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This article describes how two African American young adults engage in learning and activism in their Harlem community through employment of art forms. Observations on the reversal of learning—from adults to young people in classrooms and young people to adults in the community—are critiqued.

Youth Representations of Community, Art, and Struggle in Harlem

Valerie Kinloch

In the last twenty-five years, efforts to remedy urban decline and fortification of major U.S. cities have resulted in plans for revitalization through gentrification. Images of urban cities (Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, New York, San Francisco) in disrepair have been sprawled across national magazines, billboards, and news reports. Pictures of abandoned buildings, homelessness, and racialized poverty are indicators of a large systemic problem representative of how public understanding of *urban* has reshifted from signifying "features of social organization—including a sense of community, positive neighborhood identification, and explicit norms and sanctions against aberrant behavior" (Wilson, 1987, p. 3) to qualities of "ferment, paradox, conflict, and dilemma" (Clark, 1965, p. 11). This shift indicates how popular narratives of urban are attentive to culprits of decline: crime, unemployment, abandoned space, lack of civic participation, and lost artistic renaissances.

According to Beauregard (1993), a focus on the culprits overlooks "the material contradictions and the cultural ambivalences that make large cities the sites for decay, disinvestment, and degeneracy" (p. 305). This way of seeing urban cities does not encourage multiple narratives of space; it does not take into consideration struggles, identities, and lived experiences of

This research project is funded by a grant from The Spencer Foundation and a Grant-in-Aid from the National Council of Teachers of English.

WILEY InterScience®
DISCOVER SOMETHING GREAT

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION, no. 116, Winter 2007 © 2007 Wiley Periodicals, Inc.
Published online in Wiley InterScience (www.interscience.wiley.com) • DOI: 10.1002/ace.275

people who reside within, and may be displaced from, their community. Instead, it escapes "the material contradictions" of such communities, an act that reiterates decline over renewal, segregation over collaboration, and silent struggle over shared narratives of struggle. Even more dangerous is how the escape from contradiction embraces "normalization," which, according to Foucault (1984), imposes homogeneity by encouraging people "to determine levels, to fix specialties, and to render the differences useful by fitting them one to another" (p. 197). Foucault's attack on normalization and Beauregard's attention to contradictions are grounded in a perpetual search for truths across boundaries. Such truths (that is, urban landscapes and signs of decline; gentrified communities and calls for newness), I argue, may result from the transformative power of art. In what ways, then, can reimagination of urban from ferment, abandoned, and normalized to positive, artistic, and contradictory contribute to enhanced understanding of the value of such communities? What do local stories tell about the history and resurgence of art in communities facing current efforts of gentrification, renewal, and reproduction of space? Specifically, what impact do youths who use art to document community experiences have on adult learning?

The purpose of this chapter is to examine, through the lens of postmodernism and critical social theory, how young people employ art forms for transformative reasons, which in turn can influence adult learning and activism. By participating in their community in ways that galvanize historical struggles and cultural resources, youths enact a reversal of learning whereby they are educating adults in their community about tensions that exist in the interstices of discourse on urban revitalization and gentrification. In this chapter, I discuss tensions and learning reversals by illustrating how two African American teenagers, Quentin and Kavon, document art forms—through mapping, photography, and video interviews—in Harlem by being attentive to visible signs of decline and responsive to the community's reconceptualization of art. Then I explore how the young men confront the politics of space as they challenge normalization while influencing the learning of adults in the wider community. To do this, they have expanded their definition of art from "poetry, music, paintings, and museums" to "songs of human struggles, tools that stimulate community conversations, and visible signs of everyday life—housing projects, abandoned storefronts, 'rubble,' and the busy 125th Street thoroughfare connecting Harlem's west-side to its east-side." Dewey's artistic aesthetic or "art as experience" (1959) is a basic principle in this definition.

Context: Setting, Participants, and Data Collection

Quentin and Kavon were participants in a larger ethnographic project in an urban high school and community in Harlem. The students attending the

school, which is known for its social justice mission, were from poor and working-class backgrounds and identified primarily as African, African American, and Latino. In the larger project, I investigate how youth perceptions of literacy connect to the politics of space, including classroom space and the surrounding Harlem community, and how such connections are rooted in sociopolitical struggles. By working with students in school and out-of-school spaces, I am able to identify shifting patterns in disposition toward success, embedded in a discourse of rights, power, and struggle across spatial contexts.

