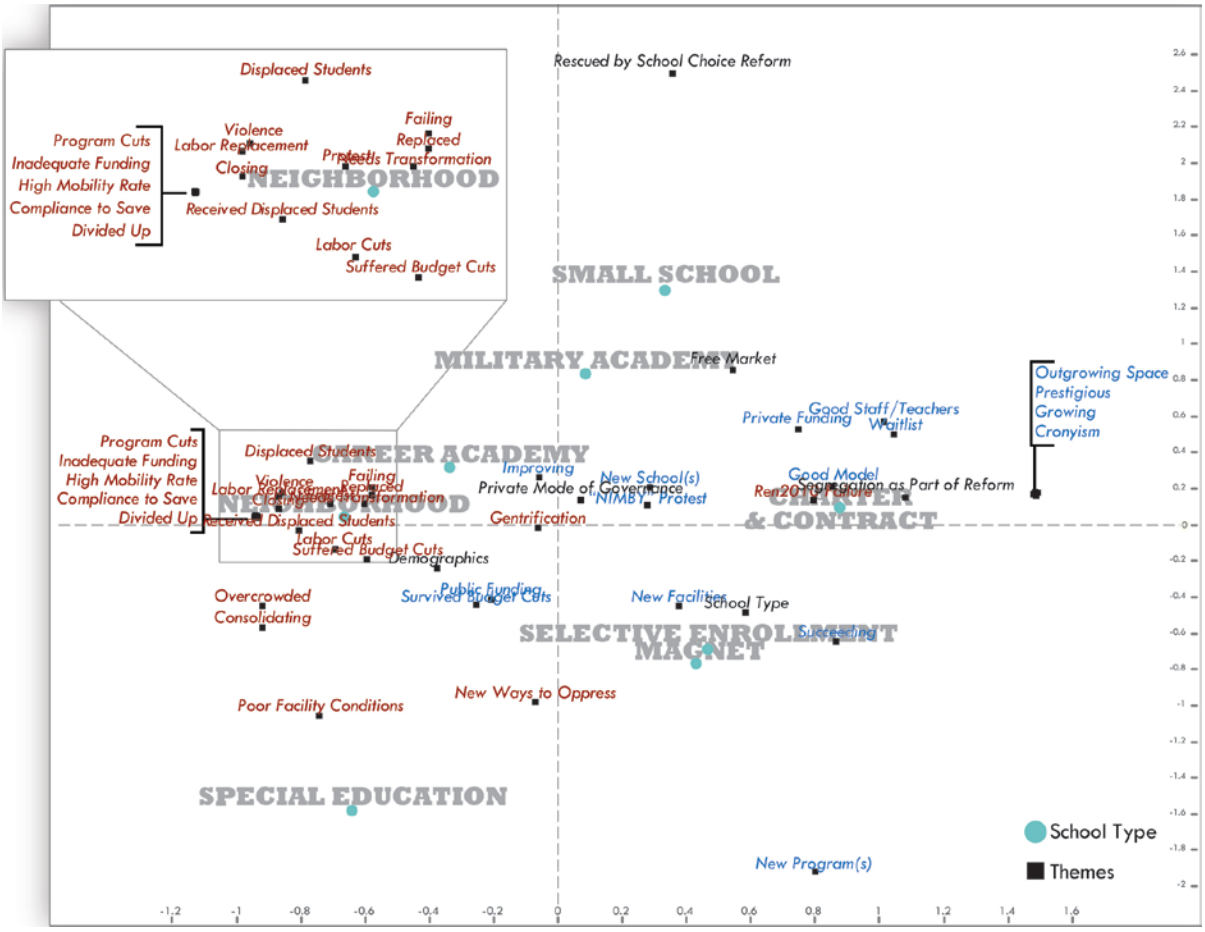
The next section presents a map of the theoretical space of Chicago school types as they are positioned within the Ren2010 debate as transmitted through news media. This map, 5.5, will highlight how various school types are constructed as spaces of success or failure based on the themes that were presented in Table 5.5.

