

Is There 'Space' for International Baccalaureate? A case study exploring space and the adoption of the IB Middle Year Programme

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Henri Lefebvre (1991) wrote, "[representational] space is alive: it speaks" (p. 42). This article explores how we might 'listen' to space in education by examining the role of space in one school's decision to adopt the International Baccalaureate's Middle Years Programme. It builds upon recent scholarship that applies spatial analysis to international education. Using a case study of one school, data was organized to Lefebvre's (1991) tripartite conception of space. The findings and analysis reveal that spatial factors played a significant role in one school's rationale for choosing the IB MYP. In adopting the program, the school (re)produced a distinctive, exclusive space. The research offers a model to visualize space in education, and it concludes by articulating additional paths for critical spatial research in education.

Introduction

The rapid expansion of the International Baccalaureate (IB) verifies that international education is no longer reserved solely for international schools. An international education (tied to the IB) is increasingly common for public and national private schools. The year 2014 saw the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) authorize its 5,000th program reaching 1.3 million students (IBO, 2015a). To counter criticism that United States' schools dominate the IB (Brunnell, 2010), the IB has focused on expanding its international reach. IB agreements within countries like the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia (IBO, 2015a) helped push the representation of Africa, Europe, The Middle East and Asia-Pacific to 39% of all 5,907 programmes offered as of November 2016 (IBO, n.d.-a). Hill (2010) predicted by 2020 there will 10,000 schools with IB programs serving 2.5 million students (p. 41).

Many of the schools that join the IB seek to promote global understanding, global citizenry, and a world-sharing ethos (Philips and Schweisfurth, 2014). IB's (2015, n.d.-b) stated mission is "... to create a better and more peaceful world through intercultural understanding and respect." In addition to these altruistic aims, schools see the IB as a prestigious brand (Resnik, 2012) associated with superior levels of education (Paris, 2003).

It can be used as an impetus for curricular reform and improving academic excellence (Fox, 1998). One school even cited a desire to increase student diversity and achieve 'racial balance' (Spahn, 2001).

In choosing the IB schools must balance the benefits and sacrifices of making the transition to a more internationally focused education. Each school makes decisions based on particular perceptions, feelings, and infrastructures. These factors, taken together as the space of a school, are imperative in understanding why an institution feels compelled (or qualified) to adopt the IB. In this paper, I use a critical spatial framework to explore one school's choice to adopt an IB Middle Years Program (MYP). Researchers have called for greater spatial understanding in education (Larsen & Beech, 2014). As space is socially produced (and reproduced) (Lefebvre, 1991), it is crucial to determine its influence on education landscapes. Specifically, I sought to answer the following research questions: How does space impact a school's rationale for adopting the IB? What type of education space does the IB produce (or reproduce)?

I begin with a brief history and overview of the IB. I then discuss previous literature about why schools chose the IB. I build the case for using space as a theoretical framework and follow with a description of the case study methodology explaining how I organized the data to Lefebvre's (1991) tripartite conception of space. In doing so, I offer a model to visualize space in education. Finally, I present and analyze the data showing that spatial factors played a significant role in one school's rationale for choosing the IB MYP. The conclusion articulates paths for further spatial research in education.

The International Baccalaureate

History of IB The guiding vision of the IB can be traced back to Kurt Hahn. Hahn, a German of Jewish origin, theorized that an education with a more global perspective could be a tool for peace squashing the national and racial prejudices that lead to war (Spahn, 2001). The International School at Geneva serving children of the staff of the League of Nations proved to be an early model. Marie-Thérèse Maurette (1948), who worked at The International School and shared Hahn's belief in using an international education to fight against "violent, egotistical nationalism", urged an emerging UNESCO to take charge in supporting similar aims. Thus, when Alex Peterson created IB's initial curriculum design in the 1960s it was not far removed from a prevailing hope in international education and institutions. The IB was officially founded in 1968. Peterson became the organization's first deputy general (IBO, 2015b; Spahn, 2001).

