

THE CONTESTED SPACE OF COMMUNITY COLLEGES
IN THE AGE OF NEOLIBERALISM:
THE CASE OF CITY COLLEGE OF SAN FRANCISCO THROUGH THE
ACCREDITATION CRISIS OF 2012-2017

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Abstract

This is a case study concerning a California community college with a long history of working to be an open access, working class institution, despite the California policy structures pressuring and asserting community colleges to become more efficient and business like. For the state, the main focus is on raising graduation rates, prioritized over all other endeavors. On the surface the problem seems to be how The City College of San Francisco (CCSF) was threatened to be shut down due to loss of accreditation. Below the surface there is the issue that the Accrediting Commission of Community and Junior Colleges (ACCJC) was using the power of accreditation to enforce an institutional restructuring that is dominated by the ideology of economic efficiency and aligned with an outcomes-based community college planning approach. And yet this restructuring does not align with the open access mission. People focused on open access formed an instrumental part of the resistance to the ACCJC's actions.

Through a grounded theory methodology, the lived experiences of people within the CCSF space are analyzed as they act to either align or resist neoliberalism. Through this analysis an interpretive understanding is offered as to how power dominates through claims to rationality with the erasure of other rationalities, and how structural issues make the aspirations of democracy difficult to achieve. The alternative social imaginary of open access offers insights into radical planning theory and practice. The focus of open access is to center those who are the most impacted; where understanding who is being oppressed and how becomes information for what kinds of practices are necessary toward overcoming barriers and changing the conditions perpetuating oppression within the community college context. The emerging concepts and inferred principles are offered to contribute to radical planning theory. Particularly, how acting to transform systems and structures can be addressed through centering issues regarding systemic oppression as a process of planning for equitable education within a local context.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Overview

In 2012 City College of San Francisco (CCSF) underwent accreditation review by the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges (ACCJC), as the college did every six years, like all the 112 community colleges in the state of California. After review, the ACCJC made the decision to severely sanction the College by threatening its accreditation status. This is the first time CCSF had been sanctioned and it is now receiving the severest of sanctions. From 2007-2014, the ACCJC sanctioned 71 out of the 112 California community college systems for not meeting accreditation standards, 63 percent of all colleges reviewed under the ACCJC's services were sanctioned (Warth, 2015). The quantity and magnitude of these citations is unprecedented in the history of community college accreditation nationwide. Even more striking, the City College of San Francisco (CCSF), which is the second largest community college system in the country, at one time serving anywhere from 80,000-100,000 students, was cited on fourteen counts of non-compliance.

CCSF was put on Show Cause and told if they were not able to comply within one year the college would lose its accreditation. If this happened the college would also lose its financial aid funding, be left bankrupt, and forced to close. Essentially the College was under severe threat to be disaccredited and was given a set amount of time to prove its case that it should remain accredited, or the decision to take away accreditation from the college would become final. If the College was not able to make all the necessary changes and produce satisfactory evidence to the ACCJC in a limited amount of time, then the College would lose its accreditation. Around this same time nine other ACCJC accredited community colleges were also mandated to create a closure report as part of their sanctioning (Galatolo, 2014).

The accreditation sanctioning became a crisis, and yet the City College of San Francisco had been situated within a space of crisis for several years prior to this crisis beginning with the austerity policies that arose out of the 2008 recession. By the Spring of 2012 the accrediting commission came and conducted their six-year review; CCSF had been battling austerity policies for the previous five years. Seeming to be insensitive to this reality, in the summer of 2012 the

Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges (ACCJC) administered their decision to threaten CCSF with “Show Cause.”

This case study seeks to explore the experience of those living within the City College of San Francisco space at the time of the threat to accreditation, particularly the five-year span of 2012-2017. Generally, this case focuses on the experiences of students, faculty and administrators who engaged in some way with the accreditation crisis during this time. A further description of the participants for this study is discussed in Chapter 2 in the section on data collection methodology. “Seeks to explore” is used to qualify this analysis because to define the space of City College of San Francisco is difficult as the college’s reach is vast and deep throughout the city and the region. At the same time, to try to encapsulate or even explain a person’s lived experience is incredibly complex as well; people come from many different life experiences and no one person sees any one situation in the same way. Therefore, there is abstraction at work in this research, which allows for an articulation of meaning concerning what people have experienced. The common theme among all the various perspectives within this research was found to be that CCSF was in a state of crisis at the time of the ACCJC’s sanctioning. And yet how the crisis is defined is different depending on one’s perspective and experiences, which helps to give context in developing emerging themes, where meaning is inferred.

This case is a study of how people experienced and engaged with the accreditation crisis at City College. It is also a case study on the relationship between power and rationality and how collective action can fight to centralize alternative narratives to the dominant one. Power over the way in which the crisis is defined is crucial to informing the actions that are taken to address the crisis. In this case, particularly, how the crisis is defined becomes a way to exert a dominant policy reform agenda – specifically, the neoliberal reform agenda. The resistance to the dominant hegemony of neoliberalism reveals both important critiques as well as pathways toward transformational alternatives to move away from the oppressive of dominating hegemony.

This case focuses particularly on the struggle over the rationality of how to address issues of equity and access. From a neoliberal reform lens, community colleges address issues of equity and access through implementing prescriptive policies generated from a top-down position

where factors are considered in a fragmented nature, and outcomes are projected to then be measured. There is both an ideological and a material nature to this struggle in both the logic of this policy process as well as the real-world implications on those not considered in this removed approach to organizational change. Those resisting neoliberalism represent those who are more harmed than others by neoliberal policies as well as those who disagree with the logic of neoliberalism. Often, those oppressed by policy have the most to offer in terms of valid critique of the policy. Because of this, resistance to neoliberalism offers an alternative planning frame - one that is grassroots, striving to create collaboration, and guided by values of social transformation. Through understanding the alternative views to neoliberalism, ways of seeing and knowing the college are brought into the lens of how to plan for the college, particularly with regards to how the college is addressing issues of equity and access.

City College of San Francisco's accreditation crisis marks continuing trends in neoliberal reforms regarding community college governance. The rise in neoliberal community college policy has caught the attention of researchers over the past twenty years. Demarcations of neoliberal reform are seen in different policy initiatives such as performance-based funding and student completion (Ayers, 2005, 2009). There is a continuing push in the national conversation for community colleges to focus on developing pathways to the global workforce as neoliberalism is ideologically rooted in the conception of the global market, and the global labor market is at the heart of this (Ayers, 2005; Harvey, 2005; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). For example, non-credit continuing education programs are debated on the perceived direct connection to economic development (Grubb et al, 2003; Levin, 2006; Shaw & Jacobs, 2003). Other efforts to push higher education to become "more business-like" are reflected in recent changes such as cutting the number of full-time faculty positions juxtaposed with a rise in the number of administrative positions (Townsend & Twombly, 1998; Ginsberg, 2013; Newfield, 2016).

Community colleges are educational institutions providing a public good that is intended to reach people with educational goals that are often marginalized within the rest of the higher education system. Community colleges serve predominately poor, working class, minority, often older populations. Many community college students desire educational resources beyond the form of a liberal arts degree or a technical trade certificate. They may have disabilities or various life

circumstances, making enrollment and matriculation for difficult than for the traditional student (Baum & Ma, 2016). Traditional students, in this case, are those able to take a full-time course load, and often have a financial anchor enabling them to take on debt and/or be supported materially while taking time away from work and family responsibilities. Within the US education system, the traditional college student is white and, in some way, supported by family with financial means.

Reaching people in the local geographical community who are otherwise marginalized from higher education is not just about providing education. It is also about planning how to overcome barriers to accessing education and providing the kinds of education that are needed and desired within the community. This planning is interconnected with local workforce development and rests on gathering information throughout the community everywhere from K-12 public education, community-based organizations, local businesses and development planning agencies, community-based organizations, local unions, neighborhood associations, senior centers, local prisons, local veterans' assistance (VA) offices, social service programs and beyond. Doing this work of outreach and building educational space throughout the community is the work of planning for open access education and has insights to offer radical planning theory.

This open access approach to planning for educational access and equity is not seen as a valid approach to education within the neoliberal frame. For neoliberal reformists, the concern is solely centered on the issue of lower graduation rates for people of color and the poor in comparison to white and more privileged peers. The answer to education inequity through neoliberal reform is to focus is on efficient degree completion (Hall & Thomas, 2012; Lipman, 2007, 2011; Levin, 2006). One of the consequences of implementing this kind of top-down, paternalistic policy is many other kinds of education become erased. Through this erasure, the people who would benefit from alternative approaches in access to education are excluded. Open access works to reveal all the ways public education can be a resource throughout the entire community. Whereas neoliberal reform focuses all the resources on the most efficient student, addressing equity by assisting students of color efficiently toward graduation (Lumina, 2013; California Competes, 2015), and implementing programs to guide the student to completion that

can be replicated from school to school as a way to marketize community colleges' offerings to students (Burch, 2009).

This case demonstrates the disparity in worldview between the open access approach to planning for access to education versus the neoliberal worldview of addressing equity through an efficiency model approach to planning. This case study is about one particular community college, where the college has a long history of doing community planning work to address barriers to access and to continue to be as open and accessible as possible, and where they have been battling neoliberal reforms efforts simultaneously for years. Yet, the most recent accreditation battle has caused severe blows to the college in terms of the impact of neoliberal reform and its effect on open access education. The neoliberal worldview has dominated in ways where it both erases the work being done toward creating open access as well as the students that are centered through the work of aspiring to be open access. The resistance to this is strong though, and educators who take on the role of community planners for transformational change continue to find ways to create open access while also resisting neoliberalism.

To come to some kind of conceptual offering through the analysis of this unique and extreme yet transcendent case, a grounded theory methodology evolved through qualitative data collection and analysis in order to allow for themes to emerge for the development of conceptual theory. The following introductory chapter discusses various aspects of this case: pertinent terminology; an overview of neoliberalism and neoliberal community college education policy; important background information regarding the City College of San Francisco and the previous years of austerity policy measures; an introduction to this research's contribution to planning theory; discussions on the need for this study along with an overview of the grounded theory methodology and the research questions; a literature review of community colleges and society; and finally, a summary of the remaining chapters.

Terminology

Throughout this case several terms will be discussed where it is helpful to have a common understanding of what these terms mean and what they are referring to. Below is a list of these terms and definitions to help guide the reader. These definitions are not meant to be exhaustive,

as they derive from extensive critical thought literature. The terminology is offered here as a point of reference for discussion for the purposes of simplification.

Intersectional Oppression

Overlapping systems of oppression such as racism, sexism, classism, heteronormativity and ableism that help to explain how the intersectional experience is something greater than the sum of any one form of oppression (Crenshaw, 1989).

Neoliberalism

An ideology and a practice where the market is viewed as both the most humane and the most efficient way to create access to resources; redefining citizens as consumers and democratic choices in terms of buying and selling. Or hyper-capitalism (Harvey, 2005; Monbiot, 2016).

Social Imaginary

The social imaginary is the dialectical nature of which collective conceptions are expressed ideologically and materially through the individual and in relationship with the individual. Through its hegemonic power, the social imaginary of neoliberalism works to reconceptualize the nature and scope of political authority, demanding that people comply with national formations of policy and planning as being inevitable, timeless and natural, and superiorly legitimate (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 13). A social imaginary is both material and discursive (Mills, 2000/1959; Taylor, 2007).

Supremacy/Supremacy Logic

Supremacy logic is referred to in this research as a way of describing the dominating cultural system of white supremacy which is entrenched in the historical foundations of the United States dating back to the country being built on the backs of slaves and morphing into the exploitative practices happening throughout the world today in the name of capitalism. Supremacy and supremacy logic are presented here as a way of engaging with the social order or worldview where all aspects of political, economic, and cultural interests serve the interest of capitalism and wealthy global elite (hooks, 2001; Stovall, 2006).