In the larger project, I was a participant-observer in three junior- and senior-level English classrooms for one and a half years. I observed students' responses to literacy activities such as readings, individual and group writings, performances, and teacher- or student-led discussion. The teacher and many of the students embraced my political perspective on the educational success of students of color—a perspective that emphasized student voice, choice, and awareness of the economic differences that oftentimes separate many urban students from their wealthier, and white, suburban peers. This perspective, grounded in postmodern and critical social theories, continuously evolved from regular interaction with students, many of whom felt that their voices were not appreciated and thus silenced by the adult members in their school and home communities. This latter point served as the basis for a smaller study on youth representations of community, art, and struggle in Harlem.

Quentin and Kavon became active participants in this current study. Concerned with disparities between "black students/black communities like Harlem that'll soon be gentrified and white students/white communities like the Upper East Side that's a different world," Quentin, Kavon, and I initiated a youth-based project on the art of Harlem that would be a response against gentrification. Together, we created shared rhyme books, which served as our paper space to pose and respond to questions on the art and struggles within Harlem. From our rhyme books, videotaped community documentaries, response to survey questions, and participation in community action planning meetings, we engaged in data-member checking sessions (Lincoln and Guba, 2000), shared analysis discussion, and interview meetings. During these sessions, we discussed the value of youngsters responding to community changes in ways that can influence adults (myself included) to "take action."

Quentin and Kavon, who live in close proximity to and have a fondness for Harlem's famous 125th Street, have been engaging in a process of transformation that involves reseeing their community from "in neglect" to a site where "art is in constant process" (Quentin). In a clip from his video documentary of the community, Kavon makes the comment, "Harlem is already art. It has been for decades, although the community is now being gentrified to create a sense of art [Quentin interrupts: "a fake sense of art"].

If this new art and new Harlem is going to improve our community, then why is it displacing so many of the black residents who've lived here for years?" Quentin cannot help but respond, "That's why we have to do this project on art in Harlem. It's time that young people stand up and talk about the value of Harlem. Look, where else can you find so many symbols of blackness in one community?"

The symbols that Quentin alludes to include the Apollo Theater, the Studio Museum of Harlem, and the Adam Clayton Powell Building on 125th Street. He is also referring to the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, the Thurgood Marshall High School, the Harriet Tubman houses, the Frederick Douglass housing developments, and inscribed passages from speeches by Malcolm X that appear on the sides of buildings just as much as they appear on T-shirts worn by young and adult residents of Harlem. For Quentin and Kavon, these indicators of community art forms are significant. Also important are the values of stories, embedded in a struggle for rights, of Quentin, Kavon, and countless other urban youths about community and art. As argued throughout this chapter, honest, descriptive stories of young people can challenge negative images of urban (Beauregard, 1993) at the same time they inform adult learning and activism. Attention to youth voices reveals the importance of intergenerational collaboration, which has implications for improvement and protection of communities and for youth activism and adult leadership. This chapter, then, is responsive to how young people document their experiences in the geographical, postmodern landscape of Harlem by being attentive to struggles, sociopolitical tensions, and transformation of people and spaces.

Brief Review of Literature

Soja (1990) examines the social production of space by associating it with knowledge and power to posit a definition for postmodern geography. He argues that geography plays an important role in how history is documented and represented: "A distinctively postmodern and critical human geography is taking shape, brashly reasserting the interpretative significance of space in the historically privileged confines of contemporary critical thought" (p. 11). Social production of space involves interpretive qualities, material realities, and actual practices of and within space, or what Keith and Pile (1993) refer to as spatial metaphors: "global-local," "location," "third space," "the city" (p. 1). Spatial metaphors define space as always in a process in which meaning and experience are created, narrated, reproduced, and represented; hence, the existing tension between normalized and contradictory spaces. The proliferation of spatial metaphors and spatialization of contemporary social theory reiterate the value of space in the context of everyday life in terms of how pedagogy, identity, and human reality are situated in configurations of space and place.