The first IB program offered was the Diploma Programme (DP) designed solely for secondary education institutions. From the outset, IB moved beyond its visionary and pedagogical foundations, based on international understanding and critical thinking, to

ensure the DP served practical university enrollment objectives (Hill, 2010). Tensions between an idealistic international education and a practical, competitive diploma continue to play out today (see Brunnell, 2010; Fox, 1998; McGregor, 2009; Paris, 2003; Resnik 2008, 2009, 2012). In 1994, an official Middle Years Programme (MYP) was added for ages 11-16, followed by the Primary Year Programme in 1997, and the Career-related Programme in 2012 (IBO, 2015b).

As this case study sought to understand the rationale for one school's decision to choose the IB MYP, a more detailed explanation of this program is warranted. The MYP is a more 'holistic' program than the DP because the curriculum is wider, and whole schools participate rather than individual students (Brunnell, 2011; Stobie, 2007). The MYP is flexible enough to fit most national, regional, and local standards, while still providing schools a recognizable, unique curriculum (IBO, n.d.-c). The MYP consists of eight subject groups: language acquisition, language and literature, individuals and societies, sciences, mathematics, arts, physical and health education, and design. Students also engage in Approaches to Learning (ATL), community service, and a large culminating project (IBO, 2014). On its website, the IBO (n.d.-d) described the MYP as encouraging "students to make practical connections between their studies and the real world, preparing them for success in further study and in life." There are currently 1,149 MYP schools in 101 countries (IBO, n.d.-e).

Why Choose the IB? The normative and ideological aims of the IB often take a back seat to traditional academic concerns, especially in the United States. Perceptions of academic rigor, high standards, prestige, and excellence are key reasons U.S. schools chose an IB international education (Brunnell, 2011; Fox, 1998; Spahn, 2001). In *America and the International Baccalaureate in the United States, a study of three schools*, Spahn (2001) concluded, "a large majority of the schools were attracted to the IB because of its high academic standards but its international aspects were of secondary importance" (p. 113). Individual student rationale mirrors that of schools. Paris (2003) found students elected to pursue an IB DP because it was a competitive advantage, prestigious, and highly regarded. The IB carries a certain brand and cachet that students and schools are eager to trumpet (Resnik, 2012). In a study investigating why schools chose the IB MYP, Sperandio (2010) found that across diverse schools specific commonalities emerged. Schools with similar philosophies and missions chose the 'pre-IB' program in order to challenge students academically and socially. Schools felt the MYP was inline with the high expectations of the school community (Sperandio, 2010). Furthermore, the non-prescriptive, yet detailed, curriculum framework of IB MYP helped schools transition to a more student-centered and inquiry-based pedagogy (Sperandio, 2010).

At a macro level, many scholars have explained why schools choose an international education and an IB curriculum. McGregor (2009) argued that there is an inherent tension

between neo-liberal policies and transformative education. The more radical philosophical undercurrents of the IB, personified by Kurt Hahn, conflict with market forces working to recreate obedient workers. Dealing with this tension, international education is consumed by neo-liberal demands. Resnik (2012) pointed out that parents see a future market benefit for their child when they receive an international education. An international education helps placement in prestigious universities and builds crucial skills needed in a global economy. A multicultural, global education becomes a valuable tool to reproduce class advantage. Former IBO deputy general, Jeff Beard (2015), spoke to the 'value' of an international education:

But a trawl of the world's top employers' websites, and discussion with higher education recruiters, places new emphasis on capabilities that have become known as '21st-century' skills. These are skills that relate to new ways of working and thinking in our rapidly changing global society. (p. 53)

Theoretical Framework

I utilized a critical spatial framework to study one U.S. school's rationale for choosing the IB MYP. I chose a critical spatial framework to better understand space's impact on key education decisions, in this case, the rationale for adopting an international education represented by the IB. Although the process of globalization reveals increasingly complex concepts of space, spatial thinking remains an unharnessed tool in international and comparative education. Recently, Middleton (2014) pointed to a 'spatial turn' in education scholarship. Robertson (2010) presented 'tracking' and 'decentralisation' through a spatial lens. Vavrus (2016) showed how the social production of space contributed to educational disparities in Tanzania. As this scholarship suggests, a deeper engagement with the concept of space is necessary to move beyond traditional boundaries like local-global, time-space, and place-space (Larsen & Beech, 2014; Robertson, 2010).

