

SENSE MAKING IN SOCIAL STUDIES: A STUDY OF ECONOMICS AND
SUBJECTIVITY

by

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(Under the Direction of H. JAMES GARRETT)

ABSTRACT

In this study, I draw primarily upon the work of Deleuze and Guattari (1987; 2009) to investigate economics education, economic subjectivity, teacher education and teacher subjectivity. The study is intended to inform the teaching and learning of economics as well as the non-linear and contextual ways teachers become teaching subjects. To do this, I deploy post-qualitative research methodologies.

I begin by sharing my experiences as a middle grades social studies teacher attempting to become a teacher, particularly of economics content, in the midst of great economic and social upheaval as a result of the 2008 financial crisis. Then, I provide a literature review of economics curriculum, focusing on debates about the efficacy of neoclassic economic theory as framing economic curriculum. After the literature review, I provide an analysis of a particular set of K-12 economics standards, the Georgia Performance Standards. I argue that not only are the GPS standards neoclassic, but that neoclassic standards in general are capitalistic. Drawing on the literature review and standards analysis, I argue that economics curriculum produces particular subjects, which has implications for the values and approaches to teaching and learning of social studies.

Next, I describe the methods and methodology of the larger study, wherein I employed a reflexive process to create various elicitation devices. I video and audio recorded interviews with youth ages 12-17 in local grocery stores, showed those interviews to graduate level students in a social studies methods course, and then asked four of those students to respond to, or make sense of, their in-class responses to the youth's interviews. From this data I derived three chapters wherein I attend to processes of subject formation in each of the three phases of the study. Overall, I found that the things the participants said and did materialized in ways that were not predictable or understandable through current frames of economics curriculum or teacher education discourses. I drew on Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) theories of desire and becoming as well as theories of capitalistic production to theorize the data, arguing that the study's findings can provide important counternarratives in economics and teacher education.

INDEX WORDS: social studies education; teacher education; economics education;
 becoming; Deleuze; capitalism

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the dear family, friends, teachers, professors and students that I've worked with over the years that inspired this project and made it possible.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation was inspired by my experiences as a middle grades social studies teacher. The middle school where I taught was the most remote, rural, and socio-economically disadvantaged school located in a firmly politically conservative county, district and state. I began teaching at the cusp of the 2008 financial crisis. The county where I taught, once the fastest growing in the state, suddenly became the state's foreclosure capital, which meant that all of us, the teachers I worked with and the students that I taught, and their families, became intimately familiar with economic crisis. Suddenly, families lost their homes and adults lost their jobs, gasoline prices rose to record high levels to the point where parents could not afford to drive to the school, and austerity cuts were rampant in an already politically conservative county and state. Economics was at the very forefront of the county's social and political discourse. In a call for salary cuts for "overpaid" teachers, alongside a general attack on public education in general, the local newspapers published the salary of every employee of the three school systems contained within the county (the politics of which constituted another point of contention). In the midst of all of this political and economic activity, there was little in the way of the formal social studies curriculum that could help teachers help their students make sense of all of these happenings. In short, social studies should have been the place where the students could develop as citizens in a complex and diverse society

and where they could seek answers to the questions framed by the civic, economic, historical, and geographic problems they encountered in their lived experiences.

Instead, the two courses I taught, Georgia Studies and World Area Studies, were largely comprised of telling students what things were rather than how they worked. That is, constrained by time, inexperience, and the pressures of addressing a lot of standards covering a lot of time and space, I resorted to telling students about things like taxes and tariffs and supply and demand rather than engaging in discussions about how these concepts came to be and what sorts of consequences or outcomes they are intended to produce.

Learning to Teach Economics

I learned to teach economics in much the same way many economics teachers do, that is to say, I had little, if any, formal training in teaching economics and what I did get was in social studies methods courses (Aske, 2003; Joshi & Marri, 2006). Moreover, Joshi and Marri (2006), wrote about the preparation of economics educators within social studies education, that "given the varied and immense demands on the general social studies methods course, methods instructors, at best, might spend one session on teaching economics" and that such practices result in "inadequate" training of preservice social studies teachers to teach economics (p.198). In other words, those that teach economics at the K-12 level are housed and trained within social studies education programs and the social studies methods courses they take are insufficient in preparing them to teach economics. I've found that I've repeated this trend in my current work in social studies teacher education at the elementary, middle, and secondary levels in devoting maybe two class periods to economics in order to cover all of the topics in social studies. However,

particularly in the state of Georgia (as I'll show in the next chapter), economics in social studies teacher education is very important, as economics standards are found at every grade level from kindergarten through eighth grade as well as a required high school course.

Although I had completed a teacher education program where I completed a full-time student teaching internship in an eighth grade American History class, and despite earning a master's degree in social studies education, becoming a teacher was a much more difficult and complex task that I could have ever imagined. I found that teacher education occurred in a lot of unexpected places. I learned a lot about teaching from my time in the classroom, and I think I learned even more from my experiences as a student, instructor, and researcher in pursuit of a doctoral degree in social studies education. Thus, this dissertation stems from a place of sense-making. It was not until I began working on my Ph.D. that I was able to make sense of the things that I was teaching and the way I was teaching them. When I was in the midst of teaching middle school students every day, there were times when I uncomfortable with the content I was teaching an the way I was teaching it, but I did not have the time or tools at the time that I needed to make sense of what was happening or how I might do things differently. The Ph.D. program offered me the much-needed opportunity to think critically about the purposes of teaching social studies and the implications of my teaching practices. Moreover, it offered me critical, poststructural theorists such as Deleuze and Guattari (2009; 1987) that have helped me think deeply about society, teaching, and learning.

Sense Making

The title of this dissertation refers to the process of sense making. I deploy sense making in several ways throughout the dissertation. As I described earlier, this dissertation was first born out of my own attempts to make sense of my teaching. I have since used sense-making to epitomize the work that is done in social studies education. To me, social studies should be a place, or space, where students can make sense of the world. A social studies classroom can constitute a sense making space where students can think about the things that go on outside of the classroom, in society and teacher educators are tasked with helping provide students with the conceptual tools to do this sense making.

I have narrowed the focus of sense making for this study, focusing almost entirely on the discipline of economics. I've done this for several reasons. First, economics, like all disciplines, is a conceptual tool used to make sense of social phenomena. Disciplines are useful because they provide a common way of viewing things and a common language with which to talk about these things. Economics issues are at the foreground of political and social issues, since economics is about how people make choices and decisions. Deleuze (1994), theorized that “the economic is the social dialectic itself-in other words, the totality of the problems posed to a given society. In all rigour, there are only economic social problems, even though the solutions may be juridical, political, or ideological” (p.186). So even problems that might appear to be political are at their core economic. For example, the debates during the current presidential primaries are centered on the state of the economy and such issues as healthcare, national debt and unemployment are about resource management and decision-making.

Second, in the dissertation I attempt to make sense of this disciplinary sense making by examining economics curriculum. Third, I designed a study that would get at sense making at the intersections of economics and social studies teacher education. I knew from my teaching experience that youth could talk about economics in ways that do not always conform to economic disciplinary standards. I wanted to know how youth might make sense of a social/consumer space and how social studies teachers might make sense of this sense making. To do this, I put together a social space where economic activities take place, grocery stores, and the people who go there, youth, alongside the people tasked with helping students make sense of such a space, teachers. Thus, the dissertation is built around how youth make sense of a social space, like the grocery store and how preservice and practicing teachers make sense of their sense making.

Overview of the Dissertation

Chapter Two is an introduction to economics curriculum in the United States and the state of Georgia that will frame the rest of the dissertation. The chapter begins with a review of literature related to economics curriculum. Then, the chapter continues with an analysis I conducted of the economics standards in the Georgia Performance Standards (GPS). After a presentation of the findings from this analysis, where I discuss the neoclassicism underlying the standards, the chapter concludes by using the work of Deleuze and Guattari (2009) and Guattari (2009) to theorize how such standards shape a particular economic subject, taking the analysis from what the standards *are* (neoclassic) to theorizing what they *do* to the students on the receiving end of the curriculum.

Chapter Three is the methodology chapter, wherein I conceptualize the study in terms of *why* I did what I did. The chapter contains explanations of the three sites of the

study, grocery stores, a teacher education class, and classrooms and why I chose each space. In this chapter I also explained the role of data in the study, how it was generated and its recursive function in the study. Finally, I discuss how I conceptualized data analysis in terms of plugging concepts into one another.

Chapter Four, Methods, is a straightforward account of each phase of the study. Here I present the research questions, the contexts, and the participants in each phase of the study. This chapter sets up the data chapters that comprise Chapters Five, Six, and Seven.

Chapter Five, in some ways, picks up where Chapter Two leaves off. It is an attempt to show how youth, of the sort the GPS standards address, talks about and are active in, grocery stores, which are the types of social and capitalistic spaces that involve the sort of decision-making that comprises economics curriculum. This chapter "fleshes out" economics curriculum by conceptualizing economics in terms of real people doing and saying real things in real places. I generated data by video recording the youth drawing maps and audio recording them walking with me through the store. I drew on Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) conceptualization of the role of desire and desiring production in capitalistic societies to theorize the data in order to show what economics curriculum misses when it only relies on neoclassic theory. Finally, because of the recursive nature of the study, this chapter serves as the hinge for the other two data chapters, which build off of it.

Chapter Six explores how graduate students in a social studies methods course made sense of the data generated in the first phase of the study, wherein youth drew maps and walked and talked with me through grocery stores. The data in this phase of the study

shows some of the graduate students, comprising practicing and preservice teachers, talked about the youth in terms of their socioeconomic status and the signs they used to discern these statuses. I theorized the types of discourses and economic theory that these students might have drawn off of to make their conclusions, which point to the types of interventions that might be made in social studies teacher education.

Chapter Seven departs some from the previous two data chapters. Instead of focusing on economics education, this chapter is an analysis of the ways two preservice and one practicing teacher talked about becoming teachers. I use Deleuze and Guattari's (2009; 1987) conception of *becoming* to theorize the data in terms of becoming teacher, which I suggest is a way for teacher educators to conceptualize and address the nonlinear ways students move towards an ever-elusive embodiment of "teacher." I point to the current ways of positioning students learning to be teachers, preservice, in service, and teacher candidates, as unable to fully account for the various subject positions teachers occupy in the process of learning to teach.

Finally, Chapter Eight concludes the dissertation. In this chapter, I summarize the project and tie up the narrative of economics curriculum and social studies teacher education. I also suggest the implications of the research and make suggestions for how social studies teacher education might proceed from this point forward. I will show that in light of economics curriculum's neoclassic foundation, it is not wonder that I was unable to help my students grapple with the economic and social issues that they were faced with.

CHAPTER TWO

ECONOMICS EDUCATION CURRICULUM REVIEW AND ANALYSIS

Over the past decade, scholars have been interested in the teaching and learning of economics. In this literature review, I will engage with that scholarship in order to understand what constitutes economics curriculum today. Then, in order to contribute to this scholarship, I analyzed a set of K-12 standards, Georgia Performance Standards for economics. I have chosen to look closely at literature particularly related to standards and textbooks because these items have the greatest impact on what is taught in schools. I specifically focused on studies of economics textbooks and curricular standards. I thought that curriculum standards and textbooks would provide the most insight into the material that constitutes the body of economics education. The authors of the literature presented here primarily draw on three main sources for economics curriculum, textbooks, state standards and national standards. The literature in this study comes from authors who offer opinions on economics curriculum and the effects that it has on children and society.

Review of Literature

Some of the most extensive current work in economics education curriculum comes from Anand Marri, a faculty member at Teachers College and researchers with whom he has collaborated. In one study, Marri, Gaudelli, Cohen, Siegel, Wylie, Crocco & Grolnick (2012) analyzed the twelve most commonly used high school and college economics textbooks. The authors were looking for mention of the federal budget,

national debt, and budget deficit. They found that the textbooks presented these topics as theoretical ideas rather than specific present day problems or values “largely absent from this theoretical discussion of how the national debt, deficits, and the impact of federal budgets upon the economy is a discussion of the values and political differences that affect how we understand these effects and what significance we attach to them” (p.292). The authors argued that the textbooks addressed the topic of debt and deficit with mathematics-laden graphs and historical examples rather than real-life examples, solutions and people. The textbooks provided no guidance for students to take action towards resolving the debt crisis. Thus, the authors found that calls for political and civic action were largely absent from the texts.

In a related study, Marri, Crocco, Shuttleworth, Gaudelli, & Grolnick (2012) looked for references to the federal budget, national debt, and budget deficit in all fifty states’ social studies standards. The authors found that “almost universally, state standards pay little or no attention to the federal budget, the budget deficit, or the federal debt” (p.135). Only ten states had standards that even mentioned federal budget, national debt or budget deficit. These mentions mostly occurred outside of economics standards. References to budget deficits were found instead in American history standards in reference to the 1970s and 80s financial conditions in the U.S.

In both studies, the researchers sought out mention of the federal budget, budget deficit, and federal debt in economics curriculum. Although the textbooks had greater engagement with these topics, there was little critical engagement with the topics overall. These absences were indicative of a larger problem; the textbooks and standards were largely apolitical, with little attention given to controversial issues. Marri, Gaudelli, et.al.

(2012) found this absence of controversy problematic since the policies regarding federal debt, budget and deficit have great financial and political affect on everyone living in the U.S. stating that it is important for students to learn about these issues in school so that they can "responsibly engage in influencing those policy decisions that reflect an informed point of view" (p.134). Students need to be able to understand issues like the federal debt and deficit so that they can do something about it. These two comprehensive studies of economics curriculum and standards, while focused on the examination of a discrete set of concepts, point to the narrow focus of economics curriculum. This curriculum consists of a core of abstract concepts and terms detached from values, politics, or real life; which are dispersed to other social studies disciplines such a geography, civics, and history.

In another set of studies, researchers examined another set of standards, the *Voluntary National Content Standards in Economics* (*Voluntary Standards* hereafter) published by the Council on Economic Education (CEE hereafter). *Voluntary Standards* hereafter have been particularly influential in shaping economics curriculum at the K-12 level. The *Voluntary Standards* are a set of twenty standards developed for teaching economics in grades K-12. The *Voluntary Standards* were published by the Council for Economic Education (CEE hereafter), the leading organization for economics education (www.councilforeconed.org). The current version of the *Voluntary Standards* were first published in 1997 and last revised in 2010. However, the CEE has been publishing economics curriculum guidelines since 1961 (Walstad & Watts, 2015).

In 2012, the *Journal of Economic Education* dedicated a segment of its third issue to the *Voluntary Standards*. The issue contained four articles analyzing the *Voluntary*

Standards; two articles praised the *Voluntary Standards* and two critiqued them. These four articles provide further insight into the political and social forces shaping what constitutes the economics education curriculum and the ideas to which students are exposed in economics lessons.

The articles embracing the standards, written by Gwartney (2012) and MacDonald & Siegfried (2012), praised the accessibility of the content and language of the document. They wrote that the *Voluntary Standards* “reflect the unique enduring principles of economics, written in language that is accessible to parents, teachers, students, and the general public” (p.312). Gwartney was particularly complimentary of the standards’ emphasis on entrepreneurship, innovation, and the protection of property rights. Gwartney noted that these were three concepts that were found in the *Voluntary Standards* but absent from the more Keynesian-focused advanced placement economics curriculum. For Gwartney, entrepreneurship, innovation, and property rights were the keys to economic growth, prosperity, and incentive. They are also topics that are relevant to today's students in today's economy. Gwartney cited mobile technology and the continual updating of mobile apps as evidence of the importance and relevance to students of innovation and entrepreneurship. Gwartney wrote that that the *Voluntary Standards* “indicate what a balanced presentation of modern economics would look like” (p. 306). Both articles make the case that the *Voluntary Standards* are a good reflection on the field of economics and the national economy.

While the articles in support of the *Voluntary Standards* emphasized their accessibility and relevancy, the two articles critiquing the document called into question its ideology as well as real-world applications. For example, Roberts and McCloskey

(2012) argued that the voluntary standards provided students with "a healthy dose of free market ideology just before they are old enough to vote" (p.294) rather than what they considered more practical real-world life skills such as budgeting and other aspects of financial literacy.

Like Roberts and McCloskey (2012), Marglin (2012) asserted that the *Voluntary Standards* are ideologically conservative and out of touch with students' lived realities. Specifically, he asserted that the *Voluntary Standards* do not help students make sense of social issues because they are focused on teaching principles rather than actual issue and events. Marglin noted the absence of a great deal of social issues in the standards like income inequality asking, "what are students supposed to make of inequality? Do the standards give them a handle on why the ratio of CEO pay to average worker compensation has risen from the 20s in the decades immediately following World War II to the 200s in the first decade of the 21st century?" (p.285). The absence of talk of inequality or income disparities is part of what Marglin called the *Voluntary Standards'* "sins of omission" (p. 285). Marglin cited the Occupy Wall Street movement¹ as a current event that would likely not be discussed in a *Voluntary Standards* driven economics course because there were no standards that provided opportunities to critique economic structures.

Marglin (2012) indicated that one of the reasons for the absence of critique of the current economic system is that the *Voluntary Standards* claim to be a reflection of the majority of economists in neoclassic economic thought (*Voluntary Standards*, 2010, p.vi). While Marglin did not elaborate on his argument regarding the influence of

¹ For more information on the Occupy Wall Street movement, see www.occupywallst.org. For more information on Occupy Wall Street and social studies education see Schmidt & Babits' (2014) article

neoclassic economic ideology on the standards, these ideas are addressed in other critiques of economics curriculum.

Gans (2015) analyzed seven of the most widely used high school economics textbooks in which the content was largely drawn from the CEE's *Voluntary Standards*. Gans maintained that the textbooks teach about the law of the market and that this is problematic because the economy described in the textbooks is not indicative of the economy students will *actually* encounter. For example, Gans found that mention of "the market" was found on 449 total pages whereas poverty was mentioned on only 44 pages, with minimum wage on 34 pages and multinational corporations on 15 pages (p.245). Despite the importance of addressing these entities in economics education, the textbooks devoted less than one hundred pages to them collectively. This spatial disparity points to economics texts' overwhelming emphasis on abstract economics concepts such as "the market" rather than aspects of the *actual* economy such as poverty. Economics texts devote space and attention to teaching economics concepts, like the market, that students may or may not find useful in their daily lives and yet marginalize persistent social problems that students, and society, confront daily. The disparity in attention given to *economics* (e.g. the market) rather than to the *economy* (e.g. poverty, multinational corporations, and minimum wage) led Gans to contend, "the texts I examined are not about the economy but about economics" (p. 244). That is, in these texts, learning "economics" consisted of learning a series of codified laws, principles and concepts such as the market, supply and demand and scarcity. In other words, students studied the study of economics, not the actual economy.

Gans (2015) asserted that this devotion to the laws of the market, and to economics rather than the economy, was indicative of mainstream neoclassic economics, noting "all of the texts are built on a theoretical and conceptual foundation of mainstream neoclassical economics" (p. 245). Gans (2015) described the neoclassic metanarrative he found in the textbooks:

The texts describe an economic world dominated by an abstract entity called the market. It is, in turn, ruled by the law of supply and demand, which determines prices, wages, and much else. The texts are full of supply-and-demand charts and curves to back up this lesson. They portray people, institutions, and the larger economy as striving for perfect competition and equilibrium, although monopolies, cartels, and other obstacles stand in the way. (p. 245)

In this neoclassic narrative, the economy and the people in it are subject to the market and governed by the law of supply and demand, which determines everything from their wages to the price of goods and services. Neoclassic economics treats these laws as if they are immutable and absolute, just as immutable and absolute as the law of gravity, for example (Yates, 2011). The emphasis here is on the supposedly *natural* laws followed by rational actors. Moreover, neoclassic economics is largely devoid of the conflicts and frictions these rational agents actually encounter. In sum:

Neoclassical economics conceptualized the agents, households and firms, as rational actors. Agents were modeled as optimizers who were led to "better" outcomes. The resulting equilibrium was "best" in the sense that any other allocation of goods and services would leave someone worse off. Thus, the social

system in the neoclassical vision was free of unresolvable conflict. (Weintraub, 2002)

This description of neoclassicism provides a way of thinking about the roles of people, and their conflicts, within a neoclassic image of the economy. It shows agentic subjects, that is, people who are able to act of their own volition engaged in behavior that results in balanced outcomes, or equilibrium. This sort of image of the economy ignores the very real frictions and imbalances that conflicts derive from. This points to neoclassic theory's shortcomings in helping students make sense of important topics in social studies such as global conflicts, power imbalances, and inequality that have been cited by the authors in this review.

Gans (2015) took issue with the image of the economy that neoclassic economics presents, saying that it is unrealistic and not reflective of today's economic realities. First, he stated that the economy depicted in the texts (via neoclassic economic theory) is out of date and more reminiscent of "an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century economy of individual producers and small businesses" rather than the corporate world of the twenty-first century (p.245). This is not surprising considering that neoclassic economic theory reflects the eighteenth and nineteenth century economies in which it was codified. Gans pointed out that today's economy is much different in that large corporations, not small businesses, dominate it. Second, Gans contended that the description of productive resources given by the texts and neoclassic economics, that of land, labor, capital and entrepreneurship, seem to be "leftover from another era" and need to be updated to include cyberspace, information and technology. Finally, Gans pointed out that this neoclassic version of the economy was highly impersonal. He described the neoclassic

economy "as one of impersonal processes that seemingly operate without or with only occasional human intervention" (p. 246). He cited a statement such as "society allocates resources" as an example of an impersonal statement. In that statement, it is the ambiguous entity *society* that does the act, or work, of allocating, not people, which is a problem because it neutralizes the various human values, emotions, and motivations involved in resource allocation and ignores the unequal ways resources are allocated to various groups of people or the different ways people can, and do, participate in this process. For example, this statement leaves little room to consider that some people, like corporate CEOs, politicians, and wealthy entrepreneurs have a disproportionate advantage not only in the accumulation of resources, but the allocation of them as well.

In sum, Gans (2015) identified neoclassicism at the heart of the economics texts in his study and he concluded that neoclassic economics is out of touch with today's economic realities in terms of how and what people produce as well as any engagement with human problems. These absences in the texts leave little space (literally) for economics students to consider twenty-first century problems or the roles that humans play in affecting, and being affected by, these problems.

Miller (1993) also offered a critique of what he saw as the neoclassic paradigm's influence over the discipline of economics. Miller wrote that economics teachers were inadvertently "inculcating" a neoclassic vision of the market in their students. Miller described this neoclassic paradigm as encompassing eleven normative principles that are very similar to the CEE's *Voluntary Standards* in their focus on the free market, the law of supply and demand, free trade, pure competition, and limited government intervention. Miller was critical of neoclassic economics' normative assumptions and the messages

they send to students “whether intentional or not, the classic liberal reliance on individual self-interest as the proper driving force of a free society has provided an ideological rationalization for rampant greed, profound inequalities, and overconsumption” (p.26). Miller pointed to the ways in which this greed and overconsumption has negatively affected the environment. Miller made the provocative claim that neoclassic economics, of the sort that is taught in schools, is destructive to the environment and thus human habitation and that perhaps, if this is what economics teaching produces, it is best to not teach economics at all.

Both of these studies point to serious concerns about the ideological focus of the economics curriculum and the possible consequences of teaching this curriculum. Their work calls into question the merits of teaching this neoclassic curriculum wherein people are shown to only act in pursuit of self-interest to the disregard of the social and environmental consequences of doing so. In fact, the authors pointed out that the neoclassic curriculum contained few instances of people performing any kind of action outside of this pursuit of self-interested, profit-driven decision-making. In sum, the authors raise concerns about the extent to which this curriculum could help students conceptualize and grapple with the problems plaguing society today such as inequality, poverty and pollution.

Neoclassic Economics and Social Studies Education

All of the authors presented here could agree that economics is worth teaching because of the potential it has for students’ future participation in society. However, their work raises important questions about the extent to which economics curriculum, in its current neoclassical form, is able to help students engage with the social issues and the

very society at the heart of social studies. According to the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS hereafter), the purpose of social studies courses is the promotion of "knowledge of and involvement in civic affairs" (<http://www.socialstudies.org/about>). The economy is where civic life takes place and it is what allows people to go about their public and private lives in conjunction with other people. Economics is intimately concerned with civic life; it is how people exchange goods, work, spend their money, and pay their taxes, among many other things. However, the literature points to the way neoclassic economics curriculum fails to inform students about how the modern economy works or the problems it faces (Marglin, 2012; Miller, 2012; Marri, Crocco, et.al, 2012; Marri, Gaudelli, et.al., 2012; Gans, 2015).

Without providing a conception of what the modern economy is like, what its problems are, and how to go about solving them, neoclassic economics falls short of the goals of social studies education because it cannot begin to help students know about civic life or how to be involved in it. For example, how could neoclassic economics help students make sense of an issue like net neutrality² and wikileaks³ without first conceptualizing the Internet as a productive resource or Occupy Wall Street without first understanding that an economy consists of people not charts and graphs? Neoclassic economics curriculum, with its lack of depictions of people, with various intentions and

² For more information on the politics of net neutrality at the time of the writing of this dissertation see Ruiz's (2015) article in the *New York Times* "F.C.C. sets net neutrality rules" <http://nyti.ms/1AhEztP> and "What network neutrality is and why it matters" from *The Economist* <http://www.economist.com/blogs/economist-explains/2015/02/economist-explains-7>.

³ For more information on wikileaks see www.wikileaks.org. For more information about the politics of wikileaks at the time of the writing of this dissertation see the *New York Times* article by Cumming-Bruce & Kruhly (2016) "Julian Assange: After U.N. finding, a look back at the case" <http://nyti.ms/1SJNgJ>. For an example of scholarly work regarding wikileaks and social studies education see Freivogel's (2011) article in *Social Education*.

range of actions, could not help students make sense of these instances of diverse civic life.

A good social studies curriculum should embrace competing political ideologies, not neutralize them. Ideally, economics would provide explicit openings to help students consider the competing interests and values at work in the political issues they hear about on the news and from politicians and those that they experience everyday. Nobel prize winning economist Robert Solow (2003) articulated a purpose for economics education that is decidedly politically engaged, stating that the purpose of economics education was to develop "people who are able to look at economic policy issues and realize what they are really about beneath the slogans. They do not have to know the answers, but they should at least understand the questions" (p.1). Solow was concerned that without a good understanding of economics, people would be more susceptible to simply taking politicians' word for it and consequently be easily swayed. To do this kind of civic-economic work, economics educators could develop students' ability to call people's assertions about the economy into question. The current 2016 presidential primary nomination process⁴ highlights the need for this sort of informative critique more than ever, as the candidates debate issues such as healthcare, immigration, income inequality, the environment, and the federal budget and deficit, the exact issues the authors in this review warned are left out of neoclassic economics curriculum and that the NCSS says ought to comprise social studies education. To this end, neoclassic economics, of the sort

⁴ The January/February 2016 (volume 80 #1) special issue of *Social Education* provides a good overview of the 2016 primaries particularly as it relates to social studies education. For a rundown of the candidates and their politics at the time of the writing of this dissertation see the Marc 23, 2016 article from *The Atlantic* "The 2016 U.S. presidential race: A cheat sheet" <http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/03/2016-election/384828/>.

found in economics curriculum, may fall short of providing even a good economics education, let alone a good social studies education.

Finally, the social studies disciplines should help students grapple with competing viewpoints people hold about society and the economy. By exposing the neoclassicism behind economics curriculum, the authors in this literature review showed that neoclassic theory is just that-a theory and as such it has limits in what it is able to help people think about and do. It is just one, albeit very influential, way of conceptualizing what the economy is like and how it works. This realization opens the door to thinking about *other* ways the economy, and society, might work.

The Georgia Performance Standards

I have chosen to analyze the GPS because the dissertation study is situated in the state of Georgia and also because the GPS are particularly influential in economics teaching and learning. I begin by describing the structure of the standards, assessments associated with the standards, and documents that support the teaching of the standards. I conclude by describing how economics instruction in Georgia is unique among nationwide economics curriculum.

Economics standards are found at almost every grade level in Georgia. In the K-12 curriculum, economics standards are embedded in social studies curriculum. Social studies standards from kindergarten through fifth grade contain at least two stand-alone economics standards at each grade level. In the 9-12 grade curriculum, there is a mandated stand-alone course with its own set of standards. However, the other high school social studies courses of world history, U.S. History, and World Geography also

make mention of economics and economies, such as asking students to describe the stock market crash of 1929. In total, the GPS contains ten years worth of economics standards.

Economics teaching and learning is formally assessed through the Georgia Milestones assessments, which are based on the GPS standards. At the high school level, students in the mandatory stand-alone economics course take an end-of-course test called the “Georgia Milestones Economics/Business/Free Enterprise EOC assessment” that all students must pass in order to graduate from high school. At the elementary and middle grades level, economics is formally assessed at the end of each year each year through the social studies Georgia Milestones tests. Further, many districts have begun to incorporate student test scores into their annual evaluations of teachers. Because there is a lot at stake for both students and teachers to do well on these standardized tests, teachers adhere closely to the standards when designing instruction. Thus, the GPS have an enormous influence of the GPS standards on economics curriculum in Georgia.

Taken together, the elements I described above make the GPS standards ripe for analysis. Georgia has a greater emphasis on economics instruction than most states. In their 2011 analysis of high school economics standards in all fifty states, Marri, Crocco, et.al. (2012), found that only twenty two states required high school economics, only sixteen states require testing in economics, and thirteen states require a course in personal finance. Georgia requires that students not only take economics/personal finance, but also pass a state standardized test on the subjects. Finally, the presence of sophisticated economics standards from kindergarten until high school demonstrates the extent to which young people in Georgia can be shaped by their economics instruction. If a youth started and completed public school in Georgia, she would have ten years of formal

economics instruction. Thus, economics education in Georgia has the potential to be enormously influential to K-12 students. I will describe these standards in greater detail in the following section.

The Standards

The economics standards are designed cyclically, so that the same concepts appear year after year with increasing complexity. The concepts that students learn in elementary school appear again in middle school and again in high school. The high school curriculum is organized into five sections; fundamentals, international economics, microeconomics, macroeconomics, and personal finance. The fundamentals section contains six standards that lay the foundation for the other four sections; it describes the role of scarcity in making choices, the factors of production, price incentives and the importance of trade. The elementary and middle grades economics standards, in turn, are essentially reconfigurations of the high school fundamental standards and the personal finance standards, thus setting the groundwork in preparing students to encounter these standards in high school.

I constructed a chart to show give a holistic view of the economics standards from all grade levels. I matched all of the GPS economics standards from kindergarten onward with one of the six fundamental high school standards in order to show how the standards at each grade level connect with one another. The left-hand column contains the six fundamental high school standards. The right side column contains the related standard at each grade level. I paraphrased the standards in order to make them more concise, focusing on the major concepts and ideas.

Table 1: The K-12 GPS Economics Standards

High School “Fundamental Concepts”	Grade Level and Standard
<p>SSEF1 Explain why limited productive resources and unlimited wants result in scarcity, opportunity costs and productive resources</p>	<p>K-People must make choices because they cannot have everything they want. 1st-People have to make choices because resources are scarce. 2nd-Because of scarcity, people incur opportunity costs. Resource allocation methods. 3rd -Describe the four types of productive resources: land, labor, capital, entrepreneurship. Goods and services are allocated by price in the marketplace. 8th-How Georgia manages limited resources</p>
<p>SSEF2 Rational decision-making entails comparing the marginal benefit to the marginal cost.</p>	<p>4th & 5th-Opportunity costs and decision-making (sending expeditions to N. America and rationing goods during WWII).</p>
<p>SSEF3 Specialization and (free & voluntary) Trade for goods and services -Both parties gain from voluntary, non-fraudulent exchange</p>	<p>K-Money (currency) is used to purchase goods and services 1st-People provide goods and services for each other. 2nd-People use money to obtain goods and services. 3rd-Give examples of interdependence and trade and how voluntary exchange benefits both parties. 4th & 5th-Specialization improves standard of living (economies of the north and south). Voluntary exchange helps both buyers and sellers. Trade promotes economic activity. 6th & 7th-Explain how voluntary trade benefits buyers and sellers in (country or region). Identify barriers to trade. Standard of living. 8th- How Georgians trade(d) (past and present)</p>
<p>SSEF4 Compare and contrast different economic systems...in terms of what, how and for whom to produce.</p>	<p>6th & 7th -The student will analyze different economic systems (command, market, traditional)</p>

SSEF5 The student will describe the roles of government in a market economy	3rd -Governments provide certain types of goods and services in a market economy and pay for these through taxes. 4th & 5th -Government taxation and the providing of certain goods and services 8th -How Georgia's government spends tax money and provides services.
SSEF6 Productivity, investments in human capital and technology	K -Describe the work people do. People earn income by exchanging their human resources for wages or salaries. 1st -People are both producers and consumers. 4th & 5th -Entrepreneurs take risks to make profits. Technological advances improve lives (e.g. locomotive, steamboat, personal computer and internet). 6th & 7th -Factors that influence economic growth and examine their presence of absence in _____country/ region. The relationship between investment in human capital and GDP. 8th - Georgia entrepreneurs and the pursuit of profit (Georgia-Pacific, Coca-Cola, Chick-fil-A, Delta, Home Depot). The production of goods and services in GA.
Personal Finance	1st -The costs and benefits of personal spending and saving choices. 2nd - " ... " 3rd - " ... " 4th & 5th - Elements of a personal budget and the importance of spending and saving choices. 6th & 7th -Explain personal money management choices -income, spending, credit, saving and investing. 8th - " ... "

I started constructing the chart by inserting the six fundamental standards in the left hand column, as well as the personal finance standard. To keep the chart as concise as possible, I paraphrased the wording of the standards in order to highlight the key words and concepts that I thought the standard was trying to communicate. For example, instead of writing out all of standard SSEF2, I used the wording of the standard to define rational

decision making in one sentence. Then, I reviewed the economics standard grade-level by grade level. For example, Kindergarten had four economics standards. I matched each of these standards to its corresponding high school standard. I did this for each grade level and standard through eighth grade.

The chart enabled me to see all of the standards at once. I was able to see Georgia's holistic economics curriculum from start to finish and imagine the economics learning of student who attended public school in Georgia from kindergarten through high school. Displaying the standards this way allowed me to see several things. First, I was able to see the concepts that are taught at each grade level, specifically, the extent to which sophisticated economics concepts were present in the even earliest elementary years. Second, the chart highlights the quantity of standards across time related to particular concepts and ideas. Third, it allowed me to see what sort of concepts and ideas were included in the GPS standards as well as what was missing or absent. By putting the standards for each grade level next to one another in the right side from earliest to latest, I could "read" a sort of narrative in the scarcity, trade, production, and personal finance standards. It allowed me to see what sort of story about the economy would unfold through the years, and what sorts of "truth" students would learn from this story. One example is the specialization and trade standard (SSEF3). The narrative begins with people using money to exchange goods and services and scales up to international trade. The ongoing message here is that specialization and trade is beneficial and good for everyone because it raises the GDP, which in turn raises the standard of living. The fourth and fifth grade economic standards, in an attempt to complement the courses' focus on U.S. history, contain specific historical examples of specialization and trade,

including specialization in industries in the northern and southern American colonies and states. It is only at the high-school level that “non-fraudulent” is introduced as a precursor for exchange, and it is one of the few warnings or value-laden terms in all of the economics GPS standards at all levels. Before high school, the only stated condition for trade was that it should be voluntary and free, but the standards said nothing about more insidious practices as deception and fraud, ignoring the power differentials at work in allegedly "free and voluntary" transactions. Again, the fourth and fifth grade standards are particularly guilty of this. For example, the industries of the Civil War era north and south are cited as examples of regional specialization and trade, but the standards say nothing of the decidedly unfree, involuntary, and exploited labor fueling both of these economies. Not only do these fourth and fifth grade standards leave out the ethics of such specialization, trade, and labor practices, but the standards, by citing a slave-owning economy as an example, directly contradicts the overall message of “free” trade/exchange. This is an example of an economics curriculum that falls short of helping students make sense of social problems from the past and today by ignoring the realities of the human condition.

The chart points to the extensive economics education students in Georgia could receive through their years in school. Therefore, it is important to understand what exactly the GPS curriculum is teaching youth over the course of potentially ten years of economics instruction and how students might be "inculcated" (Miller, 1993) into a certain vision of the economy. I will discuss this vision in the next section.

Neoclassic GPS standards. As I began to analyze the standards, I noticed right away that the GPS economics standards were very similar to the neoclassic economics curriculum described by the authors in the literature review (Gans, 2015; Marri, Crocco, et.al., 2012; Marri, Gaudelli, et.al., 2012; Marglin, 2012; and Miller, 1993). To review, neoclassic economics is built around a market that follows certain laws that structure the economy and human behavior. One such law is the law of supply and demand, which is said to determine everything from the production of goods and services to workers' wages. Neoclassic economics presumes that people, and systems, seek equilibrium. For example, supply and demand meet at an ideal point, people produce and consume just the right amount (rational decision-making) and wages are paid according to supply and demand as well as people's human capital, or, the education and skills (capital) they are able to sell on the market. It is a very orderly system. Marglin (2012), Gans (2015) and Miller (1993) critiqued these laws and this orderliness as out of touch with today's issues and problems. They noted several examples of current events, such as the Occupy Wall Street movement, that students would not be able to make sense of using neoclassic economics. Neoclassic economics would only be able to offer a theory of wages as determined by the meeting point of supply and demand and corporate pursuit of profit as a common good. There would not be a way to theorize the protester's assertions of corporate greed or their outrage at employment conditions and wage gaps. The authors also pointed to neoclassic economics' neutralization of people's actions, affect, or emotions in decidedly apolitical standards. This neutralization does not point to a way for students to take action on particular causes that affect them, such as national debt and deficit (Marri, Crocco, et.al., 2012; Marri, Gaudelli, et.al., 2012).

In my analysis, I found that the GPS tells the same neoclassic story about the economy. In fact, the “fundamentals” section of the high school GPS follows this storyline exactly. The section begins by stating that people make choices because resources are scarce (SSEF1), that they make these choices for the sake of maximum efficiency, which is a state of equilibrium (SSEF2), and that all of this happens in a market economy (SSEF5) that determines almost all aspects of social life from what is produced to what is consumed to the income people make (SSEF4, SSEF6, SSEF5). As the chart shows, all of the economics standards in the earlier grades are reflected in this fundamentals section, and as such, the neoclassic economy story is traceable in the GPS economics standards beginning in kindergarten when students are taught that resources are scarce and that they have to make choices and that income is an exchange of one's labor for wages. Follow the chart's right side column to see this story unfold. The trend continues through all of the grade levels, with the high school economics course providing a similar view of the economy. The high school standards contain many examples of a value neutral market that controls, through “laws,” nearly all aspects of the economy from wages to resource allocation and price. The following high school macroeconomic standard exemplifies the way the GPS describes the power of the market laws; “SSEMI2 The student will explain how the Law of Demand, the Law of Supply, prices, and profits work to determine production and distribution in a market economy.” The standard has four subsections that ask students to define *the* law of supply and demand (*italics mine*), how buyers and sellers determine price, how supply and demand determine equilibrium, and how prices serve as an incentive in a market economy. The standard and its subsections are written in such a way that presents these laws as absolute

and given and the market as a deterministic entity that just *is*. Again, a fundamental tenet of neoclassic economics is that the market functions according to certain laws that are both immutable and natural and that it is always trying to achieve an ideal state of equilibrium.