This latter point is reiterative of Freire's consideration (1970/1995) of the situationality of people who are oppressed by "temporal-spatial" conditions of human existence. Although Freire does not thoroughly investigate spatial aspects of situationality, he does indicate that it signifies philosophical recognition of the conditions of existence, geographical and contextual, that create learners, "cultural workers," who question themselves by engaging in action. Action, or what critical theorists name social transformation, establishes important relationships between critical pedagogy and theories of space and place. People exist in space, according to Freire, because of marked locatedness in situations of "reflection" and "discovery" (p. 90), an argument that connects to scholarship on postmodern geography (Soja, 1990; Keith and Pile, 1993; Castells, 1983) insofar as space, a "politics of location," is associated with cultural identity and historical representation. Such association encourages people to engage in reflection on, discovery of, and action in the very spaces they inhabit and travel through, including home space, school space, and work space. This engagement, informed by theories in social transformation (Giroux, 1992; McLaren, 1993), is reflective of how discourses of critical pedagogy and postmodern geography are concerned with ensuing conditions that shape and give meaning to people's involvement with space. Freire's interest (1998) in *reading the world* as a way to increase critical consciousness, particularly of oppressed people, sets the stage for additional scholarship on critical pedagogy that examines *conscientizacão* (that is, cultural workers) who study contradictions of the world to engage in action.

Haymes (1995) explores the contradictory nature of space by articulating a "pedagogy of place" along theories of race, location, and social struggle in the lives of black urban residents. Drawing on racialized critical geography and critical social theory, Haymes is invested in promoting "critical narratology" (McLaren, 1993) and "critical multiculturalism" (Giroux, 1994) in educational research. His investment is motivated by an interest in urban residents' narrating stories of struggle and engaging in social transformation that teaches decolonization of limiting positions of power. Haymes establishes connections among pedagogy, the production of space, and power by interrogating definitions of "urban," "black," and "culture." He explicitly focuses on narratives of lived experiences by critiquing whiteness as connected to race (black) and place (urban communities) in promoting radical multiculturalism.

Haymes's work addresses dilemmas of transformation encountered by black urban residents, whom he encourages to redefine the spatial meanings of their living spaces: "Because inner-city blacks live on the margins of white supremacist domination and privilege, they have no other alternative than to struggle for the transformation of their places on the margin into spaces of cultural resistance" (p. 113). The push for cultural resistance speaks to critical pedagogy's emphasis on the fabric that creates situationality:

sociopolitical rendering of postmodern geographies, the transformative nature of temporal-spatial conditions, and the value that narrating positive stories of place has on the identity of young people and adults in urban communities. Haymes's research (1995) as well as that of Soja (1990) and Freire (1970/1995) reveal an urgency for scholarship that investigates the situationality of people in public spaces who envision community to be a major site of social, political, and economic mobility. This way of seeing contradicts traditional notions of urban as meaning in decline and in need of gentrification.

Connecting the Literature to the Current Study

Quentin and Kavon are aware of how cultural practices are inscribed, however unfairly, in dominant narratives of spatial signifiers (urban as poor; suburban as wealthy). They accept Soja's insistence (1990) that space is created to conceal consequences because "relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent spatiality of social life" (p. 6). In this acceptance, they grapple with ways to encourage adult members of the community to use art (such as billboard campaigns, local museums, historical buildings. avenues and boulevards, and other visible signs of change) to improve the area. They want adults to reclaim a positive community identity and willingly cross borders by understanding that the historical construction of borders, cultural and physical, both prohibits and permits "particular identities, individual capacities, and social forms" (Giroux, 1992, pp. 29–30).

Quentin and Kavon exert influence over their urban community by using photography and video interviews to capture temporal-spatial conditions in the postmodern landscape of Harlem. This chapter presents a brief glimpse into how they document the aesthetics of their community and their black situationality (Haymes, 1995) against the backdrop of adult efforts to reclaim artistic value in Harlem.

The Study with Quentin and Kavon

QUENTIN: See, the hard part of this project on Harlem and art is facing all the new people who are not even from Harlem and who think this community is all about the new things popping up: the Disney Store [now closed], the Magic Johnson Theater, Old Navy, Aerosoles [shoe store], and MAC [cosmetic store]. By the way, I wonder how many people now coming into Harlem know that right around the corner from Aerosoles and MAC is the Theresa Hotel. They don't know. They overlook these things that we see on a regular basis.

KAVON: Yeah, like the way the old Apollo was before the glitzy lights and expensive tickets. You think we [black people] can afford to go there now?

QUENTIN: You mean before all the white people started feeling safe enough to take over Harlem and our community spots? The new Apollo is their new "art space" in what they think is an exotic black neighborhood. That's funny, man!

KAVON: But what other people think is . . . art in Harlem isn't the real of . . . the everyday.

QUENTIN: Not the conditions we have to live in. Why do I have to live in an apartment building with a cheap fire escape when right around the corner is a new building with real balconies for all the new apartments? Why do I have to deal with trash and signs of crime and drugs when they don't have to?