In many ways, space provides an additional, and deeper extension, of place. Space acknowledges that people, ideas, feelings, processes, networks and modes of production exist outside geographical borders (Larsen & Beech, 2014). While material place immobilizes social relations, globalized space stretches out social relations (Robertson, 2010). Space may not have visible boundaries, but it is nevertheless lived and experienced. Thousands of miles apart refugees from a country feel tied to their culture. Across time zones people 'like' similar posts through a computer screen. People within the same city join opposing political groups. Perhaps space is underrepresented in international and comparative education because it is not understood. Lefebvre (1991) seemed to understand this tendency, "Is this space an abstract one? Yes, but is also 'real' in the sense in which concrete abstractions such as commodities and money are real" (p. 27).

Lefebvre (1991) offered a conceptual triad to illustrate how space is socially produced. Space is at once perceived, conceived, and lived. Perceived spaces are most closely linked to tangible place. Lefebvre (1991) referred to perceived space in terms of spatial practice, our consistent interaction with particular locations such as buildings and monuments (p. 33). Middleton (2014) described perceived space “as habitual *spatial practices* - walking well-trodden paths to school, switching on computers, reaching for books” (p. 10).

The second piece of the triad, conceived space, is also called representations of space. “Conceived spaces are abstract, mental (legal or bureaucratic) *enclosures*...representations of space are the codified visualizations: architectural blueprints of a school building, flowcharts, the boxes on timetable charts” (Middleton, 2014, p. 11). Related to schools, conceived spaces may include district maps or attendance zones, class schedules, and school handbooks. As Vavrus (2016) illuminated, conceived spaces “play an important role in the transformation of amorphous space into a defined place with boundaries making territories of different scales” (p. 140).

The final piece of Lefebvre’s tripartite theory of space, lived space, is also called representational space. Lived spaces embody the underlying emotions, feelings, and symbolism related to social relations (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). Lived spaces may be the least tangible leg of the triad, but the most alive. Lived spaces represent the human energy inherent in a space, its emotive energy and stirring dynamism. Lived spaces are what make a house, ‘a home’. Middleton (2014) said, “We ‘live’ spaces by attributing meaning to them: emotional, spiritual, historical, cultural or genealogical” (p. 11).

It is through the lens of Lefebvre's triad model of space that I critically examine one school’s rationale for adapting the IB MYP. The critical lens is important because space is not passive. Space is socially produced and reproduced. Lefebvre (1991) noted, “(social) space is a (social) product” (p. 26). Lefebvre (1991) was clear that space serves the needs of hegemonic groups. He wrote, “The ‘object’ of interest must be expected to shift from *things in space* to the actual *production of space*” (p. 37). Might a school, and its unique notion of spatial experiences and relations, catalyze this shift? How might the IB fit into this shift?

Methodology

I adopted a case study methodology because my ‘insider’ position (Brayboy & Doyle, 2000) as a practitioner-researcher (classroom teacher/doctoral student) allowed for the collection of myriad forms of qualitative data. Throughout the course of the research I worked hard to recognize my unique positionality. I strove to balance my commitments to equitable education, social justice, and critical research with respect to the practices of my school and school community. I strove to be honest and transparent with my research.

One way I did this was by conducting member checks with participants to increase trustworthiness and transparency of the data and analysis (Glesne, 2015; Saldana, 2015).

I interviewed four of the five school administrators including the principal, the vice principal (VP) of curriculum and instruction, the VP of student services, and the IB coordinator. The interviews were semi-structured and all administrators were asked similar questions. As administrators carry a heavy burden in implementing the IB and facilitating stakeholder buy-in (Spahn, 2001; Williams, 2007), I believed their thoughts and opinions would be most crucial. The administrators I spoke to have either been at the school since the beginning of the IB process or were hired specifically to aid implementation.