Gans (2015) was concerned with the impersonal nature of the economy presented in neoclassic curriculum. He noted that the economy presented in the textbooks he examined in his study consisted of a series of "impersonal processes that seemingly operate without, or with only occasional, human intervention" (p.246). These impersonal processes present the workings of the economy as inevitable and natural and leave few openings for students to conceptualize how people are involved in economic processes, how and why people experience these processes differently, and what they might do to influence or affect these processes. This impersonal language points to neoclassic economic theory's limitations in explaining social process. E. Roy Weintraub (2002), in his explanation of neoclassic economic theory in the Concise Encyclopedia of Economics, explained how neoclassic economics would explain layoffs, something that the 2008 economic crash brought to the forefront of social consciousness:

Consider layoffs, for example. A theory which assumes that a firm's layoff decisions are based on a balance between the benefits of laying off an additional worker and the costs associated with that action will be a neoclassical theory. A theory that explains the layoff decision by the changing tastes of managers for employees with particular characteristics will not be a neoclassical theory.

<http://www.econlib.org>

All theories contain limits to what they are able to explain, and neoclassic theory is no exception. Neoclassic economics is able to provide explanations for *some* aspects of human behavior and not others. In the layoffs example above, neoclassic theory is shown to explain layoffs in terms of the law of marginal return, but what it cannot explain or account for are managers as humans with attitudes and feelings who exact those feelings and attitudes upon other humans. Yet, we know that people are laid off all the time for a variety of reasons, including managers' personal feelings and whims, or else there would not have to be legislation in place discouraging such practices and protecting workers.

There is also evidence of "impersonal processes" in the GPS standards. For example, the high school fundamental standard SSEF3 states "the student will explain how specialization and voluntary exchange between buyers and sellers increase the satisfaction of both parties" (www.georgiastandards.org). People are never mentioned. In that statement, nonhuman actors performed the action and humans were inert "parties" caught up in a dispassionate process. The GPS chart provides a glimpse into the development of statements like this. In the GPS chart, in the right hand column for this standard, there is a particular trend that shows up for this standard wherein people are no longer mentioned after second grade. In the first and second grade standards "people provide goods and services for each other" but after a certain point, people are effectively phased out and are replaced with nonhuman "parties" and "buyers and sellers". In a sense, humanity is slowly phased out in favor of more impersonal and mechanical processes. This phasing out of the human does make it rather easier to see how analyzing layoffs in terms of the law of marginal return could be foregrounded with humans, and all their emotions, feelings and whims on both sides, out of the way.

In another example of impersonal processes, a high school personal finance standard, SSEPF2, asks students to explain how "banks and other financial institutions are businesses that channel funds from savers to investors." A related standard from fifth grade asks students to "describe the bank function in providing checking accounts, savings accounts, and loans" (www.georgiastandards.org). The emphasis in these sentences is on banks doing the action, not people. In the high school standard, there are no people at all, only savers and investors. In the fifth grade standard, *banks* provide things like checking accounts, savings accounts, and loans. The standards are written in such a way that the banks, not people, who are performing action towards people who are presumably on the receiving end of this action. Language like this, in which human action is reduced to input-output processes, discourages students and teachers from considering the real, live, emoting, thinking, feeling people on all ends of these transactions, services, exchanges, benefits, trades and dependent relationships described in these standards.

This absence of human affect has consequences for social studies, because it does not help students think about how people's actions affect, and are affected by, their relationships with others in society. For example, in continuing the banking example, stating that banks perform action (through providing services) makes it seem as if banks provide services to everyone freely, neutrally and evenly thus ignoring the very real ways that human bankers have systematically discriminated and exploited certain groups of people and the profits that banks, and bankers, make off of these practices. The subprime mortgage crisis is a prime example of this type of behavior⁵. The potential danger of

⁵ For more information see Niederjohn, Nygard and Wood (2009) "Teaching ethics to high school students: Virtue meets Economics". There are many differing opinions on the origin and perpetrators of the

impersonality in economics is that it does not invite controversy about the different ways people can, and do, participate in society. In other words, economics education falls well short of its potential if it frames people as having a small role to play in very large processes that are out of their control and presents structures such as banks and “the market” as givens that humans only react to and obey instead of as human-made entities and theories.

Another important implication of the neutralization of the human factor makes it seem as if structures and people act in equal and predictable ways. One example is the high school standard SSEF2 "The student will give examples of how rational decision making entails comparing the marginal benefits and the marginal costs of an action" (www.georgiastandards.org). To demonstrate their understanding of this standard, students are asked to represent the trade off between two options with a production possibilities curve. This sort of viewpoint ignores the presence of social and economic inequalities inherent in people's abilities to do this decision-making. It does not imply that some have advantages over others. One such advantage is the ability to take risks, weigh options, and weather market failures. For example, some people can sustain bad outcomes from risk better than others. Wealthier people or young adults without children, for example, may be able to afford losses from a bad investment better than a person who is living paycheck to paycheck who is trying to support a family. Another advantage is the extent to which people are able to weigh certain outcomes and make choices; some people can hire experts to help them navigate the complexities of the

subprime mortgage crisis. To that end, I've included a variety of sources where one might gain cursory information about the crisis. Mother Jones provides a timeline of events starting as early as 1970 <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2008/07/where-credit-due-timeline-mortgage-crisis>. See also Bajaj & Story (2008) "Subprime crisis spreads past subprime loans" <http://nyti.ms/1mdJZWS> and Duca (2013) from the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas <http://www.federalreservehistory.org/Events/DetailView/55>.

financial market and make financial decisions while others can only rely on their own understandings. Understandings that presumably might have been garnered in high school economics class which was likely using neoclassic theory and which the literature review has shown is not very effective in teaching about real-world economic issues. Thus, inequality in its various forms is almost completely absent from the GPS. This, in turn, leaves no curricular mandate for discussing these very real economic issues. Doing so is left completely up to the teacher who may or may not introduce these ideas.

In sum, my initial analysis revealed a pattern of neoclassicism in the Georgia Performance Standards for economics that is consistent with scholars' critiques of economics curriculum. The standards focus heavily on the role of the market, the importance of rational decision-making in the face of scarcity, the impersonal nature of producing and the personal nature of consuming, and the strong emphasis on entrepreneurship and private industry. I highlighted two particular neoclassic critiques in depth, affect and action. I noted that the standards are written in ways that are affectless, that is, they do not forewarn of the consequences of economic actions such as banking practices or resource allocation. The way the GPS standards are written, the action is seemingly performed by nonhuman entities such as banks and a disembodied, abstract market. This impersonal treatment, in turn, is seemingly anti-social (studies). It leaves students and teachers with few resources for understanding such social phenomena as Occupy Wall Street (Marglin, 2012; Gans, 2015) or any invitation for discussing, and developing, various viewpoints on the federal deficit or national debt (Marri, Crocco, et.al, 2012; Marri, Gaudelli, et.al., 2012) in social studies classrooms. Discussing

controversial issues, human activities and experiences and understanding social phenomena ought to be the cornerstone of social studies education.

In the next sections I will continue to discuss the neoclassic nature of the GPS standards. However, I don't want to stop at just determining that the standards are neoclassic and the potential consequences of neoclassicism. I want to understand the forces behind neoclassic curriculum and why it might be driving economics curriculum when it is so seemingly limited in its ability to make sense of today's complex economy. To do that, I will draw on the individual and collaborative work of Deleuze and Guattari (2009), as well as the economic theorist Lazzarato (2014; 2015), to further theorize the economy described in the GPS standards. I will look at the personal and impersonal aspects of the neoclassic economy as essential characteristics of capitalism and that capitalism is the economic system described in the GPS and other neoclassic economics curriculum.

Capitalism

As I reviewed the literature and the GPS standards, I was struck by the absence of any mention of capitalism from any of the authors. Out of all of the literature presented in this review, only Miller's (1993) critique of neoclassic economics curriculum contains any reference to capitalism. Yet, capitalism is such an essential aspect of the U.S. economy that its seeming absence is very curious. However, I think capitalism *is* in the GPS, moreover, I think the GPS is capitalism; capitalism has been there, it is just hiding, so to speak, behind the mask of neoclassicism.

Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) theory of capitalism helps make this connection clear. They imagined capitalism as an impersonal machine that both creates, and relies

on, human subjectivity. The machine-like structures and the impersonal, abstract descriptions of economic processes that were criticized in the literature are actually characteristics of capitalism (according to Deleuze and Guattari). This means that capitalism has a hand in creating highly personal human subjects *and* impersonal machine-like subjects. From our perspective, it might have seemed strange that the GPS gradually appeared to forget human beings in the progression from early grades to high school. However, if we take on the perspective of a machine, like Deleuze and Guattari did, then we can see that the GPS is not actually forgetting to include people in these instances because it is not describing people, but *a process* of interactions between personal and impersonal entities acting in a machine-like way.

These machine-like subjects and processes can be seen in the GPS's impersonal standards statements, such as the statements about banks performing action cited earlier. While GPS standards such as one of the banking standards cited earlier "describe the bank function in providing checking accounts, savings accounts, and loans," might seem unrealistic or shortsighted in the way that it negates the human bankers administering the loans and accounts, this impersonal banking process makes sense when the economy is thought of as a machine comprised of human and nonhuman entities. The abstract, nonhuman banker in the standards statement is actually *more* indicative of the way the modern economy works because people often interact with banks and bankers that are online or in the form of machines (like an ATM machine). In this way, banks actually *do* provide services such as lines of credit and loans (to use the standard's words) because the entity providing these services is a machine programmed to respond to particular series of inputs and outputs. So while the GPS standards have their flaws, and the

economy they present is not all encompassing in terms of what people actually experience, it does not mean that they are totally irrelevant or wrong, and dismissing them as such ignores the very real mechanic and automated processes, such as banking, that comprise people's lives.

Furthermore, capitalism is not *the* economy. Rather, it is a way of organizing *an* economy. This is an important distinction to make because it means that capitalism is just one of many potential ways of organizing an economy. Thinking this way means that there can, and are, other ways of organizing economic life. It also means that somehow this organizing system has been able to endure and reproduce itself for centuries. So, in some ways, the critics of neoclassicism were correct, the economy described in the curriculum is not reflective of *the* economy as a whole, as it certainly leaves out human affect, but it is reflective of *an* economy-capitalism. I will elaborate on the importance of this distinction in the following section.

How machines work

Deleuze and Guattari (2009) wrote that capitalism acts as a machine that allows for the flow of money and labor throughout society and it constantly seeks ways to make these entities flow more easily. To do this, the capitalist machine is constantly adapting; this adaptation process is what they called “deterritorialization” and “decoding”. Deleuze and Guattari described this system of adaptation:

Capitalism is in fact born of the encounter of two sorts of flows; the decoded flows of production in the form of money-capital and the decoded flows of labor in the form of the ‘free worker.’ Hence, unlike previous social machines, the capitalist machine is incapable of providing a code that will apply to the whole of

the social field. By substituting money for the very notion of a code, it has created an axiomatic of abstract quantities that keeps moving further and further in the direction of the deterritorialization of the socius. (p. 33)

Deterritorialization refers to the process of mobilizing, of unhinging processes from set territories or spaces. There are many examples of this process in today's economy. For example, telephones were once attached to a particular area of a house or business but are now able to go anywhere. Another example is the way mobile technology and the Internet has allowed workers (labor) to work from home instead of going into offices. This worker, "freed" (deterritorialized) from the constraints of time and location, is then further free to sell their labor in an ever larger marketplace (for a fair wage based on supply and demand, of course) with greater ease. In the GPS standards, this process of freeing labor and money can be found in the "specialization and trade" standards that emphasize the merits of free trade, where money and labor can flow unencumbered for the benefit of all and the "productivity" standards that describes the importance of (unencumbered) entrepreneurship and technological advances that improve lives and make money. The sixth and seventh grade standards specifically ask students to describe types of trade barriers and their consequences for free trade.

By "decoding," Deleuze and Guattari (2009) meant subject formation through codes, or signs. In their historical analysis of Western capitalism, they found a societal paradigm shift wherein people were once subjects to some sort of leader, such as a king or god, who determined what they should think and do and that determined the social hierarchies people belonged to. These leaders also established the laws and value systems that governed people's lives. People's identities were wrapped up in being a

subject of his leader for whom they produced (e.g. a serf towards a lord in medieval society). In modernity, capitalism has largely, but not completely, replaced this role of subject-forming figurehead. Social codes still exist, but they are flexible and abstract enough so as to be adaptable to changing situations, this is what was meant by capitalism's inability to provide a universal code for society and it is this practice of decoding that is the key to capitalism's endurance.

Take again, for example, the GPS standard cited earlier stating that banks provide loans. The practice described in this statement is no less true of the nineteenth century as today and, in some ways, is perhaps truer today than ever before. Earlier I described how statements like "banks provide loans" are impersonal and ignore the ways that humans occupy the role of banker. The consequences of impersonality that the authors in the literature reviewed pointed out are still important critiques to consider. However, mobile banking and even mobile banks, banks that exist only in cyberspace, makes this standard a reality, as people can, and do, apply for, and receive, loans from a bank without directly encountering a human being. The consequence of this system is the lack of moral referent, as Deleuze and Guattari (2009) asked rhetorically of the machination of finance capitalism, "who is robbed?...who is alienated?...who steals?...how much flexibility there is in the axiomatic of capitalism, always ready to widen its own limits so as to add a new axiom to a previously saturated system!" (p.238). No *one*, they concluded, was robbed, alienated, or a robber because in a machianic system, the usual human perpetrators and victims of capitalistic abuse are entirely dispersed, making them more difficult to discern, prosecute, or vindicate in an immaterial, digitized system that never traces back to a human individual and into which people (seemingly) willingly enter through their

voluntary and uncoerced participation. Deleuze and Guattari's question, though posed in the late 1970s, is just as relevant today as a way to understand twenty first century finance capital as this machianic process which helps to, at least partly, explain the ways banking executives were, and still are able to, elude prosecution for capitalistic catastrophes like the subprime mortgage crisis and 2008 bank failures and subsequent bailout by the U.S. government⁶.

The (Deleuzo-Guattarian) reality is that the economy is comprised of both human and nonhuman entities. This points again to the ways in which neoclassic economics, in describing the capitalist machine, is at least somewhat actually in touch with reality because the capitalist machine produces reality by producing subjects that constitute reality. For Deleuze and Guattari (2009), reality is not just out there as an inert entity, but is made and remade, produced and reproduced. So the GPS standards, and neoclassic standards aren't simply describing, or not describing, a system "out there," but are instrumental in producing the reality they purport to explain.

The endurance of capitalism

Deleuze and Guattari (2009) wrote extensively about capitalism's role in western society. They called it the west's "universal history" because of its pervasive influence in so many arenas of human life. Deleuze and Guattari were interested in this influence and how capitalism has been able to continually reproduce itself. This reproduction is particularly intriguing in light of Marx's critiques that clearly pointed to capitalism's contradictions and Marxian turns in universities and society. So despite ongoing

⁶ Two articles by Matt Taibbi, from March 14, 2012 and January 4, 2013 in *Rolling Stone* provide impassioned and critical, but by no means neutral, analyses of the federal government's bailout of banks that points to the kind of consequences of capitalism and impersonality discussed in this chapter. See <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/bank-of-america-too-crooked-to-fail-20120314> and <http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/news/secret-and-lies-of-the-bailout-20130104>.

critiques, capitalism has been able to endure and thrive. Deleuze and Guattari theorized that capitalism was so ingrained as an organizing structure in society that it could be found reflected and reproduced in a variety of social spheres including family structures, in social theories, political movements, political parties and even schools and curriculum.

From the description above, it might seem as though capitalism is a totalizing discourse, and perhaps it is, to the extent that it serves as a metanarrative, for Deleuze and Guattari (2009) and also for this study. In this study, capitalism is totalizing in the sense that it is the grand, or meta-narrative framing neoclassic economics so thoroughly in the economics curriculum. The GPS curriculum chart demonstrates this totalization in the sense that students are presented with no other vision of the economy other than a capitalistic one, but this does not mean that alternatives do not exist, as the authors in the literature review pointed out in their critiques.

Capitalism is also totalizing in the sense that people relate, or are related, to it. That is, in Western democracies it is nearly impossible to fully escape capitalistic processes in everyday life. Put simply, everyone, by virtue of living in a capitalistic state and exposed to a capitalistic curriculum, has some experience of capitalism; they are touched by capitalism in some way. This does not mean that capitalism is not escapable, that these relationships are entered willingly, or that people have to accept capitalistic production. For example, Deleuze and Guattari (2009) wrote about the extent to which the nuclear family has been tasked with reproducing capitalistic structures. This does not mean that families willingly or knowingly do this, but that capitalists put that responsibility onto them. Moreover, just because capitalism presents such a powerful force, does not mean that it cannot be defied or worked against, at least temporarily and

to an extent. My aim in this chapter is to expose capitalism, to make it materialize, to see how it is put together in order to then be able to help social studies students and educators think about what sort of relationship they currently have with it and what kind of relationships (if any) they want to have with it. In Chapter Five, I demonstrate some ways in which families engaged in small acts of anticapitalistic production in grocery stores and ways that social studies teachers might engage students in counter-capitalistic curriculum.

There are, of course, multitudes of ways to conceptualize capitalism other than the way Deleuze and Guattari (2009) describe it. Work by Gibson-Graham (2009) makes an important contribution of a feminist geographic economic analysis of capitalism by refining what is meant by capitalism and what sort of economy might be otherwise. Gibson-Graham pointed to capitalism as “the unitary ‘economy’ addressed by macroeconomic theory and policy” that appears to be unified, bounded, and hierarchically ordered (p.33). Their key point is that capitalism only *appears* to be this unified entity, and as such, is given discursive power that creates such “capitalist hegemony” that it acts “as a brake upon the anticapitalist imagination” (p.34). That is, when capitalism is given too much discursive power by people on all sides of the political and economic spectrum, it becomes difficult to imagine what might be otherwise, and what sorts of places might subsequently be created that are transactional without being exploitive. Moreover, it is this exploitation of surplus that Gibson-Graham note is the defining feature of capitalism, as they advocate for the re-channeling of flows of surplus value to different (non-capitalistic) ends (Gibson-Graham, Erdem, & Ozselcuk, 2013). For Deleuze and Guattari, capitalism is defined by a cash-nexus, impersonal relations,

and axiomatization, that is, givenness or truth-telling (Holland, 2002, p.11). In other words, a capitalistic society is one in which human relationships are based on impersonal processes put into motion by a market system that purports to tell *a* truth about what people need, want, or should do and gives meaning to these impersonal transactions. Moreover, for Deleuze and Guattari (2009) it is this axiomatization that constitutes repression. Instead of exploitation, Deleuze and Guattari look towards capitalism as repression of desire, which is how it exercises its power by substituting other truths or ways of doing or being for capitalism's truth (Deleuze, 2004). So capitalism in this view can be totalizing in the sense that attempts to free oneself from capitalism, or to engage in noncapitalistic activities, can be extremely difficult not necessarily because they cannot be imagined but because of capitalism's ability to capture, route and reappropriate desire for its own (re)productive ends.

In sum, capitalism is a powerful signifying force that works through the GPS curriculum, as I will demonstrate in the next section. In this chapter, I argue that the GPS is one site where capitalism's influence is at work in producing its willing subject. In the following analysis, I will show how the GPS, read as a series of signs, constructs a particular economic subject that has both human and nonhuman qualities.

An Economy of Signs

In the previous section, I demonstrated how the GPS standards are neoclassic. I also described how I suspected that the economic system the GPS describes is capitalism. Once I determined that the GPS standards were neoclassic, I began to see signs of a particular capitalistic economic subject being produced through the standards. I sought to understand what kind of human subject the GPS might produce. To do this, I had to do

another analysis of the GPS standards. Deleuze and Guattari (2009; Guattari, 2009) suggested that society is made up of various signs. An easy, and very literal, example of signs is a stop sign. A stop sign has meaning. It means drivers should stop. Drivers know they should stop because the stop sign is a normatively accepted sign that derives its meaning from traffic laws. People become conditioned to stop when they see the sign, to the point that it is an almost automatic reaction. Deleuze and Guattari conceptualized capitalism as “the great signifier” in which an infinite network of signs points to. In order for the great signifier to remain great “you also need all sorts of categorizes of specialized people whose job it is to circulate these signs, to say what they mean, to interpret them” (Deleuze, 2007, p. 15). In the case of economics curriculum, capitalism would be the great signifier and the GPS would be an example of a sign circulator and interpreter that produces a subject according to these signs. In other words, the GPS offers a vision of how the economy works (interpretation) and then, in turn, produces people as subjects according to how they relate to capitalism.

To do this analysis, I drew off of Deleuze and Guattari’s (2009) description of capitalism’s subject formation. Lazzarato (2013/2015) provides a good summary of this process;

Capitalism organizes the production and control of subjectivity...by way of two different mechanisms which weave together the individuated subject (“social subjection”) and its apparent opposite, desubjection (“machianic enslavement”)...By producing us as individuated subjects, social subjection assigns us an identity, a gender, a profession, a nationality and so on. It is a signifying and representational confinement...fully embodied in “human capital”

which makes each one of us responsible and guilty for his own “actions” and behaviors”...Machianic enslavement, on the other hand, refers to non-representational, operational, diagrammic techniques that function by exploiting partial, modular, subindividual subjectivities...what Deleuze calls the “dividual”. (p. 183)

Lazzarato (following the work of Deleuze and Guattari (2009) is saying is that capitalism produces *both* individuals and dividuals. Individuals are “whole” or “complete” agentic human subjects who possess certain societally-assigned qualities, such as a gender and race as well as unique and distinguishable characteristics. The production of signs, the “moment in which the individual emerges” is the human side of capitalism (Taylor, 2014, p.49). Dividuals are the machianic side of capitalism. They are the parts that fill in the whole. For example, to continue to use the banking example from earlier, banks are comprised of a multitude of partial objects. That is, the "body" of a bank consists of all of the accounts held there, all of the savings and loans and deposits represented impersonally as account numbers and digital codes. To the bank as a whole, an "individual" is merely a series of debits and credits that can align to form a balance sheet of risk/reward potential that forms a certain code signifying a certain credit-worthiness. This code signals the bank to facilitate a financial transaction, such a high interest loan or mortgage. Dividuality remains intact until things go badly, at which point the dividuals discursively become individuals who should have made better financial decisions and thus emerge as the responsible party in a highly impersonal, highly complicated system of codes and signs. When a bank fails, such as Bank of America did in 2008, these dividuals who find themselves "machianically enslaved" to the bank are called upon to

support its bailout or else risk losing themselves in the process. Another example might be cellular phone companies that "machianically enslave" people by financially binding them to their services forever in order to make life in the twenty first century possible. For example, companies such as Apple and AT&T provide the tools possible to function in 2016 in terms of communication, leisure and work, but in return customers find themselves contractually obligated to pay off their debts to these companies forever or risk falling out of functionality. The banking and mobile phone examples are what Deleuze and Guattari (2009) meant by the impersonal cash-nexus and capitalism's particular predisposition to producing debt through the production of meaning and the routing of desire. This sort of machianic enslavement forms a type of cyclical repression that characterizes capitalism. Moreover, Capitalism is sustained through the continual production of these parts and wholes. Thus, capitalism, and the economy, is comprised of humans and machines that *do work* together. Capitalism produces subjects that embody certain human subjectivities as well as nonhuman machianic processes. This production happens through sign systems.

Subject formation

Deleuze (1990; 1994; 2000) suggested that people learn from experiences of encountering and "reading" these signs throughout their lives, just as they learn to "read" things like traffic signs. The traffic sign comes to have meaning to the people encountering it. For Deleuze, (2007) signs constituted subjects. The stop sign itself is a "subject of utterance" as it is able to articulate a particular meaning or message to others who, in turn, react to it. People are "subject" to the stop sign. The importance of sign-subject relationships, for Deleuze, was when "the point of significance has become the

point of subjectivation” (p.86). The point of subjectivation is the point at which the sign-subject relationship gets analyzed, interpreted, and given pre-determined meanings. For example, a police officer practices subjectivation when pulling a driver over for not stopping at a stop sign and thus positioning the driver as a law-breaker.

Guattari (2009) was also concerned with signs within institutions (such as schools and hospitals). Guattari called the process of interpreting signs as “semiotic apprenticeship” that turns to “semiotic subjugation” under certain conditions. All teaching and learning is a process of apprenticeship and subject-formation. Guattari was interested in how something like learning to write (apprenticeship) turns to subjugation. He used teaching writing as an example of this process that it would be difficult to imagine “refusing to teach children how to write or to recognize linguistic traffic signs. What matters is whether one uses this semiotic apprenticeship to bring together Power and the semiotic subjugation of the individual, or if one does something else” (p.289). What critically oriented educators can draw from this example is that all teachers must teach something, but the key is not to teach in a way that makes all students conform to a single, normative, correct(ive) process.

Deleuze and Guattari (2009) both viewed institutions such as schools as sites of subject formation that turns to subjectivation, a process that “animate[d] capitalism as a whole, both at the level of the economy and the level of the politics (Deleuze, 2007, p.86). Subjectivation serves certain economic (capitalistic) and political purposes. For example, the monetary and political stakes are high for schools to teach students to write in accordance with a state-mandated writing test, which leads to a certain level of conformity to, and normativity of, the writing process. At a deeper level, this sort of

subjectivation attempts to ensure a subject's ongoing compliance to the system (ultimately, capitalism) as it blocks "every possibility of real experimentation...the production of desire and the formation of utterances" (Deleuze, 2007, p.87). What this means is that the student's introduction to the subtle processes of normalization and conformity has a deeper, long-lasting societal impact. Learning to write a certain way, and being told there is only one way to correctly write, is one step in a larger process of making the student more amenable to embodying certain subjectivities. Not only might they reproduce this style of writing, but the process of learning the rules of writing and the disciplinary process that makes them comply with it then it makes them more conducive to accepting and complying with other subjectivation systems (such as the formation of a certain economic subjectivity).

For Guattari, (2009) schools shape students in such a way that makes them particularly receptive to learning to read signs in a way that will ultimately result in being willing to perform certain type of work. He contended that rather than transmitting information, schools, "impose a semiotic modeling on the body, and that is political. One must start modeling people in a way that ensures their semiotic receptiveness to the system...otherwise they would not be able to work in factories and offices " (p.289). Guattari stated that capitalism benefits from the labor of this subject. The political nature of this subject formation lies in the construction of an ideal worker that buys in (or is receptive) to capitalism. The individual goes from learning something in school to a subjectivized servant of capitalism through an "initiation to the given castes" whereby the student learns certain so-called truths about how the social world works and their place in it (p.279). The emphasis here is on givenness. Guattari theorized that students learned to

adapt to “given” or “truth” social situations that are not really given at all, just presented as such. These “other things” could be any number of things including social hierarchies and economic systems. If these systems are viewed as givens, then it is less likely they will be called into question.

Miller (1993) wrote about the potential of this sort of truth-telling or givennes happening through neoclassic economics curriculum:

The system of market capitalism contains an underlying system of intellectual rationalizations which, over time, have become embedded in the structure of thought providing the foundation for the discipline of economics. These rationalizations have become much more than working hypotheses. They have become the assumptions of a logical model that demonstrates how an economy ought to work; further, these assumptions have become norms, statements about how people ought to behave in order to get the desired results that the model projects. (p.26)

Miller made a crucial ideological move from conceptualizing the market as a theoretical entity posited *by* economists to the foundation *of* economics. Instead of economics producing the concept of an abstract, law-abiding “market”, the normalized narrative of the market-as-origin produces the economy. Thinking back to the stop sign example, the stop sign produces the stoppage not the other way around. The legal impetus to stop at a certain intersection does not exist without the sign telling people to do so, and the sign is powerless without the backing of a legal system to legitimize it. In a similar fashion, economic laws produce the economy, but they are meaningless unless they can point back to a natural law. The “natural” (but really human-made) law of scarcity serves as

this referent from which other laws are produced. This distinction is important. If the market is thought to be the origin of the economy, and if that market is believed to operate according to certain natural laws, then people have little choice but to follow these laws in order to “get the desired results” which is, of course, the accumulation of money and things. In other words, economic laws have become as normalized as traffic laws or speech laws in that they appear to be backed by natural truths that must be obeyed, but first they must be learned. The GPS is one site of this learning.

Subject formation itself is not bad. It is an essential function of schooling curriculum. Deleuze and Guattari (2009) sought to draw attention to the ways curriculum produces subjects and for what purposes. It is important to highlight this process of subject formation because it demonstrates some of the ways people are made to think and act in ways that serve certain ends *without these ends or this process being revealed to them*. The GPS works in a similar way; it has a certain ideological agenda (capitalism) that is not revealed to the subjects it is attempting to form so that they can be aware of this formation and determine whether or not that is what they want or believe. The subject that the GPS creates is ultimately in the service of capitalism. This process is what Deleuze (2007) referred to as a “*machine of subjectivation*” in which “the signifier is no longer grasped in relation to some signified, but in relation to a subject. The point of significance has become the point of subjectivation” (p. 86). In other words, the subject is created, and gets its meaning, from a “point of subjectivation” which is the entity that assigns the subjectivity and codes the subject. In this case, the GPS would be a “point of subjectivation” that produces the subject by drawing off of social codes from capitalism.

The chart that I created from the GPS standards demonstrates the way that the GPS creates subjects that are amenable to capitalistic processes and willing to perform certain types of work. For example, the standards' heavy emphasis on, and praise for, the merits of entrepreneurship, over time, could create subjects who are more willing to strike out on their own (in the pursuit of profit) to become independent proprietors, contractors, or vendors selling everything from rides in their car (Uber) to lesson plans (Teachers Pay Teachers). Drawing from Guattari's (2009) description of the way that learning to read signs in a certain way ultimately results in becoming conditioned to perform a certain kind of work, this interpretation of the GPS constructs a subject who receives a narrative of capitalism that subtly tells them how they should think and act in the economy, for the benefit of the economy, i.e. capitalism.

If subject formation is an essential component of capitalism, then I wanted to see what behavior model was being described in the GPS. After all, Georgia is one of the relatively few states that formally assess economics at nearly every grade level. There must be a reason for emphasizing economics so heavily. A student who attends public school in Georgia from kindergarten through high school could be conditioned to a very thorough, yet specific, type of economics education. What could be the desired result of thirteen years of neoclassic economics education? I wanted to see what sort of human and nonhuman subjects were being formed and to what ends. To do this, however, I had to carefully attend to the language of the standards to find places where human behavior was actually being described.

The GPS subject

In the following section I will draw on the standards to construct a profile of the human side of the subject created by the GPS. I will describe the subject that the GPS attempts to produce in terms of three main characteristics. The subject is a decision-maker, an investor, and a manager. I will describe these characteristics in-depth in the following paragraphs.

The decision-maker. Rational decision-making is one of the fundamental standards in the high school GPS. The GPS describes rational decision making as the process of “comparing the marginal benefits and the marginal costs of an action” with rational decisions occurring when the benefit exceeds the cost. This sort of cost-benefit analysis also extends to personal finance, as evidenced by the standard SSEPF1 "the student will apply rational decision making to personal spending and saving" and its two sub-standards "explain that people respond to positive and negative incentives in predictable ways" and "use a rational decision making model to select one option over another." The personal finance standard is the practical application of the fundamental standard, as it prepares students to think a certain way about the inevitable decisions they will have to make in their lives. Students learn early on in the fundamental standards that decision-making involves costs, because getting one thing is the cost of giving up the other thing. With this standard is the assumption that people are actually able to foresee all of the costs and benefits of their choices. The personal finance standard asks students to put that theory into action in their own lives by choosing, from one option over the other, the thing that will derive the greatest benefit with the least cost. Although this decision making is positioned as a "personal" endeavor, it is only personal to a point, as

students are reminded that people respond to incentives in *predictable* ways and hence there is a limit to how personal this decision-making really can or should be. Drawing off of the standards, that predictable response would be to choose the thing that brings the greatest profit. If that is achieved, then the decision-maker can rest assured that they made the right choice and that they are the right kind of decision maker, a rational one.

Although the rational and predictable aspect of decision-making is only found at the high school level, decision-making permeates the GPS at all levels. Beginning in the kindergarten scarcity standard, students learn that decisions have to be made in the first place because resources are scarce and hence they cannot have everything they want, thus they have to choose between this *or* that. Students are reminded about scarcity and limited resources again in first grade (this time with explicit emphasis on opportunity costs) and again in some form in every elementary and middle school social studies course. Ten years of accepting scarcity as a social fact and that people cannot have everything they want produces a decision-making subject that, presumably, understands why they have to make decisions and how they should make them. Again, the only outcome the GPS allows for in a rationally-made decision is financial gain, leaving little room to explore the multitude of other values people employ when making decisions.

The investor. The GPS subject is also an investor. The subject invests in several ways. They invest in their education and training, which is known as “human capital.” Standards related to investment in human capital begin in elementary grades and are found consistently in economics standards in grades six through twelve. This investment is identified as a productive resource along with land and capital in elementary, middle, and high school standards. In the middle grades, students are asked to describe the

relationship between a country's GDP and literacy rate and investment in human capital. The standard suggests that acquiring education and training (the definitions of which remain ambiguous), results in more money. The standard's wording leaves the exact recipients of this money ambiguous. For example, the sixth grade standard states "explain the relationship between investment in human capital (education and training) and gross domestic product (GDP)." The standard could be interpreted as a call for people to invest in their own education (by investing ones time and money and their labor) and/or for businesses to invest by providing training for their employees. A similar standard falls under personal finance. In that standard, students are to describe how workers' earnings are determined and the significance of investing in education. Regardless of how this education and training is paid for monetarily, what matters is that the human subject *will be educated*. In doing so the subject will be made to invest their time and labor (physical and intellectual) into this process. The outcome of this training is specifically tied to increased productivity. In this sense, the only possible value of education is financial gain. This process can be seen in recent moves towards value-added measures wherein value equals a graduate's money-making potential⁷ thus making education, under capitalism, about value rather than values (Lazzarato, 2015).

The manager. The GPS subject is a manager of the self⁸. The economic subject is supposed to manage their life in certain ways. For example, a fundamental concept in the GPS is that resources must be properly managed because they are scarce. As

⁷ The U.S. Department of Education's recent publication of the College Scorecard rankings, an attempt to rank colleges strictly through cost-benefit analyses based on graduates' salaries minus the cost of tuition, otherwise known as value-added outcomes, is a testament to this ("The Value of University," 2015). Under these measures, a college education's value does not lie in the quality of what the student thinks about, learns, or accomplishes in the process of attaining their degree, but solely in how much money the person can make when they graduate.

⁸ In fact, economics has always been related to management. The origin of the word economics is the Greek word for management of the household.

previously stated, the standards make it clear, beginning in kindergarten, that people cannot have everything they want. Hence, an ethic of self-restraint (or need for management) is established from the outset. The manager, produced through the standards, effectively manages their wants and needs. They also manage their labor and the wages from their labor. One way they manage their labor is by selling it on the market. This is evidenced through standards that reference the relationship between people and businesses, such as the fifth grade standard SS5E3b "describe how people earn income by selling their labor to businesses," a concept which is also found in a less complex form in the kindergarten standards. Investing in their human capital through education is presented as the key to making higher wages. The manager manages the wages they receive by making rational spending decisions, saving their money, and taking some financial risk through investing. A good manager of the self will be able to do the things described in the personal finance standards. I do not think it is a coincidence that the personal finance standards always appear last in the list of economics standards at every grade level. It is as if personal finance has the last word in economics curriculum and subject formation. To manage personal finance is to assess risk, invest money, and spend wisely. It is a sort of culmination of all of the micro and macroeconomic concepts in action and represents the real-world, relevant arm of the GPS economics standards. These personal, human actions are very important in an otherwise impersonal market. Personal finance and management of the self places all of one's success (making money) and failure (not making money) in navigating the economy, as well as the success of the economy as a whole, on this economic subject rather than the market structure or the government or other societal forces such as capitalism. Thus,

although the market itself might be impersonal, managing one's position within it is portrayed to be highly personal and consequential. In this view, since people, not markets are prone to error, the GPS economics standards act as a "corrective" measure to mold an economic subject that will think and act in ways that are productive for capitalism.

This analysis demonstrated how the GPS economics standards forms a certain idealized human subject that makes rational decisions, invests in their human capital and manages their personal finance. I built a profile of the GPS economic subject from the instances in the GPS standards where humans, individuals, or people were positioned as performing action. A continual critique levied at neoclassic economics curriculum is that it is highly impersonal. I attempted to highlight the instances where the curriculum was personal and human-centric, what sorts of human these human-centric standards might create, and the consequences of this subjectivity.

Capitalism, the GPS and Social Studies

In my analysis of the GPS standards, I sought to do several things. First, I sought to identify if the Georgia standards were neoclassic in the ways economics curriculum has been described in other economics education literature. Exploring the GPS standards for themes of neoclassicism was a productive process in understanding economics curriculum in the state of Georgia and brought to light the glaring absences of attention to social issues; it also revealed the GPS's machine-like descriptions of economic productivity. Like the absences described in the studies conducted by Gans (2015), Marglin (2012) and Marri, et. al. (2012), the neoclassic GPS standards do not provide a framework for understanding modern social phenomena.

However, these analyses could not provide a framework for understanding the endurance of neoclassicism. If neoclassic standards, and the economy they describe, are so out of touch with reality then why have they continued to endure for so long?

Establishing capitalism as the economic system being described in the GPS helped to push my analysis further. It allowed me to see the underlying processes of individual and individual subject formation at work that keeps capitalism, and neoclassicism, going.

Capitalism must create subjects that are amenable and useful to capitalism. Thus, the GPS standards are written in such a way that they present a particular truth about how the economy, and people within the economy work. The truth comes in the form of a set of laws about the workings of real, and neutral, entity called the market. Young people learn these laws in school and through this learning become particular subjects. The laws provide a referent for how the subject should make decisions, invest their time, money, and labor and manage their lives. The subject saves enough money to fuel the banking machine but not too much that it stalls the consumer machine. In participating in this system, they are continually productive for capitalism even as parts to a whole.

What does understanding this process mean for social studies education? First, it aids in social studies educators' understanding of economics standards like the GPS. It provides a way for educators to make sense of the seemingly ambiguous language and lack of human activity in neoclassic curriculum. Lazzarato (2014) wrote that, in modern Deleuzo-Guattarian conceptualizations of capitalism "we constitute mere inputs and outputs, a point of conjunction or disjunction in the economic, social or communicational processes" and further suggested that perhaps the idea of the agentic human ought to be rethought because "the agents are not people, and the semiotics are not representational"

(p.26-27). This is one example of how the GPS, and neoclassicism, while seeming to negate human agency, actually acknowledge non-human agency, as the standards never guaranteed us a human subject.

If these factors are understood to be indicative of capitalism, then it shows how the GPS perpetuates capitalism through curriculum standards. Second, although the machanic economic system might seem out of touch with current social movements, it is possible to explain something like Occupy Wall Street through the breakdown of this machine. The underemployed college students comprising the movement invested in their human capital through education. They did everything right in earning a college degree (investing in their human capital), but found that the demand, and “free market” price for, their intellectual labor was insufficient. The protesters created a counter sign system to that of capitalism. Their signs exposed the intolerable conditions that capitalism created. The protest was a refusal to be a cog in the corporate capitalist machine any longer while also exposing the seeming breakdown of a machine that failed to work properly.