Neoliberalism Overview

Neoliberalism is a discourse, as it is various kinds of policies, a worldview, and the dominating hegemonic structure of the last thirty plus years in the long history of capitalisms pervasiveness. The neoliberal agenda continues to dominate political-economic policy and planning practices around the globe. Neoliberalism's sole focus is in the expansion of markets - the ultimate hyper-capitalism (Harvey, 2005; McLaren, 2007). Neoliberalism's reach is found in all aspects of life as it is essentially a governance system situated outside of the nation-state, yet it uses the nation-state as its vessel to enact policies for market expansion. Neoliberalism is a kind of supra governance structure in this way, governing from a distance yet having great impact at the local level (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). This dominant social imaginary, or neoliberalist worldview, is reliant on government intervention to protect private property, capital and the exploitation of resources by deregulating policies that would otherwise protect labor, the environment, and public resources, etc., while also subsidizing and formalizing protections for the rich (Chomsky, 1994; Harvey, 2005, 2007, 2008; McLaren, 2007; Lipman, 2011; Purcell, 2009).

My analysis highlights that the history of public education as well as the work of city and regional planning are both reflections of the reality the United States is founded on – a reality perpetuating a class-, race-, and gender-based society which manifests stratification and marginalization of various groups to both exploit labor and protect the wealth and property of a select few stemming from a legacy of white, male elitism (Castells, 2010; Harvey, 2005, 2007; McLaren, 2007; Lipman, 2011; Rankin, 2010; Purcell, 2009). This legacy of capitalism, white supremacy, and patriarchy are all the systems fueling the neoliberal social imaginary.

During the time of the 2008-2012 recession the national discourse romanticized community colleges' capacity as the vessel to resurrect the failing economy, and neoliberal reform was the national answer to how community colleges could meet the national call (Levin, 2001, 2006). Federal documents reviewed during the time had a singular focus on work-force training, arguing for an increase in productivity and efficiency to keep the nation globally competitive (Levin, 2001, p. 103). These narratives are then reflected in state policy documents (Levin, 2001). While community college mission statements reflect multiple social goals such as community development, intergenerational learning, and services for the growing numbers of English as

second language (ESL) ethnic minorities, these social goals were not reflected in many of the state policy documents reviewed (Levin, 2001). This national narrative is very much reflected in the CCSF case.

In a review of community college education policy from the early 2000s Dowd (2003) describes, “Efficiency was a central theme, as institutions were expected to reduce costs in the face of declining government revenues. Social issues were subsumed under economic issues. Although the concept of access, the cornerstone of the democratizing mission of the community college, was articulated, it was harnessed to the goals of workforce development and divorced from the promise of upward mobility from which it derives its power” (Dowd, 2003, p. 98). The big shift in efficiency as the core value of vocational training occurred in the mid-1980s (Levin, 2001). It was during this time that workforce development was painted as the community college’s service to their community as the community began to be more centrally defined through business interests (Levin, 2001; Dowd, 2003). This transition also marks a link in the rise of the neoliberal agenda with the rise of President Reagan’s policy agenda to dismantle the public structure and privatize everything through market expansion (Levin, 2001, 2006; See also Ayers, 2002, 2009).

Within the neoliberal paradigm, the policies and the standards crafted in those policies are determined by a supra governance structure and are not tied to any nation-state. The supra governance structures are made up of multinational corporations and elite business interests where leaders convene and converse across all geographical boundaries and dimensions of time to plan and organize strategies for implementing policies globally. These corporate leaders find ways to then engage with political leaders to push their policy agendas. The manifestations of this supra governance can be seen through the convening of entities like the Asia Pacific Economic Corporation (APEC), the Group of Eight (G8), the World Bank, and the Inter Monetary Fund.

Within this context the supra governance structures that are crafting the policies still need the nation-state to exercise authority (Castells, 2009; Lipman, 2011; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). This authority is made legitimate through networks of very privileged people continuously internalizing its legitimacy in order to accept the authority. This internalization and socialization

manifests as the neoliberal social imaginary. This imaginary is reified through the implementation of policy at the local level; and through the tight networks of communication, also heavily entrenched in processes of globalization (Castells, 2009). Everyday people are internalizing this imaginary, and dialectically engaging with it in various ways. Formal education has always played a paramount role in developing and perpetuating this imaginary. This is why the neoliberal policy agenda is so concerned with education: to both reinforce the legitimacy of the nation-state and create authority for the supra governance structures among the nation-state administrators and leaders to ensure that the nation-state enacts the policy agenda (Burch, 2009; McLaren, 2007; Lipman, 2011).

Through international standardization, the unit of logic for reordering becomes much larger, nation compared against nation. This is a global reordering (Lipman, 2011). Burch (2009) describes how the new education privatization agenda has created hidden markets within the education system where private multinational companies dominate the public policy discourse in education. The logic of these internal markets creates the space to have a strong hold over the local social imaginary (Burch, 2009; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, Scott; 1998). The national standards that are created become a reification of the global demands for human capital, reordering the individual into a worker/consumer (Harvey, 2005; McLaren, 2007; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The neoliberal imaginary needs education in order to inculcate local culture, and through this, reduces policy discourse to market efficiency and imagines an education system as the servant toward a stratified workforce that is necessary for global capitalism (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). This dominance over the field of education policy limits the possibilities that could come from truly democratic spaces. “Democracy being a political concept, it is transformed into a wholly economic concept” (Burch, 2009, p. 12) within this global neoliberal reordering.

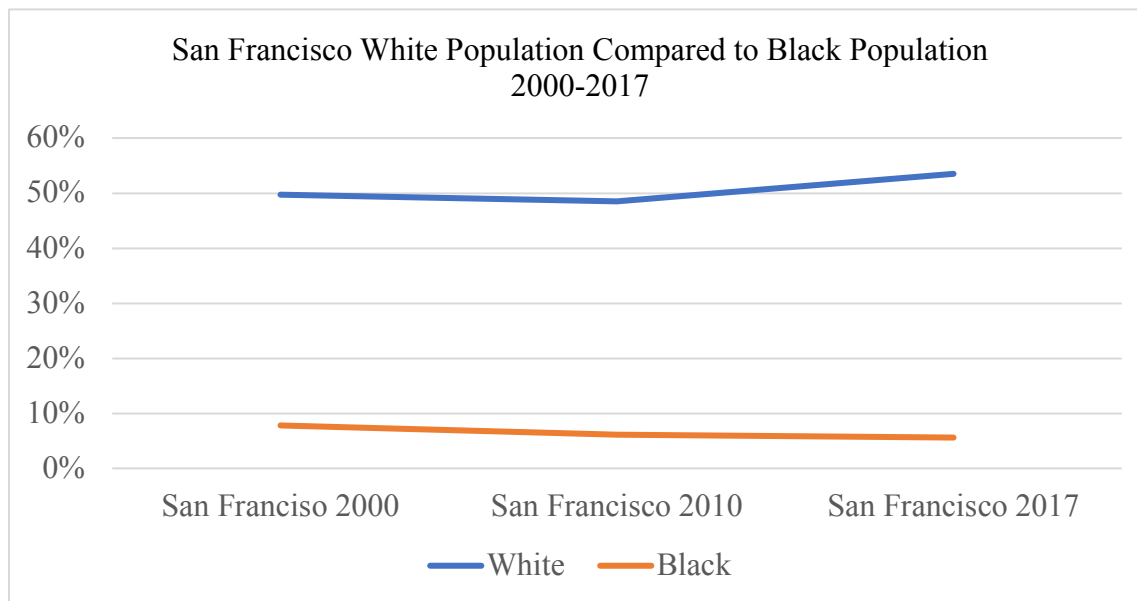
“Education is seen as the best economic policy, necessary to ensure the competitiveness of the national economy. Here, education is regarded as the producer of the required human capital” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p.18). Burch describes it as the “rise of the market ideology” (2009, p.14). Within this all public life is reordered under a market efficiency model. Like reordering our understanding of democracy, standards play well into the ideology of market fundamentalism where learning for personal growth, human flourishing, or simply learning for

the sake of learning are all marginalized. These academic ends have no intrinsic value within the ideology of market efficiency. Education then is viewed as always needing to “be linked to the instrumental purposes of human capital development and economic self-maximization” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p.81). Local education systems feel the burden of producing students that have the technical skills for “highly skilled jobs” in a “rapidly changing world” and yet seeing a lack of quality jobs in the very communities in which they live. This very much plays out in the case of California Community Colleges with the ACCJC’s recommendations to CCSF for compliance and the state-wide policy of the Student Success Act eventually to mutate into Guided Pathways, which will be discussed momentarily.

The field of planning is very much dominated by the neoliberal worldview as well. Planning is essentially a tool in utilizing the state to actively assist capital (Purcell, 2009, p. 142). Dominant tenants of major planning projects over the past thirty plus years have focused on transfer of public money into public/private partnerships and public investment in private land development. There has been an increase in the dominance of exchange value as the primary way to value urban land (Purcell, 2009). With this there has been a rise in the gentrification of urban centers as cities leverage large tax breaks and incentives to entice corporate investment and large development to redevelop the urban core. San Francisco reflects the epitome of gentrification, with an ever-increasing disparity between the rich and the poor, and astronomical costs of living in terms of housing costs. Wages have continued to be suppressed despite the rising cost of living.

Signs of San Francisco’s rapid gentrification can be witnessed in the demographic shifts in terms of class and race along with the rise in housing costs and the rate at which homeownership is rising and rental units are decreasing.

Table 1: San Francisco 2000-2017 White Population compared to Black Population



* Based on 2017 U.S. Census Data

The above chart demonstrates how the White population in San Francisco has increased from 49.7% in 2000 to in 2017 being 53.5%. Whereas the San Francisco Black population has been going through a decline, as poor Black families are displaced and pushed out of the city. The Black population has gone from 7.8% in 2000 to 5.6% in 2017.

Since 2000 the number of occupied housing units in San Francisco has gone from 95.1% to 91%, meaning as of 2017, 9% of the housing stock in San Francisco sat vacant, most likely for speculative investment reasons. High-end units are considered more valuable vacant to wait for a high-end buyer or renter than to reduce the rate to fill the vacancy immediately. Renter-occupied units are on the decline, whereas owner-occupied units are on the rise. At the same time the median value of an owner-occupied unit has risen from \$396,400 in 2000 to \$858,000 in 2017 (U.S. Census, 2017), an increase of over 216% in 17 years. The median for gross rent has gone from \$928 a month to \$1,632 a month, a 176% increase.

Neoliberal Community College Education Policies

CCSF has also been facing a kind of gentrification in its battle in facing neoliberal reform for

years. The most pertinent to this case is the Student Success Act. This act will be used here to give a description of what neoliberal reform policy looks like from theory to practice. The Student Success Act was enacted into policy four months after CCSF was first informed by the ACCJC that they are on Show Cause. A Student Success Task Force was formed in the interim to be conducting the research to create the policy recommendations. Student Success comes from the completion reform narrative that is now morphing into Guided Pathways in California. Completion is the education norm in the eyes of neoliberalism (Apple, 2006; Levin, 2007).

On September 27th, 2012 the Governor of California signs the Student Success Act of 2012. This act is peddled as an anecdote to improving community colleges by helping students' complete educational goals and then inherently bolstering the economy (California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office September 27, 2012).

Gov. Jerry Brown today signed into law the Student Success Act of 2012, the legislative cornerstone of a California Community Colleges reform initiative aimed at improving educational outcomes for students and better preparing the workforce needed for California's changing economy (California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office September 27, 2012).

This simple statement offers a great deal to unpack in terms of neoliberalism and the neoliberal worldview or social imaginary. What is meant here by social imaginary is essentially the cultural lens through which the person who wrote this statement was seeing the world. This lens is both impacted and impacts how the person sees the world around them then chooses to act in response. The social imaginary is both material and discursive (Mills, 2000/1959; Taylor, 2007).

The focus of the student success policy is on outcomes first and foremost as the legislation is focused on helping "more California community college students reach their goal of earning a degree, certificate, career advancement or transferring to a four-year institution" (California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office September 27, 2012, p. 1). Neoliberalism is a social imaginary, it is both an ideology and a practice, and here this

is portrayed in the way the goals of this policy are, for starters, all measurable goals. One can measure how many students are completing a certificate or a degree or if they have achieved career advancement through access to a set of trainings or transferring. These all preclude a number that can be counted with a good outcome and a bad outcome, it is linear in the logic. Linear logic works well with the expansion of markets. The more something is reduced and legible, the more easily it is exploited (Harvey, 2005, 2007, 2008; Scott, 1998). The student in this case can be reduced to a consumer of a particular educational product (Burch, 2009).