Theoretical Space Analysis

> "Everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things." Tobler's First Law of Geography, 1970.[48]

Map 5.5 – MCA map

Map 5.5a is a map depicting the theoretical space of Chicago's public schools' types and the themes that those school types were coded by during the coding process. Map 5.5a



Map 5.5a – The Theoretical Real Space of CPS School Types Positioned by News Media Discourse: MCA-generated map of the theoretical space of CPS school types and their similarity with the themes from Table 5.5 that emerged from this project's coding phase

was generated by using multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) from the contingency table (see Table 4.3 for an example of a contingency table) containing the school types as the

[48] Waldo Tobler stated this often-cited First Law of Geography in his 1970 article, "A Computer Movie Simulating Urban Growth in the Detroit Region" in the journal *Economic Geography*.

rows, and the themes as columns. As explained in chapter four, each cell in the contingency table contained the number of times that the individual school (row) was coded by that column's theme. I then consolidated these school rows by their school type, so that the MCA analysis could uncover the spatialization of school types by their themes. In Map 5.5a, each object (school type and theme) is marked by a corresponding point indicated by a black square; the school types are turquoise circles. A general way to read MCA maps is to consider that the closer each object is the more similar they are, and conversely the further they apart, the more dissimilar the objects are. Additionally, the MCA map gives us a two-dimensional map that orients these objects (school types and themes) along the two axes with the highest variance in the MCA analysis. These axes are called factors. We can see

FACTOR	%	CUMULATIVE %
1	28.0	28.0
2	17.9	45.9
3	15.6	61.5
4	14.8	76.3
5	10.5	86.8
6	8.0	94.8
7	5.2	100

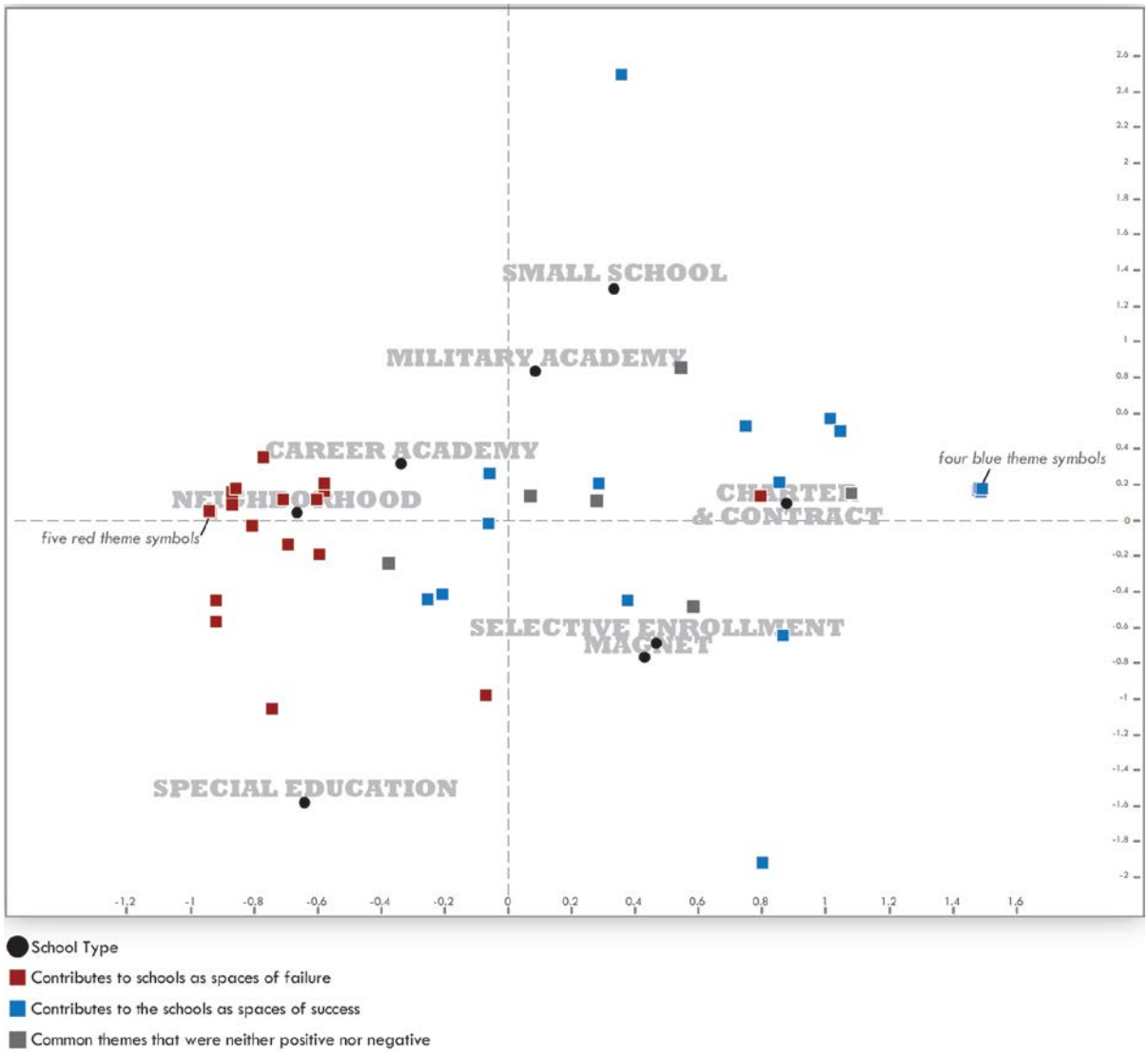
Table 5.6 – MCA output factor analysis for Map 5.5a-c. Note: The left column indicates the number of factors generated from the contingency table. The center column represents each of the factors' percentage of variance among the entire population of objects. The right column is the cumulative percentage of these factors.