Thinking of capitalism as a machine points to the need for a different conceptualization of freedom and action. Deleuze and Guattari (2009) pointed out that machines, the capitalist machine included, are meant to break down, writing that capitalism was able to understand the productive potential of breakdowns “crisis being the ‘means immanent to the capitalist mode of production’” (p.230). While such social and economic problems as un(der)employment, a shrinking middle class, and corporate bailouts might seem like symptoms of a system malfunction, Deleuze and Guattari help us see that this is exactly how capitalism is designed to work, the machine is actually

functioning the way it is supposed to. Deleuze and Guattari wrote that machines, by definition, break down “a machine may be defined as a system of interruptions or breaks...The machine produces an interruption of the flow only insofar as it is connected to another machine that supposedly produces this flow” and so on (p.36). So what might seem like a bad break is actually capitalism’s attempt to extend itself and find newer, more productive, avenues of production and profit “recessions are good for the capitalist economy because instability of employment can keep wages low and increase the rates of profit. Capitalism can draw strength from almost anything that happens” (Goodchild, 1996, p.99). Even recessions, which might at first appear as malfunctions are actually part of capitalism’s functioning, because capitalism thrives off of such deterritorializing processes. For example, fed up Occupy protestors, unseated from ties of employment but having learned to be flexible, might, become the Uber drivers and Air B&B proprietors⁹, for example¹⁰, that on one hand subverts the corporate “establishment” (deterritorializes it) and on the other reproduces capitalism by through “the invention of new technologies, both to facilitate the means of production and to create new needs for consumption” (Goodchild, 1996, p.99). This is why it is not enough to state that the system is broken and simply in need of repairs, tweaks, and fixes. Capitalism can't be saved from itself. The only way out is through dismantling and scattering of its component parts, namely the power, subjectivities and institutions that continue to reproduce it. Seeing capitalism, and its ensuing social problems, in this machianic model, highlights how the capitalistic

⁹ I am not trying to condemn these practices, but to point out the complexity of living and working in a capitalistic society where there are no easy answers as to how to go about emancipatory work. Besides, I've used both Uber and Air B&B and am not in the position to criticize anyone.

¹⁰ Uber and Air B&B are good examples of capitalism using currency to decode. The long-held American value of private property ownership gets decoded as the prospect of making money supersedes the Constitutional “inalienable right “to private property. Money becomes the only thing of value in the economy, turning it from a system of private owners to an increasingly shared (but not free) system made possible by the exchange of currency (there’s an app for that!).

machine is put together and functions, and, in doing so, points to other ways of assembling its component parts to make a machine that functions differently and other connections, relationships or “plug-ins,” that might be made, but it also highlights the tangled web capitalism weaves that can seem nearly impossible to escape.

Third, naming capitalism and pointing to it implicates it as an active political force that is neither neutral nor inevitable. As a political actor, capitalism pursues as certain social agenda, and its actions and outcomes happen by design, not by accident. Acknowledging capitalism allows it to be critiqued and implicated in economic failures. Pointing to capitalism materializes the structure that is at work behind the GPS. As of now, capitalism hides in the shadows of the GPS and by doing so it resists critique and maintains its role as a truth-teller. As I demonstrated in the literature review, scholars have exposed, and critiqued, neoclassicism’s role in economics curriculum, but its capitalist frame has not been so exposed. In staying hidden, capitalism can be the mastermind behind the scenes, so to speak, and continue to produce productive capitalistic subjects. In turn, exposing the capitalism in the curriculum radically changes how the standards are critiqued. Thinking of the standards as simply in need of fixing, updating, or slightly modified ignores the productive power and politics that capitalism provides them. Like capitalism itself, the neoclassic standards are not broken, flawed, or misguided they are doing exactly what they are intended to do, re/produce capitalistic subjects.

Fourth, this analysis helps social studies educators differentiate between *the* economy and *an* economic system. Capitalism is one way to organize an economic system, and its influence is far reaching, but there can be other economic systems.

Recognizing this provides options. It helps people think about what they might do instead. In Chapter Five I will show how desire works through a libidinal economy that is operates differently than the political economy of capitalism. This means that although capitalism is a powerful force, it only *attempts* to shape human behavior. It is not always successful. In chapter five I will show how the youth in my study sometimes performed capitalistic subjectivity and often did not, opening up the possibilities of different ways of being and doing. Finally, in Chapter Six I will show what happens when preservice social studies teachers attempt to deploy the three characteristics of the economic subject onto the youth in the study. The preservice teachers, drawing on the GPS, the only teaching resource they have for understanding human economic behavior may unwittingly reproduce capitalistic structures in their expectations for the youth by attempting to “plug them in” to this framework.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Two years ago, I attended a round table session at a national social studies academic conference. Next to me, one of the graduate student participants prepared to read his paper. As he scanned the stapled pages, he remarked that he guessed he'd better skip his methodology and theory sections because he heard that, to paraphrase, "nobody wants to hear about your methods or theory, just focus on your findings" at this conference. I learned that an influential scholar had given this impression in a message he posted on the organization's Facebook page. Later, I found the graduate student and encouraged him not to give up on theory or methodology in his work and that such practices were not always unwelcome in this space, but were the stuff of this space.

Methods and Methodology Matters

In the instance recounted in the vignette above, a well-known scholar in the field of social studies education used Facebook to disseminate a piece of advice to the graduate students attending the annual social studies faculty conference. This message could be read as simply giving practical advice for how to best use ten minutes of presentation time efficiently. I think that his piece of advice stems from sitting through too many sessions in which presenters expounded too long about the validity of their findings or a particular coding mechanism. Admittedly, I do not enjoy this part of it either. However,

another reading of the occurrence might point to a tendency in the field to neglect theory and methodology in favor of findings, implications, and practical advice, what constitutes the “bread and butter” of scholarship and teacher education¹¹. I was particularly concerned with the way the Facebook advice was taken up by a graduate student who encountered it, as he essentially read his paper’s introduction and conclusion in an effort to fit in with (what he thought) were the norms of the organization.

The graduate student’s comment about theory and methods was uttered quickly and softly as he prepared to read his paper. It is the type of statement that could be easily forgotten. However, it was a statement I continue to dwell on more than a year later. I began to get nervous because immediately following the round table I was scheduled to present two papers. One was firmly a theoretical paper. The other used some data from a study of the elementary methods class that had taught the previous semester. I was seriously questioning the methods paper as an empirical piece because I really was not sure what, if anything, I had “found” and what any of it meant. I began questioning my work, because if I wasn’t really finding things, per se, because to “find” things would presume that those things were just there waiting to be uncovered, then what was I doing? I’ve come to think of my work as using theory to make sense of the things that materialize in a research study. To me, this kind of work is more about thinking about things rather than finding things. In this dissertation, these “things” ranged from artifacts such as maps and videos to utterances and gestures. For example, in Chapter Five, I show Jordan, one of the participants in the study returning a particular kind of blush and a *People* magazine to the shelf at Walmart. I did not find Jordan doing this, nor did I

¹¹ Segall (2002) notes a “disdain for theory” among preservice teachers that is a reflection of the “inefficacy of theory” in teacher education scholarship to turn into itself as an object of critique.

stumble upon it. Jordan did this in front of me as while she was a research participant and I was a researcher. This is not to say Jordan would not have done this with or without me, I cannot know that (although I can guess). However, I take this action, and Jordan's other actions and statements during that interview, as data to theorize and make sense of, data that was created as part of the study. Thinking and theorizing instead of finding has some advantages and disadvantages. By taking all of what materialized during the interview as data, I was able to put all of it to use without worrying about, or speculating whether, what Jordan was doing or saying was true or accurate. The time I spent with Jordan was too short to even begin to discern certain patterns or truths, and I doubt it would matter much anyway. Researchers are never outside of their inquiry. Thus, I was able to concentrate on what the participants were saying and doing and the consequences of these sayings and doings for social studies, and economics, education.

All of this is not to say methods are not important. Methods are very important because methods help to facilitate particular experiences that can then be theorized. One of the experiences in my study consisted of walking through stores with youth. I did not do this to discover a generalizable truth about how youth go shopping, but to see what happened when I tagged along with them on their weekly grocery shopping trips. I could not imagine presenting a research paper related to this dissertation without theory or methodology, because that is really all that makes up this dissertation.

Social studies is in a particularly good position to engage with theory and methods because it is through theory and methods that the material world as we know it is produced. Theory and methods are behind the curriculum (texts, standards, and other materials) that students learn from and researchers study, the demographic data that they

deploy, and every human, and non-human action or utterance that is taken as truth. In short, it is through theory and methods that we know what we know, or at least, what we *think* we know, and social studies is all about how people come to understand themselves¹² and their relationships with other people, processes, and things. Hence, if the field of social studies is about engagement with the social world, then it makes sense to foreground theory and methods rather than sideline them. Methods construct “the world” as we know it. Methodology is not simply a means to revolutionary ends, but is revolutionary in itself. In their introduction to their book *Deleuze and Research Methodologies* (2014), Coleman and Ringrose suggest seeing methodology as “a relation between what is and what might be” (p.7). They suggest that the *what might be* is the transformative piece that can make a difference in the way things are done. I hope that the methodology I used in this dissertation can illustrate methodology’s potential to be interesting, vibrant, and productive in social studies research.

Overview of the Chapter

Chapters Three and Four are in-depth accounts of the dissertation study in terms of methods (what I did, Chapter Four) and methodology (why I did it, Chapter Three). After completing the study, I came to realize several challenges in regards to writing up the methodology. First, any iteration of explaining this study, whether in articles, casual discussion or job talks, involves a great deal of explanation because each of the pieces fold into one another. The study turned out to be much more complex than I anticipated. One of the complexities was in trying to explain simultaneous events within the linear bounds of Microsoft Word. To acknowledge this complexity, I have done my best to explain the study as clearly as possible.

¹² If there can be such a thing as a "self"

This dissertation is an attempt to say something to, and about, several primary actors in the field of social studies, and economics, teacher education. These actors include teachers, youth, teacher educators, and researchers. Since this is a study about economics education, I situated the study within economic spaces, grocery stores and flea markets and educational spaces, university classrooms.

In Chapter Two, I presented studies on the state of neoclassic social studies curriculum. These studies consisted of content analyses of economics textbooks and standards. Then, I conducted my own content analysis of a particular set of economics curricular standards, the Georgia Performance Standards, which span social studies education in grades K-12. The studies found that neoclassic economic theory, which undergirds economics texts and standards, is limited in its ability to explain modern day social and economic phenomena such as Occupy Wall Street (Gans, 2015; Marglin, 2012) or the politics of the federal debt and deficit (Marri, 2014). For these reasons, these scholars determined that neoclassic economic curriculum is largely impersonal and thus out of touch with current economic and social realities (Marglin, 2012; Marri, 2014, Miller, 1993). However, I found that these impersonal factors actually *do* have relevancy when they are considered as characteristics of the capitalist machine, as described by Deleuze and Guattari (2009). This study contributes to this research, and extends it, by showing the “missing” elements of neoclassic economic theory, real people, places, activities, as well as the social studies teacher education space where economics educators are trained (Aske, 2003; Joshi & Marri, 2006; Watts, Walstad, Schug & Wood, 2011). I designed a study that would allow me to study real people engaged in, or talking about, real economic activities taking place in real economic spaces, and the ways the

preservice and practicing social studies teachers, tasked with teaching economics, the very elements missing from both neoclassic economic theory and studies on economics curriculum.

I designed a study that would allow me to see how youth talked about a particular capitalistic space, grocery stores, and how social studies teachers made sense of the way the youth talked about these spaces, and how the graduate students made sense of this process of sense-making. In following sections, I will describe the construction of the study and the thinking that went into this construction.

A very brief overview of the study

The dissertation takes place in three different, overlapping social spaces. The visual below articulates what happened in each of the three spaces and the overlaps between them. The graphic is intended to demonstrate the study's process as well as its recursive structure.

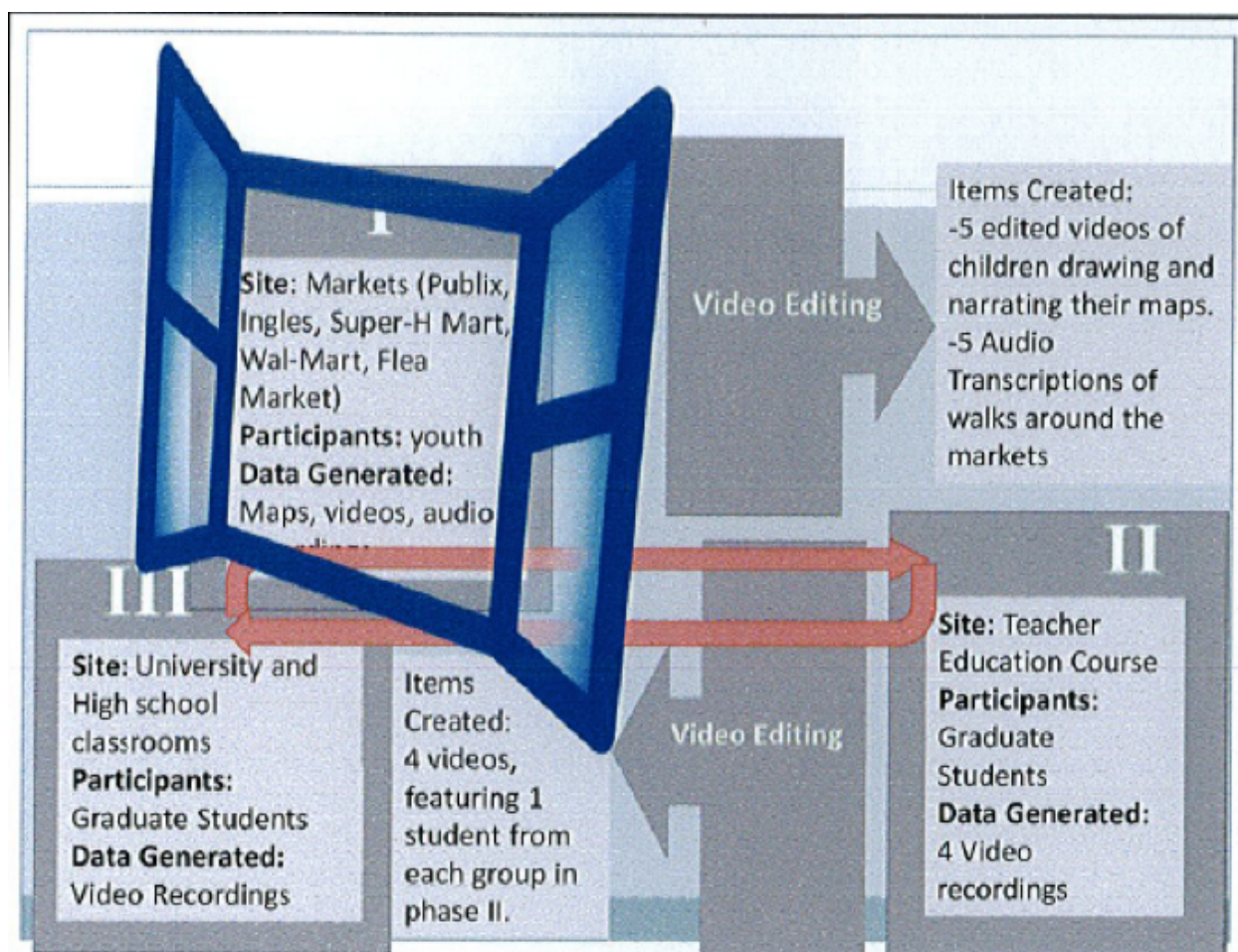


Figure 1.

Each phase of the study takes place in a particular site of inquiry and generates particular pieces of data. In the first site, six youth ages twelve and seventeen walked me through local grocery stores, following my prompts to draw and narrate maps of the store and of their school. These walks and interviews about narrate maps of the store and of their school. These walks and interviews about the maps were videotaped. In the second space, after I edited these videos into short vignettes, I asked graduate students in a social studies teacher education course to view those vignettes and work in groups to analyze them as data. The graduate students' viewing of those vignettes and their commentaries about them were video taped. In the third space, some of the graduate students were

invited to comment upon a video, but this time it was the video of themselves in the process of analyzing the youth's videos.

Methodology

I designed a methodology that contains components familiar to qualitative research. These components include video and audio recordings and the use of elicitation devices. However, I put these components to work in ways that are new and innovative. One such innovation involved using the videos as both data and elicitation devices. I used my iPhone and iPads to record the events in the study, but then I also edited these videos and used them as both data and as a device to elicit commentary and discussion. I also used techniques that are emerging in qualitative research in education. These techniques included walking interviews (e.g. Evans & Jones, 2011) and map drawing (e.g. Schmidt, 2013). I utilized these methods in spaces familiar to youth, teachers, and teachers. These include grocery stores, high school classrooms, and university classrooms.

Post-Qualitative Research

In this study I attempt to put post-qualitative research methods to work. Although the world 'post' seems to indicate a type of research that comes *after*, Lather and St. Pierre (2013), think of it as "an evocative mix of revitalizing familiar frames, which might be called the 'old new' and, especially interesting to us, the bringing into being of the *new new*¹³" (p.629). To me, the "newness" of post-qualitative research resides in new configurations of old research methodologies and new theories to understand studies. So this post-qualitative research might seem very familiar to some and very new to others. Lather's (2013) lovely and concise overview of the history of qualitative research

¹³ Lather and St. Pierre borrow the *new, new* from Spivak, 1999, p.68

provides a framework for discerning just how qualitative research has changed and what might be new about post qualitative research.

Lather (2013) begins her overview of qualitative research with what she calls Qual 1.0, which can be summed up as conventional interpretive inquiry featuring a human subject and a search for authenticity and truth. Qual 2.0 saw the normalizing of qualitative research, the publication of handbooks, and the rise of the thinkability of research designs in an effort “to fix the research process so that it becomes possible to know it in advance” (p.635). Voice, authenticity, and reflexivity are found here, as is the ‘crisis of representation’. Of course, this does not mean that all qualitative researchers were working with these terms in the same way and at the same time. For example, as early as 1993 Lather was thinking reflexivity while re-thinking voice and validity using poststructural analyses (Lather, 1993). Qual 3.0 is associated with postmodern theories, feminist theories, and race theories. According to Lather, this type of research, which rethought much of its predecessors’ “fixes”, was stalled when qualitative researchers had to defend their work against the calls for scientifically based research. This type of research calls into question the privileging of voice (for some, to the point of giving up “voice” in favor of textual analysis), the existence of a “real” world to be discovered or described, and, what is perhaps key, the giving up of the humanist subject. Qual 4.0 draws on ontology rather than epistemology as a turn away from seeing the world as static and towards an infinite production. This means that instead of seeking truths, or trying to define what a thing *is*, researchers might instead want to know how that thing *functions*, what it *does*, and how it can be put *to use* (see Deleuze & Guattari, 1983). There are no handbooks or guides for Qual 4.0 “in this methodology to-come, we begin to do it

differently wherever we are in our projects” (p.635). Researchers interested in “Qual 4.0” are still trying to figure out what this type of work looks like. All of this is not to say that post-qualitative research fits neatly into Qual 4.0 or 3.0, but that the tenets, so to speak, of post-qualitative research are thinkable in these layers, which of course are not themselves rigid or fixed categories or even linear in nature. In sum, post-qualitative research is not necessarily a break from traditional qualitative research, but a different way of conceptualizing what qualitative research could be or could look like¹⁴.

In this kind of post-qualitative research, the researcher sees herself as entangled with the ever present, messy data. This idea probably feels very familiar to qualitative researchers. After all, since the 1990s qualitative researchers have been experimenting with messy texts indicative of the messiness of their participants’ lives (e.g. Lather, 2001). Lather’s work has been particularly groundbreaking in this endeavor. However, I believe that a key difference between this ‘old new’ qualitative research and the new materialist type of post-qualitative research that I’m using is that not only are *people’s* lives messy, but the world itself is messy. This messiness occurs in the form of unstable meanings, chaotic beginnings, and a rethinking of the subject-object relationship.

I wanted to do the work of blurring the subject/object dichotomy that is challenged in much of new materialist and post-qualitative works. I do this specifically in the third phase of the study the graduate students become both the subject and object of their inquiry.

¹⁴ Of course, these are just four made up, but nevertheless useful, categories of qualitative research traditions. There is certainly overlap between each tradition.

What is Data and why Should(n't) I Give It Up?

There are debates among post-qualitative theorists about the use of data in research. For instance, St.Pierre (2013) argues that if everything is data then nothing it and therefore it should be given up. Others, like Maclure (2013) make the case that data and even coding may be necessary in educational research, if only to hit the limits, so to speak, in the researcher's ability to represent and code the data. That which resists coding and description, notes Maclure, is exactly the thing researchers should be paying attention to. Still others, such as Jackson and Mazzei (2011) are forthright about their use of data. They take on a machianic view of working with data; suggesting that researchers put data and theory to work by "plugging them in" to one another as a method of creating something new. Jackson and Mazzei (2013) demonstrate this method by taking two pieces of interview text (their always incomplete and partial data) and putting them together, i.e. plugging them in, to a concept from a particular theorist that helps them make sense of both the theorists work and the interview text.

Despite their different views on data, each "camp" recognizes that data is not something "out there" waiting to be discovered, mined, or found. In my study I view data in two ways. First, I view data as something that is created. The videos, the maps, and the transcripts from the walks are all pieces of data created for and within the study. Not only did I create some of the data in the study by editing and creating the videos, typing up transcripts, and collecting maps, but the graduate students, the youth and I created data as well. The youth did this through their creation of maps and their narrations. The graduate students did this through reading the youth's data and then

became data themselves through this process. Thus, data creation was a co-constitutive, creative process.

Second, I view data itself as social. In relationship to the field of social studies education, I see the process of data creating and reading as *a* social study in the way that authors and readers gather together to sense of it and in the way that data is socially created. The way in which people make sense of the world through data seems to be a productive line of inquiry in social studies education, particularly as an increasing amount of data about human beings' lives are being created, collected, stored and analyzed. In the following sections, I will describe how I used elicitation devices and mapping as a way to generate the data for this study.

Elicitation devices. Something that I think is unique in this study is my use of elicitation devices. To elicit can be defined as “to draw out” but its Latin roots associate the word with “allure” which seems to have a desiring and affective quality about it (Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Usually, a researcher gives their participants an elicitation device, such as a series of historical photos (Barton, 2001; 2002; 2010; 2015) and then asks the participants to do something with it. Barton (2015) has written about his use of elicitation devices in social studies education research to gain insight into how youth think about social issues or historical time. Barton's use of elicitation devices is to obtain data so that the researcher can say something about what the participants know. For example, in his studies on youth's historical thinking, Barton facilitates a picture-sort activity in which he asks the youth in his study to put a series of pictures in chronological order. One thing Barton found that the youth expressed time in terms of sweeping generalities like “nineteen hundreds” or “a million years ago.” This is one way data can

be generated from an elicitation device. However, I wanted to try a method where the devices weren't pre-given but created on-the-spot. In this way, the elicitation devices also served as data. I want to attend to the allure aspect of elicitation in order to see elicitations not as drawing out something that is already there, but as productive and affective a calling forth instead of a pulling out. I utilized a variety of elicitation devices in the study to generate data. In this study, elicitation devices include maps, transcripts, videos, and the markets themselves. Walking with the youth through grocery stores and a flea market provided lots of material to elicit all kinds of responses. For example, in Chapter Five, I described how Paul's contact with a container of EasyMac generated a productive line of inquiry around his ability to get what he wants in the grocery store. This line of inquiry threaded through all three phases of the study and served to problematize the extent to which money is the determining factor in a young person's access to the things they want. One of the unique features of the study was that the participants created their own elicitation devices. In the first part of the study, youth drew maps of the schools they attended and the stores we were visiting. The youth drew the maps but then used these maps to talk about their schools, markets, and connections between the two. I video recorded these map conversations. These videos served as another type of data artifact as well as an elicitation device later on in the second part of the study. The stores were also elicitation devices. I walked around the markets with the youth. As we walked, we talked about various items we encountered. I audio recorded these conversations. These served as another form of data generation and elicitation device

Now, I am not so sure that I was eliciting knowledge as much as points of affectation. For example, two of the youth, Justin and Mary, recounted a story about going home from the grocery store and eating all of the food, enraging their little brother Jake. The story the siblings told involved a great deal of affect in terms of anger and outrage and so did their recounting of it, as they laughed while describing this intense situation. In Chapter Five I theorize this affectation and situate it within a larger framework of desire, capitalism, and economics education. These points of affectation are when things happened, or more likely, were recounted that seemed particularly intense or interesting for either me as a researcher or for the participants. I paid attention to these moments of intensity, making much of seemingly small moments or otherwise inconsequential statements because of their productive quality. These statements seemed to produce something that needed to be accounted for, that seemed to call for attention.

The videos I made of the youth elicited responses from the graduate students who were watching them. It was fascinating to watch the four videos from the graduate student class and see the simultaneous laughter and shocked facial expressions when the youth said something totally ordinary that shocked the graduate students. These elicitations were difficult to document, as a burst of laughter from one group could drown out the comments of another group, but they made the study all the more interesting to try to write up and theorize.

Elicitation devices are useful in qualitative research because they are *always* productive. Something is always done in response to an elicitation device. Richard and Lahman (2015) described the benefits of photo elicitation in educational research “the images served as a common ground for meaning sharing and meaning constructing

between the participant and the researcher...the referent through which participants explain their thoughts, feelings, and beliefs” (p.12). I wanted the elicitation devices I used to serve as this referent, but I did not expect that it would be possible to draw out beliefs or even really thoughts or feelings. What I drew out were statements, artifacts and utterances. I tried to be very careful to attend to statements. I did not want to say so-and-so believes or thinks something. For example, in Chapter Six I explored how the graduate students took up the youth’s statements but I tried not to say that the graduate students *thought* this or that. The most striking example of this in the study is when one of the youth says that his father says he have something in the store because "it costs too much". I explore the nuances of this statement in Chapter Five, questioning whether or not the participant even believes what is said or if something else is going on and in chapter six I demonstrate a consequence of taking these statements as indicative of truths or beliefs.

The elicitation devices I used blurred the boundary between data, participant, and elicitation device. The subject of the research and the object of research were blurred. For example, it is hard to determine the subject of Kayla’s video. Except for a finger, Kayla’s body is not in “Kayla’s video.” Kayla’s maps serve as the subject/object of the films. The maps are in the films shots. Yet, the maps are Kayla’s production. The subject and object of the films becomes lost in this blurriness. It does not allow me to say “this video is about Kayla” and therefore make her a subject that is stable or an object outside of my making.

what mapping does. Schmidt’s (2013) work was one of the inspirations for using mapping in the study. Schmidt asked high school students to draw maps of their schools

and then narrate those maps. The maps revealed a great deal about the extent to which the students were able to access certain spaces in the school, which areas of the school were “unsafe” for the students physically or mentally, and the extent to which the public school space was really public. Schmidt writes that maps allow for spatial considerations in research in that they “enable representations unhindered by language” (p.540). Maps allowed Schmidt and the participants to visually represent school spaces in ways that showed the unequal way spaces are constructed-both physically and discursively.

Maps are also theoretically useful elicitation devices for several reasons. First, maps and the knowledge they embody are socially constructed (Wood, p.18). Second, maps serve particular interests, which are “embodied in the map as presences and absences” (p.1). To that end, maps are produced through choices. Map makers point *somewhere* and not *somewhere else* (p.24). Third, “the map doesn’t let us see anything, but does let us know what others have seen or found out or discovered” (p.7). Viewing the youth’s maps, therefore, is not the same thing as viewing their schools or even the markets. So although the map drawing took place at a market, the markets that materialized in map form were not “the” store but a conception of the store. Fourth, maps produce truth, knowledge, and reality. This makes them incredibly powerful. I did not demand that the youth make “accurate” maps (as if there could be such a thing) nor was I concerned with scale or fidelity. I never made the youth change their maps or suggest different ways of depicting spaces, as I did not want to impose on their reality. Finally, maps are relational (p.139). Maps are born of relationships between discourses and materials and people and events. Maps blur the subject-object dichotomy as their subject is fractured. For example, what is the subject of Jordan’s map of Piedmont

County High School? What is the object? The map is an object in the sense that it is a thing, but it also actively does something in the study.

Data analysis (or, making sense of data)

To generate the data for this study, I video recorded the youth's drawings and narrations, audio recorded the walk and talks through the markets, and video recorded the teacher education class and follow up interviews. The youth's maps also served as data, as well as the edited videos of the youth and the graduate students. The amount of data generated could at times be overwhelming. My task in this study has been to make sense of this abundance of data and make sense of others' sense making, and to organize and present it in a way that is intelligible to others. Here I describe that process.

The first step in the data analysis began with watching the videos and listening to the audio recordings. While watching the youth's videos, I made time stamped notes of instances in which the youth said or did something that I thought would be particularly interesting for the graduate students to see or hear. There was a level of intuitiveness to this process.

I used Windows Movie Maker to edit the film and make shorter videos to show to the graduate students. Windows Movie Maker is a free movie editing software that allows for splicing and extraction of film sequences. I watched the videos, found the pieces I wanted to use, and then spliced them. Then, I extracted these cuts and put them together to form a single film. I made five separate edited videos, one for each youth participant, with the exception of Justin and Mary, the siblings, who shared a video. The original videos ranged from half an hour to an hour, while the edited videos were as short as two and a half minutes (Paul) to ten minutes (Jordan and Justin and Mary).

In the first phase of the study, I video recorded six youth as they drew maps of their schools and markets. Then, I edited these videos down to construct a narrative to show graduate students in a social studies teacher education course. In the second phase, where I asked the graduate students to view the data from the first phase, I adopted a similar process. However, this time the process was more complicated. Not only were these videos, at an hour and twenty minutes, much longer than the youth's, they also involved many more participants. I made time stamped notes noting when certain students spoke or made movements that seemed significant. The time-stamped notes looked something like this:

45:00-Michael turns to the student next to him and whispers. Raises hands as if to indicate a balance. Leans back in chair. Danielle watches the screen and smiles at Jordan's remarks.

Part of the challenge of using video recordings was accommodating for both the visual and audio transcription. During the first view viewings I just tried to note statements or gestures that caught my attention. Then I could review the notes and decide what I wanted to hone in on. That way, I was able to rewind the film to a specific point in order to write down the participants' direct words and actions.

Two other problems surfaced upon watching the videos. First, since the activity took place in a full classroom, there was a great deal of background noise. The background noise and some of the participants' distance from the camera made some people almost impossible to hear clearly. However, I could sometimes pickup one group's audio on another group's video. This happened with Group B, which picked up participants from Group D. Since all of the cameras were filming at the same time, I

could watch Group D's video while listening to Group B in order to catch what was said. This process was painstaking at times. I had to lean in closely to the screen, turn up the volume, put on my noise-cancelling headphones, and watch one participant at a time in order to follow their narrative. I had to rewind often and listen to the same thirty seconds over and over to ensure I not only "got" the participants' words written down, but that I understood the context of the words based on the overall discussion, body language, and the maps they were looking at.

I used the video notes to hone in on students I thought would make good candidates for follow up interviews. I looked for graduate students who seemed to have something particularly interesting to say. Going into the study I was not sure the graduate students would want to talk about the youth's videos and maps, I was pleasantly surprised that I had to cut off discussions in order to have time to show all five videos. Finally, I looked for graduate students who were not just vocally invested (or disinterested) in the process but bodily as well. For example, I read some body language, such as glances towards the door, taking out laptops, and checking phones as a sign of boredom. There were also hand gestures and facial expressions that seemed to indicate excitement or interest either in response to the videos or in an effort to explain something to their classmates or to me. For example, Sarah vocalized strong assumptions that two of the youth in the study came from poor families. I wanted to follow up with her to see where these assumptions might be coming from and to offer alternatives as to what else might be going on with the youth besides family wealth (in this case the two youth deemed poor were from the two most financially well-off families in the study).

Some of the participants were chosen for practicality's sake. For example, the iPad cameras were angled at some students more than others and captured some of the students' voices or gestures more than others. For example, I could not hear Michael very well on the recording, but I could see him clearly on the camera. Michael made a lot of gestures and movements that I wanted him to comment upon. I also looked for graduate students who seemed to not only have a lot to say in general, but that seemed interested in wanting to carry on the conversation. David was one such student; he had a lot to say within his group and also posed a lot of questions to the group regarding the data. In addition, David was an economics major so I wanted to utilize his content knowledge.

Working concepts: Plugging data and theory into one another. Earlier in this chapter, I admitted to being unsure about the “empiricalness” of my work, prompting me to question how exactly I was going to write up the data if I was not planning to code and if there really wasn't much to find, since the components of the study took place in the here-and-now on the surface. I couldn't find anything because nothing was lost, buried deep, or hidden. Hence, I stopped trying to find things and started theorizing. For a long time I was reading Deleuze's works and digging into the data in separate contexts. As a researcher, the breakthrough happened when I was able to connect Deleuze and Guattari's work on capitalism and desire with what I saw happening (or not happening) in the GPS standards and the video data. Once I realized that neoclassicism sounded very similar to what I was reading about in *Anti-Oedipus*, I began to be able to theorize the rest of the dissertation in terms of Deleuze and Guattari's work.

In the data chapters, I engage in a bit of wordplay as I put together a Deleuzian concept alongside a teacher education concept. In this way I attempt to work the relationship between theory and practice. These link-ups happened when each reached its limit. For practice, this limit was when I “hit a wall” in making sense of the study; when all of the familiar concepts no longer worked. For theory, this limit happened when I saturated the source material. In doing this, I could define ideas like desire, but could not yet put them to work. In reaching these limits, theory and practice moved into one another. Deleuze calls this process a migration of theory from one domain to another. In this case, Deleuzian concepts migrate into the “domain” of social studies education. When theory reaches its limit “praxis is needed to break through” (Foucault & Deleuze, 2004, p.206). Thus, the study provided another arena for theory to be productive. I liken this process of breaking through to making sense.

For example, in Chapter Five I problematize the familiar, rationally-based GPS subject that I introduced in Chapter Two alongside the seemingly irrational and indulgent concept of *desire*. In keeping with the theme of production, I like to think of this method as “working concepts” as a way to think about the ways in which the concepts *work* in making a difference in research, but also the labor of sense-making as I work *with* the concepts.

The concept/data combinations were inspired by Maclure’s (2013) advice to follow particular “hotspots” or data that “glows” in ways that attract the researcher’s attention in its irruptions, those instances “that lie on the boundary of language and body” that are difficult to pin down into any sort of order (p.171). Thus, the three data chapters

are mostly comprised of misfit data, that is, data that seemingly doesn't make sense within ordinary contexts.

Doing Social Studies Research in Social Spaces

This study takes place in three sites, a teacher education classroom, university and high school classrooms, and grocery stores. The first two sites are familiar for studies in social studies teacher education, but the latter is not so familiar. It was important to me that the study remained as firmly situated in social spaces as possible. The teacher education classroom, for example, is every bit a social space as a learning space. In the second site of the study, the teacher education class, I was not just studying how the graduate students made sense of the youth's data, but also how they did this sense making with one another. I was able to video record this group sense-making process, which provided insight into the discourses that the graduate students drew off of to make sense and communicate their ideas with each other. Conducting part of the study in places like grocery stores allowed me to situate a study in social studies education firmly in a social space. It made sense that a study in social studies education ought to engage in the types of outside-of-school spaces that social studies education is supposed to prepare students to engage in. Grocery stores filled that role of social space, but they also served as economic spaces as well.

Grocery Stores (and a flea market)

Grocery stores were a vital component for a study centered in economics education, as they are places where capitalism, youth and families meet. Grocery stores allowed me to see economic activities in action, as grocery shopping involves numerous instances of decision making, often at the margin, between only slightly differentiated

products. I wanted to see how youth did this decision making and what they said about it. In addition, grocery stores are places where people invest their time and money to buy things that they want and need for now and for later. That is, when people spend (invest) money in purchasing a particular food item they are presumably, at the minimum, investing in sustaining their life, but they are also investing in gaining a degree of satisfaction or enjoyment from the food item. These are investments that are made for the future and for which there is an expected return.

Moreover, grocery stores are an ideal site for this study of economics curriculum, and capitalism, because if capitalism is a machine then the grocery stores functions like its motor. Goodchild (1996) wrote that Deleuzo-Guattarian capitalism's "motor" is the convertibility of two types of flows, filiative and alliance capital. Alliance capital refers to the capital of wages and payment, in other words, money paid for labor and as a medium of exchange for consumer goods. This type of capital has little power on its own. Filiative capital, on the other hand, is the capital of investment, that is able to reproduce itself and it is purely abstract and non-material. In other words, there is not a simple 1:1 ratio wherein customers pay what a product is worth in terms of labor, there is always profit that must be made. Additionally, when customers do pay at a major chain grocery store like Kroger, for example, the debit card or credit card used is diffused as a series of numbers into a larger corporate machine, no "real" money changes hands. The grocery store is such a place that conjugates these flows, that is, it takes this wage labor (and also pays its wage labor) and turns it into profit. This process is exemplified in the high school microeconomics standard SSEMI1 "The student will describe how households, businesses, and governments are interdependent and interact through flows

of goods, services, and money” this is what is called the circular flow model wherein households provide labor (production) in exchange for wages so that they can buy things (consumption). Families are all but phased out in microeconomics in favor of the more impersonal designation of “household.” Likely, this is because families can be helpful or hurtful to capitalist, and social, reproduction as “the child does not wait until he is an adult before grasping-underneath father-mother-the economic, financial, social, and cultural problems that cross through a family...with which he is already planning his ruptures and his conformities” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009, p.276). In other words, families constitute civic, economic, and social structures and they are where youth develop their desires and their rebellions and compliances within these structures. Families are constitutive of affective and intimate relationships that can work outside of capitalist production. Conversely, a household contains no such rebellions or frictions, but simply does the work of producing and consuming, and this is another way that capitalism turns a family into an image of a productive machine “father, mother, and child thus become the simulacrum of the images of capital...the familial determinations become the application of the social axiomatic” (Deleuze & Guattari, 2009, p. 264). In other words, capitalism doesn’t need families as much as it needs households who will do the work. In sum, grocery stores are places where families meet capitalism and wage labor meets profit margins and economics meets civics and for these reasons they were an ideal site in which to situate this study.

Grocery stores, then, are places where households (families) act as consumers and producers as they do the work of making decisions and investing in the store as they consume the products there. Moreover, the subjects in grocery stores are those

personalized GPS subjects who manage money, make decisions and invest alongside impersonal processes that turns their personal subjectivity into a customer number scanned into a machine that codifies their desires and habits in terms of profit. In this way, grocery stores are good places to see economic subjects, youth, who are also the present/future labor sources, performing economic subjectivity in the form of production and consumption. In sum, grocery stores are good places to see how economic subjectivity is performed, how families work in this process and the extent to which his subjectivity aligns with the neoclassic GPS subject I outlined in the previous chapter.