The Acting California Community Chancellor at the time is quoted as saying “the law will usher in some of the most significant improvements to the community college system in more than a decade” (California Community Colleges Chancellor’s Office, September 27, 2012). Neoliberal reform is sweeping; it provides well researched answers that are owned and evolved by the small circle of networked like-minded individuals (Burch, 2009). The neoliberal spaces work in tandem with one another, supporting one another through funding and citing each other’s work, reinforcing the logic of the neoliberal social imaginary. These are professionalized research think tanks and policy advocacy spaces which, in many ways, operate disconnected from those who are working and going to school within the community college space.

There is a subtext to all the components of the Student Success policy. This subtext can be understood through the paternalistic positionality the policy makers take in the assumptions that are made to justify the logic of the bill. For instance, the first component is to restructure the way student support services are delivered. In further detail, the policy reveals how this is concerned with imposing requirements that students meet with a counselor and create an educational plan that leads to a specific measurable outcome and chart an educational plan to achieve this outcome within a certain timeframe. The student is then assessed according to this trajectory. The second component of the bill is to provide to campuses a statewide system of common assessment to track students through, therefore, creating data for the state to utilize to measure the outcomes. The third component is to then have colleges use a score card to demonstrate their progress at

improving educational outcomes. The aspiration is to demonstrate how the required pathways and required subsequent counseling will ensure more students historically under-represented within the numbers of those attaining degrees will rise. And finally, the last component is to require low income students receiving a fee waiver meet minimum requirements in terms of number of credits taking and their performance over time (California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office September 27, 2012).

Another example of neoliberal policy affecting community colleges nation-wide is performance-based funding, the latest policy push toward the emphasis on social efficiency. Performance-funding or performance-budgeting and outcomes-based funding all essentially mean that instead of states calculating community college budgets based on enrollment numbers, they will instead be based upon matriculation and graduation rates (Dougherty, 2002; Dowd, 2003). There has been a great deal of campus resistance to these new policy reforms, yet politically these policies are very popular in more mainstream discourse (Dowd, 2003). With performance-based funding how a community college will go about meeting the outcome goals is not articulated; this is up to the community college administrators to determine, although there are often recommendations made through various formations of public-private partnership packaged resources. Often these reforms in no way remove the financial constraints that continue to persist in perpetuating the barriers toward completion.

Performance-funding also does not ensure that once students do attain the terminal vocational or transfer degree that they will have access to higher paying, more skilled jobs, even though this is the logic for focusing on degree completion (Dowd, 2003). Performance-based funding discourse has also pushed the focus from vocational training to transfer degrees with more emphasis on four-year degree attainment as the ultimate goal. While in 2003 Brint wrote "They (community colleges) are now clearly vocationally oriented" (Brint, 2003, p. 2; See also Townsend, 2001). Today the emphasis is on transfer degrees (Dougherty & Kienzl, 2006), where some community colleges are even expanding certain programs into four-year degrees (Tamar, 2009; Ross, 2014).

The student success act and performance-based funding derive from a neoliberal social imaginary in many ways. Particularly in the way it is paternalistic as it is imposed on the

colleges and designed by outside interests (Burch, 2009; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). The policy exploits austerity measures in order to impose a specific rationale of how to address the austerity policies (Flyvbjerg, 1998, 2003; Stein & Harper, 2003).

Its sole focus is on degree or credential completion. Completion is the norm of neoliberalism (Apple, 2006; Levin, 2007). Community colleges, through intention, are not supposed to be merit-based. Merit-based designs creates an erasure of structural issues affecting a student's ability to access and move through an educational pathway.

Meritocracy is a myth of capitalism, white supremacy, and patriarchy. It serves to perpetuate a supremacy logic. It is a useful deconstruction because it helps to show how neoliberal policies create erasures of histories. The myth of meritocracy rests on the belief that the economic political system is fair, that there is no structural inequality, and that people's lives reflect what they deserve based on merit (Love, 2004). Meritocracy serves to demonize the poor, blaming the poor for their impoverished living conditions. The other parallel to this myth is that anyone who has a good life is deserving of this good life (Love, 2004) in the sense that they have earned it, erasing all understanding of how structures privilege certain people. Therefore, these people have unfair advantages to creating material security in their lives. Meritocracy serves to exploit the poor for the advancement of the rich, by blaming the poor for their own misfortune. The myth of meritocracy serves to perpetuate unfair practices through policy formation and implementation (Gans, 1995). The more these policies perpetuate on a national level, through a neoliberal hegemony, the more this systemic inhumanity pervades.

Neoliberalism erases structural history to execute a linear narrative derived from a logic of efficiency in order to make the space as legible as possible for different markets to be created and exploited. In this case, through what is made legible, there is quite a bit that becomes illegible because it does not compute in terms of economic efficiency. In this way the Student Success Act privileges a specific kind of student - the traditional student. With this all non-traditional students, all the disadvantaged students, adult students, disabled students become marginalized. With the prioritization of the community college mission a situation is created in which many students become invisible. Considering

community college students are predominately low-income students of color, this is an issue of structural racism and classism. As it is most likely low-income students and students of color who will be disproportionately negatively impacted by the neoliberal education policies.

Contribution to Planning Theory

This case then revealed how City College of San Francisco educators have been taking a community-based planning approach to addressing barriers to access education, which was unique to the CCSF culture and community. There is not a lot of theory development and literature linking planning theory and practice as it relates to educational access yet overcoming issues of intersectional oppression in order to create more open and accessible forms of education is a planning issue. Radical planning theory offers insights into practice for how to take on neoliberalism and imperialism through struggling to create truly diverse democratic spaces for deliberation (Purcell, 2009; Roy, 2001, 2005b). This case helps to reveal the difference in how neoliberal reforms addressing inequity in educational access, in practice, are harmful to non-traditional students. The community college educators who work to aspire toward an open access vision are doing radical planning work to address various forms of intersectional oppression so that more of the community can benefit from the community college educational space. These disparate approaches to planning for community college access provide important insights for planning theory, particularly radical planning theory, and for hopes of planning as a more democratic process, working to transform beyond structures of oppression.

Community planning theory of praxis often draws from educational theory. Social learning is a prime example of a theoretical concept many community planners apply in their work. This can be seen in community-based efforts to address issues of inequity and injustice. Oftentimes, this work involves centering the voices of the most impacted in ways to disempower hegemonic narratives and empower an understanding derived from a collective will to address the issue at hand through a process of social learning. In this way, education is spoken of broadly in the sense of Dewey's communities of inquiry (Innes & Booher, 2010); as a form of popular education and education as praxis (theory combined with practice) in freedom (Freire, 2000/1970). Various planning scholars discuss this kind of planning work through the lens of

community planning (Campbell, 2006; Corburn, 2003; Hou & Kinoshita, 2007; Jacobs, 1992/1961; Sandercock, 1995, 1998; Umemoto, 2001; Umemoto & Igarashi, 2009) and deliberative planning (Innes & Booher, 2002, 2005, 2010; Healey, 1998, 1999; Forester, 1999a, 1990b). The planner in this sense is situated as a convener and facilitator for community planning processes and a nexus for different community-based efforts.

Radical planning theory, the theoretical planning discourse engaged with the most for this dissertation, discusses how planners cannot simply rely on the intentions of doing good. Planners must learn to deconstruct the current hegemony while also grappling with ways to seek viable alternatives (Jacobs, 2018; Purcell, 2009; Rankin, 2010; Roy, 2005a, 2005b; Watson, 2006). In terms of theorizing, this calls for situating the social imaginary of neoliberalism in the everyday lives of people and the realities that they face while aspiring to approach the act of planning as critical praxis (practice combined with theory) seeking to create meaningful community spaces where a diverse public can come together and struggle with each other and together in order to learn to pursue alternative futures collectively that works towards justice (Watson, 2006; Mouffe, 2005; Purcell, 2009). If planning is going to affect transformational change, then planning theory must work to address both issues of justice within decision-making processes as well as issues of justice within societal structures in order to help drive transformational community action. This case helps to reveal insights on how to do so, in both offering an important critique of hegemonic structures as well as possible alternative approaches to planning which are centered and generated from lived experiences.

The hope for this dissertation research is to contribute to the knowledge of how the practice of planning can connect deliberative democracy with structural transformation, where the intersect of community planning and public education is understood as a powerful space to work toward social transformation beyond the neoliberal social imaginary. Both the field of planning and education in themselves sit at the intersect of various societal issues and reflect broader social systems. Planning access to education offers insights into planning for any number of social and economic issues. In the specifics of this case, transferable insights become illuminated.

Planning theory offers a great deal in this discussion. This dissertation is just one piece of a much larger discourse. Some salient points on collective action, social change and deliberative democracy coming from planning theory will be touched on throughout the analysis of the case study. For instance, there are those recognizing the importance of collective action and the role of agency in creating institutional change (Kim, 2012; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Streeck & Thelen, 2009). Deliberative democracy theory provides perspectives into how to engage in institutional change, as well, and ranges on a vast spectrum of theory.

On one end, deliberative democracy is viewed as a mechanism for establishing processes of collaboration in a stakeholder society (Innes & Booher, 2002, 2005; Healey, 1998, 1999; Gutmann & Thompson, 1997). On the opposite end of the spectrum is the adversarial deliberative democracy perspective (Mansbridge, 1996) - the argument being power comes from people collectively organizing among those with common interests and values to find strength among each other. Deliberations lead to collective action by confronting a perceived adversarial force. A more adversary pluralistic democracy is necessary in which all groups must struggle for their own best interest, strategically forming alliances that suit their own ends.

Somewhere in the middle of the spectrum is the ideal of radical deliberative democracy (Mouffe 2000, 2005; Cohen & Fung 2004) which argues that differences in perspectives and values are always a given in pluralist societies, and there is never a way to escape the political. It is through antagonism that we can learn to act in new and different ways by struggling to learn from all perspectives such that no one is privileged over another, and the constant interrogation ensures that there is not one hegemony.

From all aspects of this spectrum, deliberative democracy has a rich theoretical tradition that helps to more deeply understand differences (Young, 1990, 1996, 2005) and how to create spaces for deliberation in the face of difference (Forester, 1999a, 1999b; Umemoto, 2001). The planning literature also provides important critiques that continue to push our conceptions of what is deliberative democracy is and how it can be utilized to confront power and hold people accountable within decision-making (Purcell, 2009; Roy, 2005b; Watson, 2006), yet deliberative democracy relies “on the possibility that participants can rise above the cultural, social, political

and economic power grids” (Umemoto & Igarashi, 2009, p.42). Therefore, it is important to identify the sources that distort communication through systematic social stratification (Umemoto & Igarashi, 2009). Who better to name this stratification than those who are deemed lesser by the stratifying system? Who better than those who are experiencing oppression? This is one of many reasons that it is important to uplift unheard and marginalized voices to create a clearer picture of all that is happening amongst the complexity of social dynamics (hooks, 2001; Duncan-Andrade, 2009; Freire, 2000/1970; Sandercock, 1995, 1997; Stovall, 2006). Yet, there is an important ideological critique of communicative planning that it does not do enough to address power dynamics and the ways in which certain values are dominant over others within the social imaginary of neoliberalism (Rankin, 2010; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Purcell, 2009; Roy, 2005a, 2005b; Stein & Harper, 2003; Watson, 2006).

Ultimately the facilitated process of communicative planning is reliant upon everyone aiming to transcend their own self-interest in order to work toward the good of all. This empathy and ability to expand ones’ perception of self-interests with a more collective-interest derives through one’s ability to recognize his own intersubjectivity (Purcell, 2009). “Those conditions constitute the basis for what Habermas calls ‘undistorted communication’, which allows participants to forge decisions fairly and honestly without domination or coercion (1985b: 96)” (Purcell, 2009, p. 149). Ultimately, communicative action theory presumes that, though discourse, power can be shared; and different ways of knowing and seeing the world will be held in the same regard as a technocratic expertise. Yet, in reality, within democratic spaces there are constant power dynamics playing out where certain voices are inevitably privileged over others, and/or a certain group of people are exploited in order to what is considered better the whole (Rankin, 2010; Roy, 2005b). This theory will be touched on throughout the case study, and especially toward the end, with regard to open access as a kind of critical vision for radical planning theory in order to address some of this critique of communicative action theory and deliberative planning.