that, along the horizontal factor, neighborhoods schools fall on the far left and charter & contract schools[49] fall on the far right. Along the vertical factor, small schools are at the far top while special education schools fall at the far bottom. Table 5.6 is the factor analysis table that accompanies the MCA maps (5.5a-c). This table tells us that the distances between

[49] Charter and contract schools were grouped together in this MCA analysis, since they are both privately-run school choice schools that exist within the Chicago Public School system based upon a contract agreement. Neither school type is bound to much of the restrictions and regulations that the remaining school types are bound to. Charter and contract schools are the two school types that New Schools For Chicago and other private investment groups consider to be part of the alternative choice to traditional public schools.

points in the two dimensions displayed in Map 5.5a & b explain 45.9 percent of the variance among the entire population of objects when schools are coded by the themes from Table 5.5.

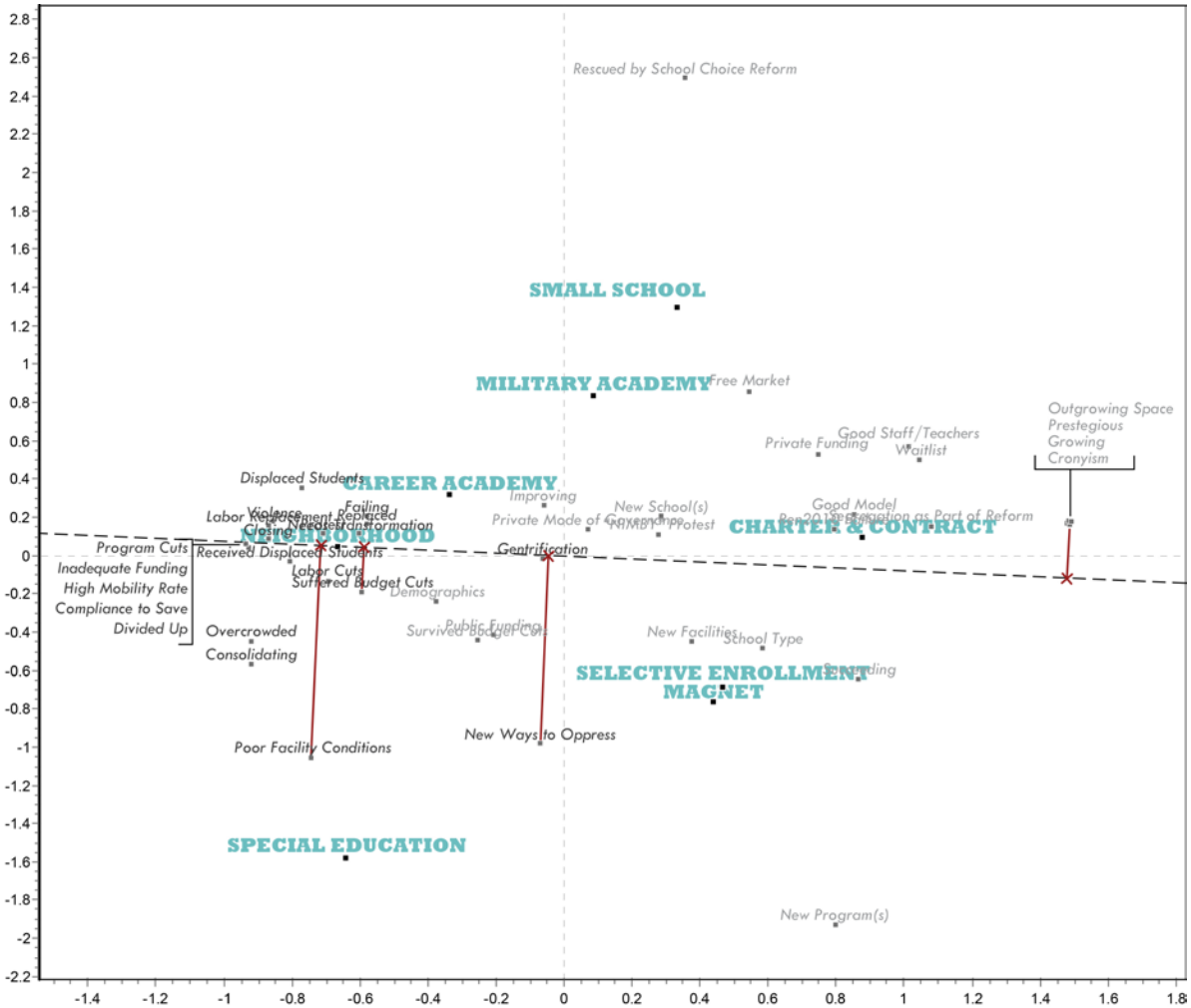
I have color-coded each theme in Map 5.5a following the same color coding scheme in Table 5.5, where each theme that is considered to contribute to the school as a space of success in the Ren2010 school choice environment is marked by a blue label. Each theme that contributes to the school as a space of failure is marked with a red label. Each label has a corresponding black square. This square is the point from which the distances should be measured when analyzing dissimilarity. Map 5.5a reveals an actual space of CPS school types positioned in their relation to one another based on the themes by which they were coded. In this space, the themes that are considered those that foster spaces of failure (red lables) cluster around the neighborhood schools on the far left of the first factor (horizontal axis). This factor explains 28 percent of the variance in this map. In fact, the only one of these red-labeled themes that falls near the opposite side of the factor is "Ren2010 Failure" as this theme was used to code Renaissance schools that were opened and then reported as closed or criticized as failures. The majority of the themes that foster schools as spaces of success (blue themes) are near the "Charter & Contract" school type. However these "success" themes are more dispersed. Note that on each side of the horizontal factor there are clusters of themes that were so similar that they practically piled up on one another. Map 5.5b is of the same discursive space as Map 5.5a, but without the labels. In 5.5b, the themes' squares are marked by either the blue or red coding system as explained above. Map 5.5b helps map readers to focus on the spatial pattern of the discursive space of school types from MCA analysis.



Map 5.5b – Theoretical Space with Theme Symbols Only: MCA-generated map of the theoretical space of CPS school types and their similarity with the themes from Table 4.4 that emerged from this project's coding phase.