I also used document analysis (Merriam, 1998) to interpret data on how the rationale for IB MYP was communicated to staff, students, and the community. Documents included administrator presentations, parent letters, project kick-off videos, program applications, brochures, student packets, monthly updates from the IB coordinator, and a principal podcast. Given my employment as a classroom teacher, I was also influenced by many informal conversations, emails, and comments. The varied forms of data increased triangulation and helped me to understand the space of the school community, and its decision to 'go IB'.

The start of my employment at the school coincided with year three of the IB MYP adoption process. Although not fully authorized, the IB emerged as a major school focus point from the administration. Teachers shared ideas for IB units and explained trips to past and future IB conferences. School learner traits were modified to correspond with the IB learner profile (see IBO, 2013). The 'language hall' featured the new learner traits (e.g., inquirers, balanced, communicators, etc.) painted on the wall. On my initial tour of the school given to me by the principal, he pointed out two new globe sculptures on the grounds.

In analyzing the data, "I engaged in multiple readings, meditations, and annotations of the data" (Misco, 2010, p. 194). I looked for commonalities and salient points. As these commonalities and salient points emerged, I matched them to one of Lefebvre's (1991) three triads of space (perceived, conceived, or lived space) using protocol coding (Saldana, 2015). In order to organize and conceptualize the data, I created a model based on Lefebvre's triad to visualize space and IB. A circle represents each individual triad. Within each circle, I list the commonalties found in the data related specifically to the respective triad. The three circles, or triads of space, overlap in certain areas to show the interlocking nature of space.

Jeffrey Middle School – Context Jeffrey Middle School (JMS) is a sixth through eighth-grade public middle school located in the Midlands region of South Carolina, United States. In

an application for another program, JMS described itself as “nestled in the heart of one of the fastest growing suburban towns in the nation.” The rapid growth of the town caused the school to split twice (producing two additional schools) within its 30-year history as a middle school. The two new middle schools are located in close proximity to Jeffrey.

The school prides itself on a history of outstanding academic achievement. The school has many regional, state, and national distinctions. One of these recognitions is a ‘Blue Ribbon School’. The aforementioned application stated:

Our flourishing community values high-quality education. A long history of high educational expectations drives parents, teachers and community members to strive for excellence each day. Many of our teachers attended our school and embody the emphasis on giving back to a community that takes pride in collective success.

Residential property values have benefited from a strong school reputation, and the community is invested both economically and socially in maintaining its esteem.

JMS supports a broad academic program for its 800 students. Students take four core classes: English language arts, science, social studies, and math. Students rotate different ‘exploratory’ classes including theater, orchestra, chorus, dance, STEM lab, design, physical education, art, service learning, global connections, and other options. Each student is required to take a second-language class for all three years. The languages offered are Latin, Spanish, French, and German; this is also a requirement for the IB MYP (IBO, 2014). In addition to a diverse set of classes, there is a full complement of sports programs and after-school clubs. For the purpose of this article, school and administrator names have been changed.

Analysis, Findings, and Discussion

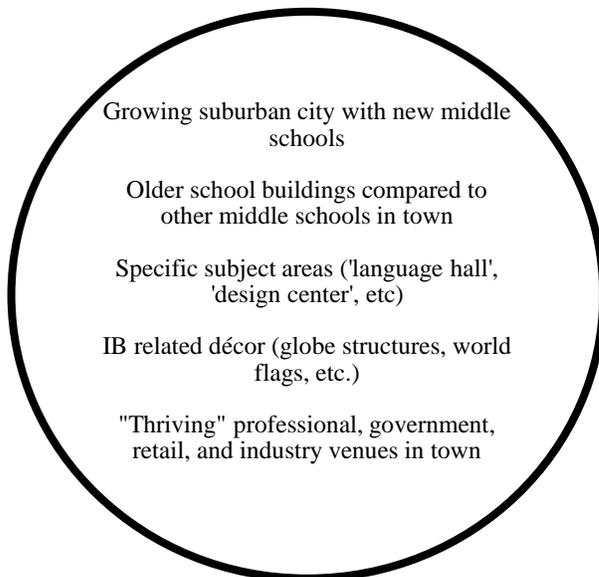
Perceived Space The spatial practice of the school community revealed a consistent interaction with buildings and places. Similar to Vavrus (2016), I found “perceived space marked by certain physical features and reinforced through habitual practices” (p. 146). Highly visible alterations to the school influenced by the IB presented JMS an opportunity to reclaim and reinvent their physical space. New IB related décor included three globe sculptures, world flags lining the cafeteria, IB learner trait posters, and various foreign language greetings painted on the halls (Figure 1).