CCSF Accreditation in a Broader Context

California’s Master Plan for Higher Education lays out a broad mission of serving educational needs for many different realities and intentions in outcomes. Community Colleges, in particular, provide course work to attain an associate degree and to be enabled to transfer to a four-year

degree program; vocational and career technical education; supporting basic skills development; enrichment courses and skills courses for meeting life's basic needs such as non-credit ESL and other lifelong learning pursuits, among other educational pursuits. When the Education Master Plan was originally created the intention of community college was to be free for students who could not afford to pay (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013). The Master Plan for Higher Education charted out that California Community Colleges "were to serve all Californians who could 'benefit from instruction.'" (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013, p. 8) With the Master Plan the state set a goal of ensuring affordable (or free) higher education opportunities for all Californians and it is CCCs that have held the space to achieve this goal.

Over the past ten plus years California Community Colleges (CCC) have experienced vast budget cuts. In the past, when community colleges have faced declines in funding they were either short in duration or comparatively mild. Colleges responded by making temporary decisions about how to cut expenses or make cuts seemingly tangential from core mission activities. Since the 2008 recession the scenario for community colleges has been volatile from year to year in terms of what kind of funding is going to be available. Cuts began in 2006 and have been unprecedented as far as both the depth of the cuts as well as the duration of the cuts (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013).

California Community Colleges (CCC) are largely reliant on state general fund support when compared to other California higher education systems (UC, UCS), therefore reductions in state funding have a deeper impact on CCCs, considering community colleges cannot raise student tuition like a four-year institution. Four-year institutions also have access to other funding sources, such as alumni networks and research grants, whereas community colleges do not (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson 2013). And yet, the intention of community colleges being accessible and affordable to all is a big part of this.

At the same time CCCs are facing extensive budget cuts, they are also being criticized by policy think tanks and lawmakers for having low student success rates, solely measured by degree completion and transfer numbers. There is also a dominating narrative permeating that community colleges have too broad a mission and are trying to do too much for too many

(Lumina Foundation, 2013). CCCs have been held under a critical lens in terms of demonstrating success and state-level entities are measuring this by completion and transfer rates, yet an open access mission reflects other goals as well, particularly, to help students define their own unique goals and chart the best course for themselves. People may come to a community college at different points in their life to seek out different goals and outcomes. For some it is simply the process of learning that is the outcome in and of itself. This is an expanded view of success and cannot be measured by completion and transfer rates alone.

The push for a prioritization of mission is coming from several directions to impact the community college. The lack of resources being invested, along with the pressure to focus more on completion rates in terms of AA degrees and credentials, as well as transfer rates, combined with a push for a national workforce development model where states focus more on the demand of churning out highly skilled labor for the knowledge economy (Ayers 2002, 2009; Dowd, 2003; Levin, 2006) is all putting a great deal of pressure on the community college to move away from an open access mission to a prioritized mission of attaining graduation numbers.

In San Francisco, there were two specific ballot measures, one at the state level, Proposition A, and another at the city level, Proposition 30, which were passed by the voting base to raise taxes to be allocated to the community colleges. While this has brought some relief over the past ten years, among other measures, the reality of the impact from the budget cuts is much deeper than any money recuperated from these ballot measures. From 2008-2011 it is estimated \$1.5 billion was cut from higher education in California. As mentioned, austerity cuts to higher education have a disproportionate impact on community college funding compared to other Higher Ed institutions. On top of this, the California legislature has doubled student fees from the early 2000s on. And yet the increase in fees has not compensated for the reduction in state spending, meaning there is less money per student enrolled over all (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013).

In California students of a certain economic threshold are eligible for a Board of Governors (BOG) Fee Waiver. Over the past ten years the number of students qualifying for the BOG Waiver Fee has been increasing. This is all happening at the same time the state is cutting spending per head dramatically (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013). At the same time the cost of

living in California continues to increase and wages continue to stay suppressed, the community college's ability to serve those with economic hardship is becoming more difficult through the state's austerity policies. These financial challenges are a threat to the open access mission and have been weaponized through the state (Shannon and Smith, 2006). State forces are encouraging schools to cut back and take an austerity stance, such as laying off faculty and staff and prioritizing the mission statement to focus on degree completion and graduation rates. All of this a threat to open access.

There has been a big push from the state-level and the policy-arena for the CCC's to focus on "mission prioritization." Even still, the budget cuts are affecting what the administrators would deem high priority issues resulting in reductions in course offerings, increases in class size, and consistent declines in enrollment among first-time students. Unfortunately, because of a lack of an ability to generate revenue, community colleges often feel they must address budget cuts and funding uncertainty by changing patterns of spending (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013). As shown through Prop A and Prop 30, one avenue is to levy taxes on the wealthy to generate more public revenue.

The overall response to the shortfall of funding has been cutting staff and courses being offered; and reducing the number of full-time equivalent instructors, which has resulted in increasing class sizes to new heights (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013). The general cutting of classes and of instructors has led to dramatic enrollment reduction, as the measures affect both access to entry and ability to complete an education plan. As of 2013 the state system had reached a twenty-year low in enrollment numbers (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013). It is estimated California community colleges have missed out on serving at least 600,000 students across the state because of these measures and subsequent actions (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson 2013).

77 percent of the California community colleges surveyed reported "cuts in state funding had a strong impact on students' academic experience" considering there were also cuts to crucial student programs in addition to classes and instructors (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013, p. 2). The California Community College system is the largest system of public higher education in the nation, serving a total of 2.4 million students in 2011-12 alone.

What is happening is that both for-credit and non-credit courses have been cut. While 90 percent of the overall courses offered are for-credit courses, non-credit courses have been cut at a faster rate proportionally to credit courses. Non-credit courses saw a decline of 35 percent between 2008-2011 compared to 14 percent of credit classes. The largest cuts in the kinds of classes offered were in fine arts and education programs such as physical education, music, and dance. The next largest cuts were seen in business and management programs such as office technology (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013, p.14). Between 2008-2013 course offerings in California declined by as much as 21 percent, with over 60 percent of Summer term courses being cut alone (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013, p.2). Non-credit courses generally serving older students have been cut the most, as far as proportional impact. The second largest decline seen in classes is with short-term vocational or career technical non-credit courses. Enrollment decline has been observed among many groups, yet the most devastating decline is among first-time students.

Overall, core academic and career technical education mission priorities have risen to the top. And more barriers have been created for working people attempting to take classes. When surveyed, administrators reported preparing students for transfer to a four-year college as the top priority; this was followed closely by preparing students for the workforce (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013). One could imagine if students and faculty were polled for the top priority there would most likely be much more variety of response.

Community College enrollment waiting lists are being utilized and there is evidence that these lists have grown, making it more difficult for students to register for a section (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013, p.17). Community colleges do not deny entry through eligibility requirements, yet they can do so by eliminating course and section offerings – a move that effectually restricts access. A barrier for students succeeding in their educational goals is not being able to get the classes they need to arrive at their goals.

Faculty and staff are being cut and many colleges are still grappling with salary and benefit freezes or reductions. There has also been a great loss in support staff (Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013). Academic services, particularly, counseling students with their academic plan and

progress, is a key directive from the Student Success Task Force and is viewed as key to improving outcomes such as degree completion and transfer rate. Yet resources for this have been impacted. Generally, it appears that in the face of limited resources CCCs have cut support services and protected what are perceived as core academic programs.

City College of San Francisco took a different approach to grappling with the 2008 budget cuts that really began as of 2006. City College has long taken a position of shared sacrifice and at this time CCSF had a system of shared decision making which meant administrators could not unilaterally make any decisions. Deliberation was deemed crucial. Throughout this time, CCSF had one consistent Chancellor who had previously served as a psychology instructor for years and according to various colleagues, had good rapport with faculty. Dr. Griffin began his tenure as chancellor in 2008 and resigned in mid-2012 due to health reasons. Due to these factors and others, CCSF made different decisions to respond to the fiscal crisis during this time than what was being suggested by the state.

As a college we looked at ways to, and this was the whole college, we looked for ways we could make cuts that were not going to be long term, but we were going to tighten our butts and get through. So that means not replacing administration, which is true. They got rid of a bunch of consultants, we were happy about that in general. Everybody in the college took a variety of temporary pay cuts, agreed to. We were at the table, agreed to do it, on different occasions, a couple of times in a row. And other kinds of cost savings that we could do (Faculty).

CCSF responded to the economic crisis by honoring keeping classes open and keeping faculty employed as the top priority. CCSF decided instead of laying people off and cutting classes, to not fill administrative positions as people are matriculating out of the positions through retirement or leaving for other reasons. CCSF decides to take a wage cut across the board among all faculty, staff and administration in order to reserve funds to keep all programs going and all classes offered. CCSF also spent money in reserves because the thought was this was a time for using money in the reserves, that this was what the reserves were intended for. The CCSF community also acted to raise funds locally through advocating in the community for the passage

of PROP A as well as the state passage of PROP 30. At the same time a contingent of CCSF faculty, staff and students were speaking out against the recommendations being made by the Student Success Task Force leading up to the passage of the Student Success Act in 2012.

CCSF tried different costs saving measures, even some recommended by the state, such as cutting summer school. The college would constantly reassess and in the case of cutting summer school determined it was not a good decision because of the negative impact it had on students. They then decided the following summer not to cut summer school, but to go back to the drawing board as far as additional cuts that could be made that would not affect course offerings.

One of the examples is one year we cut summer school. That was a disaster for our students. It was terrible. It was really hard on people. Then students couldn't transfer... Coming out of that our chancellor even agreed, we are never doing that again, that's not the right way to go. The goal was not to turn the students away and the goal was not to lay people off, so there were people who weren't replaced. But people weren't laid off during that time period. And that was an all-college decision. It was not one group running off. So that is what the college did (Faculty).

Another faculty describes the 2008-2012 budget cuts and CCSF's response.

So, these were really hard times. And City College definitely made decisions that were not decisions other people made. Other's laid people off, they lost most, if not all of their part time faculty. They pushed students out of classes or shoved students into classes. You know all kinds of stuff to try to get by. We went a way that was much more temporary. And we said temporarily we are going to do this and meanwhile work on a parcel tax. Meanwhile we are going to bring revenue back to California. And guess what, we actually did those things. It wasn't just pie in the sky. It really happened. Which I am proud of (Faculty).

The austerity crisis cannot be separated from the accreditation crisis even though this case study is meant to focus on the latter. This contextual information helps to set the stage for the actions then made by the ACCJC and the incoming administrators. The austerity measures, the enactment of the student success act and the actions made by the ACCJC all point to the reality of how much neoliberalism has come to dominate the California Community College state governing mechanisms.

Need for the Study

This study is unique in its perspective. There are empirical studies of community colleges which focus on macro-level analysis such as comparing changes within multiple community college systems across a specific region or nationwide (Adams et al., 2013; Ayers, 2009; Levin, 2006; Osterman, 2010; Pusser & Levin, 2009). Other studies focus on perceptions of change from a specific position such as surveying community college presidents (Ayers, 2009; Summers, 2001; Wyatt, 2009) or investigating the efficacy of institutional language such as mission statements (Ayers, 2002, 2005; Mrozinski, 2010). Others have focused more on measuring outcomes due to policy initiatives, for example, evaluating the effects of performance-based funding (Dowd, 2003; Dougherty et al., 2014; Hendrick et al., 2006) and administrative restructuring (Ayers, 2005; Levin, 2006).

This proposed study is unique in that it is seeking to discover insights by bridging a structural analysis with a specific case study by weaving together the narratives of how people socially construct the educational space and the impact this has on the school community. There is an underlying issue of power dynamics and access to decision making. By focusing on one community college's experiences with and struggling against neoliberal reform, this study seeks to dig deeper toward a human-centered focus of understanding current community college conditions. Specifically, critical insights to challenge current power dynamics and spaces for collective re-imagining to work toward a thriving community college culture based on knowledge derived from the experiences of the people living within the space.