Interviewing in grocery stores. Interviewing youth in the stores was an effective way for me to elicit responses and answer my research questions, but it was also a “best practice” of sorts, in doing research with teenagers, who present particular challenges as research participants. According to Bassett, Beagan, and Ristovski-Slijepcevic (2008), interviews in public places do much to protect teenage subjects, as they provide a context wherein a researcher can speak openly with a participant who might not wish to speak candidly in front of a parent or other family members, but still provides a sense of propriety and safety as it ensure the researcher and participants are not alone with one another. Thus, interviews in public places provide safe spaces for both researchers and teenage participants. I set up meetings with the participants and their families. In most cases, I met the youth and their families at the market. I was able to interview the participants and walk around with them as their parents shopped. Most of the stores had cafes or picnic tables that provided a quiet area to conduct the interviews that were semi-private but still in plain sight. In Kayla’s case, the three of us browsed the flea market all together. Taylor, at seventeen, had her own car and was old enough to

drive herself to and from the store and therefore was not accompanied by her parents. In these instances, the youth were able to have some privacy but were still able to leave the study at any time and either find their parents or leave (in Jordan's case) if they wanted to, although none of them did. This practice was another way to make the youth and their parents feel safe and ensure, to the extent that it could be ensured, that the youth did not feel coerced by me into staying at the store or participating if they did not want to.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS

In this chapter, I describe the structure of the study in greater detail as I link the methodological explanations from the previous chapter with what took place in the three sites of the study. Although I had a plan of the kinds of methods I wanted to utilize, there was much that was improvised depending on the situation at hand, particularly in the interviews with the youth and the one-on-one follow up interviews with the graduate students. The bulk of this section will be explanation of the components of the study and further explanation on why certain methods, like mapping, were used. The methods section will setup the following chapter, where the findings will be presented.

The study consists of five layered parts, with each part taking place in a particular site of inquiry. The three main sites include grocery stores, teacher education classrooms, and high school classrooms. The other two “sites” are video editing sessions that bridge the grocery store and classroom sites. The videos made in these editing sessions served as the elicitation devices used in the teacher education spaces. Each of the sites will form a chapter of this dissertation, with each site folding into the other.

Sites of Inquiry

Site I: Markets

Research Questions:

- 1.) How did youth perform economic subjectivity at the grocery store?
- 2.) How do these processes make sense in terms of neoclassic economic theory?

3.) How can desire serve as a counternarrative and theoretical tool in considerations of economic subjectivity?

Markets, consisting of grocery stores and a flea market, form the first research site in the study. I visited four different grocery stores and one flea market with youth ages 12-17. The grocery stores included Walmart, Publix, Ingles, and Super H Mart, a Korean oriented grocery store. The markets served as both an interview space and a source of conversation, or elicitation device. These interviews consisted of three parts. In the first part of the interview, the youth used paper and markers that I provided to draw maps of their school and the market we were visiting. This usually took place in a dining area or table either inside or just outside of the store. I video recorded the youth drawing their maps. Then, I asked the youth to narrate their maps for me, that is, to explain their drawings. This process was also video recorded. In order to protect the youth's privacy, the videos consist of only the youth's drawings, their hands, and their voices. After the first round of mapping, I asked the youth to walk with me through the market. I audio recorded these walks through the stores. I did not video record for several reasons; first to remain as inauspicious as possible, second to protect the identity of the shoppers in the store, and third to comply with stores' wishes that I not photograph the merchandise. After the walks, the youth and I returned to our initial meeting spot. Here, they re-visited their maps of the market and their school. I provided markers and asked them to use a different color to re-draw their maps of the market based on the walk. I video recorded this process as well. Many of the youth added details to the maps based on what we saw on our walk. I asked the youth to narrate their re-mapping process as I asked clarifying questions along the way.

Site I participants. I recruited youth ages 12-17 for the study. Since the graduate students I was working with were in a secondary education program, I wanted the graduate students to encounter youth in the same age range they would be certified to teach and youth ages 12-17 are presumably in middle or high school. I was able to recruit youth across this age range, with the youngest being a seventh grader and the two oldest being rising high school seniors. I wanted to interview youth from a range of school systems, ages, and markets they visited. I began by making a list of all the people I knew with youth in the desired age range and asking them to participate. Since most of the people I know with youth in this age group are involved in education, either at the university or K-12 level, all of my youth participants happened to have mothers who were educators in some form. The youth that participated in this study were principally recruited because they fit the desired age range (12-17), attended public school, and visited a local market or grocery store regularly. As stated earlier, I recruited youth of people I knew. Friends, colleagues, and acquaintances offered to make introductions for me, for which I am grateful. However, these introductions never turned in to actual interviews. Finding a time when the youth, their parents, and I were all available posed a challenge. Although no one came out and said it, I think it was also disconcerting for parents to offer up their youth to a researcher they did not know.

The following chart provides a breakdown of the youth in the study as well as the markets visited. The youth's ages are presented as their age at the time of the interviews. Grade refers to the current or most recently completed grade in school at the time of the study.

Table 2. Youth Participants.

Participant:	Gender:	Age:	Grade:	Description of school	Name of Market
Justin	Male	17	11 th	Large rural high school serving the county	Ingles
Mary	Female	15	9 th	Large rural high school serving the county	Ingles
Kayla	Female	12	6 th	A rural middle school serving a geographic portion of the county.	Flea Market
Paul	Male	14	8 th	Small rural middle school.	Publix
Jordan	Female	17	11 th	Large suburban high school. Notable for its affluence and high test scores.	Wal-Mart
Brady	Male	14	7 th	Large suburban middle school (grades 6-8) located in an ethnically diverse, affluent community.	Super H Mart

Site II: The teacher Education Classroom

Research Questions:

- 1.) How do graduate level social studies education students make sense of artifacts of youth's sense-making?
- 2.) What discursive practices did the graduate students employ to do this sense making, and what sorts of socio-economic subjects emerged from these practices?

A graduate level social studies teacher education course served as the study's second site. It was important to me that part of the dissertation be used to think about specific ways to contribute to social studies teacher education. I hoped that the smart things the youth said and depicted would be thought provoking for the graduate students as they go about considering their careers as social studies teachers. To do this, I facilitated a

pedagogical encounter between essential materials in schools and schooling. These materials include entities that seem evident for any graduate level teacher education course; teacher candidates and practicing teachers, a teacher educator (me), a few practicing teachers, a classroom within the college of education building, and the articles the graduate students read throughout the course. Segall's (2003) "Maps as stories about the world" and Thornton's (2007) "Geography in American history courses" were two of the texts that specifically related to mapping that the students were assigned to read the night before I facilitated the class meeting. These ordinary materials were combined with youth, data, and maps of schools and grocery stores, materials that might be talked about in depth in graduate teacher education but not actually present in that space. Finally, this pedagogical encounter included non-school spaces-grocery stores and a flea market, which entered the teacher education classroom in the form of the youth's maps and videos.

Preparation. I met with the instructor before the start of the class. We arranged for me to be a "guest facilitator" for one class period while the instructor was out of town. I would not only facilitate the data reading for about an hour and a half, but I would also lead the class in a discussion of the readings for that night (geography themed to fit my study) and then allocate at least one hour for the students to work on a group project.

Participants. I visited the class a week before the data reading session to ask for participants. I planned to include most, if not all, of the students in the class. I explained what the students would do (view some data I'd collected in the form of videos, maps, and transcripts of youth in markets and then work in groups to make sense of it) and the specifically "social studies" and "graduate student" topics we would explore including

geography, civics, economics, data and schools. I explained that all of the students would do the data reading activity, but that only those who signed the consent forms would be in the study. Overall, twenty-two graduate students ended up participating in the study. The following illustration shows my understanding of how the classroom was arranged that evening:

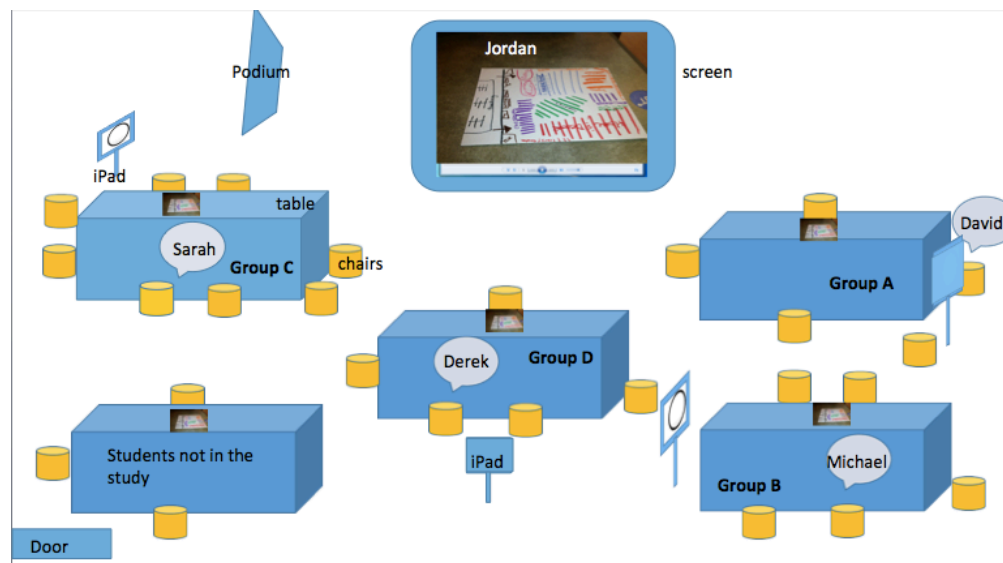


Figure 2.

The classroom consisted of five groups. The students sitting in four of the groups; A, B, C & D were in the study. Students sitting in the group near the door did not want to participate in the study. The blue squares are tables and the yellow cylinders are the participants in the study. The thought bubble in each group shows the location of the four graduate students who participated in a follow-up interview. The iPad graphics show where the cameras were situated in relation to the participants and the video screen. The video screen shows Jordan's map in the way the students in class would have seen it.

Copies of Jordan's map can be seen on the tables. The maps and materials were color-coded. The purpose of color-coding was partly to help the graduate students keep track of the youths' materials, but it also helped me as I watched the videos to discern which participant was being discussed as I watched the videos afterwards.

The table below shows the graduate students in each group. The names in bold type participated in follow-up interviews.

Table 3.

Group	Members
A	David , Marissa, Alex, John
B	Sarah , Diane, Katie, Kathleen, Mary, Gloria, Katarina, Flor
C	Derek , James, Hank, Scott
D	Michael , Bethany, Shawn, Matthew

I started class by briefly explaining the process of interviewing the youth at the markets, creating the videos, and preparing the transcripts. Then, I began by briefly introducing Justin and Mary in terms of their age, grade in school, and type of school attended. Then, I showed Justin and Mary's video and provided each group with two copies of the audio transcripts and two copies of each of their maps. After the video, which was about seven minutes, I allowed about fifteen minutes for discussion before introducing the next youth participant. I introduced the youth in the order that I interviewed them (see Table 2).

The other videos were about two and a half to three minutes with the exception of Jordan's, which was about ten minutes (cut from about forty five minutes of footage).

After watching all of the videos, graduate students discussed the overall takeaways from the videos and maps. I was purposely kept my questions open ended and vague. I asked the graduate students simply to "make sense" of the youth's data. I was vague because I simply wanted to see what the graduate students would say and do with

the youth's materials and I wanted to see if any trends developed between the conversations happening in each group. At the end of class, I collected the iPads and materials. I then uploaded the videos onto my external hard drive. I labeled the videos "Group A," "Group B," "Group C," and "Group D" in order to differentiate between them. What materialized in these interactions is presented in greater detail in chapters six and seven.

Site III: Follow up interviews

Research Questions:

- 1.) How do graduate level social studies education students make sense of the process of becoming teachers?
- 2.) How can the concept of *becoming* provide a frame for making sense of these processes?

One-on-one follow up interviews conducted in various classrooms served as the third site of the study. After watching the videos from the social studies teacher education course, I compiled an initial list of graduate students that I wanted to follow up with. I then emailed the students I was interested in following up with. When the interviews were confirmed, I cut a ten-minute video from their group's larger hour and twenty-minute video. I chose video footage that particularly related to the specific participant. For example, for Michael's follow-up interview video, I selected footage from the larger group video that showed Michael making particular hand gestures in response to Jordan's video. This video would be used as the elicitation device during the one on one interview.

To prepare for this space, I prepared a list of questions based on the edited video. These questions ranged from questions about their thoughts on becoming teachers, their thoughts about the youth in the study and what it was like to watch themselves as students participating in a class activity. These interviews took place in classrooms in August 2014. Two took place in high schools classrooms after school and two took place in an empty university classroom. These interviews were also video-taped with iPads.

Derek's interview was audio recorded and not video recorded because there was an issue downloading the previous interview to the hard drive.

The following illustration shows the setup of the room.

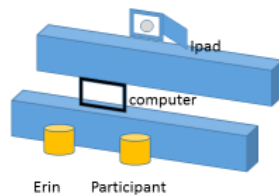


Figure 3.

During the 1:1 interviews, the graduate student and I sat next to one another at a table so that we could watch the videos together. I setup an iPad on a table across from the participant and me. The iPad was situated so that we were facing it. I wanted the camera to capture our bodily reactions as we watched the video and talked about the topics in the interview. I would show a one and a half minute clip and then ask the participant to comment on the clip. I repeated this process about five times until we watched the entire ten-minute video. These interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to eighty minutes.

Site 3 participants. The participants in this section of the study consisted of four graduate students who had participated in the class data reading session. Three of the

participants; Sarah, David, and Michael were full time graduate students in the social studies education program at the time of the interviews, as of fall 2014. At the time of the interview, Derek was a part time graduate student in the social studies education program and was a full time world history teacher at a nearby high school. Derek was the only full-time teacher that participated in the follow-up interviews. I interviewed Michael and David in a teacher education classroom and I interview Sarah and Derek in classrooms at a local high school.

Risks

Any study involves a level of risk, particularly studies involving youth. The first risk involved identifying information about the youth. To protect the youth's identifiable information, I recorded their map drawings and narrations in such a way that their faces and bodies were not in the camera shots. Only the youth's hands and fingers could be seen in the videos. I also assigned pseudonyms for both the youth and their schools.

Although the tasks I asked of the youth, map drawing and walking through markets, were relatively innocuous, the final question I posed to the youth "what do markets and schools have to do with one another" seemed rather risky. Although stories about the marketization of school can be heard on news programs and even voted on, there seemed to be something dangerous about talking about this topic. As a middle school teacher in a rural, ideologically conservative county, I felt nervous talking when discussing topics that appeared to critique capitalism. I have also felt some anxiety when taking a critical approach to teaching economics and the issues of power and privilege that arise. However, neither the youth nor the graduate students seemed upset by this

question. The youth provided thoughtful answers and the graduate students and I had lovely and insightful conversations around this question during the follow up interviews.

The youth took some risk in this study by openly talking about their feelings about their schools. Kayla, for example, not only openly criticized her school's discipline system, but did it in front of her mother, who was also a teacher at this school. Paul and Brady both expressed feelings of boredom in school, with Paul even criticizing his parents for not buying him the things he wanted. Jordan provided a wonderfully astute critique of her high school's hiring, parking, and school lunch policies. I realize these topics are probably not often solicited from the youth. I appreciate their willingness to take risks and the graduate student's capacity to engage with them.

I am not sure that most of the parents (or youth) fully understood the point of my study, and I appreciate their willingness and openness to participating. I image this study was very different than what the youth and their parents envisioned. I was not trying to teach the youth anything and I did not approach them as a teacher, but simply as someone who was curious about their lives inside and outside of schools and who wanted to spend time with them in a market. To help put the youth at ease, I made a point of dressing for casual weekend shopping-jeans, t-shirt, and sneakers.

I also had to confront my own insecurities in the course of this study. Since this methodology was unstructured, and since I did not have a model to follow, I often felt anxious about how the map drawing and walks would turn out. Some of these anxieties can be heard in the form of awkward silences and repeated phrases in the videos as I struggled to find the right word or next question to ask.

The teacher education class was similarly nerve wracking. Going into the teacher education class, I was nervous that the graduate students would not participate or that they would not want to do the study. I have this fear a lot, actually when approaching teaching. I was pleasantly surprised to find them engaged and interested in the study. This interest carried over into the follow-up interviews. These interviews took on a fairly casual tone and I thoroughly enjoyed talking to the graduate students in a student-to-student role than as their instructor.

There is one graduate student whose efforts I especially appreciate. Michael was open in discussing his feelings about the curriculum and methods courses he was taking. He was honest enough to express dislike and boredom with both the data-reading class and the methods and curriculum classes. He also said things that were problematic in many ways, but I appreciate, not that he said the things that he said, but that his statements proved to be generative in considering becoming teacher. I am not sure I would have followed that line of thought with the other participants had he not brought it up in his interview.

CHAPTER FIVE:

DESIRE IN ECONOMICS EDUCATION

In Chapter Two, I described how economics curriculum has been critiqued for its neoclassic leanings, and I demonstrated how the Georgia Performance Standards (GPS) are similarly neoclassic. Scholars critiqued neoclassic theory for describing an economy that was unrealistic and impersonal. I drew upon the work of Deleuze and Guattari (2009) to demonstrate how neoclassic standards, such as the GPS, are indicative of capitalism and are describing the workings of a capitalistic economy. Continuing to draw upon Deleuze and Guattari's work, I theorized that the GPS attempts to produce a particular subject that is amenable to capitalism. This subject was a manager, an investor, and a rational decision maker who had a certain degree of individuality in performing these tasks while at the same time was part of a larger, impersonal, pre-individual machine called capitalism.

In this chapter, I use data from my study of youth in grocery stores to demonstrate and then theorize how the youth engaged in economic activities in a particular capitalistic space, the grocery store. The study's methodology allowed me to talk about, and visit, these economic spaces with youth. As such, I was able to generate data that materialized "real"¹⁵ youth with real emotions and affects involved in real economic activities in real

¹⁵ I am not claiming that the conversations and walks with the youth were indicative of a universal reality, nor am I claiming that the interviews are indicative of what the youth *actually* thought and did outside of the interview space (I cannot know those things). This is, after all, a research project and the interviews and walks were done as part of a research project, however much the participants engaged in their own weekly shopping or

places (grocery stores) where they interacted with the human and nonhuman entities that comprise the capitalist economy. Thus, the data provides the examples of real people with real emotions, feelings, attitudes, and affectations that scholars noted have been consistently absent from economics curriculum and neoclassic theory, and that I noted are missing from the GPS standards.

This study is about what materialized during my interviews with youth at the store. These materializations comprise the data of the study. To generate the data for each interview, I tagged along with the youth-participants during their weekly shopping trip. Most of the data presented here comes from pieces of the transcriptions of the audio recordings from the walks through the store as well as a few pieces drawn from the video recorded sit-down interviews. During the walking interviews I turned the recorder on and captured the youth's running commentary, some of which included these anecdotes about what someone else, not participating in the interview, said or did. For example, in the checkout line, Jordan told me about a time when her brother ate her favorite ice cream. Although the ice cream eating incident did not happen "live" so to speak, during the interview, and thus I never saw it happen, I decided to include it as interview data alongside the other data because it is as much a materialization of what was said and done at the store as anything else. Including, and theorizing, these types of past-tense anecdotes does not mean that I believe, or am asserting, that any of these memory-events *actually* happened or that they happened the way the participants said they did.

Moreover, as a researcher I have to recognize my own hand in materializing this data, so

consumer activities. However, the data I generated from the interviews provides something (material) to go off of in thinking about youth's economic experiences in a capitalistic society as *a* reality that was produced through *a* research project.

that “what happened” is drawn from the data created by the youth, by me, by the recording devices and such. Another goal for this study was to listen to youth and take them seriously. That said, in this chapter I am not going to cast doubt on the youth’s statements or try to uncover the “real” story or find out the unconscious meaning behind their stories and statements. As valuable as that type of work can be, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

In presenting the interview data, I will highlighting particular aspects of capitalist production as well as instances, which I will later identify as desire, where the participants said or did things that seemed counter to capitalism and neoclassic subjectivity. I chose to present these three examples because each contains an instance in which the participants say or do something that seems out of sorts with either the rest of their words and actions or that do not fit within the neoclassic economic framework.

Example #1: Justin and Mary

Justin and Mary were the first participants in the study. At the time of the study, Justin was a high school junior and his sister Mary was in ninth grade. The siblings accompanied their mother Caroline on her weekly Sunday morning grocery shopping at the Ingles grocery store. Justin and Mary’s five-year-old brother Jake was also present. Jake and his mother started shopping while I worked with Justin and Mary on the initial map drawing and filming. Then, the three of us walked through the store, with Mary leading the way through each aisle. During the walk, the siblings spoke about the various items their family buys each week and I periodically asked questions about certain items or asked them to tell me about a particular aisle.

Since this was their weekly shopping trip, I was not surprised to find that the family seemed to be mostly shopping for routine items such as breakfast, lunch, and snack items as well as stocking up on essential things they ran out of, such as salad dressing. Mary even avoided going down an aisle that included cake mixes and ice cream toppings, saying that they hardly went to that aisle because the items there are slow to run out. In the examples shown below you will see pieces of audio transcriptions from the siblings' walk through several aisles, including the bread aisle, the cereal aisle, the dairy section and the frozen food aisle.

Mary: *We come here to get different kinds of sandwich meat and stuff.*

Justin: *hotdogs*

Erin: *So is this, like, for your lunch for the week? Do you all take your lunch?*

Mary and Justin: *Yeah*

Erin: *so is this, like, for your lunch for the week? Do you all take your lunch?*

Mary and Justin: *Yeah*

[Bread aisle]

Mary: *We get bread, crackers- saltine crackers. We get popcorn and some kind of chips.*

Erin: *Is there a particular kind of chips that you like? What influences your decisions on buying chips?*

Justin: *Mainly stuff we have a lot.*

Mary: *The basics, like Doritos. Nacho Cheese Doritos.*

Erin: *Does your mom, kind of, let you get whatever you want when you come?*

Mary: *Not really...sometimes.*

we get those fruit cups for Jake's lunch. And those fruit snacks for Jake. And peanut butter...And Debbie cakes.

Erin: *Which ones do you like?*

Mary: *hmm I like zebra cakes*

Erin: *I like those too*

Justin: *There aren't many that I don't like*

[Later, in the cereal aisle, we paused next to a box of Lucky Charms]

Erin: *This was always my favorite aisle...what kind of cereal do you like?*

Mary: *I don't really eat cereal*

Justin: *Mainly whatever Jake likes.*

Mary: Lucky Charms, Frosted Flakes, Pops...

Frozen food aisle

Justin: *Frozen pizza...especially on nights I have wrestling*

Erin: *you all are pretty busy aren't you?*

Mary: *We get frozen pizza a lot.*

Mary: *We'll get juice, for Jake.*

Erin: *Do you get anything her? Gatorade?*

Mary: *Not as often as we'd like....sometimes.*

Erin: *Why not as often as you'd like?*

Justin: *We don't really ask for it.*

We moved on to the yogurt and cheese aisle

Mary: *I get yogurt, cause I like yogurt*

Is there a certain kind you like?

I like the Yoplait...berry

Erin: Do you

Justin: *A lot of times we don't really come with her [their mother] to the store, but we usually get the same stuff.*

Erin: *But Jake does?*

Justin: *Yeah...He probably plays a big part in deciding what we get for lunch.*

Mary: *Yeah, and he picks out the food and if we eat any of it he yells at us and says we eat everything.*

Erin: *Oh so its his?*

Justin and Mary: [smile and laugh softly] *Yeah.*

Justin and Mary walked through the grocery store pointing out items that their family bought each week. The siblings discussed getting items such as deli meat and yogurt to take for lunch at school as well as snacks such as Debbie cakes and chips. I particularly tried to engage the siblings in a conversation about cereal, as that was, and still is, one of my favorite aisles, and I had hoped they would talk about why they selected certain types of cereal or perhaps how prices were involved in their cereal selections. I wanted to see how the siblings differentiated between products. However, as we can see, Justin and Mary spoke of deferring that decision to their younger brother Jake. As we proceeded through the store, the siblings continued to talk about items they bought for their weekly meals and snacks. Justin talked about getting frozen pizza on nights he had wrestling and Mary talked about the yogurt she liked. In the beverages aisle they mentioned getting juice for Jake and sometimes for themselves, with Justin interjecting that they don't really ask for it. At this point, Justin and Mary had pointed out all the "routine" items they

bought at the store, as Justin said they got “the same stuff”. This prompted Justin to comment that Jake always went to the store and played a big part in what they ate for lunch, and for Mary to say that Jake gets mad when they eat the food.

In reading over the transcript from the walk, at first glance, Justin and Mary do not seem to be performing much action outside of pointing out the routine items they get at the store each week. They showed me “the usual” and the “basic” and the “same” items their family bought with what seemed like a degree of indifference towards any particular item. For example, Justin mentioned liking Debbie cakes but did not indicate a particular favorite kind. Even during the walk, would point to a certain item and say, “this is what we get” in a matter-of-fact manner with little explanation of why that particular flavor or brand and not another one. In terms of economic subjectivity, although Justin and Mary are present in the store, they do not appear to be particularly invested in the shopping trip in that they don’t seem to be particularly interested in choosing items or making decisions about certain things or even asking for things. For example, Justin said they got whatever cereal Jake wanted and that they did not ask for items such as Gatorade, even though they wanted it, but they did point to the juice in that aisle that they bought for Jake. It became apparent that Jake was the one who got to have what he wanted at the store. Justin and Mary did not seem bothered by this. They stated that Jake got *this* or *that* in the same matter-of-fact manner that they used to point to the lunchmeat and other items for the family. If what the siblings say is true, Jake played a large role in making decisions at the store. Take, for example, the multiple references to the family buying things specifically for Jake. Mary said “we” (i.e. the family) bought fruit cups for Jake and fruit snacks for Jake and juice for Jake. So there seemed to be

Jake's items and the "we" items that were for the whole family but that Jake seemed to have a hand in choosing, as he went to the store each week. So in the data we see that Jake made many of the decisions at the store and that his decisions are consequential for Justin and Mary outside of the store as well, as Justin stated, "Jake probably plays a pretty big part in deciding what we get for lunch." With the exception of the pizza they have on Justin's wrestling nights, it is Jake who is influential and invested in the grocery shopping and Justin and Mary have to eat whatever he picked out.

Since Jake invested his time and labor, both physical and mental, into the weekly grocery shopping trips, as making decisions and choosing products is a type of work. It is no wonder, then, that Jake wanted to keep the food he worked to procure. According to Justin and Mary, at home Jake thought the food was his and would "yell" at his older siblings and accuse them of eating everything. From a neoclassic perspective, it seems reasonable that Jake would consider the food to be his; he did work for it, after all. Although we can look upon this instance and know right away that the food bought at the grocery store is not really just for Jake, but it is also easy to see why Jake would see it as his and want to defend it. Moreover, Jake's claim would be perfectly legitimized in the GPS. Take for example, a standard from second grade and high school on resource allocation (SSEF1 & SS2E2). The standard states that resources are allocated by a variety of methods such as first-come-first-served, lottery, force, majority rule, personal characteristics, and price. If the food from the shopping trips are Jake's resources, then he has first-come-first-served claims, and even Justin and Mary could potentially claim force (by just taking the food) and majority rule ("we" the older siblings versus Jake individually). So what we are seeing here are glimpses of affect's presence in these

resource allocation methods. When Justin and Mary took the food “by force” so to speak, Jake yells and becomes upset, and Jake’s choosing of food has consequences for what Justin and Mary eat. These are the sorts of consequences and affects that are missing in standards that present all of these resource allocation methods as equally legitimate and neutral.

In terms of studying economic activities at the store, it is younger brother Jake, via his siblings’ stories, that seems to be the active economic actor who demonstrates good GPS subjectivity by investing in the procurement of goods, making decisions, and then managing his resources (food). In comparison, Justin and Mary, the actual subjects of the study, seem rather passive and their behavior seems confusing. From a neoclassic perspective, Justin and Mary are high school aged teenagers who should want to pursue their individual self-interest by consuming differentiated products in a marketplace. I also expected this type of behavior from them. To be honest, I expected Justin and Mary to be self-centered and afflicted with a case of teenage narcissism. I thought they would ask for things and claim items for themselves, but they never did.¹⁶ In short, Justin and Mary did not seem to want to want, instead, they continually used “we” in reference to the food, indicating that it was all shared and not individualized (with the exception of Jake). Not only did they not ask for things, they deferred that task to their younger brother.

Justin and Mary’s consideration for their brother was consistent with my interview with another participant, seventh grader Brady. Briefly, Brady, in his favorite aisle at the Super H-Mart, showed me all of his mother, father, and two sisters’ favorite

¹⁶ In short, I guess expected Justin and Mary to act a lot like my sister and I did at that age, each claiming “our” individual cereals and snacks and daring anyone else to eat it.

snacks. I had to prompt Brady at one point, asking “but what do *you* like” to get him to show me his favorite snack. Throughout my trip through the Super H-Mart, Brady was concerned with whether or not I was enjoying the samples of dumplings and kimchi, asking me what kind I tried and leading me to try new things. What both Brady and Justin and Mary’s examples demonstrate is the presence of other values and concerns at work in economic activity (grocery shopping) other than the individualistic accumulation of things. Neoclassicism, and the GPS, cannot explain Justin and Mary’s very real economic behavior. Nowhere in the allocation standard I referenced earlier is there a method for deferring one’s claim on a resource, nor is there a way to conceptualize not pursuing self-interest or expressing concern for other people.

Another reason I probed Justin and Mary to differentiate between the various products they got at the store is that I hoped they would talk about price. I expected them to talk about prices, and I thought that would be how they differentiated between items that were otherwise rather indifferent to them. Again, I was surprised that they did not mention price. This not mean price was never an issue for the family at the store, but it never came up in the interview. I tried several times to get Justin and Mary to talk about it, but they never did. It was only at the conclusion of the entire interview, after both mapping sessions and the walk, as we were walking back through the store to meet up with their mother, that Justin and Mary remembered they both forgot to draw the cash registers on their maps. This lack of attention to price was also out of sync with GPS and neoclassic economics wherein price is supposed to be the only incentive for economic behavior.

The real-live example that the data produced contains elements that are not easily explained through neoclassic means. In particular, Justin and Mary's deference to their brother Jake at the store and the later emotions and affects in the struggle over food at home have no bearings in neoclassic theory. In addition, in all of the food buying money, price, and profit, the things the neoclassic GPS standards says should motivate people, are completely missing from the data. The idea that people use money to get things in various situations of exchange, whether at a store or with other people, is so pervasive in the GPS standards and yet is wholly missing here. I do not think this happened because Justin and Mary were unaware of the role money plays in grocery shopping, but because there was something other than price mediating the exchanges and relationships between the siblings and the store and between the siblings and each other¹⁷. It seemed as though Justin and Mary cared more about their brother's tastes and satisfaction than their own, and it seemed as if this value was able to override price in terms of what was bought at the store. In other words, affect was involved. Justin and Mary's deferment *affected* Jake because doing so meant that Jake could be happy and have what he wanted. On the other hand, Justin and Mary eating "Jake's" food was also an affect, as Jake yelled at his siblings. Thus, Justin and Mary eating the food was not a neutral act but resulted in an intense response of distress from Jake that was then directed at them. So the data shows that something is going on in this economic encounter that is outside of neoclassic

¹⁷ After describing some of Justin and Mary's data to a social studies teacher who asked me about my research findings, the comment was made that "that's just a matter of parenting" regarding this seeming lack of attention to price and money. This comment wasn't intended to be complementary, it was a dig at Justin and Mary's mother for seemingly "not teaching" her children about managing money, especially since their mother is a public school teacher. To her, this was the economics lesson that should have been learned in the store. I see this all the time in research about families in grocery stores or about the pedagogical merits of a grocery store. There's nothing wrong with a parent teaching their child about prices, but this kind of perception is something I want to use this research to work against, what Deleuze and Guattari (2009) said is the capitalistic tendency to assign parents and families the role of capitalistic reproduction.

explanation or sense, thus reaching the limit of neoclassic theory's ability to explain or account for economic activity when it falls outside of a particular set of rules, standards or expectations and when affects become involved.

Example #2: Jordan at Walmart

The next example comes from seventeen-year-old Jordan, who I interviewed on a weekend afternoon at Walmart. I met Jordan in the Walmart parking lot, where she arrived driving her twenty three year old car Jordan asked me early on what the study was about. When I replied that it was about, among other things, economics, Jordan replied with enthusiasm "you know I take economics, right?" Jordan reminded me of her formal economics background several times in the course of the interview. In addition to taking high school economics, Jordan was the president of her Future Business Leaders of America (FBLA) club at school, completed an accounting certificate, and expressed a desire to major in business and marketing in college. In addition to these activities, she also played on her high school's volleyball team. I tagged along with Jordan as she shopped at Walmart. Jordan was prepared with a shopping list on her phone. Jordan bought items for an upcoming trip, including makeup, socks, and toiletries and she bought a Dunkin Donuts gift card for her FBLA advisor.

Here is Jordan in her self-proclaimed favorite section of the store, cosmetics:

Jordan: *"Guess where we're going first?"*

Erin: *"Cosmetics?"*

Jordan: *"That's where I spend most of my time."*

Erin: *"What do you look for when buying makeup?"*

Jordan: Haha well that's a good question. When I was little I was involved in 4-H and I taught classes to younger kids on how to do makeup [mutters something to herself as she scans the shelves]. This isn't the right thing... I look for the stuff that isn't going to break the bank. I work, so I'm on a limited paycheck. Ohh, there it is, that's what I'm looking for...And... It's more expensive, nevermind.

Jordan talked about her affinity for buying cosmetics even before we began the formal shopping part of the interview. Makeup was a big part of Jordan's life; she invested a lot of time and money into makeup. She wore makeup, she frequented Walmart's cosmetics aisles, and she taught others how to use makeup. Jordan described how price factored in to her makeup buying decisions. She picked out the blush that she wanted but put it back on the shelf after checking the price, eventually settling for a less expensive, but still usable, option. Jordan also talked about her "limited paycheck" and that she looked for makeup that wouldn't "break the bank." Here is a first glimpse into Jordan's prowess as a shopper. In neoclassic economic terms, Jordan made a choice based the theory of opportunity costs, buying the cheaper of two options that would still do the job and leave her with money leftover to buy other things. In this way, Jordan was practicing rational decision-making.

Whether Jordan made all of her decisions this way or was doing this just for me as a researcher cannot be known. Either way, Jordan demonstrated price consciousness throughout the interview and was able to articulate the reasons for her decision-making and her understanding of money management.

Here is an example of Jordan articulating her price-consciousness;

Erin: Of all the stores in this shopping center, why here [Walmart]?

Jordan: *It's cheaper*

Erin: *Yeah, so price, that's important to you?*

Jordan: *Like I said I only make a certain amount of money per week, every two weeks, actually.*

The piece of data above was generated during the second map drawing portion of the interview, when I asked Jordan why she shopped at Walmart and not at one of the multitude of other stores in this particular shopping center. Jordan stated that it was price that mattered to her, as she had to manage the money from her paycheck. One of the reasons I asked this question and pressed her for an answer was because Jordan made comments throughout the interview that indicated she disliked crowds, people, inefficiency and time-wasting, and yet Walmart seemed to have all of these elements. As we checked out, Jordan said:

Jordan: *As you can see, I don't dwell in here... You can see what I'm buying is for function.*

Erin: *Should we get in line? [gestures to a checkout line]*

Jordan: *Self-checkout... I don't like people. I mostly don't like slow people.*

During the initial map drawing of the store and the walk, Jordan repeatedly expressed frustration at the store's layout, particularly her beloved cosmetics aisle, stating that it was arranged in a "stupid way" and was "inefficient" and that the parking lot required a long walk. Despite a long walk to get to the store, crowds, long checkout lines and the sprawling, and "stupid" layout, we can see from the data that Jordan said she kept going to Walmart because of the low prices.

Jordan even continued to go to Walmart even after reading an article about the company's business practices:

I know that Walmart..., Walmart itself has a policy that it doesn't have loyalty to its buyers...or not to like, to like the customer, like the buyers¹⁸ they get their products from. Like, if you're buying from two companies and you get Crayola markers but if one company will give to it them for two cents cheaper they'll go with that one it doesn't matter if they've been with that other company for twelve years. I mean, that was in a research thing I saw like three weeks ago. They don't have...they go for price minimum.

Jordan described a news article about Walmart that she read a few weeks before the interview. She told this story in the context of a larger critique of her school and Walmart's practices of choosing price over people. She described these practices as acts of disloyalty and was critical of them. Ironically, Jordan was critical of Walmart for seeking the lowest prices for products, but she admittedly shopped at Walmart because of those low prices. So on one hand, Jordan is a good economic subject because as part of her money management efforts she sought out low prices. In other words, Jordan seemed to really get the idea of personal finance. On the other hand Jordan could be said to be betraying her values by supporting a business whose practices she doesn't like and knows are wrong. So it can be hard to make sense of Jordan's words and actions, which are seemingly incongruous. She seems to be stuck in a contradiction wherein when she does right by economics by shopping at Walmart she simultaneously does wrong by society and the people affected by Walmart's disloyalty. Thus an ensuing clash of values as Jordan values both saving money and loyalty.

¹⁸ I believe Jordan meant to say suppliers not buyers here.

Now, it might seem like Jordan is being cast in a bad light here, as if she is choosing one value (money) over the other (loyalty). One of the reasons I chose to use the data created about Jordan is because it is so relatable in that it shows so completely how easy it is for people to be subsumed into capitalist discourses and production. Jordan is like millions of others, myself included, who, for various reasons and matters of necessity, financially support Walmart, Amazon, and other corporate entities while being aware of their sometimes-dubious business practices. However, there would be little in the GPS or neoclassicism that would help a student like Jordan sort out this conundrum and clashing of values because as long as Walmart's economic exchanges are voluntary and non-fraudulent (and Jordan doesn't mention Walmart being guilty of either coercion or fraud) then Walmart is seemingly doing nothing wrong, and yet, something about Walmart's treatment of their suppliers didn't feel right to Jordan.

It's also understandable why Jordan would want to stretch her paycheck and save money. Jordan works a minimum wage job, and, while her parents certainly are able to meet her needs, she still has many things that she has to pay for. Jordan's quest for low prices and her relationship to Walmart makes even more sense when it is considered in the context of the impersonal side of capitalism and the process of production in which she found herself.

Capitalistic Production

Deleuze and Guattari (2009) conceptualized capitalism as a constant cycle of production. Throughout the interview, Jordan referenced working, both in terms of her after school job and in other endeavors like school and extracurricular activities. She continually emphasized how busy she was and how little time and money she had, as

evidenced by her desire to go through the self-checkout and not “dwell” at Walmart. One demand on Jordan’s time and financial resources was the FBLA (Future Business Leaders of America) club.

As club president, one of Jordan’s duties was to fundraise:

We have no funding at all. We have no funding for trips, we have no funding for competitions. We have no funding for jackets that we have to wear for competition. Nothing. I’ve had to raise everything. I did all the fundraising last year. But...last year I had to do fundraising for things we wanted to do not things that we needed to do. Like for socials and stuff. But, I have to raise \$3000. I mean, it’s not going to be too terribly difficult but I still have to do it.