Figure 1 - IB related décor



The IB provided an opportunity to change the physical layout of the campus to reflect school and community expectations. Through the IB-inspired redesign of physical space, new habitual spatial practices (Middleton, 2014) were created to facilitate the broad curriculum. Specific physical spaces were devoted to parts of the 'holistic' program. For example, walking through campus, a student (or another stakeholder) may pass the 'language hall', glance at happenings in the 'design center', or hear sounds drifting from music and chorus classes. The VP of student services explained, "we want students to be artists, engineers, potters, and dancers when they leave." The IB 're-branding' of the school (Resnik, 2012) worked in tandem with these curricular and pedagogical shifts. As the principal said in a school video, "an IB school means, basically, when we get that title as an IB school our students do more, bigger, picture stuff than other schools around."

Figure 2 - Perceived space at JMS



Growing suburban city with new middle schools

Older school buildings compared to other middle schools in town

Specific subject areas ('language hall', 'design center', etc)

IB related décor (globe structures, world flags, etc.)

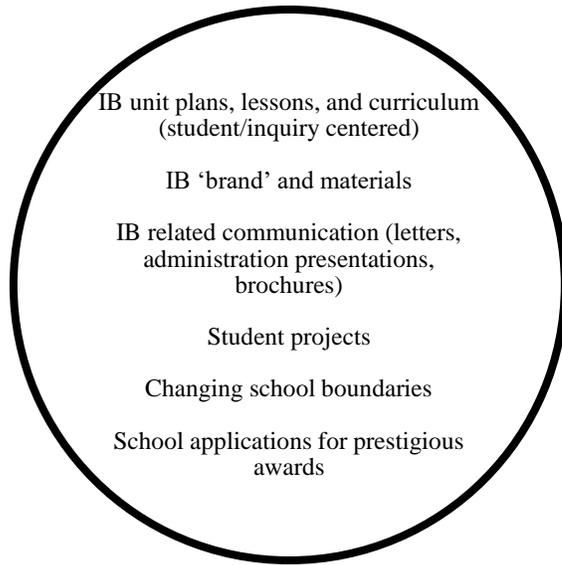
"Thriving" professional, government, retail, and industry venues in town

“Than other schools around” is an important phrase because the growth of the town produced a profound change in the school community’s sense of perceived space. The IB provided a path to bring the campus’ perceived space in line with that of a “flourishing” suburban town with multiple (and competing) schools. Three of the four administrators spoke about the two new middle schools in town that serve parts of Jeffrey’s old attendance zone. JMS’ physical buildings are much older than its counterparts’. It is normal to hear students and teachers wish for the glass enclosures, large common areas, and sports facilities of their cutting-edge ‘rivals’. A glance at the three schools’ websites proved an interesting comparison to this point. The newest middle school in town features a large picture of its school building as the banner image for its home page. Jeffrey, on the other hand, featured rotating images of student groups with a link to the IB MYP featured prominently in the navigation. Ginny, the VP of curriculum and instruction, spoke directly to this competition in her interview, “We [the community] compare itself to the other schools.” The principal reiterated, “another school was recently built and this community wanted to rise up.” The comparison between buildings and competition between schools is accentuated by habitual trips around town, and community activities at the different school sites like sporting events. The adoption of the IB allowed the school to create a unique perceived space, one not solely defined by older school buildings.

Conceived Space Organizing salient points to representations of space showed the school’s strong desire to codify nebulous concepts, practices, and pedagogies like inquiry-based and student-centered instruction. “We can’t teach at them anymore. We need to move from memorization to inquiry. The IB helps this process” (interview, VP of student services). All administrators that I interviewed shared a similar sentiment that the IB presented tools for improved pedagogy and instruction. It was clear administrators felt that school education was changing, and the IB offered a path to move forward. In the words of the principal, “the IB gives a blueprint or roadmap for college and career where other schools must figure it out by themselves.”