CCSF had to respond to the threat by working tirelessly to meet the compliance measures laid out by the ACCJC. Right around the time the college was hit with Show Cause, the Chancellor at

the time, who had been in the position since just shortly before the recession began, was diagnosed with a severe health issue and had to resign quickly. The Board of Trustees had hired an interim Chancellor who initially was brought on as a consultant to focus on the perceived financial issues of the college. The transition of power culminated at the same time as the sanctioning and left CCSF especially vulnerable. Around the same time as this, the state legislature is implementing neoliberal policy recommendations for how community colleges across the state should restructure by changing funding structures, with the passage of the Student Success Act, and eventually Guided Pathways (California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office, September 27, 2012; <http://cccgp.cccco.edu/>). With the combination of the recession, the sanctioning by the ACCJC, a state mandate to restructure and a string of interim chancellors all from outside the college, created a tumultuous environment for the people that go to school and work at CCSF. This case is important to study because community colleges across the nation are facing similar realities, the combination of austerity policies and state policies pushing for more performance-based or neoliberal approaches to how community colleges function is forcing a great deal of top-down structural change while under financial duress (Ayers, 2009; Levin, 2007).

Many consider the strategies employed by the ACCJC in sanctioning the College extreme. At the same time, the College administration and faculty worked tirelessly to demonstrate CCSF was complying with the accreditation standards, yet oftentimes people were put in a paradox of working to comply and also resisting because the way compliance was framed pushed for the neoliberal reform, accreditation, in this sense, being used as a governance tool to force the compliance of a neoliberal reform agenda. This created a great deal of instability within the college. Faculty and support staff were afraid their programs would be cut, and some programs and positions were. Enrollment dropped drastically throughout this time, as students were either choosing to enroll elsewhere or not going to school at all with the threat to loss of CCSF's accreditation.

This case study focuses on the voices of those who exist within the space of City College - particularly students, faculty, and administrators - and looks to how these voices articulate the accreditation crisis. Because of this, this research focused on seeking out the spaces where

struggle existed to be observed. This includes observing public hearings concerning school budget and policy, court case testimonial, various types of faculty and student meetings, demonstrations, teach-ins, and rallies. The participant observation helped to ground this research in the complexity of the CCSF space and to give witness to various yet fleeting moments on the timeline of this story. This narrative is informed by the participant observation, archival research and in-depth interviews with faculty, students and administrators. It is through the coding of the interview data predominately, along with field notes and text-based research that themes emerged for this case to create the structure to bring these various details of the overall experience to light.

Overall, the need, then, for this study is to better understand how neoliberalism comes to dominate over other worldviews and bears witness to the alternatives that rest in the critique of neoliberalism. Through a grounded theory methodology, this case study reveals how the neoliberal social imaginary comes to dominate through exploiting the accreditation crisis as a means to negate other rationales and other ways of seeing the crisis. The resistance to the changes taking place at the college throughout the accreditation crisis helps to reveal both critical analysis of how neoliberal reform is harmful to non-traditional students and how an open access worldview offers a radical planning approach. This radical planning approach is about continuously centering different people from the community in ways where their needs and desires for education are made available as well as issues relating to how they can overcome any barriers to accessing this kind of education.

Research Methodology, Research Questions, Data Collection and Analysis

This is a grounded theory case study and explores themes that emerge through the articulation of the crisis with grounded theory methods. Grounded theory takes a constructivist stance to knowledge in that various perspectives are all interpretive stances offering information as to how people perceive and experience a phenomenon (Charmaz, 2006). In this case the phenomenon is being framed through the accreditation crisis, yet considering each perspective is interpretive, through the context of the case, there are perspectives that can be mapped as in alignment with the outside forces that are acting to restructure CCSF, making this worldview the dominant or hegemonic worldview. This case study seeks to take a critical analysis and, therefore, centers the

interpretive stances that conflict with the dominant worldview as a means of generating insightful alternatives to what is being actualized by those with the most power. This conceptual theory also speaks to the relationship between rationality and power, and how power exercises authority through rationality (Flyvberg, 1998, 2003; Foucault, 1980). This grounded theory is also seeking to find insights into alternative ways of planning which work to address intersectional oppression as a means of addressing structural oppression.

Grounded theory comes from the constructivist tradition. Within this frame both myself as the researcher and the participants I dialogue with are all co-constructors of knowledge. The interview is therefore central to my research methods. The interview is a space of give and take with the participant in which we are shaping the research data and the experience itself (Birks & Mills, 2011; Charmaz, 2006; Tyler, 2011). A lot then of what is being constructed is defined through the need for the study and how this is shaped (Creswell, 2007).

This case study seeks to more deeply understand how people within the College experienced the crisis and the implications of the crisis. This research seeks to humanize how people experience neoliberal education policies, as well as provide an alternative for planning. The process by which these reforms are being implemented is important to understand. This is a case about how one college experienced the implementation of reform policies in abusive and oppressive ways. And how their work for many years stands in resistance to neoliberal policies, offering insights into alternatives for planning.

Research questions

This study reviews the conflicting narratives of change according to a group of resisters and ACCJC aligners, predominately faculty and then administrators. People are experiencing this crisis much differently depending on their unique identity and position within the community college. CCSF is then positioned within the local context of San Francisco, with different scales of governance influencing and pressuring the college to change in certain ways. All this then affects the people within CCSF, just as the individuals are affecting CCSF. It is iterative and dialectical, and this is the complexity being grappled with through the research questions. The research questions, therefore, focus on how change is taking place within the institution and how

people are experiencing and engaging with these changes. The study focuses on how people engaging with the crisis have defined the crisis and their experience with the crisis.

- How did various actors define the crisis City College of San Francisco endured with the threat to loss of accreditation between the years 2012-2017?
- How did different actors experience and engage with the crisis, considering all the divergent positions, perspectives and philosophies within the college community?

These questions help to reveal the context for which I situate the phenomenon that I am focusing on. The question is not how is accreditation affecting the college, but how is institutional change taking shape within CCSF in the context of facing a threat of loss of accreditation? Because of this, this case study is less about accreditation itself and more about the ways that the participants interviewed narrated their experience. These differences in narration helped to reveal the divergent positions, perspectives and philosophies. Again, the context of loss of accreditation helped to give the participants context to narrate the phenomenon. Some sub-questions that have been adapted through the course of this grounded theory process and are as follows:

- How are different actors experiencing and articulating the crisis?
- How do divergent perspectives narrate what CCSF is?
- What are the narrators' positions in structures of power and how is this reflected in their interpretive stances?

Community colleges are often discussed as if they were generic, cut from a box, institutions. Reality is that community colleges are a part of the social fabric within a local context and the institution is made up of people that live and work within these networks of social relations. Therefore, the reality of institutional change is complex and messy. By accepting the messy-ness and trying to understand the complexity and nuance this study will aspire to reveal a richer and deeper understanding for how institutional change takes shape and theorize potential processes for more self-actualized (self-defined as the community) and collective-action oriented approaches to organizational change. Inherent to my research question is both the study of the process and the outcomes of change.

Methods for data collection and analysis

This is a qualitative research study where the main forms of data collection methods are: interviews, archival/text-based data, and field observation. All three methods of data collection are vital to developing this case study. While interviews give insight into peoples' perceptions, philosophies, positions and experiences, the text-based data provides insights into how discussions are framed and how decisions are made. This is a dynamic issue with a lot of layers and different cases happening within this one case (Patton 2002). Therefore, the field observation is important in order to develop my thick description. Observing is important to developing a sense of all the different contexts, more deeply understanding inter-personal dynamics and how messages are communicated to broader audiences. All three allowed me to triangulate my findings in order to strengthen my conceptualization of the issue and the grounded theory, to bring new insights to these types of institutional phenomenon (Patton, 2002).

Through a grounded theory process of coding, sorting, and analyzing to develop theory and a process of constant comparison, conceptual theory emerged from the data (Charmaz, 2005, 2006, 2008; Patton, 2002). The case study then is described through the articulation of emerging themes and conceptual theories through the presentation of the case study in in the concluding thoughts as well as implications for planning.

Community Colleges and Society

Community colleges have a long history of being perceived as simultaneously working-class institutions as well as stigmatized lesser quality higher educational institutions. Community colleges are by design meant to be accessible to a wide-variety of students in order to provide different educational outcomes for the broader community (Levin, 2009). Because of open admission policies, low tuition costs and geographic proximity to either home or work, community colleges are intended to be an accessible pathway to higher education and to educational enrichment more generally. The community college historically has attracted low income, often first-generation college students and/or older adults returning to school to learn a new skill or obtain a new credential.

Low-income and students of color are also the students most likely to have numerous barriers toward enrollment, matriculation and degree attainment because of various factors. Some factors are the difficulty in balancing family and work obligations and other responsibilities. These are obstacles their more affluent, privileged, and predominately white peers generally do not face (National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education, 2011). Many of the factors relate to material reality such as income, housing stability, access to public transportation, etc. When all of this is considered in conjunction with the quality of K-12 educational access someone has, the barriers to success for a variety of goals and trajectories becomes more difficult. The disparity in access to quality education between poor, black, and brown students compared to white, privileged students is stark along with access to other basic life necessities.

Community colleges also have a long history of contradictory narratives and conflicting missions (Ayers, 2002; Brint, 2003; Dougherty, 1994; Dowd, 2003; Levin 2001, 2006; Pusser & Levin 2009). The identity of community colleges is debated and shaped by different scales of influence, from the media, state and federal policy elites, and the institutions themselves as they relate to their local community (Pusser & Levin, 2009). It seems community colleges are constantly painted as being in a state of “crisis” due to decreases in funding, constant pressures to adapt educational programs to new and different standards, unstable labor market demands, growing competition from private for-profit educational centers, an aging administrative class, and conflicting goals (Ayers, 2002; Brint, 2003; Dowd, 2003; Levin, 2001; Pusser & Levin, 2009).

At the same time, community colleges are being held up in public discourse as “beacons of hope” in overcoming economic hardships, as community colleges are accessible institutions that can “lift up” those traditionally marginalized from the growing knowledge economy (Deil-Amen & Rosenbaum, 2003; Pusser & Levin, 2009). Community colleges have some of the most expansive and conflicting goals when compared to other public education institutions. At the same time, they are the most affected by economic research, economic development, and dominant narratives that define how to imagine economic development (Ayers, 2009; Brint, 2003; Dougherty, 1994; Shaw & Jacobs, 2003). Community colleges have many competing interests that work simultaneously to influence governance and institutional missions. What is important here is the conditions make it so that these tensions continue to persist. There is no

ability to work through these differences through democratic processes because the tensions persist structurally. The community college is both a reflection of broader society as much as it is a lens into understanding structural oppression in concrete and localized ways.

There is a great deal of literature critiquing the purely economic or efficiency model that dominates community college planning currently (Ayers, 2009; Brint, 2003; Dowd, 2003; Levin, 2006, 2007; Shaw & Jacobs, 2003). Dowd (2003) argues that even though progressives make the claim that the accessibility of community colleges ensures consistent opportunities for social mobility, this is actually a limited and controlled access to social mobility - more of a facade to perpetuate a segregated and stratified society. Regardless, the goal of social mobility is often trumped by the goal for social efficiency (Shaw & Jacobs, 2003). Even still, social mobility rests on the conditions of a class-based society, demonstrating how the community college reflects structural tensions existing between democratic ideals and capitalistic endeavors (Dowd, 2003 citing Labaree 1997; See also Brint and Karabel, 1989).

Within the literature there is a generalization that community colleges have three main functions: transfer degree programs, vocational training programs, and lifelong learning. The literature also highlights how each function is often in competition for resources (Dowd, 2003; Levin, 2006), and yet the functions themselves have contradictory goals (Dowd, 2003; Brint, 2003). For instance, some uphold vocational training creates more democratic educational opportunities, diversifies educational credentials and creates access to skilled trades (Shaw & Jacobs, 2003). While others view vocational training programs as a form of social stratification and a means of keeping traditionally underserved and marginalized students from entering the higher echelons of knowledge production (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Rhoads & Valadez, 1996).