KAVON: Yeah, right across the street from my projects are condos with balconies. Right across the street! It's so different across there. These are the things people don't want to see. They believe that what's going on here in our community is like a second renaissance . . . another Harlem Renaissance.

QUENTIN: A second what . . . Harlem Renaissance? Don't get me wrong, there's a lot of newness in Harlem, some for the good, some for the bad, some I just don't understand yet. But how can the new replace the old: condos versus projects, whites versus blacks, balconies versus fire escapes, silence versus community gatherings, not knowing neighbors versus having people's backs. And this is a renaissance?

KAVON: Clean surroundings versus trash and crime, drugs, funky smells.

QUENTIN: It's an either-or situation we're living in, so to say Harlem is going through a second renaissance ain't right. Don't get me wrong: there's art underneath all this rubble. You just gotta look really hard for it.

Kavon and Quentin's exchange echoes Haymes's articulation (1995) of how a pedagogy of place should be attentive to race and struggle in urban communities. This articulation involves the physical space, material conditions, and changing landscape of Harlem, or the "old versus new." For Kavon and Quentin, this dichotomous relationship includes visual images of community such as the Theresa Hotel, the Schomburg Center, and crowds of people on the streets. It also includes discourses on and assumptions about who or what belongs in Harlem: "white versus blacks," "condos versus projects," "balconies versus fire escapes." When asked to talk about art in Harlem, or as Quentin names it, "Harlem as art," the concern becomes one of belonging in a community undergoing rapid changes associated with gentrification, shifting demographics, and forgotten histories.

Kavon, Quentin, and I documented stories of change through photography, mapping, and video documentaries, beginning with the areas surrounding their home spaces. Kavon's documentation began with a reflexive look at art in his community. He grappled with how to claim art in "the Frederick Douglass Projects when all around me are people who don't care,

who throw paper [trash] on the ground, who sell drugs, who just hang out." He added, "I get tired of seeing this. I guess the art's there, since Harlem is a history landmark of African culture and struggle." Nevertheless, Kavon is quick to point out to me the very name of his housing complex, Frederick Douglass, as he directs Quentin to get a video shot of the white-and-black signs that bear this ex-slave's name. Kavon remarks, "When I think of Harlem as art, I gotta look around where I live, to get a better handle of history here. Douglass was a slave and then an abolitionist. That's important for black people to know. That's art through, um, struggle."

As Kavon recognizes signs of history in his community, he also narrates a story of belonging through art forms. With a digital camera, he took pictures of the Frederick Douglass projects, the row of abandoned storefronts adjacent to the projects, and the condominiums with balconies across the street. He then took Quentin and myself on a video walk-through of the area. As he described his negative feelings toward gentrification, he pointed out how creation of newness—new condominiums, new residents, and new businesses that will enter the community—ignores schools, local stores, and housing projects that quickly fall into disrepair. Kavon's visual texts (photographs, video interviews) represent what linguistic modes of communication could not capture: "aesthetically communicative power" (Vasudevan, 2006, p. 14) of a youngster employing art forms to narrate stories of community. His stories are embedded in spatial, or geographical, struggle and contribute to his emerging definition of art.

Much like Kavon, Quentin had a story about art in his immediate surroundings, particularly the art of the new—renovated apartments, balconies, influx of white people—versus the art of the old—old apartments, fire escapes, longtime black residents. Quentin accepted Kavon's acknowledgment of "signs of history" just as much as he related to Kavon's feelings about local sites left in disrepair: "There are projects, abandoned lots, in the center of this new art, and nobody seems to think this is crazy? If nobody stands up to this to show people how Harlem is art, and has been for years, then what's going to be left? Will they take away the Adam Clayton Powell Building 'cause they need that block of space for more high rises?" Quentin continues by talking about the Apollo Theater as a local space where new talents performed on "Amateur Night" and where one could get an inexpensive ticket to see famous acts "do their thing on stage." This is no longer a reality for Quentin, who expresses shock at seeing a long line of white people going into the Apollo on a Wednesday night in May 2006. He comments: "We [Quentin and I] were walking from the Powell Building, just left a meeting where adult activists where complaining about living conditions, increased rent, and unfair conditions by management in their housing complexes. Then next thing I know, we approach the Apollo, and there they are . . . claiming our community art spot as their own. Probably not even realizing that the artwork on the concrete and fenced walls next to

the Apollo was created by a local working black artist. I'm glad I had the digital [camera]."