Map 5.5c is of the same theoretical space that is depicted in Maps 5.5a and b. Map 5.5c is provided to help assist understanding the MCA map a little further by depicting the actual degrees of dissimilarity. To manually determine the difference in degrees of similarity of two different themes to one school type, a line is drawn from the school type to the origin 0, 0 on the two factors (axes) of the MCA map. I have drawn a heavy dotted line

from the neighborhood school type to this 0, 0 point. The next step is to draw perpendicular lines from the themes to this newly drawn line. The point at which these perpendicular lines



Map 5.5c – Interpretation of Degrees of Similarity - The theoretical space of Chicago Public School types when coded by themes that emerged from newspaper articles that reported on *Renaissance 2010.* Note: This map focuses on the degrees of dissimilarity for themes and neighborhood schools.

intersect the heavy line is the point from which the degrees of dissimilarity are measured. Those that are closer to the school type are more similar. I have drawn perpendicular lines from various codes to the neighborhood school's line, and then I depicted their meeting point with a small red 'x'. Map 5.5c shows that "Poor Facility Conditions" is much closer to *Neighborhood* schools than the cluster of four "success" codes to the far right (which is close to *Charter & Contract* schools. Through MCA interpretation, it can be said that neighborhood

schools are much more similar to discourses of poor facility conditions and budget cuts than they are to discourses of prestige.

What this theoretical spatial analysis has revealed is that when individual CPS schools were reported on through the news media when discussing Ren2010, the type of school can predict whether or not that school will be discursively fashioned into a space of success within the entire CPS school district, or as a space of failure. Specifically, privately-run "school choice" schools were discursively spatialized as areas of success and models to repeat in order to create competitive students. Likewise, neighborhood schools were most commonly connected to the "failure" labels that Klaf and others have written about:

> They [labels of "failure"] are a mechanism intended to identify failure and name and shame schools publicly (Stoll and Myers 1998; Nicolaidou and Ainscow 2005)… Labels are a means of maintaining power, and hegemonize social values and practices (Armstrong 2003). Government and nongovernment stakeholders use the labelling of schools and districts as a mechanism to regulate behaviour. Labels are used to manage the Other by aligning school behaviour to government-established norms (Foucault 1980; Armstrong 2003). (Klaff 2013, 299).

The space depicted in Map 5.5a indicates that the "other" in Chicago's school choice policy debate is neighborhood schools. These are the school types that require regulated behavior and penalizing mandates within school choice policies. Therefore, the residents of these school types are the human manifestations of Chicago's "other" in the Ren2010 debate.

As stated previously in the analysis of Maps 5.1-5.4, the students who attend the schools that are surrounded by the "failure" themes in Map 5.5a are the poorer African American and Latino public school students of Chicago. The news media reporting on Ren2010 has naturalized and reified the hegemony of poor minority neighborhoods and schools in Chicago as pathological spaces. This continual production of Chicago's social

spaces was conducted by those who have what is considered legitimate linguistic habitus; over the lifetime of Ren2010, the journalistic production of education space grew more elite and biased as shown in Table 5.1, even as parents and students protested the school choice initiative.

Conclusion

Contributions to the Study of Urban Neoliberalization

In recent years, geographers and education researchers have collectively begun building the *geography of education* as a small but growing field (Taylor 2009). Critical education researchers who have traditionally approached their field through a socio-temporal lens have used the works of Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Pierre Bourdieu, Edward Soja, and others, to understand the social and historical study of education by including the notion that "space matters" (Ferrare & Apple 2010, 209-210). A recent special issue of the *Canadian Geographer* described these spaces of education as "rich subjects of critical geographical analysis" due to current contentious issues, especially as "neoliberal reforms and the introduction of new technologies are transforming the spaces, subjectivities, and power relations of education"(McCreary et al. 2013, 255). This project has contributed to the study of the critical geography of education by mapping the spatial patterns of the rhetorical discourse that pertains to Renaissance 2010, Chicago's most famous school choice policy initiative. These maps have also helped increase an understanding of the neoliberal spatial project by, first, considering school choice policy as part of the greater neoliberal spatial project, and then by mapping the discourse of Renaissance 2010 as it naturalizes schools as spaces of success or failure.