A dominant narrative amongst state lawmakers is community colleges must become more socially efficient as community colleges are accountable to taxpayers' dollars and must continue to demonstrate their ability to deliver in terms of human capital for economic development (Dowd, 2003, p. 97; See also Dougherty, 1994). Operationally, efficiency has meant community colleges "doing more with less." Ideologically, it means "producing" for market-oriented outcomes (Levin, 2001, 2006, 2007). Community colleges have struggled over the last thirty

years to meet diverse external expectations from the state, the business sector and from students as more emphasis is placed on students as consumers (Dowd, 2003). There is less emphasis in policy as far as the broader public good community colleges provide such as access to lifelong learning, community development, and alternative economic development models. In a sense, this narrow focus has led to even more stratification within community colleges (Dowd, 2003; Levin, 2001, 2006).

And even though community colleges continue to tout a narrative of open access because of the low cost compared to other higher education options, the reality is that tuition at community colleges has increased over the past thirty years. An action that demonstrates a movement away from open access (Dowd, 2003; Bohn, Reyes & Johnson, 2013). During the 1960s and 70s many community colleges were free to low-income students, this is no longer the case for most community colleges, as tuition increases have raised higher education expenses for all (Dowd, 2003). This adds increased strain for the most vulnerable because many low-income students will choose to work long hours before taking out loans; and the disparity in the real value of their wages given cost of living increases creates more barriers toward their degree attainment and overall enrollment and matriculation.

Summary of the Following Chapters

The remainder of this study goes as follows. The following chapter, Chapter 2, discusses in depth the methodological process of data collection and analysis engaged in to conceptualize theory through the case study analysis. This chapter also discusses more of the methodological perspective in grounded theory as a qualitative research design along with the rationale of the researcher and other ethical considerations. Chapter three is the grounded theory case study where the question of how the crisis is defined depending on one's positionality is explored through the development of three major conceptual theories developed through the constant comparison analysis process which revealed several emerging themes. The fourth and last chapter is the conclusion chapter, where broader implications for planning theory will be discussed - particularly, principles and insights to inform radical planning theory that aims toward transformational social change, along with recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology and Research Methods

Grounded Theory Methodology

In this sense, grounded theory is a method of data collection and analysis intended to center the focus on how we as humans are active agents in our own lives; we are not passive recipients. And yet there are larger social forces that we are constantly internalizing, which, depending on our position of power, more or less, comes to define how we internalize these forces and act through these narratives (Charmaz, 2006, see p. 7). Because social construction and human agency is in constant relationship expressed through the complexity of each individual and ever-evolving ways, process is more important than simply focusing on structure. In many ways process is more important than structure as far as what is fundamental to human existence. This is not to say structures are not important, yet it is human processes that create the structures over time. Yet, regarding structures, we cannot negate human agency and how structures are constantly emerging through our engagement and actions. In this sense this research is focused on structural critique through the lens of human agency where the issues are constantly emerging, where we can find social and subjective meaning and discover problem-solving practices through the study of action to grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006, p. 7).

The focus, then, is on qualitative data collection and qualitative analysis. It is qualitative in various ways. Aspects of this design that make it qualitative are the research which is occurring in a natural setting; the researcher is the key instrument for data collection; there are multiple sources of data collection (interview, observation, text); it is inductive in how meaning is being made from a particular phenomenon; the participants meaning making is centered within the analysis; and the research design is emerging. The theory produced is situated as interpretive in that it is a limited in various ways and is honest about this; and yet it is through the interpretation where a complex picture of the issues can be presented (Creswell, 2008).

In this case the focus is on qualitative analysis to the end of generating political economy ideology discourse which looks to how ideology manifests in the particular phenomenon (Patton, 2002; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). For this case the focus is on gathering and analyzing data in order to understand how it acts within the social space where both interpreting the crisis as well as

acting in response to the crisis in the context of their position within the crisis and what this then reveals about larger structural phenomenon.

Individuals create society; society creates institutions and institutions create the environment for how we engage with one another as individuals. Society is continuously, dialectically and cyclically being created (McLaren, 2007; Mouffe, 2000). Because the polis is so diverse, the reality that we all come with shifting and changing identities enforces the never-ending process of struggling with one another through an aspiration of collaboration to continue the process of seeking justice (Young, 1995; Mouffe, 2000). In this sense this is a constructivist grounded theory, a research methodology where through qualitative data collection, coding data and constantly comparing data, theoretical concepts are generated (Charmaz, 2006, 2009; Tyler 2011). This methodology is grounded in the belief individuals are seeking to construct meaning and understanding of their experiences, yet this meaning-making does not exist in a vacuum. There is a broader social context in which people experience their lives (Charmaz, 2008; Tyler, 2011).

This research seeks to explore contemporary conditions of “global neoliberal hyper capitalism in which new forms of imperialism are constituted in the name of democracy, education, and even social justice” to offer conceptualizations and “practices of critical qualitative social science.” (Clarke, Friese, Washburn and Charmaz, 2015, p.216). This research in methodology and in perspective seeks to challenge norms and truths while being consciences to not oversimplify or over generalize. Abstractions and generalizations are made, yet understanding these generalizations are for narrative purposes and are up for constant debate and discussion is key (Charmaz, 2006).

I also recognize, as the researcher, I am made vulnerable through my methodological choices. The researcher must recognize how incomplete the analysis will inevitably be and how one will always be working with limited information. Because of this, the researcher is accountable for all methodological decisions made throughout the process and must be as explicit as possible about a complex process in order to create some kind of transparency. And yet this will be inevitably flawed and limited as well. At the end of the day, I am limited by various factors based on a set

of various conditions such as time and resources where the research is offered as never complete and always open for discussion.

As a researcher, I come from a lens through which meaning making is done within a social context and there is a dialectical relationship between how we create the world through our actions and how social constructs then informs our actions through meaning making. We are in a fluid relationship with our broader social context which can be described as the social imaginary, in the ways we engage with and experience the world materially and discursively and in turn the ways the structures absorb our actions (McLaren, 2007; Mills, 2000; Taylor, 2007). Considering the researcher is the main instrument for data collection as well as data analysis, there also must be acknowledgement that as a researcher I am biased through my own set of unique identity and experiences lived. This cannot be separated from the theoretical offerings. I am explicit below about various layers of my identity, specifically in how it might shape how I am viewing this case.

Overall, this methodology is concerned most with constructing a critical qualitative analysis in the form of generating theoretical concepts which might help to re-conceptualize the world in terms of what we can claim to know in ways where we can reveal how to take collective actions to defend those that are being marginalized and oppressed at any given time (Clarke, Friese, Washburn and Charmaz, 2015, p. 216). With this dissertation I wish to offer some reconceptualization of the dominant narrative of neoliberalism in terms of access to education and what this means in terms of planning theory, and through a process of constant comparison, a kind of interpretive construction is taking place. Where the ways oppression plays out through neoliberal policies in everyday life. And how this information that is based on the lived experience can help to reveal a different way.

The following sections of this chapter explain more about the methodological decisions made in this case and the theoretical framework driving these decisions. The next section covers why a case study was chosen for this particular grounded theory research project. Following this is a section on data collection methods, and then a section on data analysis methods. The iterative process of both collecting and analyzing is described following these sections. After the section

on how the analysis was conducted, there is a section on the role of the researcher, along with challenges and limitations, and ethical considerations.

Case Study

The accreditation issues the City College of San Francisco faced were in many ways representative of issues that other community colleges are facing in the present moment, as other colleges have faced an increase in accreditation citations within the California Community College system over the past fifteen years. In addition to this, the new accreditation standards are potentially a harbinger for other reform efforts across the country. The Accreditation Commission of Community and Junior Colleges (ACCJC) offers accreditation for community colleges throughout California, Nevada, Hawai'i, American Samoa, Guam, Republic of the Marshall Islands and Palau (<https://accjc.org/find-an-institution/>). The ACCJC also has a relationship with the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC), which is the accrediting body for all public and private colleges in California and the Pacific. This leads one to believe this could be emblematic of issues that Pacific colleges may or are already facing. This CCSF study is both a case among many, yet also a unique and extreme case. In this sense, studying CCSF's restructuring can help to reveal many of the interconnected issues and complexities surrounding this issue, recognizing that the context within different cases will be unique.

Because of the extreme nature of this specific case, the CCSF's experience with accreditation and potential closure made a case study the best approach to research. This case is extreme because CCSF was placed on Show Cause, meaning the college was forced to demonstrate compliance prior to July 2014 or at this time lose accreditation. This deadline was thwarted due to the fact that the city's District Attorney filed a lawsuit on behalf of the people of San Francisco against the accreditation board, claiming unlawful business practices. Therefore, this case has a temporal and spatial bounding that allowed for thick descriptions of the context (Geertz, 1973). Through thick description and in-depth interviewing, this case revealed the many complexities that arise due to a diverse array of community and educational contexts, as well as forces at play in decision-making.

Through a case study approach, I was able to dive into the everyday lived experiences of those that are encountering this issue (Feagin et al., 1991). This helped to reveal more of the various aspects to how neoliberal policies and practices affect everyday life for a public institution embedded in a specific place and time. Imagining beyond this current context, this approach helped to reveal a deeper understanding of the relationship between people and an institution and people within an institution. A case study allowed for reflecting on broader ideological issues of public educational contexts and how they are governed, through the process of explaining how people are experiencing this bounded phenomenon (Creswell, 2007, p. 73). This allows for rich and thick descriptions to illustrate the debates in the everyday lives of peoples' experiences and the ideas that they bring to their daily actions (Creswell, 2007; Feagin et al., 1991). The research takes an overall inductive approach, abstracting lessons learned from those facing adversity and conflict.

In this sense, the Contribution to planning theory is to offer principles for radical community planning practice that derive from researching the lived experience of those who are engaged in the struggle against the domination of neoliberalism. In this case the principles originate in how the educators, who also in a sense also community planners, through community collaboration, engage in the work of constantly centering those in their community who are marginalized in the traditional educational space to bring them to center in terms of how to serve their educational needs and how to help them overcome any barriers to enrollment and matriculation.

Data Collection Methods

As mentioned, three main forms of data collection methods were utilized for this case. These included open-ended interviews, archival/text-based collection and field observation. All three methods of data collection were vital in their unique ways to developing this case study, while they also worked together to zig zag between analysis for a rich process of constant comparison, to be described below. As also mentioned, the interviews were the anchors for analysis, providing insights into peoples' perceptions, philosophies, positions and experiences. The text-based data illuminated this whole broader world which led to insights into how discussions are framed and how decisions are made. This is a dynamic case with a lot of layers and in many ways lots of small cases within one big case (Patton, 2002), and even still, this case is limited

and incomplete because of the nature of the natural inquiry (Charmaz, 2006). The field observation was then important in order to develop thick description as observing is important to developing a sense of all the different contexts and bringing information to more deeply understand inter-personal dynamics and how messages are communicated to broader audiences. All three allowed for a rich process of constant comparison in order to enhance the conceptualization of the issue and the grounded theory emerging and to bring new insights to these types of institutional phenomenon (Patton, 2002).

Research timeline

Grounded theory is emerging in all aspects. It is emerging in the process design. It is emerging in the generalizable theoretical concepts that are situated within in a specific context. The methodology offers a set of analytical tools and methodological strategies that are meant to be adopted uniquely for each emerging research project (Charmaz, 2006). There is no prescribed theory, simply tools to conceptualizing a process for successive levels of abstraction through a process of comparative analysis.

With this in mind, the research data collection process took an iterative and phased approach, as did the analysis, where the two are intermixed throughout. An iterative approach was incorporated from the beginning of the research design, and yet it was still adapted overtime as I remained flexible to the emerging themes and where the emergence was taking me.

This research took place over a four-year period beginning with preliminary research in the Winter 2014. A majority of the interviews and participant observation took place from June 2014 through April 2015, with another set of participant observation and interviewing taking place in Summer 2017. Analysis happened throughout this time.