With the camera, Quentin took pictures of "white people in front of the redone Apollo." In our shared rhyme book and in subsequent interview sessions, he compared the pictures to those he took of black people going into the Studio Museum of Harlem, waiting for the bus in front of the Powell building, and of construction sites for new condominiums near where he lives, just eight blocks south of 125th Street. In his comparison, he highlights the race of the "white people in front of the redone Apollo" as an indication of a changing, soon-to-be gentrified community: "They were never here when I was growing up. They were too afraid to come to Harlem, and at night? Never would've happened." In juxtaposition with black people going into the museum or waiting on the bus, Quentin admits that the presence of "lines of white people" in Harlem makes him uncomfortable because "they change the face of this community and take away the real meanings of art in a place like the Apollo. Blacks always been going to the Apollo, to the museum, whether they live in Harlem or just visiting." He continues: "Most blacks know Harlem and live in a similar space. We share that struggle. But whites know Harlem as an artsy place because of gentrification. It's not the same kind of knowing." For Quentin, the connections among race, place, belonging, and struggle are significant.

During his video walk-through, Quentin pointed out the renovated apartment building on one corner, the new drugstore on another, and the "crazy priced" dry cleaners close by. He spoke of an abandoned laundromat in the same breath that he talked about a vacant lot, now barricaded, where many community members met for social events: "This is what I see on the regular. I didn't pay much attention to it before, but now I do. And do I see any art in all this rubble? New condo over here, old apartment building over there! New dry cleaners there, closed laundromat here! Right here in Harlem. Yeah, I have to, if I want to remember history. I believe the old is more of art than the temporary new."

The old, for Quentin, Kavon, and many longtime black residents in the area, including Vivian, Barbara, Thelma, and John, signifies a spatial history of struggle and survival. In this moment, the documented representations of art and community captured by the youngsters influenced adult learning. By engaging in conversation with and explaining their perspective on gentrification to Vivian and the other adults, Quentin and Kavon initiated an inquiry into the value of sharing community stories across age and experience. They encouraged the adults to question current community practices (the value of gatherings and meetings and taking care of and protecting the community) and assumptions (young people have no voice; they do not care about the community). At the same time, the adults encouraged Quentin and Kavon to study the community's long history of struggle (segregation, fights for civil rights) and political leadership (Malcolm X, Adam

C. Powell). In this context, learning became reciprocal, active, and transformational for both the adults and the youngsters. Youth activism was met with adult learning.

From their encounter with adult residents, Quentin and Kavon spent the next few weeks examining their pictures and imagining, as Vivian asked them to do, the untold stories by adults in their community and school of what was in Harlem. Their imaginings led them to consider how the past—the "what was here before"—served as precursor to the real Harlem Renaissance and civil rights protests. Vivian's suggestion for Quentin and Kavon to study Harlem's long history is captured in their many photographs, video interviews, and conversations, all of which support the youngsters' claim that "Harlem is art." These artifacts attest to their growing interest in collaborating with adults to document stories and reclaim Harlem from gentrification and commercialization.

Also captured in the material representation of this work are the voices of two youngsters perplexed by the influx of newness in Harlem: on the one hand, they are ecstatic to see new chain drugstores but dismayed to no longer participate in certain community rituals. According to Quentin, "Many stores in the area have opened, bringing in different people. This changes the whole feeling of Harlem, including the arts." Kavon agrees, insisting that Harlem has always been a place where art forms dominate, even on "less than popular neighborhood streets." He claims, "Before new stores, there were the conversations, museums, parades, festivals, block performances. We don't have them as much because so many residents have left since they can't afford to stay. But Harlem is art; gentrification can't take that away." Reiterative of this point are Kavon and Quentin's pictures of the Cotton Club, Studio Museum, Harlem YMCA, Audubon Ballroom, Abyssinian Baptist Church, Duke Ellington Statue, and Marcus Garvey Park. Their pictures capture a legacy of artistic and political action in Harlem and throughout the African Diaspora. Their images portray art as a vehicle that opened the doors to African American expression of the Harlem Renaissance.

The pictures speak volumes to their emerging definition of art "as experience" and as visible signs of everyday life. For Quentin and Kavon, the pictures are connected to what they call the 1920s' "youth and adult arts movement" in Harlem, a movement that saw the likes of African American literary scholars Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, and James Weldon Johnson. It also recognized the value of young artists apprenticing with adult members of the community, which helped to create Harlem as a major site for black cultural expression. If anything, the significance of art in Harlem parallels the community's historical struggle with representation, racism, and socioeconomic strife. Now that Harlem is undergoing gentrification, one wonders, "Where are the adults, the black residents and political leaders, the people who are supposed to protect the community? The social activists, the politicians, the teachers, the artists? The people

we are told to follow? Where's everybody, the other Vivians? And where are the apprenticeship models from the Harlem Renaissance?" (Kavon, Quentin, and Valerie).