Jordan described how the previous year her club only had to fundraise for extra things, but that this year they had to fundraise for the necessary things that keep the club afloat. Even though FBLA presumably has other members who could fundraise, Jordan continually used “I” when describing her fundraising duties, seeming to imply that she was going to have to come up with the money, saying “I’ve had to raise everything” and “I have to raise \$3,000.” Although Jordan did not seem to think \$3,000 was very much money, and, perhaps for her affluent high school it is not very much, it seemed like a lot of money to have to work to earn.

So even though FBLA is an extracurricular activity, it is something that she has to invest a lot of time, energy, and money into. She has to do a lot of work fundraising just to keep the club in existence *and then on top of that*, do the competitions and other things that constitute the purpose of the club. So Jordan works twice over for FBLA. This is not to say that Jordan doesn’t get (or expect to get) something out of her efforts, it is an

investment in her human capital, after all. I imagine much of Jordan's FBLA work is for a deferred payoff. Jordan told me she wanted to major in business in college, so maybe FBLA is one way of preparing for that. In other words, FBLA is something Jordan can do now in order to reap the rewards later.

There were other demands on Jordan's time and money. Jordan used the money from her part-time job to sustain her lifestyle. She was responsible for buying the gasoline for her car, which she used to get to school, work and Walmart, allowing her to earn the money that she will subsequently spend. At Walmart, Jordan bought toiletries, makeup, and a giftcard for her FBLA advisor and socks for an upcoming trip. She also talked about sometimes stopping by this particular Walmart after school and work to pick up groceries for her family because it is located between her school and her house. In all of these instances, Jordan worked and produced and worked and produced and then spent money in order to work and produce some more. It is a constant cycle of work and production for the purpose of forever more work and production.

Deleuze and Guattari (2004) describe the process of constant investment and reinvestment the real fuel of capitalism. These investments include work that is done in the process of subject creation and also interactions with machinic processes. Jordan's trip through the self-checkout is a good example of the impersonality of capitalist production. To the self-checkout machine, Jordan was not a person, but a series of numbers. Jordan could stand at the self-checkout machine and make ten different transactions, and the machine would not know, care about, or differentiate between the individual(s) as long as money was being spent. This is like the impersonal cash nexus that capitalism is built upon. As long as the correct passwords are entered (for digital

financial transactions) or enough cash proffered, the machine is indiscriminate. Jordan invested her money in Walmart, but she also invested “immaterial labor,” that is, work (to benefit capitalism) that is not normally recognized as work (Lazzarato, 2006; 2014; 2015). Jordan’s trip through the self-checkout exemplifies this type of work.

Interestingly enough, Jordan said she wanted to go through the self-checkout because she “hates people” and, presumably, would rather deal with an impersonal machine that she would not have to talk to or wait on.

In this way, the self-checkout exemplifies capitalism’s ability to be both highly personal and impersonal. It is the most personal type of transactional experience because of the amount of control individual people have in the process; people can scan items at their own speed and bag them however they like, in this way their checkout experience is exactly the way they want it to be. It is also the highly impersonal process Jordan wanted it to be, as the human being is reduced to a series of numbers, or codes, in the form of loyalty cards, barcodes, credit card numbers and passwords that are plugged into a machine. The human operating the machine performs the unpaid work of both cashier and bagger. So this work benefits the capitalist machine because it produces an unpaid worker. Hence, a self-checkout line doesn’t reduce the number of workers at a store; it multiplies them, allowing anyone (with money) to become a store clerk and bagger (Lazzarato, 2006). Here again is an example of Jordan working more than she should while at the same time doing everything that she “should” do as an economic subject.

Thus even the thinking Jordan does at school is specifically invested and made to produce through test scores and FBLA competitions, for example. Jordan is caught up in this system wherein is constantly investing her mental and physical labor, making money

(from the labor) and then re-investing in places like school and Walmart, which is in itself a form of production, as Jordan not only stimulates the economy but produces herself as a teenage youth (makeup, socks, toiletries) and as an economic consumerist subject. The constant demands on Jordan's time and particularly her money makes her commitment to low price all the more understandable and all the more impersonal. In light of the demands on Jordan's time and her stated commitments to saving her money, she said something as we waited in the self-checkout line that seemed antithetical to all of her efforts so far:

I think this is the first time in recent history I've come out of here without a carton of ice cream. See I have to be very secretive about when I buy my ice cream because my brother eats it. It's called Karamel Sutra-that's my favorite. It's Ben and Jerry's. It's... half of the container is fudge. It's like fudge pieces so it's heavenly chocolaty and the other half is vanilla with fudge in it and then it has a center or core of solid caramel. And the ice cream is frozen and everything but the caramel is soft. And I love it. And I hadn't even eaten it and half of it was gone. So I was like 'oh okay'.

Jordan's description of eating the Karamel Sutra ice cream is surprising for several reasons. First, it seemed odd that Jordan would spend money on expensive ice cream. At around four dollars a pint, it took half an hour of work at her part time job to afford it. Second, Jordan took such pragmatic approaches to the other products she bought, making her purchasing decisions matters of need and cost, and consulting her list and yet here she revealed that she regularly bought ice cream, something that she doesn't need and has to go out of her way to get. It served no discernable purpose, was not a necessity, ended up

getting eaten by her brother, and took more of Jordan's limited money and time.

Although buying ice cream is a perfectly normal thing for a person to do, there is little in neoclassic economic theory that would explain Jordan's routine ice cream purchases. It is yet another example of neoclassic economic theory reaching its limits in its ability to theorize a real life example of human behavior.

Example #3: Paul

The final example comes from my interview with eighth grader Paul. I met Paul and his parents on a Sunday afternoon for their weekly shopping trip to Publix, which was the family's last stop in a series of errands they ran that day. My interview with Paul was similar in format to Justin and Mary's. I interviewed Paul while his parents started to do their weekly shopping and then he and I walked around the store together with Paul pointing out items his family bought each week. Before the walk through the store, Paul mentioned that the chips aisle was his favorite, so when we reached the chips I asked Paul what kind he got:

Paul: *I usually get Chex Mix.*

Erin: *Any particular kind?*

Paul: *It depends. If one is BOGO (buy one get one free) ...sometimes we get*

Fritos, Cheetos. Doritos sometimes.

The Publix grocery store frequently has buy-one-get-one-free (BOGO) sales each week, and Paul described being able to get chips that were BOGO. So Paul was able to choose from these BOGO items. Here is a first glimpse into money's role in Paul's ability to get certain things at the store. As we continued to make our way through each aisle of the grocery store, Paul continued to point out items that he liked and was able to get. He

noted items such as his favorite variety of stuffed chicken breasts that he ate for a snack, his favorite flavor of Klondike ice cream bars, and the toaster strudels he had for breakfast.

In terms of neoclassic subjectivity, Paul engaged in some decision-making at the store, as he was able to pick out various snack foods. Money was complicated for Paul at the grocery store. Paul did not price check like Jordan did, but he did talk about the role of money and price in more indirect ways. Early on in the walk through the store, Paul and I came upon an aisle containing cups of EasyMac. Paul picked up one of the cups of EasyMac and held it.

Paul: *I try to get these.*

Erin: *What do you mean try? Does your mom not let you have it?*

Paul: *My dad doesn't. They cost too much, he says.*

Paul picked up the cup of EasyMac, said that his father wouldn't let him have it, and then returned it to the shelf. This encounter with the EasyMac was brief but important. It was the only instance in the grocery store interviews where a parent told one of the youth participants they could not have something. Parental authority was largely absent from the data from the interviews, but for Paul it played an important role. Paul made several other statements about his father not letting him have certain things at the store. For example, as we completed our walk through the store and were heading back through the store to go outside to finish the interview, I asked Paul if his mother restricted what he could get at the store. I asked because up to this point, Paul had only cited the one instance of his father not letting him have something that he wanted. Paul responded with "It's mostly my dad that tells me what I can't get." As with the EasyMac, Paul

specifically cites his father as the person who determines what he can and cannot get at the store.

Then, outside as I filmed Paul talking about his maps, I asked him how he felt about the store:

Erin: *How do you feel when you're at the store?*

Paul: *Bored.*

Erin: *What makes it boring?*

Paul: *In the store there's nothing to do. I usually don't get to have much of a say in what we buy cause my parents are buying it. So I'm bored walking around doing nothing.*

This time, Paul described feeling bored at the store, citing that at the store he is always “walking around doing nothing,” that he doesn’t “have much of a say” and attributes this condition to the fact that his parents are “buying it” meaning they are buying the groceries.

I attended to Paul’s words very carefully, because although Paul did not say a lot in his interview, what he did say was telling. I am going to specifically point to places where Paul talked about money. The first instance was in the EasyMac example. Paul said about not getting the EasyMac “they cost too much, he says.” At first glance, one might take this statement to mean the EasyMac really does cost too much, but Paul’s wording is very nuanced here. Paul never says that the EasyMac actually costs too much, he said *that his father said* it cost too much. Paul’s statement is not the same thing as asserting that his family cannot afford EasyMac nor does Paul’s statement mean that he actually believes that the reason he cannot have it is because it costs too much. In light of

all of the other things Paul was able to get at the store, chips, Klondike bars, and stuffed chicken breasts, it seems highly unlikely that cost alone was the actual reason Paul could not have that particular container of EasyMac, which cost about fifty cents. Besides, Paul's family was shopping at Publix, a higher-end grocery store: they were not at the nearby Walmart, for example, where they might have found lower prices. I did not speak with Paul's father and there is no way for me to know what he actually said or his reasoning, I can only go off of what Paul said. It could be that Paul's father thought the individual containers were not a good deal financially, and perhaps that is so, although it would not necessarily explain Paul's inability to get EasyMac in any form, as it could be bought in bulk. Whatever the actual reason, it stands that Paul did not get the EasyMac that he wanted and he continually cited that his father told him what he could and could not have.

Neoclassic theory could explain some aspects of the role of price in the data, but not all of them. Mainly, it could explain why Paul's father would be price-conscious, but it cannot explain why Paul was allowed to get some things, like Klondike bars and not other things like EasyMac. Paul, unlike Justin and Mary, actually wanted things at the store. For example, the trade and specialization standards state that money is used to purchase goods and services, with no other qualifier except that the path to doing this purchasing should be as free and voluntary as possible, because the whole point of engaging in economic activity is for everyone involved to get what they want. Yet, Paul was prevented from getting something that he wanted even though his family had the money to do so. In an economic sense, he encountered a trade barrier. Thus, there seems

to be something other than money driving Paul's father to determine what Paul can and cannot get and something driving Paul towards EasyMac.

Making Sense of Economic Activities

Each of the three data examples shows youth engaged in economic activities at grocery stores. Each of the three examples contained data that could be theorized through neoclassic economic theory. For example, Justin, Mary and Jake's fighting over the food at home could be viewed as merely the practice of resource allocation. However, each data example also contained instances that did not seem to make sense. For Justin and Mary, this was their deference to their younger brother Jake and the affective responses to the older siblings' "eating everything." In this instance, Jake yelled and said the food was his while Justin and Mary laughed recounting the story. Money was also absent from Justin and Mary's data. Without money to mediate purchases and exchanges, and without prices to help the youth determine which products to buy, there is no way for neoclassic theory to explain Justin, Mary and Jake's relationships with, and in, the store. Similarly, Jordan's words and actions seemed to embody the ideal GPS subject, and yet, her description of buying Ben and Jerry's ice cream fell outside of neoclassic rationalization as did her critique of Walmart's loyalty problem. Finally, there seemed to be something out of sorts between Paul, his father and the EasyMac. Although price was cited, in a way, as the reason Paul could not have the EasyMac, price alone cannot explain why Paul could have several other types of snack foods but not EasyMac.

These examples demonstrate the limits of neoclassic economics' ability to make sense of some economic and social phenomena. Therefore, another theory is needed to

explain what was going on in the data. Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) conception of desire and desiring production, as components of the economy that operate adjacent to, but outside of, capitalism, is able to attend to these phenomena in ways neoclassic economics cannot.

Desire

In Chapter Two, to illustrate neoclassic theory, I used an example drawn from E. Roy Weintraub (2002), of a manager's decision to lay off employees based solely on the law marginal return and not personal tastes. Weintraub wrote "a theory that explains the layoff decision by the changing tastes of managers for employees with particular characteristics will not be a neoclassical theory." In other words, neoclassic theory cannot account for taste, which is a problem because all three data examples all contained instances of personal tastes. For example, in Justin and Mary's interview, the family bought "whatever Jake likes," Jordan recounted the caramel core of her favorite ice cream, and her predilection for shopping at Walmart, and Paul had a taste for EasyMac. In the process of attending to these tastes, we saw family drama play out (according to the participants' telling) as Jake yelled at his siblings who tried to make him happy and as Jordan hid her ice cream from her brother because he "ate half of it" while also buying a giftcard for her teacher, and while Paul's father told Paul "what he couldn't get." What this tells us is that these sorts of economic activities can be messy, contradictory, and, most of all, affectively consequential to the people involved in them. Yet, in neoclassic theory, there would be no way to account for these very real affects. None of these instances involved the participants making decisions based on the law of marginal returns, nor could their actions be traced to a referent in neoclassic economic law. So

while neoclassic theory, by its own admission, cannot account for taste, desire can account for these tastes, feelings, and affectations that flow through economic relationships because desiring production produces these states of intensity that seem to defy law or reason or sensibility (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009; Daniels, 2009).

Desiring Machines

Deleuze and Guattari (2009) imagined society as comprised of a series of machines plugged in to other machines. In particular, they envisioned two particularly powerful machines, the capitalist machine and the desiring machine. In Chapter Two I described their machianic view of capitalism. To review, Deleuze and Guattari explained that capitalism operated like a machine. A machine's primary function is to run, or produce, but machines never stay intact forever, they experience the occasional breakdown. Capitalism's breakdowns served as opportunities to innovate, that is, to reconstitute itself, to make new connections, and to stretch its limits. That is one way that capitalism manages to reproduce itself and maintain its foothold in the economy. Machines are also impersonal, that is, they are indifferent to what is made or who is making it, and in turn, it needs to create subjects who are amenable to this indifference and who can provide the component parts (labor) to keep capitalism running, this is known as machianic enslavement (Guattari, 2009). The machine is so pervasive and all encompassing in our lives that it can be difficult to recognize and thus critique. However, capitalist machines are not the economy but only part of it. Deleuze and Guattari proposed that desiring machines were another essential component of the economy that also affect how people live and work in society.

As a machine, desiring production shares some essential characteristics with capitalism, but desire is almost like capitalism's mirror image. Where capitalism enslaves desire frees. Finally, capitalism produces, and is produced by, laws and legal systems whereas desiring machines produce, and are productive of, intensities and affect and emotion. As machines, they form, and facilitate, relationships by forming connection and facilitating flows, for capitalism this flow is money, for desiring machines it is desire. We can see this flow of money in neoclassic theory in the form of money or profit as the lone value or incentive for all other production. It seemed that the youth in the study were sometimes motivated by money (Jordan was, certainly), but in so many other instances money was not a driving factor, desire was.

What is Desire? Desire, as Deleuze and Guattari (2009) conceptualized it, is rather ambiguous. It is different from the psychoanalysis usage of the term in that it is not a missing signifier nor is it an object of lack, as an anti-capitalist force it is opposed to lack, not premised on it. Furthermore, it can be just about any process that is productive. Daniels (2009) summed up desire thus:

Desire should therefore not be regarded as fundamentally 'for an object'...rather desire is the production of singular states of intensity...never a strictly personal affair, but a tension between sub and superpersonal tendencies that intersect in the person as an empty category (p.99).

This means that desire is not just a subject-object relationship in which a person desires a thing. Desire breaks the subject-object dichotomy "desire and its object are one in the same thing: the machine...desire is a machine, and the object of desire is another machine attached to it" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2009, p. 26). So desire, in this definition,

does not refer to *things*, or objects that are concrete and subjects that are complete, but to connections and relationships that are abstract. Desire in this sense is not a matter of choice wherein “*I want this*” or “*I choose that*.” Instead, desire is pre-personal in that it does not assume a preexisting desiring subject but creates one. Furthermore, desire operates on multiple scales and in relation to others, that is, people do not desire in isolation but in an assemblage with other and what is desired are the affects, intensities, attractions, and connections that that these relationships produce and that have the potential to lead towards freedom and away from capitalist (re)production.

In the following section, I use desire to theorize the instances that were beyond neoclassic explanation. Then, I consider what thinking about desire can do for social studies, and economics, curriculum and teaching.

Justin and Mary. As I mentioned earlier, Justin and Mary did not seem particularly interested in choosing items at the grocery store, they never talked about prices, and they did not ask for anything and that could make them appear to be poor neoclassic subjects. They let their little brother Jake make decisions instead and they let him get whatever he likes. Another way to look at this situation, through desire, is to see that Justin and Mary desired an affective response from Jake. Letting Jake have what he wants, or likes, presumably made Jake happy. At this point, Justin and Mary may be more invested in making Jake happy than in making decisions at the store. Thinking about this deferent through desire also repositions Justin and Mary as economic subjects. Instead of seeming disinterested or disinvested, and inactive they are *actively* involved in their brother's experience at the store in their desire for his affections. This change of

viewpoint puts the older siblings in a positive light, showing them as actively invested in their brother and the grocery shopping.

Justin and Mary's deferment to Jake and the affects of this deferment is very different from the types of capitalistic relationships described in neoclassic curriculum. For example, in the high school and second grade standards on resource allocation deferring one's claim on an item or resource to someone else is not listed as an option, and yet the data pointed to the deferment as a very real possibility.

What this points to is another way of conceptualizing economic activity in economics teaching and curriculum. The GPS is only able to offer up money as the value in investments, exchanges and relationships, but Justin and Mary's data points to other ways people can, and do, relate to one another that might be more or less value-able or ethical than relationships mediated through money.

Moreover, something *happened* when Justin and Mary deferred their choice-making to their younger brother and when they ate the food. There are always reverberations and consequences to our actions, but these sorts of affectations are externalities (transactional costs) that go unacknowledged in economics curriculum. Social studies teachers can help students consider the various values and resulting affectations involved in all economic activity. This speaks to the affective ranges possible in social and economic spaces and relationships that can challenge the seemingly affect-less social and economic relationships. In this way, the intensities, affectations and emotions in this moment challenges the capitalistic reasoning that economics as neutral or value-less.

Jordan. Jordan's embodiment of rational economic subjectivity is what made Jordan's loving and intense description of the Karamel Sutra ice cream all the more surprising. Buying expensive ice cream seemed at odds with her stated commitments to saving money and her actions in the store, such as buying the second choice blush because the first was too expensive and resisting an impulse buy by putting a magazine back on the shelf. Furthermore, Jordan had explicitly stated that she shopped for functionality and price, making her past detours to the ice cream freezer for a (seemingly) unnecessary item to purchase seemed peculiar. However, Jordan's ice cream buying and her description of its "heavenly" qualities only seems odd in the context of the given data and neoclassic subjectivity. Picking up a pint of one's favorite ice cream is a perfectly normal thing for a person to do and Walmart would not stock freezerfuls ice cream if people were not engaging in this type of activity all the time. So even though buying and enjoying ice cream is a perfectly understandable thing to do, it is something many people could relate to, it doesn't make sense in terms of Jordan's stated commitments and actions and in terms of neoclassic economics, as it serves no discernable purpose (utility). So there is something that is desirous about the ice cream that has the ability to transcend Jordan's economic subjectivity and in doing so, it frees her (at least temporarily) from constantly reproducing herself as a neoclassic economic subject.

Jordan described the ice cream as "heavenly" and she went into great detail about the chocolate and vanilla flavors mixed with a caramel core. The ice cream seemed to produce an intensely pleasurable feeling for Jordan. In this way the ice cream *did* serve a purpose in producing good feelings in those consuming it, and I think it is these good feelings, intensities and sense of freedom that was attractive to Jordan. It is not just that

the ice cream tastes good, as it no doubt does, but part of the ice cream's appeal is in its depersonalization. Unlike Jordan's family, job, and school, the ice cream asks nothing of her and expects nothing of her. In a sense, Jordan can lose herself in the ice cream as an impersonal commodity because the ice cream, unlike other items Jordan seemed to buy at the store, did not ask Jordan to produce herself as a sister or daughter or high school student or FBLA president or neoclassic economic subject. This desire to become lost might also explain Jordan's attraction to the self-checkout line. Her anonymity in the ice cream is actually her freedom because she does not have to be anyone at all, an attractive prospect for someone who admitted to "hate people". In a constant cycle of production, the ice cream, which produces the desirous feelings of intensity and pleasure can be something that is just Jordan's, an investment in her pleasure alone. In keeping the ice cream for herself, she can attempt to prevent her brother from "profiting" off of her work by getting something she worked to buy. What this points to is desire's deconstructive potential in that it, even if very temporarily, freed Jordan from the capitalist cycle of production and the various subjectivities she has to embody everyday.

The data from Jordan's interview serves as a materialized example that highlights the complexities of life in a capitalistic society. Through the interview data, we get see Jordan, an ordinary teenager, who has feelings and affects, navigate through a capitalistic space. The data allows us to see the part Jordan plays in the larger machine that both produces her as a subject and desubjectifies her through impersonal mechanisms. In these examples we see Jordan in all her complexity and contradictions, which provides a counterbalance to the simplistic view of human economic activity in the GPS as evidenced in the personal finance, standard, for example, wherein good consumerism is

simply a matter of exacting the greatest utility for the lowest price, which would never allow for discussions about desire or allow students to consider the freedom in constructing a different type of subjectivity.

Jordan's examples of production, of work and more work, points to one of the conditions that produces Jordan's desire for an intensely pleasurable experience that then creates a need for something like cream. As much relief and freedom as the ice cream might offer Jordan, these feelings are not free. Jordan had to pay for the ice cream, and therein lies a plugging in of desire into capitalism and capitalism's ability to route the flows of desire. As a productive force, desire can be routed by capitalism into other spaces, such as Walmart. Holland (1998) described this process:

Capitalism appears as the most complex form of organization for concentrating and dissipating excess energy; it is thus not the level of capitalist productivity but the level of capitalist anti-production that serves as the primary (and usually sinister) attractor for desire, regardless of, and even contrary to, rational interest (p.69).

Since desire is a productive force, it also stands to be absorbed, and capitalism is particularly good at capitalizing on this routing. If Jordan desires pleasure, freedom, and intensity, then capitalism is able to provide that for her. It might seem as though I am making much of something relatively small, Jordan's description of buying and consuming ice cream, but this data from Jordan's interview provides a rich exploration of the workings of capitalism on a small scale.

In the data created about Jordan we were able to see capitalism produce desiring conditions and then capture those desiring flows and route them back into the system.

This process is not a secret to capitalists and marketing executives¹⁹ and the like, and yet this ability of capitalism to produce a rational subject and then drive them to engage in "irrational" behavior, where they are then subjected to critique for succumbing to desires, remains absent from consumption models in the GPS. For example, the high school microeconomic standard that states "the student will describe how households, businesses, and governments are interdependent and interact through flows of goods, services and money" (SSEMI1) would provide an opening to this conversation, but the standard leaves off desire's role in this production and consumption process. Doing so leaves knowledge of desiring production to the marketing executives and academics and wholly out of the hands of the majority of the population and leaving little room for students to make sense of this process.

If social studies, and particularly economics teachers, are preparing students for civic, social, and economic life outside of school, then understanding these capitalistic processes of constant productive and routing of desire ought to be part of this preparation so that students can decide how they want to proceed through this system, to what extent they want to be part of it, reproduce it or change it. This does not mean discouraging students from buying ice cream, or other treats, as the ice cream itself is not the problem here. Ice cream is simply an example of a small item's part in a much larger system, and enjoying ice cream does not make a person a bad consumer or hypocrite, but a human being with desires to expend just like every other human being.

Paul. In the store, Paul had a degree of selectivity. He was able to choose (relatively) freely among various items, for example, he could have any flavor of

¹⁹ As a researcher, I am drawn to the way that Jordan, throughout all of this production and anti-production, is the president of a marketing club and wants to major in marketing in college.

Klondike bar or any of the BOGO chips or stuffed chicken breasts. However, a disjuncture arose when Paul said he could not get the EasyMac and when he made comments about his father telling him what he can't get at the store.

The simplest implication for social studies, and economics education, is that the data created about Paul points to an actual consumptive limit. The data showed Paul not getting something that he wanted. It was the only example of its kind in the study and brings to light a new limit on consumption. Paul said that his father said the EasyMac was too expensive, which is not the same thing as saying the EasyMac was actually too expensive. Additionally, Paul might not actually believe that expense is the reason he can and cannot get EasyMac and other items, as he only "repeated" his father's words (again, if Paul is to be believed). In addition, other evidence from the data, the other, more expensive snacks and the shopping at Publix, suggests that an item's price is not the primary reason Paul's father says no. This is important because in the GPS, consumers are only limited by price and scarcity, yet, the data created about Paul clearly points to a parent saying "no," and, based on the evidence from the data, this "no" was probably not based solely on the item's price. There is no authoritative "no" in neoclassicism, only price and quantity limitations (for those that are spending rationally, at least). Take, for example, the personal finance standards at every grade level in the GPS that ask students to understand spending and saving. The fourth grade standard serves as a good example; "identify the elements of a personal budget and explain why personal spending and saving decisions are important" (SS4E2). Now, this standard does not exclude talk of non-monetary limitations, but its emphasis on spending and saving seems to imply only monetary limits that are inherent in neoclassic economics wherein "decisions in question

are made on a case-by-case basis, constrained only by budgetary limits, ignoring social norms and values that constrain individual action in a variety of ways” (DeLanda, 1997, p.18).

In Roberts and McCloskey’s (2012) critique of the neoclassic standards, which I described in the literature review in Chapter Two, the authors suggested that economics education in the early years should consist of less theory and more “realistic” tasks such as creating a budget, but even this sort of task is not realistic nor is it necessarily ethical. In this sort of activity, students could, essentially have any product they wanted as long as they could afford it, without distinguishing between the products’ qualitative elements. However, children cannot always have what they want even if they have the money for it, that is, even if it is “within the budget” so to speak. Conversely, as the data created about Jordan showed, sometimes shoppers get things like ice cream that are not in the budget or on the list. Simply practicing making a budget year after year, without also taking into account the social and economic forces, such as advertising and marketing, that influence human behavior, puts the impetus for financial responsibility solely on the budgeter and points away from other forces and values that are at work.

As far as scarcity as a limit, the standards teach students that they cannot have everything they want because of scarcity, and that is why they have to make choices, and yet, the data created about Paul showed an instance when the money for that one fifty-cent container of EasyMac was not scarce and yet Paul still did not get to choose it. Additionally, just because someone *can* afford to get something doesn’t mean they *should* and the GPS standards do not provide students with a mechanism for considering the various societal consequences and values at stake in such spending and savings plans.

Deleuze and Guattari (2009) noted this absence of an authoritative “no” in capitalism in terms of capitalism’s promise of freedom through the decoding of social codes, and cultivation of a societal distaste for those that tell others what to do.

Under capitalism, the only thing that should prevent someone from being, doing, or having what they want is money. We have no idea why Paul’s father says “no,” but it seems to be built on some value other than money. Perhaps Paul’s father objects to certain food items out of social consciousness or health reasons, who knows? There is no way to know from the given data and I am only able to speculate, but the range of possibilities implies a host of desires producing Paul's relationship with his father and with the store.

The data created about Paul is important in introducing a real-live example of a value-laden "no" to juxtapose against neoclassicism's purely monetary value. The point is that introducing the possibility of “no” into economics education then opens the door for considering economic reasoning and decision-making that is not premised on money or scarcity. Doing this can help students make sense of instances when people *do* engage in non-profit economic decision making, and it can help students consider what other values or commitments should be present in economic activity. Engaging in discussion about the differing and, at times competing, value systems and desires that are inherent in economic exchanges as part of an economics course comprises the sort of political and civic sense-making endeavors that makes the subject truly a *social* study.

Conclusion: The Revolutionary Potential of Desire

In this chapter, I used data from my interviews with four youth at grocery stores to show what materialized when I walked with youth around grocery stores and talked

with them about their economics lives. The data allowed me to "see" youth engaged in economic activity in an economic space. The data was particularly good for noticing how the youth did, and did not, demonstrate the traits of neoclassic economic subjectivity that I outlined in Chapter Two. I found that the youth said and did things that could be demonstrative of good economic subjectivity, such as price-checking, and that there were statements said and actions taken that could make sense through neoclassic theory. However, I found that, more often than not, there were things said and done that did not make sense through neoclassic economic theory. If neoclassic economic theory forms the basis of economics curriculum, and if economics curriculum is supposed to help student make sense of their socio-economic world, then the data from the study showed people doing and saying all kinds of things that seemingly made no sense at all and that run counter to neoclassic theory. I pointed to desire as the factor behind this seeming "nonsense," as desire *along with* capitalism, is a social force that produces the economy as we know it.

Deleuze and Guattari (2009) saw revolutionary potential in desire, writing:

If desire is repressed, it is because every position of desire, no matter how small, is capable of calling into question the established order of a society...desire is revolutionary...no society can tolerate a position of real desire without its structures of exploitation, servitude, and hierarchy being compromised (p.116).

Unlike capitalism, desire is not contingent upon the law or the State or pre-established systems of thought and therefore it points to the elements of society that exist and operate outside of this system. In doing this, it can be held in juxtaposition to capitalist production and is able to serve as a social critique, through counternarratives and

breakdowns. Capitalism's breakdowns can produce greater repression whereas desiring machines' "breakdowns" are deconstructive in the post-structural sense. That is, desire can "break-down," or call into question, economic "truths" by showing other ways that people can and do participate in economic activities. For example, I showed how desire de-centered money as the primary method of economic and social relationships. I demonstrated the absence of any talk of money in Justin and Mary's interactions in the store and with their younger brother Jake, thus pointing out that sometimes people's desires have nothing to do with profit or monetary gain. The revolutionary potential here is in the counter-example and in desire's "liberation to enter into social relations" (Goodchild, 1996, p.2). That is, desire provides an avenue into different ways of relating and forming social structures with others, whether they are affectively (Justin and Mary) or through "no" or through a carton of Ben and Jerry's ice cream all with different affects and results. Capitalism points to only *one* way of relating to others, money, whereas desire points to many. Family can challenge capitalist relationships because familial relationships are not premised on monetary exchange, as families can pose a danger to capitalism "insofar as they can create their own desiring machines and alternative socius, independent of control of capital" (Goodchild, 1999, p. 101). Curiously, the GPS only uses the term "household" not family in its description of economic production and consumption, thus negating desiring familial bonds and making the family into an impersonal machine. This means that a nuclear family like Justin, Mary, Jake and their mother constitute a social body that can operate differently than the capitalist socius, or social body, because it is not contingent upon its rules or laws.

Desire and Social Studies Education

The data provided material to work with in terms of seeing economic activity in action, through it, I was able to show examples of the complex ways I saw capitalist and desiring production at play in data generated from a few interviews conducted with a few participants within a few days, lasting a few hours in a few grocery stores. To that end, the examples are not meant to be claims of large-scale trends or activities. However, they provided a glimpse into what could be said and done at a grocery store, and from these glimpses I was able to do a great deal of theorizing about economic subjectivity. It also might have seemed as though I made a big deal out of small, seemingly inconsequential things, but I think part of the data's value resides in the small, everyday, relatable examples of economic activity that affects us all. It has been suggested that social studies students should learn about major social events in order to develop their political and economic understandings. Marri, et.al. (2012) argued that students should learn about the national debt and deficit because of its impact on their adult lives, and Gans (2015) and Marglin (2012) suggested that economics education should help students make sense of major social events like the Occupy Wall Street movement, and while these are certainly important, current, real-life things to discuss, students are perhaps much more deeply and intimately affected by the affects of desire and capitalism. For this reason, these intimate encounters with the economy, desire, and capitalism that students experience everyday inside and outside of school perhaps make equally meaningful and relevant topics for discussion in a social studies class.

Enacting desire in social studies curriculum. In describing desire, Deleuze (1987) put it simply "do you know how simple a desire is? Sleeping is a desire. Walking is a desire. Listening to music, or making music, or writing, are desires...it is it which

experiments" (Deleuze & Parnet, p.95). What all of these examples of desire have in common is that they are relational activities. A walker relates to other walkers, to the sidewalk, neighborhood, weather, and so on. They might even be listening to music while they walk, which might engender new thoughts or experiences. These are simple mechanisms social studies educators might draw on in their teaching to produce, and attend, to desire in the classroom space. For example, I have used walks with preservice teachers as a way to help them explore their relationships with the economic and social forces surrounding a neighborhood as well as their own desires and values. The walk unhinged, or freed, the students from their traditional seated positions and thrust them in a position to experience teacher education in a different way.

These examples are also entities that might not be immediately thought of as productive, and for this reason they might be viewed as having little value or utility, particularly in schools where sleeping, taking walks²⁰, making and playing music are so often discouraged. They are also, relatively, free of cost, and thus an example of an anti-capitalist desiring process. So one thing social studies teachers, teacher educators, and researchers might do is demonstrate the different relational potential these processes engender and the value of those relationships outside of the pursuit of monetary profit. Desire is not always routed into capitalistic production, but the data created about Jordan shows one way that it can be. Seeing how this routing process works allows us to conceptualize how it might work otherwise. If social studies can help students create freer, less oppressive societies, then it is vitally important to understand the nuances of how something that might at first appear freeing could actually be oppressive and

²⁰ Even walking the hallways can be a restrictive, highly surveilled process for students, particularly students in the middle grades, thus walking could be freeing or repressive depending on the power structures it is part of.

imagine other ways desire might be unhinged from capitalism and set free into society. Moreover, the data points to ways that the youth related to capitalism in various ways, but that capitalism was not totalizing in the sense that they were able to engage in anti-capitalistic activities and relationships. Being in capitalistic spaces like grocery stores put them in the midst of capitalism, but that did not mean that every action or activity had to be capitalistic. Since repression is a defining characteristic of capitalism (for Deleuze and Guattari), then desire stands as a way to counter capitalism in economics curriculum and theorize economic activities differently.

The data from this study, as well as desire, can point the way for social studies educators, at both the K-12 and teacher education levels, to relate to the GPS, and other standards documents, differently. Goodchild (1996) wrote that often social and economic structures "provide a script for social agents who merely play out the roles" (p.2). The GPS standards might be thought of as one such script. When I taught middle school economics, I did not think to deviate very far from the "script," or standards, even when my students were expressing desires that clearly called into question the coherence and truths of the standards I was committed to teaching. So one thing social studies teacher education might do is help teachers recognize and attend to these moments of expression and desire from their students. Desire can be pointed out and discussed as an essential and productive component of economic life, because the fact is that students *do* desire and attending to this desire is a way to attend to students' lives and affirm their experiences rather than making their thinking and actions conform to a pre-established set of rules and laws. By attending to desire, social studies and economics teachers can attend to the totality of who their students are, in ways that the GPS cannot and will not,

as “capitalism does not want people who bring the totality of who they are, with their desire and their problems. One doesn’t ask them to desire, to be in love or depressed; one asks them to do the work” (Guattari, 2009, p. 284). Attending to students’ problems, needs, and the totality of who they are is a key component of teacher education, and, yet, capitalistic production poses a barrier to this sort of ethical call in teaching. Moreover, if students are being produced under capitalism, and asked to “do the work” then social studies can be a space to explore the nature of this work and production. Moreover, social studies education could work to actively produce, or at least offer, different types of subjectivities for students by enacting anti-capitalistic curriculum.

Crucially, however, attending to desire does not also mean throwing out the script/standards. For one, they are probably not going to go anywhere anyway as neoclassic theory has shaped economics curriculum for at least the last fifty years and seems unlikely to change significantly (Walstad & Watts, 2015). At this point, social studies educators are probably better positioned to learn how to work *with* the standards rather than achieving their complete overhaul, which might result in a better script but would still act as a pre-established script (prescription) for economic behavior. More importantly, although they have their limitations in what they can explain, the standards are not wrong. As I demonstrated in Chapter Two, they *can* help students make sense of some aspects of the economy, namely capitalism and impersonal mechanic processes. Viewed a certain way, neoclassic standards *can* and *do* explain such capitalistic phenomena as online banking, the 2008 recession, and the trend towards value-added measures for college education. Getting rid of neoclassic standards would mean ignoring these very real, very relevant machianic processes. Moreover, the standards, cannot be

fixed because, like capitalism, they are not broken, they work the way they are supposed to as a mechanism of capitalistic production. So the key for teacher educators is not to throw out the standards, but to help social studies and economics educators understand how to read them and use them in ways that expose these workings of capitalism as well as ways to “flesh out” the inhuman standards with human desire.

Goodchild (1996) outlined a way to think about dealing with hegemonic discourses like neoclassicism, suggesting "revolution occurs through making additions to the script...liberation occurs through addition" (p.2). So social studies teachers might use desire to flesh out the existing standards. They might do this by inviting in students' counternarratives, such as the ones I demonstrated in this chapter, or engaging in some of the desiring activities listed earlier, such as walks or music-making, in order to produce new narratives about economic life. For example, in the social studies methods courses that I teach, I do an activity where students have to decide how to allocate a scarce resource, a snickers, between three or four people²¹. The students usually name all or most of the official “allocation” methods from the GPS²² but they also contribute many other solutions, such as giving the candy to students who are the hungriest or haven't eaten breakfast or giving their Snickers bar another group to reduce that group's shortage, and some students just opt to pass on their claim to the Snickers altogether. To debrief this activity, we discuss their altruistic solutions versus the more chance-oriented or violent ones suggested by the GPS. Giving up a claim or giving one's share to someone

²¹ I've adapted this activity, which I first learned about as a classroom teacher when I attended a Georgia Council on Economic Education workshop. This activity is also suggested for high school economics. In the high school version, teachers are directed to pre-establish criteria such as a contest to see who can hold their breath for a certain amount of time, lottery, command (teacher decides), and price. The activity can be found on pages 4-5 of the Teacher Notes for high school economics found here: <https://www.georgiastandards.org/Frameworks/GSO%20Frameworks/Economics-Teacher-Notes.pdf>

²² Force, first come first served, lottery, chance, command, price, contests, personal characteristics, sharing

else are not options promoted by the GPS, and yet are very real economic solutions.

Furthermore, I used the activity to demonstrate how preservice teachers might stay within the confines of the curriculum and still introduce other ideas and counternarratives.

By introducing the kinds of desires, values, and affects that go into economic activity, social studies/economics teachers can actually teach about the *economy*, in all of its complexity and contradictions rather than just (neoclassic) *economics*, avoiding the neoclassic curricular trap of teaching economics rather than the economy that Gans (2015) exposed as economic curriculum's fatal flaw.

CHAPTER SIX

PRODUCING SOCIOECONOMIC SUBJECTS

In Chapter Two, I described how Deleuze and Guattari's (2009; Guattari, 2009) work illuminates the way that capitalism operates, as a machine comprised of human and nonhuman parts, and the multiple ways that it reproduces itself through various means including schools and school curriculum. I also pointed to the ways that the Georgia Performance Standards, the GPS, are a form of neoclassic economic curriculum, and, specifically, that neoclassic economics is really capitalism in disguise.