See Appendix E for a Gantt chart describing a timeline from data collection, to writing, to final drafting and defense, which occurred in Spring 2018. In January of 2014 I began preliminary research where I interviewed three people engaged in the CCSF crisis. I also participated in field observation during this time, along with text-based research and initial journaling. I will speak more to this below. The first set of formal interviews took place in June of 2014. At this time, I

attended meetings such as community-based dialogue and school discussions concerning the accreditation crisis. I also attended a demonstration along with an ACCJC commission hearing in Sacramento. In Fall 2014 I attended CCSF Board of Trustee public meetings along with CCSF public budget meetings, the court hearing and various demonstrations and teach-ins. I also worked on the affordability campaign during this time, which I will discuss in the section where I reflect on my role as the researcher. In Fall 2014 I also conducted more formal and informal interviews. At this point I started to check in with liaisons to get feedback on what I was beginning to generate. Throughout all of this time I collected and analyzed text-based data. In Summer 2015 I had my first set of transcriptions under way where I began my initial coding and more focused memoing. Once I had transcriptions under way I set on a process of constant comparison through coding, sorting, substantive coding and memo integration. All of this will be described in more detail below. This is to give the reader a brief snapshot of what the whole research process looked like from start to finish.

Setting of the study

The research setting for this study was the City College of San Francisco. The primary focus was on the faculty, students and administrators involved with solving the accreditation crisis at the City College of San Francisco. This of course brought into play the broader San Francisco urban landscape, along with the broader ideological discussion regarding community college policy and governance. Throughout this study City College of San Francisco is referred to as the College, City College as well as CCSF, all meant to be synonymous.

Participants

Participants for this study were identified through a snowball effect. Each person interviewed was asked who else they thought should be interviewed to learn more about how the college worked through the accreditation crisis. Each of these people were then reached out to by phone and email. From this pool it was a matter of who would voluntarily participate. Whomever responded to the request was interviewed in person. We would schedule a time convenient for the participant, at a place of their choosing. Faculty, students, and administrators were all sought out. The one common link to selecting participants was they have been or were actively involved in some kind of role in taking on what was referred to as the accreditation crisis. Consistent with

the human subject research protocol, all interviews were confidential, and no actual names of participants are used in this study. Instead, each quote was referenced by the participants role in the college: “Faculty”, “Student”, “Administrator”. All participants have signed an informed consent form prior to beginning of the interview. All the original signed consent forms are stored in a private location for each participant on file.

The voices centered in this case study are of those who were the most engaged in the accreditation crisis struggle and each participant was asked to describe to me, the researcher, how they describe the crisis and how they have experienced the crisis. Depending on one’s position within the college and the role they took on within the crisis, a set of values was revealed. Contextualizing these values within the broader context of the case helps to reveal how neoliberal education reform came to dominate CCSF through the various struggles the college endured and how peoples’ experiences and the way they expressed their experiences all coalesced here to reveal these emerging theoretical concepts. Overall, an open sampling process was utilized to find those that are most able to speak to a direct experience with the CCSF restructuring process and/or are directly affected by it (Charmaz, 2005). Otherwise, the participant identification process, as mentioned, followed a snowball effect and looked to participants for names of future participants to interview. Many people were reached out to for an interview; there were a substantial few who either declined to participate or did not respond to the request.

In total there were fifteen extensive interviews conducted (three preliminaries, twelve formal). Two elected Board of Trustees were interviewed, three administrators, nine faculty, two students, and one union staff member. The table below describes various important details about each participant to situated them within the crisis. The first is their identifier, either Administrator, Faculty, or Student. The next is their job and or role within the college. As mentioned, everyone identified for an interview played a role within addressing the accreditation crisis in various ways. These roles derived from their position within the social space, along with the actions taken considering this positionality. Therefore, each participant had distinguishing roles to help reveal the diversity of participants that were interviewed. Each remaining column speaks to other roles the participant might have played and other pertinent information to situate their unique

interpretive stance. **See Appendix F** with descriptions of the participants based on their various roles within the college.

While I did seek to interview a diverse group of participants in both the kinds of roles they played within the accreditation crisis, the roles they have within CCSF, their gender, race, age, and background, at the same time certain identities had to be prioritized over others and at the end of the day I talked with anyone who was willing to participate that had been identified as someone engaging in the crisis in some way. However, I never explicitly asked participants to share any particular identity demarcations regarding race, ethnicity, gender or sexuality. Therefore, I feel it is inappropriate to list these traits within the breakdown of my participant list. In an effort to offer transparency as far as the diversity of the participants', race and gender diversity, **See Appendix G** for a rough estimate of these identity breakdowns. This is offered in the spirit of transparency considering this research discusses contentious issues regarding race, class and other dynamics of oppression and identity. While this research wishes to offer a critical lens, there are limitations to this considering the limitedness in perspectives that may exist considering many of the participants of this research were white, female, and mostly faculty. And most of the faculty interviewed were white and female. I cannot say how this affected the emerging concepts or the presentation of the material, I can only gather that it does have an effect. Further research will be discussed in the concluding chapter. One area for certain is learning more first hand from the students who are marginalized through neoliberal policies as well as from students who have benefited from an open access planning practice. A diversity of students would be ideal.

Preliminary research

Three preliminary interviews were conducted in January of 2014. Two key sources from the preliminary interviews were followed up with throughout the study. These two key sources became liaisons throughout the process (Patton, 2002). Also, during the preliminary phase, contextual and background literature reviews were conducted as well as reviews of the literature on methods and broad social theories such as Taylor's (2007), Castoriadis's (1998), and CW Mills's (2000/1959) conceptualizations of the social imaginary. Since a great deal of this research focused on the analysis of texts, a cadre of archival sources were compiled in the

preliminary phase which was added to throughout the study. During this time, I joined different email lists, such as Save City College, and also began tracking news media surrounding the issue.

Open-ended interviews

As mentioned, including the preliminary phase and through three rounds of formal interviewing, 15 participants were formally interviewed through a semi-structured/open ended interview. All interviews were conducted face to face. The interview times ranged from 45 minutes to 2.5 hours. (**See Appendix A for interview question guide**). With each interviewee, I discussed how I would address issues of confidentiality such as keeping their identity anonymous throughout the data collection and analysis process. I also presented to them the IRB protocol and asked for their permission to audio record the interview by presenting a consent form and asking for their signature. I communicated with each interviewee that the interview is voluntary and that they are able to end the interview at any time. I informed them that if they wished for something to be “off record,” then I can turn off the audio-recorder. After each interview, I followed up with a thank you email and offered an open line of communication if they had any questions or comments later on or wished to know more about the research.

With the permission of each interviewee, I transcribed each interview at a later date. Initial notes were typed up and reflections were written as soon as possible after each interview. During the interview process, I made efforts to build rapport and trust before diving into more specifics about their experiences with the research topic by talking more generally about the research and more generally about their role and history at CCSF at the beginning of each interview. If participants desired to review their own transcripts, I offered this possibility. No participants followed up in this regard. Otherwise all transcripts have been kept confidential.

The interviews had a layer of appreciative inquiry as I engaged with participants regarding their visions for a thriving community college to offer an opportunity for reimagining during a time of crisis intermixed with rapid change. A number of participants found this kind of questioning difficult as it was hard to see beyond the crisis. Yet, through answering other questions many of these same participants did express a vision of a thriving community college. For some it looked

like a neoliberal vision, where all community colleges integrated a set of standards to which there was general protocol, the focus was streamlined, and the mission prioritized. For others there were a variety of answers about the various ways open access could be achieved. The various answers helped to reveal how expansive and inclusive an open access vision is.

Since this case study is being approached through grounded theory constructivism (Charmaz, 2005, 2006, 2008) three rounds of formal interviews were conducted. In the first phase of the research eight people were formally interviewed. I was fortunate that I had a core foundation of participants who I continued to converse with and learn from since this issue is current and different actions and dynamics changed overtime. This served as part of my approach to checking in with membership (Creswell, 2008). In the second phase and third phases, two participants were formally interviewed for a total of 12 formal interviews. Formal is codified here because there were many informal interviews that would take place during various participant observation events. This is discussed in more detail below.

In the final phase of interviewing a memo of key themes was drafted and shared with key participants for feedback along with the new interview participants. This acted as a kind of member check-in, where feedback was gathered in various ways from people living the phenomenon. A focus group conversation with 5 participants was held as a way to conduct follow-up interviews with key interviewees to get feedback on the direction of my findings (Briggs, 1986; Lassiter, 2005). There was also member check-in happening throughout, as I would reach out and follow up with a few different participants to gather feedback on the concepts that were emerging and to check in on how things were going for them. This feedback was vital to ground my thinking and contributed a great deal to the process of constant comparison, which will be described below.

I have been aware throughout this research process of how I could potentially cause more harm to the community by misrepresenting different perspectives during this intense time of instability. I have sought constant feedback from key liaisons in order to ensure the theory I was generating was useful for their own interpretation and analysis of their experiences.

Participant field observation

As the researcher conducting qualitative research, I was the main research instrument. It was vital for me to be able to be on the ground in San Francisco and at City College for some duration of time. I was able to live in the Bay Area for about a year. Within this time and as well as on an additional trip later in my research, participants observed various events throughout the various campuses and broader community. At some events I was more of an observer; as the research continued on, I became more an active participant which I will discuss below.

Throughout the research process I attended demonstrations, community meetings, and public forums as an observer. There was a plethora of events to attend.

Sample List of Events:

- Faculty Senate meetings
- Board of Trustee meetings and public hearings
- Administrative budget public meetings
- Teach-ins and rallies on CCSF campus leading up to the City taking the ACCJC to court
- The City of San Francisco vs. ACCJC court hearings (more of an observer)
- Community discussion panel connecting CCSF's issues with larger gentrification issues throughout San Francisco
- ACCJC Hearings and demonstrations outside of hearings
- Faculty senate meetings and other various meetings

I took detailed field notes in order to describe each setting observed and the activities that were taking place, as well as to identify the people that were participating, amongst other observations (Patton, 2002). The more events I attended the more I was able to reflect on who was attending different events and how they were engaging over a period of time. I do not consider it important to try to remain distant in my role as researcher as I feel this leads to misunderstanding and feelings of manipulation and exploitation. Instead, I sought to be both transparent and empathic about my research and to offer an attempt to bring legitimacy to people's experiences. I was explicit with people about my research and the questions I was asking. As my questions and codings emerged, I became more of a participant in my observations as time progressed, such as giving testimonial to the DOE's accreditation governing body against the ACCJC status as an

acceptable accreditor, NACIQI, which I will discuss in more detail when I discuss reflections on being the main research instrument.

The longer I was in the field, the more the most engaged actors around this issue came to know me. As I continued through the different phases of analysis I eventually attended events to affirm or negate my findings, and less to observe new phenomenon as I sought a saturation point in my findings through my work of constant comparison. Yet, this is an evolving issue and therefore the public discourse concerning this issue did change over time, and it was difficult to reach a saturation point. After each event I typed up my field notes as soon possible and also journaled about my experience with the event.

Informal interviews

Informal interviews would take place during many of the various events I attended as a participant observer. Informally, I was able to talk with various students, faculty and administrators. These interviews would range anywhere from 2 minutes to half an hour. Sometimes the informal interviews would take place with a group of people as we all discussed together what they were experiencing through this crisis. The informal interviews were an important aspect in terms of getting the most out of participant observation. People were in these spaces either taking action to offer testimony in various hearings, standing in dissent of a decision, or defending decisions. Through my various informal interviews, I learned how far-reaching the impact of the crisis was on various aspects of the college and people within the community. The informal interviews also helped to serve as helpful support evidence for what I was learning through the in-depth formal interviews.

Archival text-based data collection

I continuously collected text-based data throughout the various phases of my timeline. Each time I interviewed someone I was directed toward different materials to seek out such as websites, email lists, research reports, news reports etc. Also, new text-based data was being produced continuously as the case was happening and evolving throughout my data collection phases. At the beginning, during the preliminary analysis, a cataloguing process for archival research was created. This process was followed as I moved forward to catalogue the text for open coding

so that it was comparable to the interview transcripts and field notes. I then created a system of documenting the different elements through a series of questioning of the text (How was the text produced? By whom? For what purpose? etc.), essentially extracting enough information to think through the relationship between content and structure (Charmaz, 2006). These notes became memos which then evolved through processes of constant comparison.