IB was a vehicle to implement desired, or demanded, changes. The IB coordinator stressed, “The IB allows for vast improvement. It is about inquiry and big questions. Every child can succeed and benefit from this.” Using the IB curriculum to concretize a desired shift in space is inline with Larsen and Beech’s (2014) definition of conceived space as “more abstract notions in space as used in media, maps, town planning, and so on, which operate in ways to represent and make sense of space” (p. 201).

Figure 3 - Conceived space at JMS



The IB brand and materials not only provided key structure, but also a reliable brand to nascent representations of space. To reiterate the IB brand, teachers received new t-shirts with globe logos each year, and globe clip art featured prominently on most school communication. IB lessons, unit plans, and curriculum were seen as key supports to help produce well-rounded, creative students with a global perspective. The IB coordinator spoke highly of the curriculum, "this [IB MYP] is credible because it is global, and this successful program says we are on the cutting edge."

Communication provided another opening to conceive space. The principal was consistently praised for pro-active communication. In letters, presentations, and even a podcast, the principal expressed the benefits of choosing the IB. He took care to explain all matters of the newly conceived space including block schedules, different classes, new assessments, and "outstanding" pedagogy. From a brochure sent home to all parents about the IB, the principal explained, "students at JMS learn the South Carolina Academic Standards in all courses through inquiry-based approaches that help them take the lead in their own learning."

A letter introducing the IB MYP summative eighth-grade project provided further opportunity for the principal to explain the positive features of the IB. The letter stated, "many of the kids are already doing amazing work in the community...The project may be built around something the student is already working on, like scouts or a church youth projects." The summative project injected the conceived space of the school (and the IB curriculum) into the community. The project made abstract notions about the IB curriculum come alive

Like the principal's words above, administrators believed the school to be extraordinary before the IB. Communication allowed stakeholders to see that the IB (just like the summative project) was additive. IB adoption helped make the school, the students, and the space "cutting-edge" and "innovative"; words multiple administrators used to describe IB curriculum. With this rationale, the IB MYP helped the school (re)produce space.

Lived Space Spaces of representation (or lived space), "the space that is lived, felt, and experienced" (Larsen & Beech, 2015, p. 201), highlighted a shared school and community culture of excellence. "The community has huge expectations for the kids. They have expectations above and beyond standard public school" (interview, IB coordinator). All administrators used similar words to present JMS as a space with high community expectations, a marked history of academic achievement, and the ability to take on additional demands. JMS' confidence in choosing the IB MYP is clearly rooted in a belief that it has a special, distinctive space. Even though the principal spoke the following words, I heard nearly identical statements from all those I interviewed: "The IB is not to repair anything that is broken. Our students demonstrate high achievement. We could take on extra elements. Other schools may have a hard time." An attitude of resolute confidence resonated throughout the entire school. The principal continued, "This school and community want to be an exemplar as the state transforms education." The administration believed the school community was uniquely prepared to accept the challenge of the IB MYP.