In the previous chapter, I used data from three of the interviews with youth in grocery stores to "flesh out" economics, so to speak, by showing real-live subjects engaged in economic activities in economic spaces. I attempted to understand what this economic behavior might look like through neoclassic theory. I found that neoclassic economic theory, the very theory that frames the economics curriculum in the social studies, was limited in its ability to help teachers or students make sense of some of the youth's activities because the youth said things and did things that did not have a referent in economic law, that is, they acted outside of the pre-established model of economic behavior outlined in the standards. Finally, I theorized that another of Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) concepts about the economy, that it is comprised of forces of capitalism but also of desire, could help attend to those instances that could not be theorized through neoclassicism, mainly the affects, feelings, repressions and conditions that were present

in the data from the youth's time in the grocery stores. I concluded that these desires constituted other values and ways of being that fell outside of capitalistic production and that social studies teachers and teacher educators can attend to desire as a way to present a counter-narrative of the economy and economics to the students they teach.

In this chapter, I brought together my work from Chapters Two and Five in order to see how graduate students in a social studies methods course made sense of the youth as economic subjects engaged in economic activities. The youth the graduate students “encountered” through this process were the sorts of students the course was preparing them to teach; middle and high school students who attended school in the systems surrounding the university. In turn, social studies teacher education is where the majority of economics teachers are trained at all levels of instruction (Aske, 2003; Joshi & Marri, 2006; Watts, Walstad, Schug & Wood, 2011). Thus, this part of the study was integral to understanding how future social studies educators might understand, and construct, the youth as economic subjects.

Moreover, the graduate students were in the middle of the capitalist-reproduction process of subjectivation described in Chapter Two. On one hand, as K-12 students, were subjects of neoclassic economics curriculum and on the other hand, as teachers, they participate in the subjectivizing (subject-producing) process in teaching social studies and economics standards. So these graduate students, as social studies education teachers (present and future) are instrumental in putting the neoclassic curriculum into practice, thus producing their students as economic subjects and potentially reproducing the sorts of problematic discourses outline in Chapter Two. To that end, it is important to understand how social studies educators do this sense-making in order to see what might

be done in social studies teacher education to support preservice and practicing teachers develop frameworks for making sense of their students' economic lives and the economics curriculum they teach.

I will begin by discussing the context of this part of the research study, the social studies teacher education class. The, I will present data from two of the groups from this study and how they talked about the economic lives of two of the youth in the study, Jordan and Paul.

The Social Studies Class

The course where this study took place was called "Problems in Teaching Social Studies." The course was required for all masters level social studies education majors and consisted of both preservice and inservice teachers at various points in their academic and teaching careers. Since there are a mixture of students in the class and study, I will refer to all of the college participants as "graduate students" for the sake of clarity and consistency. The graduate students sat in four groups, with an iPad on a tripod next to each group. I introduced that tasks that the students would do that day. I explained how I conducted the interviews with the youth and created the data. I then showed each of the videos in the order they were conducted. I started by showing Justin and Mary's video. I introduced the video by telling the class the store we visited (Ingles), the participants' names and grade level in school, and the pseudonym of their school. As they watched the videos, I distributed copies of the maps and audio transcripts. Then, the graduate students had about 10-15 minutes after each video for discussion. My directions for this discussion task were very vague and open-ended. I simply asked each group to "make

sense” of the materials. Although there were four groups of graduate students in the study, I am focusing my attention to two of the groups, Group B and Group A.

I have included a table with the group members below:

Table 4.

Group	Members
A	David, Marissa, Alex, John
B	Sarah, Diane, Katie, Kathleen, Mary, Gloria, Katarina, Flor

Data presentation and Analysis

In doing this data presentation, I analyzed the graduate students’ analyses. In presenting the data and analysis, I start by unraveling the graduate students’ analyses. Then I will analyze these analyses, ending by discussing the implications for both sets of analyses.

In doing their analyses, the graduate students ended up constructing narratives about the youths’ socioeconomics. Presenting, and unpacking, the narratives that the graduate students created meant reconstructing a conversation that involved both spoken and unspoken elements. I attempted to faithfully reconstruct the graduate students’ conversations by typing out the words that each graduate student used. However, since this data comes from a video recording, I also added descriptions of gestures when it seemed appropriate. As I mentioned in the methods chapter, there were instances where the audio track on the video recordings was inaudible. To that end, I attempted to capture and present the substance of the conversations, as I understood them. However, there are many gaps in the data stemming somewhat from the inaudible moments but more from the way the graduate students were able to communicate with one another about the youth in ways that belied formal, spoken language. In reviewing the recordings and

attempting to reconstruct the graduate students' conversations, I found that the students seemed to be able to understand one another without actually saying much, which I show in the data presentation.

In analyzing the data, I attended to the ways the graduate students discussed the youth's economic lives and the ways that, through their discussions, they produced the youth as particular economics subjects. To do my analysis, I drew off of Lazzarato's (2014) work on signs and language in capitalism. Lazzarato posited that expression does not just happen through linguistic signs (what is formally said and written) but that, in capitalism "expression and enunciation belong first of all to asignifying and symbolic semiotics" (p.127). What this means is that non-linguistic "things" can serve as "iconic signs, which communicate or express something" (p.127). For example, in their conversations, the graduate students used "things" like "Walmart" and "socks" to make implications about Jordan. In other words, a shared connotation was attached to socks and Walmart so that simply saying "socks" or "Walmart" evoked the connotation. In their conversation, the graduate students substituted these things for meanings, for example, Walmart was used as a stand-in, or code for "poor" that allowed the graduate students to make implications about Jordan without actually saying things about her. Moreover, this was a language that the graduate students understood and could communicate with.

Curating sign systems

In presenting the data to the graduate students, I essentially curated a sign-system for them to draw upon to make sense of the data constructed from the youth. That is, if people draw upon signs to make sense of their world, and if there are signs that are used

in the production of subjectivity, then it is important to recognize the curation of a sign system at work in the teacher education class. The graduate students had access to the video recordings that I made as well as transcripts from the audio recordings, and the use of these materials certainly provided a particular way for the graduate students to make sense of the youth. Because this was a study about economics, I presented things in the data particularly related to the youth and things, such as the socks and EasyMac. I did not intend for the graduate students' conversations around these items to be taken up the way that they did. Since this was a sense-making activity, and since I had no prior experience doing something like this, I did not know what to expect of the graduate students or what sort of subject would be constructed from the available data and sign system. The data and the theorization of the data presented below is an example of what happened during the sense-making process and it reveals what happens when a teacher/researcher curates signs in a particular way and how those signs get taken up and deployed alongside other societal signs and discourses.

Graduate Group B

In this section, I will focus on how a particular group in the study, Group B, which was comprised of eight women. I have arranged the data for this section into two parts in order to present the content in a way that makes sense. Although the data was taken from video and audio footage from the youth-participants, it is important to remember that as the researcher, I created the data. Hence, "Jordan's words" or "Jordan's data" are not really Jordan's only, but data produced in the research process. To present the data, I put Jordan's "words" from the audio transcripts and the video transcripts on the left side and the graduate students' commentary about Jordan on the

right side. Since the graduate students saw all of Jordan's video and read her transcripts before they began their discussion, the right side is mostly in chronological order while the data created about Jordan is not.

After viewing Jordan's video, the graduate students began their discussion by talking about Jordan as a student. They said she seemed informed, as evidenced by her discussion, in the video, of an article she recalled reading about Walmart's business practices²³ and some commentary she made about celebrities featured in *People* magazine. This led them to talk about Jordan's role as FBLA president, clarifying that FBLA stood for Future Business Leaders of America. At this point is where the graduate students started trying to understand Jordan's work-school balance and its relationship to her consumerism at Walmart, as shown in the data below:

Jordan	Graduate Students
Audio Transcripts	Diane: <i>She read that article...she's</i>
Jordan asked me what I looked for in an	<i>informed.</i>
interview. I replied that I appreciated that	Katarina: <i>She knows what's going on.</i>
she talked a lot.	Gloria: <i>Didn't she say she doesn't spend</i>
Jordan: that's the only thing I got in	<i>that much time at school?</i>
trouble for in school, talking.	Katarina: <i>She works.</i>
Erin: <i>What do you look for when buying</i>	Gloria: <i>Is that...she's only a junior, is she</i>
<i>cosmetics?</i>	<i>able to do that...Do both?</i>
Jordan: <i>I look for the stuff that isn't going</i>	Flor: <i>You can depending on the</i>
<i>to break the bank. I work. So I'm on a</i>	<i>circumstances.</i>
<i>limited paycheck.</i>	Sarah: <i>If you...aren't on the college</i>

²³ Jordan's discussion of Walmart's business practices can be found in Chapter Five.

Video Recordings

Jordan talked about packing her lunch for school;

It dropped off cause it's the end of school and I don't really spend much time at school anymore.

During that time I didn't bring a lunch is because I was served out of the vending machine...it's so much cheaper than a six dollar lunch that I didn't know what I was getting.

track...if you're work study or something.

Other group members: *yeah work study*

Sarah: *Yeah my senior year I had a free period, but I was already accepted into college....and I got two classes free second semester, and I'm like I'm in, I'm*

good, man, I'm not taking anything.

Katarina: *Yeah but she's a junior.*

Flor: *Joint enrollment...joint enrollment you can start your junior year...I think that may be what she's doing.*

As the graduate students discussed Jordan's involvement in FBLA, Gloria raised the question "Didn't she say she doesn't spend that much time at school?" Katarina supplied in response "she works" to which Gloria asked if Jordan could work and go to school. On the video, as she asked this question, Gloria can be seen using her hands to make a balancing motion. Gloria's question was based on Jordan's statement "I don't really spend that much time at school anymore" which is shown in the left-hand column. Katarina and Gloria, in trying to understand Jordan's work-school life, took Jordan's assertion that she didn't spend much time at school and conflated it with her statements about working to imply Jordan was not at school because she was at work. Then, the conversation turned to "the circumstances" that would allow Jordan to work instead of going to school. This is a major turning point in the conversation because at this point the graduate students made certain unstated assumptions about Jordan that will frame the

rest of their conversation about her and the (somewhat incorrect) ways they imagine her socioeconomic circumstances.

Sarah turned “the circumstances” into talk of free periods for the college bound and work study or joint-enrollment for everyone else. Sarah talked about her free periods senior year, with Katarina pointing out that Jordan was only a junior, so she must not have a free period. Thus, they concluded that perhaps Jordan was part of a joint enrollment program that would allow her time to work. This conclusion made sense in light of Jordan’s involvement in a club for business leaders. The only reason the graduate students seemed to be able to give for Jordan not being physically present in the school building was because she was working, because, presumably, a seventeen year old who was president of a school club and who seemed “informed” about current events would not “skip” school altogether or be entirely disinterested in school²⁴. At this time it was not conceivable to the graduate students that perhaps Jordan could be smart and informed and “well-behaved” *and* not so eager to sit through her classes.

It seemed as though the overall group narrative constructed to make sense of Jordan’s work-school balance, of being part of a work program at school, made even more sense to the graduate students in light of Jordan’s statements about money and the things that she bought at the store, as shown below:

²⁴ In fact, Jordan made other statements about only spending the “absolutely necessary” amount of time at school, in other words, Jordan discerned between the times attending class seemed helpful to her and when it seemed like a waste of time (remember, Jordan valued time and efficiency and was impatient with “slowpokes” and time wasting).

Jordan
Audio Transcripts

Jordan: *I'm out of socks [we talk about socks disappearing] ...I'm definitely going to get the most colorful ones...*

Video Recordings

[Part of a conversation about buying candy, specifically gum] *I do get my assortment of vegetables too, and fruits, I like fruits and vegetables.*

Erin: *Do you pick those out yourself?*

Jordan: *I mean, I buy most of my own stuff.*

Erin: *Buy your own food?*

Jordan: *Well whenever I feel like it, I don't know.*

Jordan noted that she'd forgotten to put a clothing section on the map and that socks could go in the home goods *because you wear socks at home, right?*

Graduate Students

While watching Jordan's video, in

response to socks in home goods;

Flor: *No, no!*

Katarina: *I think it's funny that she took up this whole space for cosmetics and completely forgot about clothes.*

Sarah: *Socks!*

Gloria: *That's where her money goes, she buys socks at Walmart, that's what she buys at Walmart...*

Other group members: *Yes!*

Gloria: *Well have you seen Walmart lately? The cosmetics aisle goes like...[uses hands to make slanted aisles]*

Flor: *Yeah its true*

Gloria: *Oh yeah*

The graduate students spent a great deal of time talking about Jordan's shopping habits. Their commentary on Jordan's shopping began while they were still watching her video. When the graduate students heard Jordan, on the video, joke that she could put socks in

the home goods aisle on her map "because you wear socks at home, right" the women in the group looked at each other and began to laugh, with Flor exclaiming "No! No!" Later on, during the discussion, as they were talking about Jordan working, Katarina held up Jordan's map and noted that Jordan forgot to include the clothing section but did include a large section for cosmetics. In response, Sarah can be seen on the video recording exclaiming, in mocking imitation of Jordan, "socks!" and pretending to manically grab at socks on a shelf, stretching her arms out as if reaching for a shelf and waving her hands.

The group continued to laugh as they discussed Jordan's sock buying and the placement of socks in the home goods. They understood that she was joking about that. Nevertheless, they seemed to think it was strange for Jordan to spend money on *socks* at Walmart. The graduate students seemed to be able to understand buying cosmetics, as evidenced by their discussion about the layout of the cosmetics aisle, but socks were another matter. No one mocked her for buying cosmetics or seemed surprised at all by the purchase. This seemed to be a socioeconomic issue related to larger discourses about buying clothes at Walmart.

Later, during her 1:1 interview, as we were discussing Jordan's map, Sarah suggested that perhaps the slanted aisles that so frustrated Jordan and the graduate students were anti-theft mechanisms, as it would make it more difficult for a shoplifter to get out of the store quickly. Sarah remarked that shoplifters would target small, but expensive easily resalable items such as DVDs or jewelry, but "the clothes, less so, although if you're really poor and need clothes, then maybe." Although Sarah was not directly citing Jordan and socks, as she was talking about Jordan's map, her statement is indicative of larger discourses circulating through the group that clothes from Walmart

have little monetary or social value and are reserved for the “really poor.” So it seemed that socks’ designation as clothing made them an object of ridicule. Furthermore, the transcript states that Jordan said she was “out” of socks. I highly doubt Jordan was actually completely out of socks because as we walked over to the socks aisle we commiserated about socks lost to the dryer. Nevertheless, from the data it could have appeared to the graduate students that Jordan was having to buy this inexpensive but very personal, very necessary item at Walmart, something that perhaps they thought parents usually bought for their children.

Some of the graduate students continued to invoke socks in their talk about Jordan’s socioeconomic status, seeming to use socks, alongside Jordan buying food, to suggest that perhaps Jordan’s family was poor. In the transcription below, the graduate students are shown discussing Jordan’s price-checking and money consciousness and reconciling that with what they knew about her, including the items she bought at the store:

Sarah: *I thought it was weird she was buying food at all.*

Gloria: *Was it snacks?*

Katarina: Only gum!

Sarah and Gloria: Gum!

The graduate students picked up on Jordan’s comments about buying food. They were especially interested in Jordan’s descriptions of buying fruits and vegetables, which seemed like, to them, an odd thing for a seventeen year old to buy. It seemed to me as if they could understand a teenager buying snacks, or gum, for herself, but the fact that Jordan bought sustenance food was something else entirely, as fruits and vegetables (like

socks) were basic needs, things parents bought for their kids, not things kids bought for themselves. In her later 1:1 interview, Sarah recalled Jordan's food-buying, stating "I find it odd that she was buying food, like going into a store and buying food, I would never have done that." Here is another example of Jordan being positioned as different from the graduate students. Furthermore, in her interview Jordan described saving money by eating lunch from the vending machine rather than paying six dollars for a school lunch, another thing that, seemingly, a parent would pay for, yet another example of Jordan paying for her own food. The graduate students then used Jordan's examples of price-consciousness, and sock and food buying to speculate on her socioeconomics:

Sarah: *I would say it depends on the socioeconomics, the richer you are the less aware because you don't have to struggle for it, it's just there.*

Flor: *I must say I disagree with that statement.*

Kathleen: *She had to spend her money.*

Katarina: *She has to use her paycheck...she knows what's going on.*

Flor: *But, someone said that they thought that the parents were supplementing things and she buying extra things.*

Gloria: *Her mom did make her lunch...*

Katarina: *She was spending her money on socks, on cosmetics... She was buying her food because her family was all out.*

Flor: *She's interested in money, that's why she's a future business leader of America...I think a lot of it also has to do with personality.*

Sarah: *Yeah maybe that's a better word for it.*

Sarah posited that perhaps richer people might be less aware of money because “It’s just there” thus indicating that perhaps Jordan’s family was not rich because was aware. Kathleen and Katarina supported Sarah’s argument by emphasizing that Jordan *had* to spend *her* money on food, socks, and other things, meaning that Jordan was required to use her own money for things or else she couldn’t have them, and that Jordan’s money consciousness stemmed from this necessity. Flor stated that she disagreed, she pointed out that Jordan’s purchases might extras, not necessities. Gloria agreed by noting that Jordan’s mother packed her lunch, indicating that Jordan’s family *could* afford to buy food for Jordan. Katarina then pointed to cosmetics, socks and the food that was “all out” to counter Flor’s assertion. Flor then pointed out that Jordan might just be generally interested in money, as evidenced by her involvement in a business club. The conversation ended with some assent on the possibility of Jordan’s price-checking as indicative of personality rather than rich or poor. At this point the class took a break and the filming was complete.

Producing Jordan. In analyzing the data from Group B’s analysis of Jordan, I noticed that the graduate students started making sense of the data created about Jordan by coding her in particular ways. In this section, I will discuss the conclusions they drew about Jordan and her family, and the extent to which they engaged in coding her in order to build their narrative. That is, they assigned qualitative values to her based on pre-established categories. Their first codes were “work study and joint-enrollment,” which they used in opposition to “college track.” In doing this coding, the graduate students assigned Jordan a place in pre-established social categories, in this case, school tracks. Moreover, Sarah and the other group members seemed to draw on their own experiences

in school to posit these categories, as Sarah talked about her free periods as opposed to Jordan's work periods. Maclure (2014) wrote that codes like this point to something else. That is, codes in this sense are ways people can say one thing but mean another, with that meaning being understood by others. Already we see Jordan coded as "work study" and "joint-enrollment" which was code for not "college bound" and pointed to someone who performed wage labor in lieu of going to academic classes. This determination eventually led to discussions of Jordan's socioeconomics, with several of the graduate students insinuating that Jordan might be poor, or at least not rich, as evidenced by Sarah's assertion that rich people would not need to check prices, and, since we know that Jordan checked prices, she must not be rich (by Sarah's logic).

The narrative that the graduate students built around Jordan points to their production of Jordan as an economic subject and the codes and discourses they drew upon in this production process. A work study, potentially poor, sock-buying Jordan emerged from the graduate students' discussion. What was fascinating, for me, about this Jordan was how different she was from the Jordan that I knew. Jordan's family was not wealthy but far from poor and certainly capable of buying the things (cosmetics, toiletries, food and socks) that Jordan bought herself. Moreover, Jordan was on the "college track" at school, and was enrolled in advanced placement classes at school, and while, on that college-track, she also worked an after school job, a seeming contradiction that the graduate students had a hard time making sense of. They could not seem to reconcile to seemingly irreconcilable categories of student. Using the graduate students' arguments, I'll show how the graduate students used the data created about Jordan, alongside other discursive mechanisms, to produce Jordan as an economic subject, the

potential consequences of this production, and what this producing process can reveal about capitalism.

If we just read the graduate students' data as is, it seems like there is a big jump in their logic where they are able to get to this assertion, as no one has said outright that Jordan's family might be poor. The evidence that was offered for this assertion included Jordan using her own money to buy food, cosmetics, and, perhaps most of all, socks.

The socks, more than any other item, seemed to be particularly associated with Jordan. Months later, during the 1:1 interview, when I asked Sarah about Jordan, Sarah remembered Jordan as "the girl that was buying socks." As we saw from the graduate students' data, there was something about Jordan buying socks that was particularly bothersome to the graduate students from the start that the whole group seemed to understand. During the discussion Sarah imitated Jordan buying socks, and Katarina and Gloria both remarked that Jordan was spending *her* money on socks from Walmart. Take, for example, Gloria's assertions about Jordan buying socks:

Gloria: *That's where her money goes, she buys socks at Walmart, that's what she buys at Walmart...*

Gloria seemed incensed that Jordan would buy socks of all things, emphasizing that *that's* what she buys and *that's* where her money goes. Gloria did not expound on what she meant by these statements, but Gloria and the others in the group seemed to imply that there was something particularly bad about getting socks at Walmart of all places, as evidenced by Gloria's emphasis on the word "Walmart", saying it two times. So it wasn't just socks that were the problem, but socks from *WalMart* specifically. This distinction speaks to the power of unspoken social/cultural codes that do not rely on traditional

linguistics but on “asignifying forms of discursivity-music, clothing, the body, behavior, signs of recognition to all kinds of machinic systems” (Guattari, cited by Lazzarato, 2015, p.191). The sock discussion is an example of this asignifying discursivity, wherein the socks had some commonly recognized meaning in the group, and the “mechanic system” through which this happens could be things like websites, memes, magazines, television, and movies. Additionally, it is an example of a non-linguistic “thing” serving as an iconic sign that communicates or expresses something. There was something about socks that evoked particular meaning for the graduate students within the conversation and that would be particularly productive in producing Jordan as a certain type of economic subject.

What was striking to me as a researcher watching film footage is how the graduate students seemed to understand one another in terms of why the socks were funny in ways not communicated through words. Throughout the class period the students would say “socks” and look at each other meaningfully. It was not immediately evident, from reading the audio transcription of the video recording, what the graduate students meant by “socks!” Jordan bought many things at the store, but socks seemed to stand out to the graduate students and Jordan’s sock-buying and the association with socks and clothes on her map provoked an affective response (laughter and mocking) from the graduate students that did not happen when she talked about buying any other product. When I was at Walmart interviewing Jordan, there didn’t seem to be anything special about buying socks, as it was just one more thing she stocked up on for her upcoming trip, just like the cosmetics she bought, which seemed to define Jordan more than anything else. However, when I followed up with Sarah for her 1:1 interview, she

immediately knew Jordan as “the girl who was buying socks.” So there was something about these socks, and sock buying that was coded in a way that had a commonly understood meaning in ways not easily captured by the camera or written up in research.²⁵ The graduate students’ socks evocations remained baffling. As I reviewed the video recording, I could not entirely make sense of what was meant by these associations between Jordan and socks and the affective responses it provoked in the graduate students. To that end, I can only speculate on the peculiarities of these acts and theorize how this conversation might be coming about. Because I did not ask the graduate students specifically why they thought socks were funny, I cannot provide a thorough explanation for the action. However, I will attempt to continue to theorize the graduate students’ analysis by speculating on the types of discourses the graduate students might have been drawing on.

There seemed to be something about socks that the women in the group understood but that was not put into words. I wondered if the graduate students’ use of “socks” was part of an unspoken, coded discourse regarding Walmart and the people who shop there, and I wondered where this discourse might be coming from. Lazzarato (2014) wrote that in modern day capitalistic societies, with increasing reliance on impersonal technology, discourses of production and consumption circulate through unspoken and unwritten means, that is, through images, gestures, intonations, and even things like memes and hashtags, which are circulated through society through mechanisms like websites, blogs, social media, television, and movies. The popularity and “virality” of such mechanisms means that the people who use them can communicate

²⁵ Even transcribing the graduate students’ words doesn’t capture the affect and meaningful looks and random exclamations of “socks!”

certain meanings with just a few words and images. One such mechanism that might be behind the graduate students' evocations of Walmart is a website/blog such as "people of Walmart." People of Walmart a website that contains mostly images of people at Walmart stores tagged as "featured creature, animals, parenting, profane shirts, Walmart fashion, mullets/tails, short shorts and no shorts, and by the state in which they were taken. Each is accompanied by a humorous and snarky commentary/caption" (McCoy, 2010). The short captions are loaded with meaning that promotes a particular discourse about people who shop at Walmart while not always actually using words or phrases that are obviously demeaning. The website is a type of "mechanic system" that Lazzarato was referring to, that serve as sites for understanding and recognition. Sites like this communicate message not about the people posting images on the blog, but the *other* people *of* Walmart.

Further, the site draws off of, and reinforces, Walmart as a universal signifier with certain social connotations and meanings that are dispersed in social discourse about social class, economics, and socioeconomics. The site went viral to become a national pop culture phenomenon (McCoy, 2010). This is not to say that the graduate students were drawing on this particular website or others like it, but suggests that these are the sorts of diffuse discourses the graduate students might have access to and implicitly draw on without other means of making sense of people's economic activities. This is a problem because of the problematic discourses that such sites promote. Van Deven (2009) wrote in a critique of the site, "it's the kind of thing that happens when people either ignore or do not see the ways things like gender and race and geography intersect with poverty." These very issues of class, race, poverty, gender, and geography are

certainly topics that social studies teacher education addresses, and drawing attention to a site like People of Walmart or the multitude of other similar sites can be a way to address the more diffuse ways people subjectivize others without always overtly saying or writing things that might be construed as classist or racist. Further, Gans' (2015) analysis in Chapter Two showed how these issues such as poverty are largely ignored in neoclassic economics texts that emphasize economics (theory) rather than about the economy, so it is not surprising that such a site might be a place where people (including students and pre/in service teachers) learn (implicitly or explicitly) about the *economy* in the absence of such learning in school.

When the graduate students spoke and gestured with emphasis on *Walmart* and *socks*, they could have been communicating certain things about Jordan as a person *of* Walmart wearing Walmart fashion (one of the website's categories) which would in turn lead to classist assumptions, such as Sarah's guess that her family was not rich. This points to the difference between food or gum or even cosmetics from Walmart versus clothing, because the former items are indistinct, they are not socially coded as having come from Walmart. A pack of gum, for example, could come from anywhere, and drugstores, grocery stores, Target and other retailers carry a corps group of similar cosmetics brands, but shirts and jeans and socks are not so discreet and anonymous, they are distinctly branded. The problem was not so much buying from Walmart as coding one's body as *from*, or *of* Walmart, in Jordan's case, wearing Walmart socks, which in turn, the graduate students coded her as *of* Walmart, which is a distinctly different position than being *at* Walmart.

It is not through words, but through these sorts of machianic mechanisms and images, Guattari (2009) suggested, that children primarily learn who they are, and doing this “learning” is part of subject formation. This is the same sort of process whereby the graduate students “learned,” and communicated to one, another who (they thought) Jordan was or should be as an economic subject. The laughs, the evocation of “socks” and the mocking, manic imitations of Jordan grasping at socks at the store are examples of how they were able to make implications that Jordan’s family might be poor without ever saying it, which also makes it difficult for me to prove, suggest or even imply because, they were not using specific words that could be captured and pointed to as evidence²⁶ of an attempt to demean Jordan’s sock-buying or pass judgment on it. What this suggests is that in social studies teacher education, discussions of economics and socioeconomics could also include these less obvious, and more disperse, sites that formulate a popular discourse about the economy as well as a mechanism of social control through subject formation and codes that are used to categorize people.

The graduate students’ conversation about Jordan’s economic habits and socioeconomics has several implications for social studies, and economics, teacher education. First, it points to the kinds of narratives that can be created about youth, the premises that are used to build these narratives, and how wrong these premises can be. Jordan was complex, and it was easy to see why her data would seem confusing to the graduate students. In actuality, Jordan’s family was comfortably middle class and she

²⁶ I was sure that I overheard someone in Sarah’s group explicitly say something to the effect of Jordan is a poor student from a poor family. However, I’ve reviewed the recordings from that moment over and over and I cannot find it. I can see myself on the recording at the exact moment walking up to their table with pen and paper because of what I’d thought I overheard, but I cannot “prove it.” There are also instances during that conversation where Katarina, who was one of the students insisting that Jordan had to buy her own necessities, had her left hand over her mouth, where the camera was pointed, and so her audio is often inaudible. In turn, I know that my presence most certainly influenced the course of the conversation

attended an affluent high school, and, yet, she also bought her own food and socks and cosmetics and other items and had an after school job and she was college-bound and an honors student. In short, Jordan did not easily conform to what the graduate students thought signified socioeconomics. She did not fit easily into the pre-established codes or categories, or codes, such as work-study, that the graduate students tried to fit her into.

While they eventually came around to suggesting that Jordan's actions might be due to personality rather than socioeconomics, it is easy to see how social studies teachers would focus on money and human capital as qualifiers for Jordan. Neoclassic economics curriculum, the type of curriculum that the graduate students are tasked to teach and that they likely experienced as students, provides few avenues for understanding human behavior outside of these frames, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter. What this suggests is that attending to the neoclassicism in economics curriculum in social studies teacher education is important for helping K-12 students explore their values and desires as economic subjects, but it is also important for helping preservice teachers explore their own understandings and values.

The data showed how the graduate students in that group had a hard time understanding who, in society, would need to be price-conscious and why. Considering that the GPS standards, from kindergarten to high school, are a narrative of the importance of price-consciousness, spending and saving decisions, and the value of work, as evidenced by the personal finance standards concluding each grade level social studies standards document, the graduate students' comments about who might be doing wage labor and who might be price-conscious suggests what sorts of implicit class consciousness and social codings teachers might bring into their teaching and who these

narratives might be deployed towards²⁷. Further, the data shows the precariousness of teachers actually encountering a student, like Jordan, who actually performed the subject in the standards.

As I elaborated on in the previous chapter, Jordan embodied many aspects of the ideal neoclassic subject. She worked for her money, which she managed wisely, she was invested in her human capital (by preparing for college and going to school) and she was a good decision maker. Jordan valued low prices, and, as I've pointed out, price, profit, and money are the only values in the GPS and neoclassic economics. However, all of this did not make Jordan an ideal student or consumer. The graduate students laughed at Jordan when she used these tactics to buy socks at Walmart. Not only is it just bad practice to laugh about someone buying socks at Walmart, but the people doing the laughing are the very people who, as social studies teachers, could be reinforcing discourses about good decision making and money management. So even when Jordan was doing all the "right" things, she was still not able to win, so to speak, with the graduate students because she made the decision (as Gloria pointed out "that's what she used her money *for*") to buy socks at Walmart. Thus, even though Jordan bought the lowest price socks, it might have been the socks' low price that made them subsequently detestable to the graduate students.

This speaks to capitalism's ever-expanding limits and lack of universal code ultimately results in depression, or a "powerlessness to act" (p.187). This does not mean that Jordan herself was necessarily depressed, but that the graduate students' narratives

²⁷ Jack Klingston, a state representative for Jackson County, GA, made national news with his comments that children qualifying for free or reduced lunch should clean the school cafeteria in order to get "the myth out of their head that there is such a thing as a free lunch" ("Poor kids should sweep floors" 2013). This is not to say that the graduate students would use this sort of rhetoric, but points to the ways neoclassic tenets, such as "there's no such thing as a free lunch" can be deployed in classist ways.

produced a depressive subject in Jordan who was seemingly powerlessness “to act” correctly in the eyes of the graduate students because even when she seems to be performing an ideal economic act of buying inexpensive socks, the shifting social codes means that she is never quite able to fully embody an ideal economic subjectivity. However, the overall discourse surrounding sock-buying remains mysterious and a bit baffling, and what I presented in the analysis above are my own speculations and interpretations about what happened and why.

Graduate Group A

In this section, I will show graduate students making sense of the data created about Paul. In this section, I will largely focus on one group of graduate students “Group A” but I will also include some data from members of other groups as well. I will show how this group analyzed the data created about Paul i.e. how they made sense of it, in terms of economics. Group A consisted of David, Alex, Marissa and John. David and John were preservice teachers while Marissa and Alex were both currently teaching high school social studies at the time of the study. The graduate students’ analysis of the data created about Paul largely hinged on two pieces of data, a statement Paul made about EasyMac, which came from the audio transcription from the walk through the store and Paul’s map of the Publix grocery store.

Both of these pieces of data are shown below:

Paul: *I try to get these.*

Erin: *What do you mean try? Does your mom not let you have it?*

Paul: *My dad doesn’t. They cost too much, he says.*

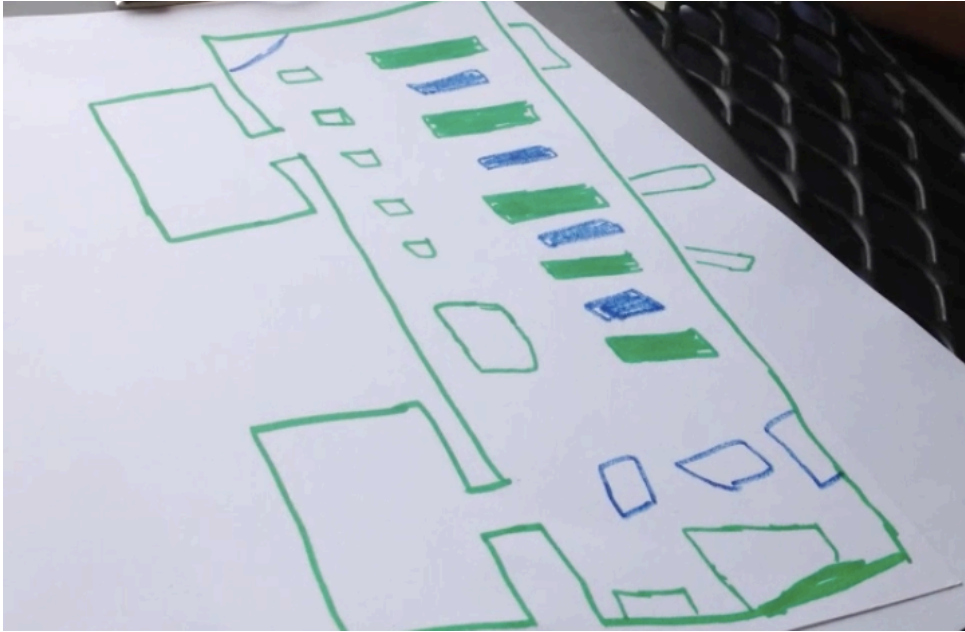


Figure 4.

The graduate students received a copy of the audio transcription from Paul's walk through the store and a copy of the maps Paul drew. As we can see, Paul did not write labels on his Publix map. However, in Paul's video recorded interview, I asked Paul to take me through his map of Publix. In doing this, Paul pointed to the different areas of the store. So although he did not write labels, Paul orally labeled the map by pointing to different sections of the store, and this process was part of the video that the graduate students watched. After watching Paul's video, the graduate students in Group A began their analysis by reviewing Paul's map. They discussed why Paul's map seemed to lack detail and did not contain labels, which led into a conversation about Paul's family's socioeconomic status:

Marissa: In reading the transcript, he said his dad tells me what we can buy and can't buy. So he doesn't feel he has a say-so and maybe that's why [his map looks the way that it does]....All the rest [of the youth-participants] labeled something but he didn't.

David and Alex: *Uh huh* [nod in agreement].

David: *True. It might be interest...if he doesn't have a lot...if he doesn't have a say in it.*

The graduate students noted that Paul's map of the grocery store looked different than the others. First, it seemed more hastily drawn and contained much less details than the others. Second, the map was not labeled. The graduate students used these facets of Paul's map, along with Paul's transcript, to draw some conclusions about Paul's family.

Marissa began the analysis by referencing Paul's transcript, wherein Paul stated, "It's mostly my dad that tells me what I can't get." Marissa then used this statement as evidence that Paul might not have a say in what he gets at the store. So far, this analysis aligns with Paul's repeated statements about not having a say in the store. Then, Marissa suggested that Paul not adding labels was related to Paul not having a say. David and Alex seemed to agree with this assertion, as evidenced by their nods of agreement and affirmations of "true."

Marissa and her group mates were looking for signs of meaning in Paul's map. They thought that Paul was relaying a sort of message about his relationship to the store in not labeling the map. Their impetus for thinking this way seems to stem from their reading of Segall's (2003) article "Maps as stories about the world," which they were assigned to read for homework. The group seemed to be drawing off of the idea, from the article, that "all maps embody their authors' perspectives, assumptions, and biases" (p.21). So Marissa and her group-mates were trying to say that Paul's map was a sign of his perspective, or attitude, towards the store. This makes sense considering Paul's statements in his video that the store was "boring" and feeling "bored" there. They

concluded that Paul's sparse map was indicative of his feelings of boredom and his disinterest in the store. They related these feelings of boredom to Paul not having a say in the store. So far the graduate students' narrative has mostly aligned with Paul's in that the store is boring and it's boring because Paul doesn't have a say in it, as evidenced by his statements where he explicitly states that he does not have a say in the store. It is unknown whether or not Paul intentionally drew his map with these ideas in mind. However, the graduate students' narrative delves into speculating about Paul's family's socioeconomic status:

Alex: It makes you wonder, the socioeconomics...if wealthier families would allow more choice.

Marissa: Yeah this one [puts her hand on Paul's transcript] What was it? [looks through transcript] EasyMac. Marissa pointed to an area on Paul's map. He drew this area big.

Alex introduced socioeconomics in suggesting that a wealthier family might allow their children to have more choices, implying that because Paul is (seemingly) not given choices, his family must not be wealthy and that wealthier children are given more choices. First, it is important to note that Paul was the one saying that he didn't have a say in the store, so Alex and the group are taking Paul's word for it. Second, Alex is conflating Paul having "a say" with Paul having choices. Paul's transcript is full of examples of Paul having choices. Paul could choose chips and ice cream bars and chicken breasts. The only thing that Paul was not able to get, that he wanted, was the EasyMac. Marissa noted this instance of Paul not getting EasyMac by saying "this one" and putting her hand on a copy of Paul's transcript to indicate that she was referring to

him. This was an important turning point in their analysis, as the group has established that Paul's family must not have a lot of money and therefore Paul has few choices, was bored at the store, and drew a map reflective of these feelings. Using the same sort of logic from Segall's (2003) article, that maps contain meaningful representations and that big things are often equated with important things, Marissa pointed to a large square on Paul's map. Paul's map consisted entirely of rectangles and squares of various sizes aligned in rows, so the square that Marissa pointed to stood out because it was larger than the others and stood alone, not in a row. Marissa wanted to know what this larger square represented. Alex provided an explanation, which is shown below along with the map:

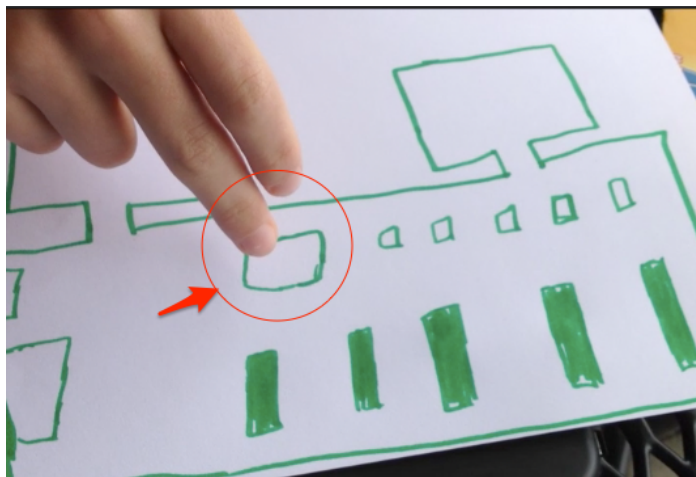


Figure 5.