Through this research, I have illustrated that print news media disseminates the discourses of a small percentage of those who take sides of a political debate. These discourses are oftentimes used as social-space-shaping rhetorical devices, and the more dominant/legitimate the discourses are perceived to be, the more influence those discourses will have in shaping the hegemonic spatial layout of human-occupied space. By mapping

the emergence of the common school themes of "success" and "failure" that are disseminated through Chicago's two largest newspapers as they report on Renaissance 2010, I have created a series of maps that helps understand the spatialization of the contentious school choice policy debate. Chicago is a very large and populous city characterized by its global status and stark racial segregation patterns. The maps created for this thesis highlight the socio-spatial position of the most-cited schools in the Renaissance 2010 Conversation by cartographically visualizing where these schools of the debate exist in terms of race and income. Schools mentioned in Chicago's Renaissance 2010 debate, as it is reported in their two-most-popular newspapers, occur drastically disproportionately in lower-income and majority African American spaces of Chicago. Renaissance 2010 has oftentimes been criticized as part of a larger push to gentrify Chicago; this project's maps show that the schools targeted for closures through the initiative have occurred in mostly-minority communities that are also experiencing the replacement of public housing with mixed-and-upper-income development. As the schools were shuttered due to Ren2010, the residents were ultimately priced out; the gentrifying momentum continued as new Renaissance schools popped up in these quickly transforming neighborhoods.

This project also has provided a map of the actual discursive space of Chicago public school types as they are positioned by the discourses used to describe them in the Ren2010 debate as it is disseminated through the news media. This map shows what Ren2010 critics have long been claiming: the neighborhood schools that are being replaced are discussed largely as spaces of failure, and thus the news media is supporting the punitive high stakes tests' identification of "problem schools." On the other spectrum of this same map, charter and contract schools that are introduced as the alternative to these problem schools are discussed as spaces of success. By synthesizing the physical space maps with this discursive

map, I have provided an analysis explaining that the discourses of failure *and* the discourses of success shape the spatial identity of those who attend these schools and of Chicago residents in general. Because these "failing" schools serve very specific socio-demographic groups of Chicago's residents, the schools' positions in this discursive map also reflect how Chicago has spatialized (in social space) the residents who attend those schools. This theoretical map supports the arguments made by many education researchers and geographers, particularly geographers who have contributed to the body of literature on neoliberalism, that neoliberal policies are perpetuated through hegemonic discourses that describe social programs as problematic failures, while at the same time propose (and implement) privatization and weakened labor as the solution for those failures.

Chicago Today

Mayor Richard M. Daley's Renaissance 2010 set out to close 60-70 neighborhood schools and replace them with 100 Renaissance schools by the year 2010. School closures in Chicago have not stopped, however. Mayor Rahm Emanuel took Chicago's highest office in May 2011. During his tenure so far, Mayor Emanuel has continued Daley's legacy of shuttering neighborhood schools and allowing for new privately run charter schools to replace them (Ahmed-Ullah 2013). In fact, Mayor Emanuel's school closure initiatives include the largest mass school closure in Chicago's history (Ahmed-Ullah et al. 2013). Emanuel announced in Spring 2013 that CPS would be closing 50 public schools prior to the start of the 2013-2014 school year. The mass school closure announcement marked the 2012-2013 school year as one bookended with extreme controversy for CPS; the school year started off with a week-and-a-half-long Chicago Teachers Union strike as teachers battled with city officials to negotiate more union-friendly re-hiring practices as schools were

continually shuttered (Rado 2012). The new charter schools are still not bound to hiring any union-represented teachers (Lutton 2013b), thus the neoliberal theme of anti-organized labor continues in Chicago's education reform to this day.

In the two months following Mayor Emanuel's massive school closure announcement, the city of Chicago laid off roughly 2,900 teachers and staff, as teacher salaries were blamed by school district officials as a major cause for CPS' budgetary shortfalls. However, when confronted during a federal hearing on a lawsuit brought forth by parents against the massive school closures, CPS budget officer, Ginger Ostro, confessed under oath that the purpose for the layoffs was not to close the budgetary gap (Lutton 2013a). This follows the pattern described by many researchers that the neoliberal project blames labor for "apparently failing" institutions, causing workers to jump to the defense of their labor and institutions, meanwhile neoliberals make the argument for a "clean break" from union labor and failing institutions toward privatization (Peck & Tickell 2002, 388).