Figure 4 - Lived space at JMS



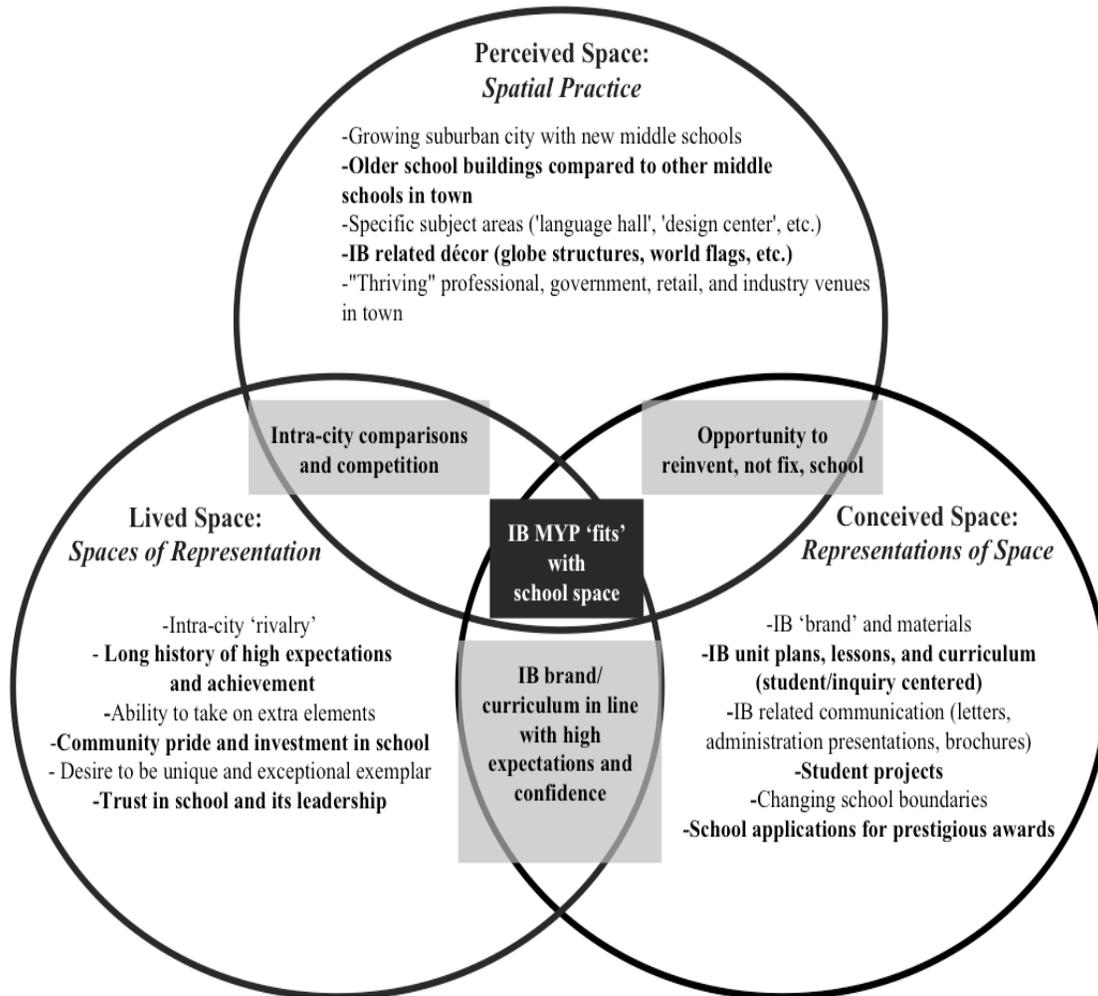
A trusting relationship between school and community is at the center of JMS. The community supports the school's aims financially with PTO fundraisers and grants. The community also plays an active role in IB summative eighth grade projects. This provides the school with abundant resources to implement "an incredibly expensive program" (interview, principal). The principal acknowledged the school resources enabled a certain level of access.

Although the principal believed in international education's (IB curriculum) ability to build empathy and understanding, he worried about inequalities that emerge if one school community has the means to support programs others do not. During a member check, the principal continued to struggle with this tension. Ultimately, he hoped the IB would help the school be more mission driven, rather than elitist. Ginny, the VP of curriculum and instruction, shared a hopeful view as well, "kids here need to see outside themselves."

Both the school and the community strive to be an exemplar of education eminence. They take pride in their prestigious reputation. Once again, the intra-city 'rivalry' between middle schools was noted. The principal referenced a "race to the top" as parents expected more from the school program in lieu of a new building. He said parents demanded "equity". The common perception of IB as a rigorous, high-quality program proved key in gathering support. The IB was a recognizable distinguisher and differentiated JMS in positive ways. The VP of student services said, "it [IB MYP] gives the school a positive identity." The adoption of the IB reinforced the notion that JMS occupied an exclusive space. The school and community felt that it was deserving of a distinguished brand like the IB. This feeling lay at the heart of the school's lived space and connected the desire to (re)produce its distinctiveness space through the IB. The notion that an international education program like the IB helps to reinforce an exclusive, privileged school space able to (re)produce idiosyncratic advantages is a line of inquiry that warrants further research.