Alex: *Cashing checks?*

John: *They have that. It's a circle.*

David: *He knows what that is.*

Marissa: *But he would be the only one that knew.*

David: *I wonder if he just thought this was what they wanted? A lot of kids do that.*

Alex suggested that the square in question was a check cashing area. John then confirmed Alex's comment by saying "they have that" meaning, the grocery store had a check cashing station. Then David spoke up with "he knows what that is," implying that Paul would know what check cashing is, presumably because Paul had some experience with such services. Then Marissa commented that Paul would be the only one of the youth in the study that would know *that*, i.e. check cashing. At that point the audio was so inaudible that it was difficult to hear the rest of the conversation, but David can be heard bringing the conversation back to its original starting point about the map and its simplicity. David suggested that Paul just gave me, the researcher "what they wanted" meaning that Paul drew what he thought was a map, while giving minimal effort due to his disinterest in the store or lack of knowledge of it, and possibly, what maps look like.

Producing Paul. One of the reasons I chose this to analyze this group's conversation about Paul is because of the jumps the group made in trying to understand Paul. I gave the groups very little direction, only asking them to watch Paul's video and then "make sense" of it alongside his maps and transcripts. I did this mainly because I really did not know what the students would make of these artifacts. When I edited Paul's video to show the class, I ensured that Paul's statements about being bored at school were included, and I thought that this is what the graduate students, as educators, would latch onto. However, it seemed that Paul's dissatisfaction with school, for Group A, was more of a side effect of his socioeconomics and his attitude rather than indicative of Paul's desire to be challenged in school and for a fundamentally different schooling experience. Thus, although I did not ask them to do so, Group A "read" Paul as an

economic subject that was financially disadvantaged and choice-deprived, producing a very different Paul than the participant I'd interviewed at Publix.

The data from Group A revealed how the group drew conclusions about Paul by combining bits of the data created about Paul, Paul's map, a course reading, and their own understandings and speculations. The group began with the premise that Paul's map was lacking in detail, labels, and overall quality, which they took a sign of Paul's general apathy towards the store, which stemmed from his lack of choices, which stemmed from his perceived socioeconomic status, which was evidenced by "check cashing" and the fact that he could not get EasyMac. Since none of the other youth in the study were denied anything, and since their maps contained labels and copious details, the graduate students correlated these good, detailed maps to the availability of choices, as if the kids who got to make choices in the store would be paying more attention or be more interested and therefore draw better maps. What is fascinating is the way these factors somehow led the graduate students to jump to the conclusion that the mystery space on Paul's map was a check cashing station. This sort of conclusion was made possible by the graduate students' belief that Paul's map was indicative of his socioeconomic status, as if Paul was communicating that through his drawing, and their belief that Paul's family was poor, as evidenced by Paul's statement about EasyMac.

Just as socks were particularly associated with Jordan, EasyMac was associated with Paul, even though the transcripts showed Paul getting lots of other items like chips and Klondike bars. It wasn't just Group A that made this association, other groups referred to Paul in terms of EasyMac, with a member of Group D calling him "the kid who couldn't get EasyMac," for example. EasyMac, in this case, was the signifying

thing that communicated or expressed something about Paul (Lazzarato, 2014). Like socks in Jordan's example, EasyMac was a cheap item that Paul seemingly should not have been denied due to price. However, as I explained in the previous chapter, there seemed to be other reasons at work other than money, and Paul never actually said that the family couldn't afford the EasyMac only that "it costs too much, he says."

Nevertheless, EasyMac was associated with Paul and with money and conclusions were drawn about what this said about Paul's family's socioeconomics.

Even more fascinating is the fact that, in his narration on the video recording, Paul said this square space in question was customer service, not check cashing. As I watched Group A's video, I noticed that they were talking to each other during much of Paul's video, and so possibly did not hear Paul say this was customer service. So the group was right, the large square *did* indicate a particular place in the store, but not the place they thought it was. The group never labeled Paul as poor outright, but their statements imply a common understanding, similar to the way the group of women communicated to one another about Walmart clothes without actually saying anything. Group A's jump from EasyMac to check cashing is a similar use of discursive code as "Walmart" and "socks" were in the previous example. EasyMac is inexpensive, and Paul's seeming inability to get it, like Jordan's inability to "get" socks from her parents, the graduate students took as a sign of poverty. In turn, check-cashing is a service for people who may not have the option of depositing their paychecks in a bank and is often associated with low-income customers. The graduate students deployed "check cashing" as both evidence of Paul's family's socioeconomics and a result of it. Moreover, these assumptions hinged upon the earlier assumption that Paul's family could not afford EasyMac. However, Group A was

not the only group with this assumption. For example, in a follow-up interview, I mentioned Paul to Sarah, who said "Oh yes, Paul, he's the one from the poor family. He'd say I want a certain thing and they'd say no because it's not in the budget." Sarah associated Paul with the EasyMac and assumed his family was poor and that EasyMac was not in the budget. Sarah's follow-up interview took place about three months after she saw Paul's video, so it is understandable if her memory of him is not clear, however, she clearly remembered the EasyMac and, like many other students, used that to assume Paul was poor and then embellish on the other details (such as mention of budget, which Paul never mentioned). However, as I demonstrated in the previous chapter, Paul's family is not poor and Paul's father likely had reasons other than money for not letting Paul have EasyMac. Nevertheless, when Paul could not get something at the store, it was automatically assumed that it was because of money, and no one offered any other theories for why Paul might not have gotten what he wanted. What this speaks to is the way the graduate students could only conceptualize money as the only value, or determining factor, in Paul's, or Paul's father's, consumer life.

In both graduate student groups' discussions, money operated as what Lazzarato (2014) called a "power sign" that "instead of representing something they anticipate it, create it, and mold it. Power signs constitute the semiotics of an economy of possibles" (p.85). In other words, power signs don't refer to an existing state or reality, but create them. In the graduate students' analyses of Paul and Jordan, money was used to construct narratives about the youth. Essentially, the graduate students created the "realities" of check cashing and work-study that did not pre-exist in the youth's data. As I have pointed out, it is not surprising that the graduate students would gravitate to money so

quickly, as economics curriculum provides little else to go off of in terms of why people behave the way that they do and desire what they desire.

Although the graduate students incorrectly assumed Paul's family was poor, the data provides important insight into how pre/in-service teachers could talk about a presumed poor student and what that might mean for social studies, and economics education. The graduate students invoked money in terms of Paul's ability to make choices at the store, further demonstrating money as a power sign that exceeds its functionality as a medium of exchange. When money is simply a medium of exchange between equally valuable items, it is neutralized, but when it is deployed in this way in capitalistic discourses, it connotes power. The graduate students attributed Paul's ability to act in the store, his power to choose and make decisions, and his ultimate boredom, to money. Thus, the graduate students recognized money's connection to power. However, the graduate students were left with the conclusion that Paul was bored because he did not have choices, and he did not have choices because he was poor. The problem with this reasoning, whether true or not, is that it leaves few ways to conceptualize how the youth might relate to the store, and other places where they make decisions, differently. For example, if money buys choices and the ability to make decisions, a trait of the neoclassic economic subject, then for someone to get more choices and embody this subjectivity means first getting more money, but without money, there are few avenues for actively engaging in economic life short of obtaining more money which, in the GPS, would mean making money and working, leading again to a conceptualization of life as the pursuit of wealth.

Moreover, David related Paul's lack of choices to an overall disengagement in the store and his subsequent drawing of a "bad" map, implying that Paul would have drawn a better map if he cared more, and that he would have cared more if he was not bored and he would not have been bored if he had more choices. This sort of reasoning reveals what Lazzarato (2015) called capitalism's "enchanted circle of production" wherein work and more work is the only ethic, to the denigration of "lazy" as those who do not do this production. So although David and his group mates concluded that Paul's map looked the way it did due to minimal effort (i.e. what could be deemed as laziness) and perhaps lack of know-how stemming from his disengagement in the store, and they ultimately did not blame him for this, but instead seemed to think his map was just inevitable. Their reasoning shows their difficulty in producing an economic subject in any other way than in terms of production and money. On the other hand, Lazzarato pointed to perceived "laziness" or minimal action as a counter-capitalistic practice that "entails taking a position with respect to the conditions of existence in capitalistic society" (p.247). I don't know if Paul was engaging in revolutionary practices like this, but Lazzarato's insight poses another way these pre/in-service social studies teachers might read a map like Paul's that is admittedly minimalist but not necessarily lacking in substance or expertise. Paul could have been choosing to not produce for me, for the store, and for the study, but it is hard to see this choice as an option in capitalistic production and in teaching and teacher education and points to our tendencies to desire certain types of supposedly optimal or ideal production.

Implications for Research and Researchers

In the study, two groups of graduate students in Group A and Group B produced two of the youth from the first part of the study, Jordan and Paul, as particular economic subjects. These two groups, and their analyses, stood out to me as a researcher because of the extent to which the Jordan and Paul subject that were produced in the social studies methods portion of the study seemed very different from the Jordan and Paul subjects that I knew in the grocery stores. This is not to say that “my” Jordan and Paul were correct and the graduate students’ were wrong, but the disjuncture provides insight into how that disjuncture might have been created. Part of this disjuncture is inevitable. I had a lot more information about Paul and Jordan that was not revealed to the graduate students. Some of this was “inside” information, for example, I knew the youths’ parents and, at least their mothers’ occupations because I recruited families that I knew for the study, and thus, while I’ve shown how the youth (except for Jordan and somewhat Paul) did not say much about money, my conceptions of the youth were always in the context of this thing I knew about their family’s socioeconomics that they never said aloud in their interviews.

Moreover, I created the data materials that the graduate students had access to. As I described in the methods chapter, in editing the videos to show to the graduate students, I did have to make cuts for the sake of time, and, for Jordan especially, anonymity. I did my best to present most of the audio transcription and video content, for Paul this was mostly cutting out pauses and much of the initial map drawing and keeping his description of the store and his feeling about it. I do not think my presentation of the data created about Paul made a significant difference, however, in the narratives that the

graduate students created about him unless I withheld his EasyMac comment. However, they latched on to the EasyMac right away even though this was a small part of a much larger transcript showing Paul getting all kinds of other snacks at the store and they ignored Paul's map narration where he clearly stated that the area they thought was check cashing was customer service.

I shot almost an hour's worth of footage during Jordan's interview, and condensed that down to ten minutes, and one of the things that was cut, unfortunately, was Jordan talking about raising three thousand dollars for FBLA and the financial straits of the volleyball team. This was cut because Jordan wrote information on her map that would have revealed the location of her high school, and this information could be seen in the video. I was able to keep this out of the shots up to this point in the filming, but as she talked she shifted her map and the street names clearly showed. Unfortunately, at the time, I did not have the software or know-how (both of which I've since acquired) to edit this out of the video in order to preserve the narration. In hindsight, I could have also minimized the video and just allowed the audio to run, but I did not think to do that at the time. I do not know the extent to which hearing this information would have changed the graduate students' perception of Jordan, perhaps the ease with which she said she could acquire three thousand dollars would have posited her as affluent, but on the other hand, the necessity of fundraising in the first place might have been part of the case made for her as poor. In any case, these were good examples of Jordan's financial situation that would have made some, if still unknown, difference in the way she was presented to the graduate students.

In sum, in protecting the youths' anonymity, I was also leaving a lot up for speculation. I did not want to reveal too much personal information, first because I'd committed to protecting the youth's privacy, but second, because the youth were local students in local school systems and I was afraid that too many revealing details, especially details the youth did not volunteer on their own, would violate their privacy. Without this information, the graduate students "filled in the blanks" themselves from the information I did not tell them, namely, the youths' parents' occupations and the types of qualifiers that often come associated with profiles of students and their schools such as "affluent" and "disadvantaged," which was an unexpected outcome of the study.

Perhaps, then, based upon the sign systems that the graduate students had available, it was almost inevitable that they came to the conclusions that they did. For example, without knowing about Jordan's affluent school or her parents' occupations, perhaps there would not be a way for the graduate students to conceive of Jordan differently. Some of this inevitability had to do not just with the content of the data but also what counted as data in the study. For example, I drew upon what materialized in the study, that is, the words spoken and actions taken right there in the grocery stores and used that to create the data. Because neither Jordan nor Paul mentioned their parents' occupations, and because I did not ask them to do so, this did not materialize and was not produced as data. Thus, this sort of subject production points to one of the opportunities and limits of the methodology. All methods and methodologies have their limits in what they are able to do and not do. The methodology provided a way to "look in" so to speak, on a discursive process, and this looking in provides much to think about for social studies teacher educators when discussing socioeconomics. However, the curative and

materialistic nature of the study meant that the graduate students had a limited amount of signs available to draw upon. These are important considerations for both researchers and teacher educators in thinking about the ways students, or youth, are presented in education discourses.

Moreover, this process helped me consider the implications, as both a researcher and teacher educator, of saying “nothing.” That is, even when I tried to say nothing about the youth, the signs I drew from and presented said *something*. To that end, it is important for me to recognize the recursive subject formation process at work. As the researcher, I created subjects out of the youth and out of the graduate students. Research is always subject-forming. From this process I learned the importance of recognizing the ways researchers are *always* constructing subjects and so it is important to attend to the types of subjects being produced and consider the implications, to the best of one’s ability, of producing certain subjects.

These dilemmas point to the difficulty in undertaking this type of research, and goes to show the always unexpected and unanticipated outcomes that arise. There are always material outcomes to our research, as evidenced by the Jordans and Pauls that were produced in the second phase of the study. In turn, it speaks to the desire for codes that Deleuze and Guattari (2009) say is characteristic of modern capitalistic society. We desire these codes because they seem so essential to making sense of the social world, as Groups A and B demonstrated. This speaks to the need to be aware of this tendency, which challenges researchers to consider when certain qualifying information should be revealed and when it should be withheld, and the potential outcomes for each of these decisions.

Implications for Social Studies Teacher Education

I have addressed many implications for social studies teacher education throughout this chapter, as it related to each section. Here, I will address some of the overall implications for social studies teacher education garnered from this study. I demonstrated how, in producing economics subjects in their data analysis, the graduate students both deployed capitalistic discourses and relied on them. For example, both groups of graduate students speculated on the youths' socioeconomics and both groups came to the conclusion (Group A more so than Group B) that Jordan and Paul's families might not have much money. They drew these conclusions from various known and unknown sources, with Group B using Walmart and socks as evidence for Jordan and Group A using EasyMac and "check-cashing" for Paul. These material things were deployed in the discussions as both consequences of the youth's socioeconomics and evidence of it. For example, Paul not getting EasyMac was used as evidence for his socioeconomics and as an inexpensive item he was not able to choose, a side effect of his socioeconomics. What this points to is a type of codes used in the graduate students' circular reasoning wherein money is used as both the end and means of the youth's actions at the store.

However, given the signs provided to the graduate students and neoclassic economic curriculum, perhaps it should not be surprising that Paul was constructed as poor, considering my discussion in the previous chapter about the lack of authoritative "no" in the GPS standards. As I discussed in the previous chapter GPS, and neoclassic standards in general, do not provide a way to account for "no" in economic activity except for a lack of money, hence, there would not necessarily be a way for the graduate

students, presumably schooled in, and schooling others in, neoclassic economic theory to come to any other conclusion. This seems to reinforce the implications that I discussed in the previous chapter about the importance of counternarratives such as desire that can expand students' views and frames about the complexities of consumer activity. It also points to the way neoclassic economic theory does not account for competing values at work, and how the graduate students, in taking an economic view of Paul, would not be able to see competing values at work in the relationship between Paul and his father regarding the EasyMac.

Although it was good that the graduate students were at least thinking about socioeconomics, the data shows how clumsily they attended to it. In Chapter Two, I pointed out how neoclassic economics curriculum would provide few avenues for exploring issues of income inequality and poverty (e.g. Gans, 2015, Marglin, 2012), but that these were important issues to address in economics education. Therefore, the graduate students' discussions seem to indicate a willingness to think and talk about socioeconomics, and recognized its consequences for youth in society, but that they may need the assistance of teacher educators to be able to unpack the complexities of money's role in socioeconomics, family life, and social values. Moreover, although the graduate students' analyses were not always on point or somewhat naïve, they were not necessarily wrong in terms of demonstrating how capitalism works. As I showed in Chapters Two and Five, neoclassic economics might have its limitation but it is not wrong when thought of in terms of capitalism. For example, Sarah speculated that perhaps rich people did not need to check prices. In terms of the GPS, in Chapter Two I showed that a high school standard such as "rational decision making entails comparing the marginal benefits and

marginal costs of an action” (SSEF2) ignores the fact that some people have advantages over others in this process, and that this can make the standard seem out of touch with social issues and reality. However, Sarah’s comment is insightful in highlighting that for a lot of people, decision making *does* happen at the margin, and that perhaps the “rational decision maker” in the standard is in reference to the not-rich wage earner, which calls into question who is tasked with thinking rationally in capitalistic society and how that rationality is produced. Thinking about Sarah’s comment this way shows one way that social studies teacher educators might help social studies teachers work with the GPS and neoclassic standards to make inroads in talking about issues of inequality with their students instead of dismissing the standards as unrealistic or out of touch.

Finally, social studies teacher education can be a place where teachers can explore where their assumptions and ideas about social class come from and what they can do to not reinforce problematic discourses. This can be an important first step for helping social studies, and economics, teachers learn to attend to issues of social class and poverty with their students, and it gets at the type of equity and justice-oriented work that underlies social studies education.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BECOMING TEACHER

In this chapter I will explore the Deleuzian (1987; 2007; 2009) concept of *becoming* as it relates to teaching and teacher education. The data examples I use are drawn from the third phase of the study, the 1:1 interviews where four of the graduate students from the second phase of the study watched themselves during the sense-making activity described in the previous chapter.

In the previous chapter, I showed some of the ways the graduate students were becoming teachers. For example, when they grappled with the course readings and then operationalized them in order to theorize the youths' maps, the graduate students were practicing, or performing, the role of teacher. In these instances, graduate students were engaging in student and teacher practices simultaneously as they learned to teach. They were simultaneously trying out the things they were learning in teacher education, such as considering students' socioeconomic statuses and map-reading, while at the same time being a student *of* these practices as well as an early practitioner *of* them. I will use data from these becoming teachers to support a theoretical contribution I want to make to teacher education, that of *becoming* as a more nuanced way of describing teachers embodying the hyphenated spaces of their careers in making a move from student to teacher.

In this chapter, I will engage with the concept of *becoming* to consider the ways the graduate students, during their follow-up interviews, discussed their transitions from

teacher education students to high school teachers. These discussions point to the ways the process of becoming a teacher escapes the usual denotations of inservice, preservice, candidate, or student-teacher.

In this chapter, I attempted to theorize the graduate students' experiences as working between the subject positions of teacher and student, when they are on one hand a student in a classroom learning to be a teacher, and on the other hand teachers in the past, present, and future sense. This process is akin to what Fine (1994) might call "working the hyphens" between self and other, as the graduate students/preservice teachers in the study moved between student-teacher identities. The students sitting in teacher education courses, known as preservice teachers or teacher candidates, are constantly moving between two subject-positions; teacher and student. Much of teacher education is dedicated to enacting this split, moving preservice teachers away from a student subject position and towards teacher, possibly without examining the complexity of assuming these positions simultaneously.

I use the data examples from these three graduate students alongside three of Deleuze's examples of becoming in order to develop (further) the notion of becoming teacher. Kennedy (2002) described Deleuzian becoming as "a continual processual movement in time, with no finality, no fixed positioning" (p.16). This means that instead of viewing people as possessing fixed or stable identities, they can be viewed as always transforming and in flux towards a mastery-to-come. Throughout his body of work, Deleuze provided three examples of becoming that I think resonate with the processes of becoming that the graduate students described. These three types of becoming are; Alice (in Wonderland), becoming animal, and wasp-orchid. Becoming seemed to be a fitting

concept to theorize the data with, since it describes and accounts for the production of nonlinear processes and multiple subject positions that the graduate students were describing.

I will begin by presenting data from Michael, Sarah and Derek that will point to the complex ways the graduate students talked about transitioning into teaching and the inadequacies of terms such as preservice and inservice teachers. Then, I will provide an explanation of three ways Deleuze conceives of becoming and use these three conceptions to theorize the data. Finally, I will suggest that thinking in terms of becoming teacher is a way for teacher educators to attend to the nuances experienced by preservice teachers of moving between student and teacher subject positions and that this attention might foster new conceptions of conceptualizing teaching and learning.

Data Stories

In this section, I will provide data stories from three of the graduate students that participated in follow up interviews for the study. Creating this data involved a multi-step process. First, I viewed the videos taken of the students in the graduate students in the social studies methods course. Next, I identified graduate students within each group that I wanted to follow up with. Then, I contacted these students to setup the interviews. Finally, I created ten minute elicitation videos to cue the graduate students. To do this, I used film editing software to extract pieces from the larger video to create a smaller video. I used these shortened videos to begin the conversations with the graduate students. The stories below are constructed from the data elicited from the video cuing process in which the graduate students watched video footage of themselves performing the role of a student in a classroom and a teacher evaluating students.

Michael: Preservice or Inservice?

My follow-up interview with Michael took place in August following the social studies methods course that had taken place in May. Michael and I met in an unused classroom in the College of Education. The interview followed the social studies curriculum and methods course that Michael was taking in order to obtain his teaching certification. At this time Michael was still a full-time graduate student who was working towards his teacher certification.

I began the interview by showing Michael part of the ten-minute elicitation video that I made based off of his group's video during the social studies teacher education course. On the video, Michael glanced towards the door, bounced his leg, and whispered to his neighbor. The audio on this part of the video was mostly inaudible. However, I wanted Michael to pay attention to his body language. Michael commented on his leg "I just can't get that leg to stop bouncing" he stated. I then asked Michael if the leg bouncing and glancing shown in the video clip were indicative of boredom. Michael replied, "I think sometimes, yeah...because we weren't really talking as much as a group...we didn't want to talk during the interviews [the videos] but we had already finished looking at the maps." Michael indicated that his boredom instead of more active tasks such as discussing the maps. Michael went on to state that he did not like watching the videos and would have rather just viewed the maps because they provided all of the information he needed.

The clip showed Michael watching Jordan's video in class and reacting to it. Specifically, the clip showed Michael reacting to Jordan's assertions that the football team at her school received all of the funding, leaving the volleyball and other

organizations with limited funding. What I want to focus on here are the ways Michael and I discussed his boredom and how that led to Michael expressing frustration with his teacher education overall. Michael's statements made during this discussion provide a glimpse into the ways Michael talks about becoming a teacher.

After Michael's admission to being bored during the social studies methods class I facilitated in the summer, he went on to describe sitting through his current social studies curriculum and methods courses, "It's tough to sit in class all day, nine-to four [o'clock] but...come on, let's get out in front of somebody, into action". Sitting in a classroom for six hours a day is tough for anyone, but seemed particularly hard for Michael, who wanted to do the "action" of teaching. Michael referred to this "action" as "getting out in front of somebody". Michael described a role reversal in which he would be the person standing at the front of the room performing the action instead of sitting.

Michael's becoming teacher story is a bit unusual. After graduating with a degree in history, Michael successfully interviewed for, and obtained, a position teaching world history at a local high school. Unfortunately, Michael was never able to begin teaching because he did not complete a teacher certification program. Therefore, Michael, who had obtained, at least temporarily, an elusive high school social studies teaching position was compelled to enter a graduate level teacher certification program. Hence, he was suddenly thrust back into the role of student, a position he did not necessarily want to be in.

Michael gained additional experience working at the high school through sports coaching and substitute teaching. Michael spoke about how these experiences, combined with having gone through the interview process prepared him for teaching:

Coaching and subbing have been good experiences. I've also been through the interview process....I have more confidence...being in front of a class doesn't scare me...I mean subbing you don't have control over the class like you would, but still...

Michael's statements provide a glimpse into the ways a teacher education student speaks about his preservice and inservice experience. Michael cites certain experiences such as substitute teaching and athletic coaching as having prepared him for life as a teacher. In addition, Michael cites such elements as "control over the classroom" and "confidence" as specific skills he has garnered from substitute teaching that he can use when he obtains a full time teaching job. So far, Michael has cited confidence, control, interviewing and being "in front" of students and the classroom as elements of teaching. Michael expresses frustration at already having (according to him) these skills necessary for being a teacher and yet being forced to sit through university-based teacher education courses.

It is difficult for me, as I'm writing this, to even classify Michael as a preservice or inservice teacher. Although I imagine he is technically a preservice teacher, or teacher candidate, as he has not yet taught full-time in a high school classroom, Michael's obtaining a teaching job and contract after graduating from college seems indicative of a crossing into inservice territory. Further, at the time of this study, Michael still worked with the school's athletic program, thus not really going "out of service" so to speak. Calling Michael a teacher candidate also seemed wrong, as Michael was already "chosen" by a school for a teaching position. In addition, Michael indicates that he has the "doing" part of teaching down, if "doing" means standing in front of people. He

indicates that he is able to perform this role with confidence, thus describing someone who is already a teacher in every way except for technicalities of certification.

Determining Michael's status as a teacher is slippery. For most, entering into a teacher education program positions them closer to the teaching jobs they desire. For Michael, however, the teacher education program placed him farther away (a year) from the teacher subject position he desired and yet closer to the actual teaching job he wanted, which required completion of a teacher education program. The longer Michael is in the teacher education program, he moves both closer and farther away from being a classroom teacher. Remember, Michael describes being a teacher as positioned "in front of people" with control over his own classroom. Although Michael is "in front of people" when he substitute teaches, he indicates that this is not the same as really being a teacher.

For Michael, the missing piece to being a teacher was a teaching certificate and education degree. The teacher education courses Michael is in the process of taking are supposed to be a means to attaining that end, but the endpoint is slippery and elusive. Michael's data is indicative of the complexity of this hyphenated space between student-teacher. Michael is not really a preservice teacher nor is he an inservice teacher. He exists in a different sort of middle space. In the next section, however, Derek demonstrates how even these elements of "being in front of somebody" do not necessarily equate to being a teacher.

Derek: Teacher Candidate

Derek was the only graduate student interviewed that was currently an "in-service" teacher. Derek had graduated from a secondary social studies teacher

preparation and certification program, he received a teaching job, and he was currently teaching ninth grade world history in his “own” classroom. One of the reasons I wanted to follow up with Derek was because he had a lot to say within his group. When I watched the footage from Derek’s video, I noticed the following occurrence:

Derek sat with his group in the social studies methods course. Jordan’s video was playing in the background. Derek began glancing down towards his feet and then back up to the video. Then, he scooted his chair back slightly. Keeping his eyes above the table, Derek reaches under the table and retrieves his laptop from his backpack. Derek proceeded to rise up, place the laptop in front of him, and turn it on. Then, he reached into his pocket and pulled out his cell phone and glanced at the screen. Then, Derek returned to the laptop and began pressing a few keys.

I showed Derek this clip during our follow-up interview. When I paused the video at this point Derek said, “I always tell my students not to do that.” Derek was indicating the taking out of laptops and cellphones.

I was struck by this instant in the video and the interview because it highlights so clearly the types of contradictions the “working the hyphen” between student and teacher entails. In the video footage Derek was, for whatever reason, taking out his laptop and cell phone. Furthermore, in the video Derek is shown trying to keep his head up and eyes on the screen while he reaches under the table. It is as if he knows he is doing something he should not be doing. However, from Derek’s movements and actions on the video, the way he tried to keep looking at the screen while he reached for his laptop, seemed to indicate to me that Derek knew he shouldn’t be taking out his laptop and so was trying to

perform an attentive student position for as long as possible. Here is a student who is learning to be a teacher doing things that he knows he should not do. Derek as a teacher does not allow his students to take out their cell phones and laptops during class. I asked Derek about this transition from student to teacher. Derek replied:

I think my second week of school I became a teacher...I know my students better....A lot of my expectations were unrealistic. The things we learned in teacher education we have to work towards. I know one day I can get you to that point, I know one day I'll be at that point. The first week it was just failed experiment after failed experiment. I can't just teach the method I want teach, I have to work with these students.

Throughout our interview, Derek talked about how much more difficult teaching was than he had anticipated. These conversations were framed around Derek's frustrations with transferring what he learned in teacher education to the high school classroom. Derek then went on to talk about his preparation for becoming a teacher. Derek noted the "failed experiments" in trying certain teaching methods. What Derek was getting at here is his attempt to utilize the teaching methods he learned in his teacher education program. He went on to note that despite what he was told in teacher education, his students actually asked to read and answer questions out of the textbook. Derek found that he did not come out of the program with a set of ready-to-use methods. For example, Derek said that he did not immediately feel like a teacher on the first day or even week of school. For Derek, the feeling of being a teacher came after he got to know his students and *they* made him feel like the teacher. This speaks to the question of how teacher preparation programs actually prepare their students (or if it is even possible to do so).

However, Derek was not as cynical as Michael in his feelings towards his graduate program. Derek was actually still in the graduate program and indicated that he wanted to continue learning about social studies teaching. Derek noted that he felt he had a lot to learn and that eventually he would no longer struggle so much but would “get there” as a teacher in both name and practice.

Finally, Derek acknowledged that he had to work with “these students” indicating the students in his classroom. Derek’s use of “these” students seems to indicate a difference between the students he imagined he would teach in this methods courses and the students he has in class. Derek cites “these” students as the reason he “can’t just teach any method” he wants, as if the students are the ones blocking his move from preservice to inservice teacher. The speech act “These students” acts as a signifier for Other that Derek uses to point away from himself. Doing so allows Derek to point to his students and implicate them in his difficult transition.

Sarah the Student-teacher

Sarah had quite a long academic history before entering the teacher education program. Sarah already had two advanced degrees, one of which was from an Ivy-league university. During this first graduate school experience, Sarah taught entry-level humanities courses as a graduate teaching assistant. Because of this teaching experience, Sarah, like Derek and Michael, grappled with when exactly she could consider herself a teacher. When I asked her to describe this process of becoming a teacher, Sarah stopped to think. Sarah did not have an immediate response. Finally, she said “wow that is such a complicated question.” I got the feeling from Sarah’s pause and response that she had never been asked this question before. Sarah said, “In a way, if you ask my friends and

family, they would tell you that I've always been a teacher because...I've always been the one to tell people...I enjoy telling people about things and sharing knowledge."

Sarah went on to describe the difference between teaching the college course and being in the teacher education program; "When I started teaching that college class I was a teacher, a young and inexperienced one, but a teacher. I felt really good about what I was doing and I got really great reviews...But now I'm not a teacher. I tell people I'm studying *to be* a teacher, but at this point I'm not a teacher. I can't claim that label." For Sarah, teaching a college class made her a teacher, but being in a teacher education program did not. Further, Sarah described her preparation for teaching this college course; "But we didn't get a lot of...we had a pedagogy course. But they just stuck us in a room. We didn't have anyone observing, we just reported back to somebody so a lot of the stuff I read now in the book that says 'don't just stand there and lecture' I did that.

Sarah noted that when she taught her courses she would draw maps on the board freehand. This history with maps, Sarah noted, stemmed from a childhood love of studying creating maps on her own. Sarah was critical of the teachers she had in high school and college for not utilizing maps. She described one instance when a history professor described a specific part of New York without showing a map "they have no idea what you're talking about man!" Sarah recognized the use of maps as a teaching tool based on her experiences with maps as a child and her later experiences as a travel agent. Maps are what helped Sarah make sense of her humanities courses as well as her work life. Sarah distinguished this use of maps as different from the history courses she experience in high school and college where the teachers "just talked for an hour."

In the story above, Sarah speaks fondly of her experience teaching college students. Despite being “young and inexperienced” Sarah reported feeling good about her teaching and receiving positive reviews from her students. Sarah spoke about how her teacher education courses now emphasize not just lecturing and yet, Sarah reports that she did that in her teaching.

I asked at what point Sarah thought she could “claim the label” of teacher. Sarah responded, “When I have a class. But, will I stop being a teacher in the summer? I don’t think I will. Once I’m gainfully employed...being paid, being employed...I don’t think I can authenticate it unless someone else does.” Sarah speaks about claiming the title of “teacher” as contingent upon social recognition. Sarah first noted that her “friends and family” would say she has always been a teacher. Then, she noted that being the instructor for the college course made her a teacher. Finally, items such as a job contract and paycheck would make her feel like a teacher. Sarah’s interview data is useful for considering the complexities of becoming a teacher and its nonlinear process. Sarah articulated a lifelong journey back and forth between these two subject positions. As Sarah discussed her teaching, it was always in conjunction with being a student.

Pre/in Service Teachers, Teacher Candidates and Student-teachers

The becoming teacher stories from Michael, Derek, and Sarah point to some of the complexities and indeterminacies in the process of assuming the role of “teacher.” The labels given to those university students training to become teachers seem inadequate in describing the process. In the sections below I will engage with the terminology problem that the data stories bring to light.

Pre/in/post Service

Designations of preservice and inservice, for example, indicate a linear past/present transition. Data from both Michael and Sarah, for example, points to the layered and nonlinear process of becoming a teacher, something the pre/in service designation does not account for. Sarah spoke extensively about being a longtime student and then sometimes also a teacher on top of that. For example, Michael occupied a space of both *pre* and *in* as he negotiated the in-between space of providing service to a school in ways that seemed the embodiment of being a teacher, standing in front of students, coaching sports, interviewing for a job and having confidence. Michael's service to the school never really stopped, he still coached and worked as a substitute teacher, even as his status of teacher was questionable. Derek was one of the students who muddled the language I could use in this chapter and this dissertation because he was a student in teacher education courses who had a teaching job. He was both in service and out of it.

Furthermore, the designation of *pre* and *in* service does not point to a future tense. Teacher education as pre/in-service offers a transition from preservice to inservice but not a discursive move from inservice to postservice. Sarah spoke to this phenomenon briefly when she wondered aloud whether or not she would stop being a teacher in the summer, for example. The language leaves inservice teachers with a continual present but without a discernable future. Taken literally, when a teacher education program prepares preservice teachers to become inservice teachers it is a seemingly limited that does not capture the field of education or account for more abstract conceptions of teacher for those in post-service.

Teacher Candidate

Other terms such as “teacher candidate” carries connotations of “teacher” as a title of conference. To be a teacher candidate implies a sort of waiting period in which one is suitable or ready for a position but is awaiting external affirmation or designation.

Michael was a teacher candidate who moved, however briefly, from candidacy to conference and back to candidacy again when his teaching contract was given and then taken away. Statements from Sarah, Michael, and Derek described how such designations are not so simple. For example, although Derek had completed his teacher education program and was teaching high school at the time of his interview, he still found that having a contract, classroom, and student did not give him a stable teacher identity. Derek had not “gotten there” yet. It is likely he will spend a career in professional development working towards this affirmation that will not arrive. Teacher candidate and the subsequent “teacher” does not account for the ways schools and professions are increasingly characterized by constant training and retraining and deferred mastery (Deleuze, 1992; 2007).

Finally, both the suffixes *candidate* and *service* are practitioner terms. They imply a teaching identity premised upon certain kinds of work and employment (service) and certification (candidacy). It is no wonder, then, that Sarah, Derek, and Michael seemed to speak about their teacher education in these terms.

Student-teacher

The two practitioner terms above leave out a crucial aspect of learning to be a teacher-learning itself. The student, as the one who learns from teachers to be a teacher, is conspicuously absent. Although the term student-teacher acknowledges the student,

student occupies a place within the territory of *teacher* that only offers up a type of teacher but says little about the process involved in moving to this point. The designations inservice teacher and teacher imply a finality that is just not there. Teachers simultaneously are and are not. Language allows for teacher to exist as a possible subject position. At the same time, never ending professional development and an absence of a post teacher subject position means that teachers are always undergoing a process but never quite able to make it.

The designations of inservice and preservice, teacher candidate and student teacher offer the possibility of an arrival that will not arrive. Hence, I propose that becoming teacher is perhaps a better concept that can span the hyphenated space between student and teacher. There are several interrelated reasons for this. First, it attends to the ongoing and nonlinear process of learning to be a teacher. Second, the term embraces and celebrates the non-finality and non-arrival of “teacher” because it allows for opportunities for ongoing becomings. Third, and perhaps most crucially, it does not require that a student position be given up or surpassed in order to make the move towards teacher.

Becoming Teacher

Before going on, I must acknowledge two works on “becoming teacher” that have come before this one. The first piece comes from Marble (2012). Marble, drawing primarily off of *A Thousand Plateaus*, makes a theoretical argument for a becoming teacher approach to teacher education. Marble described becoming teacher as “the creative responding to always-new situations and relationships that classrooms and schools make possible” (p.22). Thus, becoming allows for “teacher” to be a more

flexible and creative position. Marble considers what teaching and teacher education might look like if teacher education took on a less linear and methodological approach. Marble sees much of teacher education as focused on copying rather than on encounters that force new thought. Instead of debating things like indoctrination periods, Marble suggests “supporting teachers’ continual growth and expertise” (p.30). Marble goes on to advocate for continued support for classroom teachers towards “continuing growth of expertise” rather than replication (p.30).

The second becoming teacher piece comes from Webb (2013). I encountered Webb’s chapter well after I began writing this one. Webb argues that teachers are always in a constant process of becoming. For Webb, teachers are subject to a multitude of external desires defining and determining them. Much of these competing desires stem from educational policy reforms. Different parties, or desiring subject, put their visions of what a teacher should be onto the teachers. Thus, teachers are expected to embody and perform these various visions. Webb’s point is that in expecting teachers to become this or that vision of good teacher, teachers simultaneously becoming something else. For example, the teachers in Webb’s study noted that they became exhausted by trying to embody, and then continue to embody and perform (i.e. repeat), the type of teacher someone else expected them to be.

My work deviates from Marble (2012) and from Webb (2013) in several ways. First, both of the previous authors addressed classroom teachers while I am looking at the transition from preservice to inservice teaching. Second, Webb’s work, in particular, looks towards teacher expertise and mastery as the thing that is becoming. I am not sure

that becoming allows for expertise of mastery, since to master something is to be in possession of knowledge and skill that makes someone dominant or superior.

Deleuze (1992) noted that society today does not allow for mastery because of the constant reeducation and destabilization process people go through. Teachers are constantly experiencing this sort of deferred mastery wherein their work is constantly changing and they are being reeducated through professional development long after they leave the teacher education space. Marble (2012) recognized this professional development as becoming. I agree that professional development is an element of becoming a teacher, but that professional development never lives up to its stated intent because teachers are never able to “arrive” as professionals.

In conclusion, the work of Webb (2013) and Marble (2012) make important contributions to theorizing becoming teacher. Marble and Webb suggested that becoming teacher was a way to understand the various ways classroom teachers develop and change in performing their duties. Both Marble and Webb attended to the currently employed, practicing classroom teacher whereas I am attending to the split between student and teacher. What I want to do here is continue their theoretical contributions while incorporating data from my study that allows for glimpses into the nuanced ways students in a teacher education program talk about becoming teachers and the shortcomings of current terminology to account for the complex and nonlinear process of transitioning from student to teacher.

Becomings

In the following sections I will elaborate further on how becoming can inform teacher education. First, I will describe becoming broadly and then in terms of three

examples from Deleuze. Next, I will “plug in” Michael, Sarah, and Derek to the three examples. Finally, I will elaborate on what becoming teacher might look like and its implications for teaching and teacher education.