While Mayor Emanuel's massive closure initiative lacked an Orwellian title, and was not countered with charter school replacements, in August 2013 the school district quietly began laying the groundwork for opening over a dozen new charter schools in what city officials call "priority neighborhoods"(Lutton 2013b) where gentrification continues. Saving a public-run neighborhood school in this atmosphere of private replacement requires discursively positioning that school in the neoliberal global agenda that is rapidly increasing Chicago's "global city" status. Consider this final news article excerpt, where a city alderman is trying to save his constituents' neighborhood school from being shuttered in the latest mass school closure:

> Ald[erman] Walter Burnett, 27th, said he was able to make an impression on Emanuel about the importance of keeping Manierre open. Shifting from an argument about security and gang issues,

> Burnett said he impressed upon Emanuel how having Manierre open would be a boon to efforts to attract more middle-class families to the neighborhood once best known for the Cabrini-Green public housing complex.
>
> "He literally told me, 'I'm not going to make this decision based on a family feud.' So at that point, I realized I had to try a different argument," Burnett said. "So after that, I tried not to focus on the crime thing. I tried to focus on redevelopment." (Noreen et al. 2013)

The issue of crime and violence that Alderman Burnett initially used to try to appeal to Mayor Emanuel as a reason to keep Manierre Elementary School open is still a very real and present danger for Chicago's public school students. Many students whose schools were shuttered after the 2012-2013 school year now have to walk longer routes past drug houses and through gang territories to get to their now-nearest neighborhood schools. Thus, seven years after Steven Flagg and his Austin neighbors travelled through violent regions of their city to get to the nearest public school available, the story of school reform in Chicago seems to only be repeating itself: Through measures that lack local residential control, Chicago's poorer residents are subject to neoliberal privatization policies decided by an elite few, who use public schools as an arena to vend the virtues of competition and individual choice. These goals include reformatting the socio-spatial layout of the entire city through housing development and other projects that price out the same residents who once attended the shuttered schools.

Future Research

> Over the past decade, one out of every four intensely segregated African-American schools [in Chicago]—schools with a more than 90 percent African-American student population—has been closed, phased out or turned around. Yet segregation has increased and African-American students are now more segregated by race and class than in 1989. At the same time there are far more schools with virtually no Black teachers and no Black students. Schools with fewer than 10 percent African-American students and teachers now make

> up 28 percent of CPS schools, up from 10 percent in 2001. In CPS, integration has been abandoned as policy and segregation accepted as the norm, rather than as the deliberate and systematic construction that it is. – Diane Ravitch as reported from her personal website, *DianeRavitch.net,* 2013.

There are many avenues of research that I would like to pursue, or see pursued, in terms of school choice proliferation in Chicago and other parts of the United States, as well as the rest of the world. Perhaps foremost is revisiting the creation and implementation of this current dominant format of school reform, which is greatly lacking in democratic input. In Chicago, particularly, the discourses of those whose lives have been disrupted the most by the spatial agenda of Renaissance 2010's and Mayor Emanuel's massive school closures have been largely left out of the public debate. These students are those that school choice policy advocates claim to be helping as they shutter and replace schools across Chicago, yet they are the same students who become displaced and put into a re-segregated education system.

Ultimately, the trend of school choice policies that is gaining popularity seems to abandon the idea that the United States can provide free equal education for all children, regardless of where they live or – for whatever reason – how involved their parents can be in their child's schooling. School choice is an idea that emerged in the post-*Brown* years to appease an anti-busing crowd, sold to the public as a solution for alternative desegregation methods. School choice was supposed to transform the responsibility of desegregation *mandates* into individual *choices* made by education consumers. However, as this final section's opening quote states, Renaissance 2010 has only worsened the problem of racial segregation in Chicago.

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