Overlapping Space It was nearly impossible to categorize all the data into three neat triads. When the three triads came together, areas of interconnectedness developed. It can be argued, as does Lefebvre (1991), that space is inherently multi-layered. This proved to be correct in the case study. Points of overlap are visualized in Figure 5. Intra-city comparison between schools produced the most overlap. The lack of a new school building appeared to impact JMS' sense of space, generating feelings of inferiority. Perhaps more specifically, JMS felt the relative excellence of their exclusive space to be threatened as the age of the school building called into question its role as the exemplar in the community. IB acted as a counterweight to those feelings, helping to create a newly (re)produced space. The school clearly took pride in the prestigious IB brand and its "cutting edge curriculum" (interview, IB coordinator).

Figure 5 – Visualizing Lefebvrian Space: A Model



As mentioned previously, JMS did not adopt the IB MYP because something needed to be fixed. Instead, the IB was attractive because it added to the strong reputation of the school. In the words of the principal, "The IB application and auditing process reinforces and reflects the high standards of the community." JMS believed it had the spatial infrastructure to be a successful IB school. They had a lived space based on exceptional academics, high expectations, trust, and community support. In the words of the VP for student services, "they had responsible students with support from home, and the expectation of achievement at high levels."

The flexibility of the IB MYP was attractive to the administration. They could mold it as they saw fit. The IB coordinator said, "We are still figuring out the IB. We never really wanted to fit into the IB. We want the IB to fit into the things we already do well, and the things we want to do." In many ways, it appeared that the contemporary and historic

space of JMS complemented the IB brand. The IB allowed the school to make changes without the potential negative consequences or concerns that can come from a program or regime shift. The adoption of the IB was used creatively by the school to (re)produce a distinctive and exclusive space. As the diagram shows, the unique space of JMS proved to be a 'perfect fit' for the IB MYP.

Conclusion

Schools chose the IB, and the IB MYP, for a variety of reasons. Agreeing with much research to date (Brunnell, 2011; Fox 1998; Paris, 2003; Spahn, 2001; Speradino, 2010), a case study of one school's rationale for adopting an IB MYP revealed perceptions of academic rigor, pedagogical innovation, high standards, prestige, and excellence. The school believed that the IB was an appropriate vehicle for improving an already successful school. A critical spatial framework using Lefebvre's triad showed that the produced space of JMS provided a crucial impetus and a unique confidence to adopt the IB MYP. Spatial factors played a significant role, among others, in JMS' rationale for choosing the IB MYP. Not only did the school perceive itself to have the necessary space to successfully adopt a demanding new program, the adoption of the IB might reproduce current educational advantages. The IB helped the school to maintain an exclusive and privileged space. More research on space and education, in addition to this exploration, is necessary to determine space's complicity in systems of correspondence and reproduction.

There are additional ways to expand the research presented here. Extended case studies using a similar methodology can learn from parents, teachers, businesses and other local/global actors. It became clear in analyzing the data that a project explicitly aimed at comparing different schools, program rationales, and spatial factors would be insightful. Additionally, there is a need for education research to explore space's intersection with various forms of oppression including race, gender, class, national origin, sexual orientation, language, and dis/ability (Pacheco & Velez, 2009). The extent that spaces are 'raced' is at the heart of Critical Race Spatial Analysis (CRSA). Velez, Solórzano, and Pacheco (as quoted in Pacheco & Velez, 2009) defined CRSA as "an explanatory framework and methodological ...that works to examine how structural and institutional factors influence and shape racial dynamics and the power associated with those dynamics over time" (p. 293). Although not the aim of this paper, it was apparent that certain administrator statements could be elaborated through a CRSA framework. One might ask what is to be inferred when an administrator says something like "this community has high expectations for the kids. They are above and beyond standard public school expectations." CRSA adds an intriguing layer onto Lefebvre's triad model used in this paper and helps lay the groundwork for spatial justice in education. Continuing the call for spatial thinking in education, I use Lefebvre's (1991) own words, "[representational] space is alive: it speaks" (p. 42). I close by asking, "Are we listening?"

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