Becoming is one of Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987; 2007; 2009) most important concepts. If there is any sort of “end goal” or unifying concept or idea in Deleuze and Guattari’s work, *becoming* would be it, although, of course, becoming is itself opposed to any sort of end-goal. Despite its importance, becoming is also a complicated concept to grasp or clearly define. Furthermore, Deleuze and Guattari use becoming differently throughout their works to exemplify other concepts or phenomena. To that end, I will pull from a variety of source material and commentaries to articulate three iterations of becoming and how these iterations of the concept can be useful in thinking about teacher education. As with many of Deleuze and Guattari’s concepts, becoming is best explained through examples rather than dictionary definitions.

In the following section, I will describe three examples of becoming. These three examples are Alice, becoming animal, and wasp orchid. I have chosen these three iterations of becoming because they recur in Deleuze’s work and because they seem to offer multiple access points to the concept becoming. In addition, they align nicely with the data examples from the graduate students.

Alice: An Infinitive Becoming. This example of becoming, Alice (in Wonderland) comes from an example Deleuze (1969) used to demonstrate infinitive states and ongoing processes. In the *Logic of Sense* (1969), Deleuze used an example from his analysis of Lewis Carroll’s *Alice in Wonderland* to demonstrate becoming “when I say ‘Alice becomes larger,’ I mean that she becomes larger than she was. By the

same token, however, she becomes smaller than she is now; she was smaller before...this is the simultaneity of becoming” (p.1). Deleuze is pointing to a paradox of becoming that began with an Event- Alice drinking a concoction that caused her to grow. Hence at this singular point in time Alice was taller than she was a minute ago (t_1), but not as tall as she would later become (t_2). In these Events are becomings. Alice’s Event is a “game changer” in the sense that it defies the logic of being in the present. This means that it is impossible to determine where Alice is, only where she was (t_1) and (possibly) will be (t_2). Thus the logic of time and space is defied, as it becomes impossible to locate Alice in a particular place or time. Events not only constitute sense in the present, they deliver sense into the past and future. The event in this case is “to grow” or “growing” without which “there is no passage from t_1 to t_2 . Of course, human growth itself is not enough to constitute t_1 - t_2 as an Event. Growing taller and shorter is part of life. What makes this an Event is the level of intensity and speed with which this change happens. Movement might happen like it did with Alice, a bodily movement, but it could also be a movement of mind or thought.

Alice grows (the infinitive “to grow” as indicative of movement) larger and smaller depending on her drinking of a potion or eating of a cake. Alice’s exact position in relation to herself and others is indeterminate in this process as she becomes larger than she was but smaller than she will become and vice-versa. Hence, the presentism here is only expressed through the past and future, where Alice was and where she will be.

Becoming is an infinitive state (to become) that is ongoing, unfinished and relational. Alice could only be larger or smaller in relation to her previous states of being

and in relation to the Other beings she encounters. Alice might maintain a particular height for a certain amount of time, but that does not mean that it is a static position in relation to her own past or future heights, or to those around her. Another example, explicated by Foucault (1970) in his commentary on Deleuze's (1969) work, is the idea of dying (to die). Dead is a final state, or a determinate state of ceasing to be (as in to be alive) or become. Dead is a present state of being. In contrast, dying is a process towards or away from the present. All of us are living and dying but none of us are dead. To be dying is to be still living, they coexist with one another whereas the dead cease to also live. This is the difference, for Deleuze, between being and becoming. Becoming is the infinitive of the past/future whereas being is the determinate state of the present and "teacher" is one such example of being. Becoming engages with non-localizable points that make determining a particular position impossible. This type of becoming speaks to the slipperiness of identity and subjectivity. Big Alice and Small Alice are temporary states. The closer one gets to determining a particular state the more that determination or definition escapes.

Michael's teacher education experience is like an Alice becoming. Michael's status moves on a sliding scale of sorts. At some points he is a teacher and at some points he is not. Like Alice, Michael's becoming is one of indeterminate directionality. Deleuze (1969) uses Alice as an alternative to conceptions of space and time as either circular or an arrow. For Deleuze, time was not an arrow of time with a clear linear projection and no reentry into the past. It was also not the circle where the past could repeat and return. Deleuze wrote that this non-arrow and non-circular time is a characteristic of sense "sense always goes to both directions at once in the infinitely

subdivided and elongated past-future” (p.77). In a similar vein, the impossibility of properly categorizing Michael as pre or in service speaks to this past-future state that disrupts linear sensibility. Alice’s wonderland is this infinitely divided space, in a similar way that Michael’s teacher education is in a between space. Crucially, these are spaces where becoming can happen because they are spaces where identity is lost both to Alice/Michael and the spaces they occupy wonderland/teacher education.

Implications. The fluidity of an Alice becoming has several implications for teaching and teacher education. First, it introduces a conception of teacher education and development that is non-linear. Such a conception provides a counternarrative to debates about the proper steps that should be taken in order to obtain teacher certification, training, and employment. Second, such an approach blurs the lines between the conception of a pre/post-service teacher, as Michael moved from different states. Michael’s development as a teacher was about timeliness that did not necessarily conform to regular or linear paths, whether such paths are preferred by teacher education programs or not. A becoming approach might not resolve such tensions or debates about the proper time for a teacher to take particular steps, but it might introduce becoming as an ongoing question or ethic that all teacher educators and teacher candidates will wrestle with and through in their lives and careers no matter how they obtain their certification or positions.

Becoming animal. Becoming animal is a much-expounded upon concept in Deleuze and Guattari’s writing. Where Alice’s becoming was about space and time, becoming animal is about relationships within space. I will elaborate on two types of

becoming animal, to become animal and to be before animal, and then relate Derek to these conceptions of becoming.

Becoming an animal. The first type of becoming animal that I will describe is to become an animal. I will demonstrate this concept with a story. My young niece likes to pretend to be a dog. Sometimes she likes to pretend to be a cat. She will meow or bark as needed and walk through the living room and kitchen on all fours as she interacts with the stuffed animals and humans hanging around. When her dad addresses his daughter by her name she corrects him with “no, I’m a dog.” In these instances my niece is becoming dog (or sometimes cat). I am sympathetic and play along because I used to do this a lot as a child too. It is seemingly a cute little play that she will grow out of. There are several ways to view this instance of becoming animal. One way might be to determine that dog or cat means something and that these animals represent something psychologically latent. Another view might see becoming animal as a regressive move in children who are supposed to be developing along a linear path to becoming more human. Deleuze and Guattari (1987), however, write that becoming animal is not about drives or representations of the parent but as one of “the assemblages a child can mount in order to solve a problem from which all exits are barred (p.259-260).” The problem that becoming animal solves is not clearly articulated, but Deleuze and Guattari insist that becoming animal is not about transforming the body as much as relationships. So a child becoming animal might be a way to try out different relationships to the family and the extent to which these different subject positions “integrate into family institutions” (p.243). Further, becoming animal is not about imitation but forming a new relationship “proceeding neither by resemblance nor by analogy” (p.258). So this form of becoming

animal, for a child, is a way to experiment with different ways of being and different relationships as a way to learn something about their family or their world in a way that does not ask them to follow certain rules or progressions. Becoming in this sense could be experimentation with a different subject position that could be potentially freer than the one currently occupied or even imagined. It is a subject position of their own production. The teacher education course might be thought of in a similar fashion. In teacher education, students become teachers in various forms as they experiment with learning to teach, where they feel out what it is like to relate to children, curriculum and pedagogy. Like a becoming space, the teacher education space is a place where subjects are produced, where “we are and remain ‘anybodies’ before we become ‘somebodies’” (Rajchman, 2001, p. 14). Teacher education is one space where students try to become particular “somebodies”, i.e. teachers. Derek’s statements about “failed experiments” in utilizing social studies methods and his belief that he will “get there” speaks to this experimentation with teaching and learning to teach. To become animal, and Derek, can inform teacher education practice in several ways. First, it points to the importance of trying out various ways of being a teacher. There are many ways this might happen. Some of these experiments happened through the dissertation study, for example, when the graduate students tried out analyzing the youths’ maps. Second, it speaks to the non-arrival. Becoming animal does not mean transforming into a particular animal (such as the family’s pet dog) or in completing a transformation. Similarly, the students in teacher education programs will never be “classroom ready” no matter how much training they receive. Furthermore, it relates to the ways in which becoming, as non-imitative, fosters the type of “unrecognizable teaching” that Marble (2012) suggests is the transformative

power of becoming teacher. Finally, part of Derek's negotiation from "anybody to somebody" happened as he watched himself on the video recording. The graduate students watching their video recordings proved to be a pedagogical move that allowed the pre/in-service teachers to relate to their teaching and learning selves in different ways. These are some ways that a teacher educator might think about constructing a teacher education space that allows for these becoming-experiments.

Being before an animal. The second type of becoming animal is also about forming new social relationships. However, a key difference is that the transformation comes through affective relationships with Others rather than practice-based experimentation. In becoming animal humans do lose some of their humanity in order to bear witness to humanity's destructiveness and infliction of suffering towards the minority. To bear witness is what Deleuze and Guattari (1987) refer to as being *before*. As with so many of Deleuze and Guattari's terms, *before* as a concept is itself a multiplicity in its usages. Before does not necessarily imply linear before and after, but before meaning in the presence of. The ethics comes in the way being before another entity requires a bearing witness to a particular Event and bearing a certain responsibility. One of Deleuze and Guattari's examples, taken from psychoanalysis and repurposed, is Little Hans witnessing a horse falling down in the street unable to stand back up;

It is not a question of imitating a horse, 'playing' horse, identifying with one, or even experiencing feelings of pity or sympathy...The question is whether Little Hans can endow his own element with the relations of movement and rest, the affects, that would make it become horse...(p.258).

The authors then offer a rat in its death throes as another example:

This is not a feeling of pity...still less an identification. It is a composition of speeds and affects involving entirely different individuals, a symbiosis; it makes the rat become a thought, a feverish thought in the man, at the same time as the man becomes a rat gnashing its teeth in its death throes” (p.258).

It is being in proximity to one another that ties them together but does not make them the same. The person witnessing the rat’s death throes does not also experience death throes and cannot feel its pain. They do not have those elements in common. The ethical response in becoming animal is not about pity or imitation. It is not about “feeling your pain,” but about being affected by the Event despite not feeling the other’s pain.

Becoming is about bodies affecting one another and in turn being affected. The horse and the rat affected those witnessing their pain and called them to respond. To become animal in this situation is to accept the affects and thus be affected, to share in the Event, read its signs, and learn from it. Attending to the Event then allows opens up opportunity for new ways of relating to the world and new subjectivity that could not have been known or thought before.

Becoming animal is about a reorientation of subjecthood and an ethical call to be *with* rather than be *like*. In becoming animal, relationships of alliance are privileged over filiation. To be *with* is a relationship of alliance and proximity rather than filiation. To filiate is to align along familial bonds. Filiation means to have something similar or in common with one another. Alliance is different. Alliances begin with difference. An alliance is a relationship premised on, and affirmative of, difference. An alliance is an

ethical move in that entities are called to act and to be affected by one another regardless of whether or not they have anything in common.

One of the ethical considerations of becoming animal described earlier was the relation to the Other. Derek's interview is unique in that it puts us right there between teacher and student. Becoming animal asks us to be before the Other (the human to the animal). Becoming teacher could be viewed similarly, as teacher before the student. Being *before* students is something that Derek, Sarah and Michael saw as a defining characteristic of being a teacher. They articulated this as being in the presence of students. Becoming teacher asks for the ongoing ethical considerations of this being-before. As teacher educators, we are before twice over. Teacher educators are before their students and before their students' students. I think at its simplest, this being before is to think about them. For example, this thinking could be Derek thinking about his students as they pull out their phones or as he plans a lesson. One place to begin might be to consider what it is like for a student to sit for an hour or an hour and a half taking notes and other "impractical" things that teachers, particularly secondary social studies teachers, are apt to have their students do. *Becoming* allows for fluidity in identity and subjectivity in ways that being does not.

Wasp-Orchid. The third example of becoming that I will draw from Deleuze and Guattari (2009; 1985) is that of the wasp-orchid. The previous two examples of becoming, Alice and becoming animal, are becomings with an element of similarity. Bigger Alice is much like Smaller Alice and a human child shares a cellular and biological makeup with animals. However, although becoming *can* be becomings of easily associated entities, the wasp-orchid example takes relationships of alliance one

setup further than in becoming animal. The wasp-orchid becoming is a becoming of two seemingly unlike entities in “an unnatural participation” that nonetheless happens.

Becoming animal and the orchid-wasp becomings are ontological. In the orchid and wasp example, the orchid and wasp form a relationship of becoming. The wasp becomes part of the orchid’s reproductive system. Every orchid is also a wasp-orchid. In turn, the orchid provides the wasp with its being-ness. In these moments, the wasp and orchid are not two separate entities but are each becoming the other and in doing so, there is no separation between them forming. Protevi (1999) described this process:

The becoming of wasp-orchid does not have a subject separate from itself: it’s not that the wasp, say, stays the same and merely adds a new property to the set of properties that defines it, nor is there a goal to finish separate from the block of becoming, for the other in the pair is also changed by its entry into the new assemblage (p.1).

This absence of separation forms “a nonlocalizable relation sweeping up the two distant or contingent points, carrying one into the proximity of the other” that results in a shared deterritorialization (or a sort of shedding of subjectivity) of the wasp and the orchid thus the wasp and orchid become indiscernible from one another in their becoming (Protevi, 1999). Another key concept for wasp-orchid is that it is a double deterritorialization:

The line or block of becoming that unites the wasp and the orchid produces a shared deterritorialization: of the wasp, in that it becomes a liberated piece of the orchid’s reproductive system, but also of the orchid, in that it becomes the object

of an orgasm in the wasp, also liberated from its own reproduction (Deleuze & Guattari, 1985, p.294).

In the process described above, the wasp approaches orchids and thus pollinates them, instilling itself in the orchid's reproductive process. The orchid also has the wasp in its reproductive system via the pollination process. The mutual process is a desiring one as each affects and attracts the other in the production of the wasp-orchid. There is orchid in the wasp and wasp in the orchid.

It is hard to explain what the orchid looks like without resorting to language of resemblance or imitation. The wasp-orchid is an image of mutual production rather than an imitation of a wasp. To summarize, there are several points to the wasp-orchid example that will be important for becoming teacher. First, wasp-orchid is not an orchid with the addition of a wasp, but a new assemblage altogether. Second, both the wasp and the orchid change in the becoming process. This is what is meant by deterritorialization. The wasp becomes less wasp and more orchid as the orchid becomes less orchid and more wasp. It is not just a deterritorializing, but a double- deterritorializing. Third, the wasp-orchid is an entirely new entity. It is a result of, and production of, ongoing relational processes.

Sarah wasp-orchid. I think of Sarah's becoming as a sort of wasp-orchid becoming. Like the wasp-orchid, Sarah is continually shaped by her teaching and learning experiences inside and outside of formal classroom settings. Just as the wasp and orchid form an assemblage with one another, Sarah's teacher and student subject positions form an assemblage where it is difficult to tease out the distinctions between the two. The mutuality of these two subject positions is where I want to focus.

An important aspect of the wasp-orchid becoming is that it is not wasp + orchid but wasp-orchid. In a similar sense with Sarah, who has several graduate degrees and teaching experiences, it is not a matter of adding these pieces together, but of a melding together. “Teacher” is not just something that is stacked on top of Sarah’s tower of accomplishments. The wasp-orchid relationship is not one of addition but of subtraction, as the wasp becomes a little less wasp and the orchid a little less orchid. This was the case for Sarah. While she pondered the question of when she could call herself a teacher, she recounted her history of being a student in the presence of teachers. Sarah recounted how as a student she critiqued her teachers and tried to figure out what made them do what they did. Sarah’s student-teacher experience is also one of subtraction. Teacher Sarah becomes a little less teacher and student Sarah becomes a little less student as they become more of each. Sarah is not an image of the teachers from her past, but an assemblage of them. Sarah’s memories of past teachers enter into this middle space, materialize and are literally “captured” by the camera.

Memories of teaching and learning. Memories, Deleuze and Guattari (1985) warn, are not images from the past but becomings in themselves. Childhood, they write, is a type of material memory “a child coexists with us, in a zone of proximity or block of becoming, on a line of deterritorialization that carries us both off-as opposed to the child we once were, whom we remember or phantasize, the molar child whose future is the adult” (p.294). The authors are saying that what we call “childhood” is not a collection of memories from the past coming into the future, but becomings that produce the child right there in the present. The child of our memories is not the child that grows up to be an adult.

In a similar vein, grown-up Sarah has memories of the student Sarah and the teachers she had are assembled in the space of our discussion. Furthermore, the video elicitation allows student Sarah from the teacher education class (t_1 Sarah) to assemble with post-class Sarah (t_2 Sarah) forming something entirely new that is not easy to put into words because there is no resemblance to draw upon.

The child deterritorializes adult because a childhood can only exist in adulthood. The child exists as a “line of flight” within the adult, it is an entity that does not conform or belong, but can “slip in everywhere” it is needed and jut off to form new relationships. It is similar to the way that Jenkins (1991) writes about history and the past. The past is what already happened and cannot be recovered and history is the present-day sense making of that past but it is not itself the past.

In wasp-orchid terms, the wasp-orchid remembers the wasp and orchid through the constant production of itself as wasp-orchid. Instead of children and adults, this process could be thought of in terms of student and teacher. If an adult is what a child will someday become, then a teacher is what a student (who desires to be a teacher) will one day become. As it stands, student-teacher denotes a territorialized linear progression. Like the child that grows up to be an adult, student-teacher indicates a student who grows or matures into a teacher. In this scenario, teacher has a recognizable form. For example, a teacher as someone who possesses certain certifications, who stands at the front of the room, who has control, and so on. Student-teacher only allows student to imitate teacher in order to transition into one.

Several student-teacher configurations were constructed during Sarah’s interview. Teachers in that space included 1.) Sarah the graduate teaching assistant 2.) The history

teachers Sarah had in high school 3.) Erin the teacher educator 4.) Sarah who like to tell others the things that she knows 5.) A lifetime of Events that serve as teachers through experience. There are several students in this space as well; 1.) Sarah the graduate teaching assistant 2.) Sarah the high school student 3.) T₁ Sarah 4.) T₂ Sarah 5.) Erin the teacher educator. I, too, am not outside of Sarah's becoming teacher process, but am becoming teacher (educator) in that space as well. As Sarah territorializes the teachers and students in this space they in turn deterritorialize her by fostering her becoming. Student Sarah acts on teacher Sarah and they inform and construct one another.

Wasp-orchid implications. Sarah's example of a wasp-orchid becoming has several implications for social studies teacher education and scholarship. Sarah's examples speak to the complexity of remembering past teachers. It does not matter, or is it even possible, to determine if Sarah's recounting of past teachers is accurate or correct. What matters is that they are real because they materialize right there in Sarah's utterances and exist in space, they hang in the air, and they were captured on film. These teachers materialize within teacher education spaces such as the university classroom and practicum experiences. Teacher educators might invite these teachers into the teacher education classroom space, let them materialize in some form so that they are readable, and then attend to them.

One major implication is for reconsidering notions of apprenticeship of observation and biographical teacher becomings. Lortie (1975) posited that teachers modeled their practice on a powerfully persuasive model of teaching-an apprenticeship of observation garnered from years and years of watching teachers teach. Lortie cited this apprenticeship as one barrier to change and for the return, or repetition, of the same

teaching methods and approaches despite learning differently in teacher education. In social studies, the pervasive use of lecturing is cited as symptomatic of this apprenticeship to a particular kind of history teaching. Lortie writes that for change to happen, “they will have to be freed from their unconscious influences of this kind; what they bring from the past should be as thoroughly examined as alternatives in the present” (p.230). To do this, Lortie recommends preservice teachers “dredge up their previous experience and subject it to thoughtful scrutiny” (p.231). That is certainly one approach to teacher education, and there is no way to know to what extent the teaching methods someone witnesses in school influence them as an adult. However, Deleuze and Guattari provide a way to think outside of a “biographical orientation to pedagogical decision making” (Lortie, p.81).

Teacher education classrooms could be places where these teachers from the past come into the present and materialize. The materialization process could be as simple as asking preservice teachers to write or talk their teachers into existence. For example, I often hear social studies students talk about teachers that they have that were particularly influential that did things such as “make history come alive” or made them interested in history in some way. There are also usually a few students who cite bad examples (such as Sarah did). A social studies teacher education course can open up this space for how the teachers and students in this space are conducted and allow a double deterritorialization to happen. To do this is to then study the construction of these narratives to understand their production. It is not enough for social studies scholars to say that preservice teachers imitate or reflect the teachers they have had in the past, or to say they want to be, or are being, *like* a certain teacher. It is more about (not) *liking* than

being (not) *like*. There is a desiring factor of attraction and intensity that produce the memory-teachers. Reading these signs as desire can direct attention to libidinal investments in teaching. What is attractive about teaching? About standing in front of a class and lecturing? In this way the stories can be interrogated for insight into other investments in teaching that go beyond the more normalized statements such as investing in children's lives for a better future. It's not that these aren't good goals or that the statements are untrue, but stopping there ignores a whole field of other happening inside teacher education and K-12 classrooms that shapes students and teachers alike in their becoming.

Conclusion

In this chapter I've attempted to do the materialist work advocated by Deleuze and Guattari, "you can't just posit abstract entities, but must show their concrete coming-to-be via material processes" (Protevi, in Thanem, DeLanda & Protevi, 2005, p.82). In this case, I have attempted to attend to the material process of becoming a teacher. To that end, I have put together a theoretical argument alongside data from the dissertation study. Here I will sum up becoming teacher and why I think it is important for teacher education.

All three of the graduate students talked about becoming teacher in terms of social acceptance, being before students, and as a complex process. In addition, the graduate students had varying relationships with their teaching education program. Michael was impatient to get it over with and really teach, whereas Derek found that teacher preparation was an ongoing task and that he still had a lot to learn. All three participants were very different and came to teaching in different ways. Their becoming teacher

stories show that teacher preparation is more complex than simply traditional and alternative certification programs. Their stories provide insight into this contentious field of social studies teacher education.

This multi-layered project allowed us to see the ways in which graduate students in a teacher education course moved between student and teacher identities. Watching teacher candidates in the process of encountering students, those beings deemed necessary for one to call oneself “teacher,” helps us consider the ways in which teachers work between a student and teacher identity.

Thinking becoming teacher in teacher education can be useful in attending to the middle space between student and teacher so that student is not lost in the process “becoming has neither beginning nor end, departure nor arrival, origin nor destination...a line of becoming has only a middle...a becoming is always in the middle; one can only get it by the middle...it is the in-between” (Deleuze and Guattari, 2001, p.293).

The middle space is the hyphenated space of student-teacher. These considerations can help us realize just how small the hyphen space of student-teacher/adult is. Acknowledging this small space between student and teacher, and the unstable subject positions it divides, has the potential to change student-teacher relationships. The potential for this change becomes evident in the ways the preservice teachers, or future teachers, performed studenthood by taking out laptops and cell phones while simultaneously assuming the role of a teacher reviewing youths’ artifacts. Viewing himself as a disengaged, bored student, Derek was able to connect his own studently practices with those of his students. The potential here is that Derek, acknowledging this small space, might have a greater understanding for what classroom life is like for his

students. When encountering a seemingly disengaged high school student, instead of becoming frustrated, teachers might become students of their students, learning from them what it might mean to become a different teacher, one who is not only more patient but also able to change their practice based on a different relationship with students.

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) provided the following example of the social implications of becoming “it is not the girl who becomes a woman; it is becoming-woman that produces the universal girl” (p.277). Thinking about this in terms of becoming teacher, we might consider how students do not evolve into teachers but how teachers produce students. The previous chapter showed a few ways in which this student production takes place. Thus, being attentive to the ways we recognize and foster becoming teachers has implications for how students are produced and how studenthood, as a subject position, is viewed. My take on becoming teacher is that the student should always be seen as an integral part of the process. The student is not the heir to the teacher, but the very thing that makes a teacher a teacher and vice versa. Becoming constitutes a powerfully intense counternarrative for teacher education.

The data stories point to ways that teacher as a former student is not such a simple conception. There are ruptures and lines of light and blockages and varying degrees of intensity and speeds. Just as child acts as a line of flight within the adult, student can act as a line of light within teacher education. It is the entity that resists being codified, defined, and doomed to repeat. As a line of flight, it can take teacher into a new realm. For example, Michael’s boredom and Derek’s laptop might be viewed as one such rupture that offers a line of flight so that these studently practices can provoke questions in a teacher about teaching. One such question might be what student engagement looks

like, what a laptop or an escape out the door offers the student that their current situation does not and how else taking out laptops and running out of doors might be viewed. One way might be as defiant or disrespect, another view might see these as innocuous practices or desires for freedom or any number of other things. Attending to these provoking questions is a way of reading signs. These are opportunities to learn to learn by reading these signs such as signs of boredom. One thing that could be interrogated in this space is what is meant when teachers say they use student-centered approaches. The recent police brutality at Spring Valley High School²⁸ towards a student who had a cell phone out in speaks for a need to attend to these issues in teacher education.

To think of the kinds of freedoms offered by becoming and the unrecognizable teaching that might happen therein. “Unrecognizable teaching” means teaching in a way that is entirely new, and that is not simply a repetition or imitation of one’s methods courses or the practice of others teachers but the “imageless thought” that Deleuze (1994) imagined constituted production and creativity. Thinking differently leads to acting differently and to me, this as an incredibly freeing experience. If a teacher is always a becoming teacher, then why not embrace this becoming? By becoming teacher, the teacher is freed from the images of what a teacher should be or do or look like. Becoming teachers, freed from the constraints and connotations of “teacher” because they can never fully embody that subject position anyway, and who are not compelled to repeat, can do or be differently, and taking a “line of flight” into freer territory where different, perhaps unrecognizable teaching happens. Becoming teacher provides a way to speak about teaching that embraces the non-arrival as a space of opportunity. Becoming allows for a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between student and teacher. It does not

²⁸ http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/28/us/spring-valley-high-school-sc-officer-arrest.html?_r=0

promise professionalism or arrival or “making it” or even preparation (the only preparation being learning to learn), but it does allow for a future.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

A theme that ran through the whole dissertation was production, and it is also one of the primary themes of Deleuze and Guattari's (1987; 2007; 2009) work as well. They were interested in how societies and subjects were produced, rather than what they were or meant. This is what is meant by Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) discursive turn from the question of what does it mean to how does it work? They wrote, "How do these desiring machines work-yours and mine? With what sort of breakdowns as a part of their functioning?...What are the connections, what are the disjunctions, what use is made of the syntheses?" (p. 109). Investigating how something works highlights the various discourses and powers that come together to materialize a subject (like a teacher or a GPS subject) or an action or a speech act, for example. In this dissertation, I have attended to the processes, from the process of subject and standards formation to the process of becoming a teacher. In attending to production, I was able to push my analyses farther than only identifying structures and was instead able to see how these structures were put together and how they might be arranged differently.

My research questions centered on sense making processes. I was interested in how youth made sense of economic spaces, how social studies teacher education students made sense of this sense making, and how these social studies education students made sense of the process of becoming a teacher. In turn, I deployed theory to make sense of these sense making situations. I was able to set this sense making process in motion by

deploying Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) description of capitalism to the economics standards contained within the Georgia Performance Standards. I found that capitalism was framing neoclassic standards. I used this understanding to theorize the interviews with the youth in the grocery stores and the subjects that emerged from the graduate students' narratives about the youth.

Summary of the Chapters

In Chapter Two, I investigated how neoclassic standards such as the Georgia Performance Standards produce a particular subject. Drawing off of the work of Deleuze and Guattari (2009), I found that the GPS produced a subject that was a particular kind of manager, decision-maker and investor that was especially suited to capitalism, which in turn allowed capitalism, and neoclassicism, to reproduce. Thus, capitalism produces a particular subject that then participates in their own production by reproducing capitalism. Imagining capitalism as a machine, as Deleuze and Guattari did, allows this process to be seen more fully and materially. The aspects of neoclassic curriculum that came under the most critique from scholars, that it is impersonal, impersonal, and affectless, are precisely those elements that point to Deleuze and Guattari's image of a capitalist machine. The GPS subject is positioned to "plug in" so to speak, to the machine in order to produce for capitalism and be produced by capitalism.

In Chapters Three and Four, I described how the study was produced. I described how the maps, video, and audio recordings and transcripts were produced by myself and the research participants and how these artifacts produced the data that the graduate students encountered, as articulated in Chapter Six. In sum, the methods and

methodology chapters described the recursive and ongoing processes of data production and analysis that framed the study.

In Chapter Five, I demonstrated how desiring production worked in the youth's economic activities at the grocery stores. I attended to the ways the youth did and did not conform to the neoclassic subjectivity I described in Chapter Two. I showed how attending to desire, and the production of desire, can serve as a counternarrative that can work alongside neoclassic standards to form an economics curriculum that can account for the human affects and values in the economy as well as the impersonal, machianic processes.

Chapter Six, was also about subject formation. In Chapter Six, I showed how graduate students in a social studies methods course produced Jordan and Paul as socioeconomic subjects. By viewing the videos of the graduate students making sense of the youth's data, I was able to trace their narratives of production and consumption. The graduate students talked about the youth in terms of their production and consumption, that is, the things they produced, such as their maps and their contributions to their school, and the things they consumed, such as socks. In turn, the graduate students produced the youth in certain ways. For example, the graduate students produced both of the youth as poor based on "evidence" that Jordan was part of work-study and Paul's family could not afford EasyMac and he knew what check cashing was. I demonstrated how this evidence was produced by the graduate students through their narratives and then used to produce Paul and Jordan as subjects that the graduate students could understand. So while it might have seemed like I made much of small examples in Chapter Five, the evidence the graduate students drew on is a testament to the power of small examples or

instances to result in large conclusions or statements. That is, this chapter showed how one sentence among hundreds of others from one of the youth in the study about EasyMac was enough to materialize a particular economic subject.

Although the graduate students' conclusions about Jordan and Paul were not necessarily correct, the process they went through to form these conclusions provided a glimpse into the discourses that the graduate students drew on, and then allowed me to consider what might be done in teacher education to help becoming teachers grapple with the complexities of socioeconomics. In sum, this chapter provided insight into how subjects can get produced through teacher education spaces and research projects, and some of the potential consequences of that production.

In Chapter Seven, I used data from the 1:1 interviews with the graduate students to examine how the graduate students talked about the process of becoming teachers. I theorized that attending to the process of teacher subject formation, what I call becoming teacher, rather than the product of teacher can be a way to the varied, and non-linear ways that teachers come to understand themselves as teachers. Attending to the process, rather than the product, has an economic benefit as well. I suggested that becoming teacher was a way to produce an image of what a teacher could be or do that was not foregrounded on repetition or pre-established images, because doing so results in deficit discourses that produce teachers as lacking. Producing lacks, Deleuze and Guattari (2009) is one of capitalism's endeavors. Producing preservice and practicing teachers, or the youth they teach, as lacking feeds the machine, so to speak, in that these lacks are capitalized on. Solutions and fixes can then be bought and sold and, to keep the machine going, more lacks must be produced. Current attacks on teachers and teacher education programs are

one example of the economic value of producing lacks. Becoming can serve as a counternarrative, or break, in this constant cycle of production.

Implications

I designed this study in a way that would be consequential for economics teaching at the K-12 level as well as social studies teacher education. My goal in designing and carrying out this study was to be able to speak to curriculum, students, teachers, and teacher educators. To do this, I made sure to involve youth, preservice and practicing teachers in the study. I attempted to weave the implications of this study throughout the dissertation. I will start by describing the contribution I see my standards analysis making to the field. Then, I will describe three implications for the study as a whole.

Capitalism and Social Studies

I am excited by what I think are the unique contributions my research can make for social studies education. In the recently published program for the upcoming 2016 conference of the American Educational Research Association conference, an entire session in the social studies research interest group is dedicated to economics education. In reading the conference abstracts, it seems as though these scholars are making many of the same arguments as the scholars I highlighted in Chapter Two. According to the abstracts, some of those papers are attending to neoclassicism in the elementary standards, making the case that economics curriculum is antithetical to good citizenship and unable to help students make sense of issues like poverty. This shows that there is interest in unpacking economics curriculum and that social studies scholars are (not just economics scholars) are attending to neoclassicism. It also shows the unique contribution that my work can make in pushing those critiques farther into an examination of

capitalism and the production of subjectivity. This sort of push is the kind of engagement with critical discourses that Segall (2013) advocated for revitalizing in social studies research. This sort of critical work “invites us to better understand what and how the disciplines in social studies construct as their subject matter as well as how the above help constructs construct its students as subjects” (p.487). In other words, critical discourses help us understand disciplines as subject-formation. Economics is a subject that is in the business of forming subjects through such mechanisms as state standards and curriculum.

Revealing the connections between capitalism and neoclassicism is my particular contribution to this scholarship on economics curriculum. I did not so much uncover capitalism as point out what was there the whole time. In doing this, I showed how neoclassicism *can* explain the very real, mechanic processes in the modern economy and the ways people are constructed as subjects amenable to this machination, and for this reason they should not be tossed aside or dismissed easily. As people become more dependent on technology, as more institutions such as banks move online, and as customer services become mechanized (self-checkouts, for example), neoclassic standards become more, not less, relevant in explaining the workings of the modern economy while at the same time producing the reality it describes. Moreover, uncovering capitalism in the neoclassic standards means a deeper understanding of how neoclassic standards continue to endure despite critiques from scholars from as early as Miller in 1993, and it helps explain capitalism’s endurance, because, as Deleuze and Guattari (2009) continually demonstrated, capitalism is constantly exceeding its limits as it

expands and deterritorializes. Understanding capitalism in this way points to its consequences, and also possible interventions.

Attending to capitalism and capitalist production is important because of the consequences it brings to bear on society. Some of these consequences were addressed in critiques of neoclassic curriculum, for example, air pollution and environmental degradation as a result of excessive consumption (Miller, 1993; Marglin, 2012). Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) descriptions of how capitalism works points to other consequences as well that are also of interest to social studies educators. To sum it up, some of the things capitalism thrives off of are things like military, war, advertising/marketing/commercialization, bureaucracy, school, recessions, and taxes, all of which all essentially result in ever-increasing production and profit. For example, although taxes are seemingly antithetical to capitalism, they ultimately benefit capitalists because taxes subsidize capitalistic production by providing things such as an educated/subjectivized workforce (schools), roads for the transport of goods, and a police force that ensures compliance from the masses. Capitalism profits off of constant war and militarism in two ways. First, corporations are able to make money from war material. Second, as forms of anti-production, military and war absorbs surpluses and directs productive resources such as intelligence and technology "towards useless ends" (Goodchild, 1996, p. 99). What this points to is the way capitalism, and capitalistic curriculum, can directly undermine efforts for peace, tolerance, economic stability, and demilitarization. Such a realization can help to explain today's ongoing militarization efforts, wars, intolerance and armament, while subsequently calling into question the extent to which capitalistic/neoclassic social studies curriculum can coexist alongside

commitments to peace and nonviolence. For example, in my elementary social studies methods course, I had a student who said that she wished to create a token economy in her future classroom for the sake of teaching economics and, supposedly what the real world was like. In other words, she wanted to simulate a capitalist system in the classroom. On the other hand, she also was inspired by her Buddhist faith and the Teaching Tolerance project to promote peace in her classroom. I challenged her to consider the extent to which these two commitments could coexist in her classroom. These are the sorts of values, as well as contradictions, that social studies teacher educators can help becoming teachers grapple with, as preservice and practicing teachers begin to sort out what they are teaching *for*, that is, the values and commitments that frame their instructional and curricular decisions.

Teaching and Research in Social Studies Education

First, I was glad to find a way to use what I was reading of Deleuze and Guattari's (2009) theories on capitalism to frame the study, because I think Deleuze and Guattari offer such rich avenues for inquiry in social studies education. The study points to Deleuzo-Guattarian contributions to social studies education and the need for theory in social studies. Although I primarily focused on Deleuze and Guattari's theory of capitalism in this dissertation, both theorists offer a multitude of social theories that are concerned with the same sort of issues as social studies education. They were particularly concerned with how society is formed and the consequences of this formation. Deleuze (2007) proposed that a society is "something that is constantly escaping in every direction...it is flowing everywhere and governments are able to block it" (p.285). For Deleuze, society, the very thing that social studies education is concerned

with, is not a stable thing but a process always in movement. Moreover, Deleuze suggested that people are always “escaping,” in other words, engaged in resistance and revolutionary activities that are repressed. What this points to is the way that social change is always possible and the tools to do so are available if we attend to them. For example, I pointed to how something as simple as desire can serve as a counter-capitalistic discourse in economics education.

Although it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to go into great detail about those theories, the “Three Minute Theory” series written and produced by Stacey Kerr, Elizabeth Pittard and myself are good sources for more information on Deleuze’s theories of the rhizome and societies of control (1992; 1987). Finding practical uses for Deleuze and Guattari’s rich social theories can do the work of infusing theory, in an accessible way, into social studies education scholarship.

Second, and related to the first implication, the study points to the importance of counternarratives in social studies education at both the K-12 and teacher education levels. I showed how desire and becoming are two Deleuzian concepts that can be helpful in this process. In Chapter Six, I showed how the graduate students’ analyses of the youth’s data revealed a need for social studies teacher education to provide a more robust engagement in issues of socioeconomics and attend to other ways teachers “learn” and communicate about socioeconomics through such avenues as popular media, websites, and blogs. In other words, websites such as People of Walmart might be one place where teachers form their social understandings and thus social studies teacher educators can help their students make sense of such sites and the role they play in social formation.

Forming counternarratives involves first understanding the narratives that are “out there” and available. I demonstrated how the GPS is one such narrative about the economy and the youth’s words and actions were a form of counternarrative. From conducting this research, I learned about the importance of listening carefully. It took a great deal of focused listening to small fragments of video footage in order to reconstruct the graduate students’ narratives, for example, but doing so allowed for a rich theorization about where and how narratives are formed, and the subsequent subjects that they form in turn. In listening to the graduate students’ attempts to come to terms with themselves as teachers, I was able to theorize becoming as a counternarrative to terms like preservice teacher and teacher candidate.

Finally, the study was ultimately about sense making. Each of the chapters was a reflexive sense-making process. In Chapter Two, I demonstrated how other scholars interested in economics education made sense of economics curriculum. I showed how they identified neoclassicism’s influence and concluded that neoclassic curriculum cannot help students make sense of a multitude of social issues such as pollution and poverty. In turn, I made sense of the Georgia Performance Standards and neoclassicism in general by reading them as capitalistic production.

In the first two data chapters, I showed how youth made sense of their economic spaces, how graduate students in the social studies education course made sense of the youth, particularly their socioeconomics. In the final data chapter, I showed how the graduate students made sense of themselves as teachers. Reflexively, I studied these sense-making practices by drawing on Deleuze and Guattari (2009) to think about the youth’s actions in terms of desire, the graduate students’ analyses in terms of subject

formation through capitalistic discursive practices, and the graduate students' nonlinear teacher education through becoming. In this way, sense-making was a multilayered process in which each part informed the other. I hope that the dissertation can provide methods and theories that social studies scholars and teacher educators can put to use. I look forward to continuing to work with this data and write from it.

Final Thoughts

In conclusion, this study would not have been possible without the thoughtful contributions of the research participants. The youth and the graduate students provided insights into economics, teaching and teacher education, and social phenomenon in ways that I could not have imagined. I appreciate so much their patience, and effort, all of which, I believe, will make an enormous impact on social studies teacher education.

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