Conclusions and Implications

KAVON: I look at Harlem and think art is more than writing, poetry, drawing, dancing, and singing.

QUENTIN: Art is also struggle. That's Harlem.

VALERIE: Seems as if we believe the same things about "Harlem as art."

QUENTIN: Yeah, but not too many adults would say that. I don't think too many adults believe people like me and Kavon have anything important to say about art and Harlem. It goes back to something I said before . . . some people think they have the right to talk and others don't. Some think that Harlem is just a lot of poor black people living in projects who don't care about the community.

KAVON: We care, that's why we're doing this project. We know that we have to care. It would be good if adults would accept this. You know, adults can learn a lot from us . . . Vivian did.

VALERIE: Like what?

KAVON: Like the changes happening in Harlem affect hard-working, struggling black people who've been living here for a long time. Young people like Quentin and me know that, we see that, and we're documenting the changes with our cameras. Telling stories that need to be told.

QUENTIN: You [adults] just can't sit around and complain all day long about the changes without listening to what other people got to say. And we are a part of those other people. Adults need to know that young people in Harlem can do something about the changes . . . by staying focused on life and getting their voice out there. More adults should recognize that youngsters want a better future and know the changes that need to be made are: less violence, more education, better leaders.

KAVON: Clean and safe communities! These all have to do with Harlem as art.

VALERIE: So, Harlem is art in the sense that it has all of the traditional art forms—museums, entertainment venues, lovely architecture, a strong literary history, festivals, the history of the Harlem Renaissance and the artists who came with that period. But if I am hearing you right, Quentin and Kavon, "Harlem as art" encompasses human struggles with place and race, what you call "rubble," Quentin. Is this right?

QUENTIN: That's right. And the rubble is the sounds of the 'hood, the people, the struggle, our whole history. That's the rubble; that's the art . . . the experiences.

VALERIE: I think adults can learn a lot from this work.

KAVON: We know. We know. You think they know?

Quentin and Kavon are aware of the distance between adult and youth efforts to document art forms in Harlem. They understand that such distance oftentimes results from conflicting perspectives, ways of knowing, and struggles that hinder the emergence of intergroup relations and democratic engagement. There is tension around who should represent the *truths* of a changing Harlem and who has the right to speak. This tension exists between youths and adults, but it also transcends age groups to include race. Quentin's assertion about "white people in front of the redone Apollo" and Kavon's belief that "what other people think is . . . art in Harlem isn't the real of . . . the everyday" illustrate their awareness and discomfort with signs of otherness. Underneath their observations are serious concerns for adults to attend to: examining how Harlem as art is a call for people of various ages and races to coexist across imaginary, physical, and cultural boundaries; imagining how art in Harlem can serve as a vehicle that connects groups of people to one another; and negotiating power in Harlem by discussing how the politics of space affects forms of life for youngsters and adults. These are some of the implications of this study on adult learning.

For Quentin and Kavon, Harlem is important and has a major impact on their attitude toward change, activism, and the arts. Where they live has everything to do with how they interpret struggle and identify with life. For this project, their interpretation of struggle is connected to their emerging definition of art as experience as well as to their awareness of the value of the Harlem Renaissance for youths, adults, and location. More important, their work is a gesture to adults in the larger community to reconceptualize activism and the arts by being attentive to the existing differences in and approaches to learning from the art and culture of Harlem. They want to have conversation with adults to find additional ways to document art forms, call attention to ongoing activist efforts, and narrate stories of struggle and survival in the community. They want what adults want: a safe community, clean streets, political activities, socially transformative action (Haymes, 1995), and a call against "normalization" of community (Foucault, 1984). These things can happen through the arts. Harlem is art in this postmodern, postindustrial neighborhood undergoing the reproduction of space. In the words of eighteen-year-old Kavon, "Adults can learn a lot from us."

In learning "a lot from us," this study has taught me that as an adult committed to preserving Harlem's history I must take responsibility for the stories of community and struggle that I share. I, as well as other adults, should better value civic participation, create counternarratives to negative portrayals of urban community, collaboratively inquire into the historical signs that make a community artful, increase our level of activism, and establish apprenticeship models for other adults and youngsters. Doing these things can enhance adult learning and draw positive attention to lived realities of young people in urban communities.

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