Thick description

Prior to focusing on interpretation, I developed descriptions of elements to the case to create the necessary information to tell the complex story. This process of describing helped me in my analysis (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002). Since I took an iterative and phased approach to my data collection and analysis I had the opportunity to invalidate my initial analysis, to essentially “test” my initial theoretical insights (Patton, 2002). Patton notes, “Grounded theory operates from a correspondence perspective in that it aims to generate explanatory propositions that correspond to real-world phenomena” (Patton, 2002, p. 489), which means I had to be able to continuously step back and be critical of how I was analyzing the data. I had to continuously reflect on my own bias as I moved from concrete understanding to a more abstract analysis. This will be discussed in more detail below in the Data Analysis Methods section.

Note on self as main data collection instrument

Because I was the main data collecting instrument, journaling throughout my research for all three data collection methods was imperative. I also kept a journal to reflect on my role as researcher. Tracking my own emotions, experiences, and lessons helped me to grow into a better researcher. I highly value reflexivity and keeping a journal - both handwritten and typed - helped me to continue to be intentional and systematic with my reflections as well as accountable to myself to remain open and engaged in my research process.

Data Analysis Methods

The spirit of this research is inquiry. In reality, there are many different perspectives and we are always working with limited information. This research makes no claim to offering any ultimate truths. Instead, everything offered in this research is open for cross-examination and is offered to fuel discussions. This research is rooted in the value of discussion and inquiry as a goal unto

itself. Because the theory is grounded in the data, the concepts offer general principles and heuristic devices and is not meant to be formal theory or rules (Charmaz, 2006). The theory offered here is substantive.

The goal of grounded theory is to offer interpretive, conceptual analysis. While the data in this particular research is meant to be rooted in lived experience, the intention is not to reconstruct the lived experience. This research seeks to understand how those engaged with the accreditation crisis are making meaning of their experiences, and through this meaning making, to allow for concepts to emerge (Charmaz, 2006). The qualitative data collected is analyzed and reanalyzed through the act of constantly comparing description and interpretation of how people engaged with the accreditation crisis where emerging themes revealed themselves and were incorporated into the process of constant comparison for the development of conceptual theory. I moved between documentation, participant observation and formal interviews in order to create a kind of triangulation of the information I was gathering qualitatively. I also did various kinds of member checking (Creswell, 2008).

I began analysis as soon as I conducted the first interview, first participant observation, and first archival document retrieved. There was a great deal of asking of analytical questions and memo making throughout the process. The research questions emerged over time and became more focused as the research progressed. The memoing became more substantive as the concepts were moved through processes of coding and sorting to allow for emergence (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2008). All of this together can be understood as a process of constant comparison.

Data analysis took place in an iterative process, both in the sense of moving between data collection and analysis and in the different types of collection and analysis that were taking place. There were times of intense gathering of archival text materials and going through a process of compiling and analyzing. There was an initial phase of open coding of several interviews, and then from here initial codes were applied to more of the transcripts and other notes. Below I will attempt to describe this process. First, in order to understand this process of constant comparison, a list of key terms is discussed as the tools and elements of the research

analysis methodology. Once these themes are described I will describe them together to articulate the unique process, which emerged with this grounded theory.

Memoing

A major aspect of creating the reflexive praxis of engaging with the data was to memo continuously throughout the process as I reflected on experiences with interviews, participant observation and documentation review. Memoing happened as a kind of journaling from the onset; and then, as I engaged in more of the open-coding, coding and sorting, more formal kinds of memoing took place to work and develop themes - eventually to be integrated into analysis (Charmaz, 2006). Memoing is generally concerned with comparison making. I constantly wrote through both journaling and memoing in order to make sense of the different themes and metaphors (Patton, 2002).

Memoing took place by reading through the text, taking notes and essentially journaling on initial code themes (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2007). Memoing helped to guide me in an intentional process of developing emerging themes. It also allowed me to share findings in order to debrief with peers and to check with members of the case in order to receive feedback and critique. By remaining in conversation with people about my analysis, I was able to remain open and flexible (Patton, 2002). This helped me to deepen my intellectual capacity for analyzing this case.

Coding Process

For all three methods of data collection I analyzed through a process of open coding which is iterative, emergent, and generative in order to work toward a grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2007). I have been able to triangulate what I found between the three different sources of data (Creswell 2007).

Coding

The initial coding, or open coding, is a close reading of the transcripts, field notes, and archival notes in order to indicate theoretical directions (Charmaz, 2006). It is important to remain open during this phase to allow the theoretical themes to emerge through this close reading. Coding is

a process of organizing a specific collection of data into chunks or segments prior to engaging in meaning making (Creswell, 2006). These chunks are categorized through generating terms. Often these terms will emerge from the text itself, as in actual language used from participants. These terms are then able to become generalizable to be used to generate theoretical statements that can be interrogated through further research (Charmaz, 2006). It allows for a process of contextual analysis of actions and events. Initial coding is a line-by-line labeling of terms. This line-by-line coding allows for new insights to emerge as each data piece is wrestled with.

Focused coding

The terms generated through the initial coding created a list of preliminary codes to utilize for a more focused coding process. The most significant codes were used to sift through large amounts of interview transcription, field notes and formal text. This is not meant to be described as a linear process because there was a great deal of moving between and working with the codes to allow for the concepts to emerge (Charmaz, 2006). The data-to-data comparison then lead to the development of focused codes which were used for further comparison with more data to move from emerging themes to theoretical concepts.

Axial Coding

Axial coding is used as a strategy to bring data back into a coherent whole, addressing context, the when, where, why, who, how, and with what consequences (Charmaz, 2006). Axial coding was used here as a tool to situate the data in the power dynamics at play as it regrouped emerging themes in terms of broad dynamics that revealed themselves through the coding process.

Substantive Coding

Memoing is happening throughout this entire process as a way of being in conversation with and interrogating all emerging aspects of the research. Focused codes are sorted through axial codes, and through this process, substantive codes were created. These evolved into the emerging themes, which continued to develop through the process of conceptual theory generating.

Theoretical Coding

Theoretical coding is the final stage of the process where there are now various layers of codes and sorting of codes through axial coding. The codes then work to create substantive codes in how the codes relate to one another. The inter-relation of these codes becomes integrated into a theory (Charmaz, 2006).

Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical sampling was conducted as the focused and substantive codes were developed through a process of comparison making. Theoretical sampling allows for creating a saturation of a category or theme with the data (Charmaz, 2006). There were various processes of diagramming and sorting and memoing as ways of engaging in theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is happening throughout the analysis processes in various ways, becoming more focused and refined as the memoing turns to theory discourse. This process helps to work through the different aspects of a category or theme and dig deeper on any hunches as well as distinguish between categories (Charmaz, 2006).

It also allows for clarifying relationships between emerging themes as well as identifying variation throughout the process. All this together helps to move from targeted data collection to analytical writing (Charmaz, 2006). Without this kind of orientation, one would not know when they have reached a point of saturation to distinctly move from data collection toward writing findings and formulating conceptual ideas, which inevitably would stand on their own from the specific case itself. This can happen when a saturation point is met where going to gather more data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor does it offer new properties for the core emerging themes.

Sorting, diagramming, and integrating memos

Sorting, diagramming, and integrating memos are aspects of theory generation (Charmaz, 2006). For this research, sorting was used in a variety of ways as a tool of the coding process and analytical writing. Initial codes were sorted to generate key initial terms. These key terms were then applied to larger amounts of data to create comparable emerging themes. Sorting was used to offer an axial orientation to the data to be situated around the three key emerging themes that

all actors spoke to and were narratives very much influenced in perspective by power. From here there was diagramming to compare statements with terms and concepts through charting in various ways. Memos were sorted through by key terms to then integrate into the analytical writing.

The theory generated here is interpretive, it is meant to illuminate an interpretation, rather than to explain all aspects of a phenomenon. The applications then can be far reaching. At its core, this research is dealing with broader aspects of humanity (Charmaz, 2006), while at the same time, there are positivist assertions made within this research in the sense that there is an inclination to explain the crisis. Oftentimes these assertions are necessary to create a context. At the core, though the theoretical offerings are intended to be presented as interpretive, it is not uncommon for grounded theory to be inclined toward both positive and interpretive definitions (Charmaz, 2006). This research design is constructivist in that all analysis is contextual within a time, place, culture, and situation.

Validity Strategies

Various validity strategies are employed in this research. Validity strategies are necessary in qualitative analysis and particularly grounded theory analysis considering there needs to be transparency in how integrity is created to come to a place of saturation in data collection through the process of constant comparison to generate emerging themes and conceptual theory (Charmaz, 2006). The validity strategies employed in this research were to follow up with participants and discuss emerging themes through membership check-ins of various kinds that have been mentioned (Creswell, 2008). This was done informally through follow up discussions with various participants as well as more formally through drafting a polished memo of emerging themes and sharing this for feedback. A focus group of five participants gathered to discuss this document and the case more generally in the Summer of 2017. I also took copious field notes during events and interviews and would journal after each inquiry. This allowed for the thick descriptions to convey the phenomenon and worked as a validation strategy. I also am explicit in this chapter regarding my personal biases and any biases I could perceive presenting themselves in the research. Being explicit about potential biases is a way to address validity (Creswell, 2008).

Description of process of coding and sorting for constant comparison

There were several rounds of coding and sorting then clustering of codes to reveal different dynamics. Categories were created within different clusters for theory development which helped to reveal how to tell the story through the understanding of the crisis and interpretive stances. Further analysis was done to offer how open access is a transformative view to see beyond neoliberalism and the logic of supremacy through doing the work of constantly bringing the margins to the center. It is a difficult process to describe, and while I did essentially have rounds of open coding, focused coding, axial coding, substantive coding and theoretical coding, as mentioned, the process was not linear. It would go narrow then expand once again. **See Appendix H** to view a chart which attempts to offer some structure to the process.

The first step in coding was to look to the questions. How did the participants describe the accreditation crisis? What were the underlying values they were expressing considering their positionality? Through this initial round of coding, each entry was coded followed with a memo. These initial codes were the first emerging themes to be wrestled with through comparative analysis. A handful of interview transcriptions, field notes and archival research were all used for this initial coding. **See Appendix I** for a list of all the open codes generated.

Through a process of memoing a list of key terms originating from the initial codes were created to categorize the initial codes.

Focused code key terms generated:

- Scarcity
- Political Forces
- Resistance
- Self-Determination

These key terms helped to sort the data and engage with the larger data set of the remaining transcriptions of the next round of interview transcripts and other notes. From here focused codes were generated through a process of constant comparison of inquiring with the data and then

moving to and from analytical memoing. Through this process a list of four focused codes were used for sorting data as well.

Focused Code Key Terms:

- Worldview
- Violence
- Determination
- Context

Worldview ultimately becomes the discussion of the social imaginary, frames, and lenses. Violence ultimately becomes the discussion focused on erasure through supremacy logic. The next is determination, which ultimately becomes the open access aspiration, particularly the descriptions participants gave to their inter-relational work that is required to overcome systems of domination and exploitation through addressing issues pertaining to intersectional oppression.

From here each of these sorted codes was coded through another process. This process focused on developing the emerging concepts into value-laden areas for description. These included answering the questions: How did the participant approach change in this case? How did the participant discuss their relation to power? How did the participant describe their perception of the accreditation crisis? What was the participants response to the crisis? Below is a comprehensive list of the different ways open codes were applied to the transcription data.

The data was then sorted by a set of axial codes. The axial codes were “administrative relations,” “mission prioritization,” and “financial resources.” These axial codes were identified as key contextual dynamics of which all participants spoke to and are very much framed through power dynamics. All of the data was then sorted through - both the focused codes and the focused code key terms - through the axial codes. This created a layer-upon-layer sorting of data to where further analysis could be drafted through in-depth memoing of clumped data.

The table below shows how the axial codes related to the open codes which were sorted through the sorted codes. The sorting codes being worldview, violence, determination, and context, and

the axial codes being administrative relations, mission prioritization, and financial resources - the open codes being the longer list of initial open codes. **See Appendix J** for a table which maps the relationship between the axial codes with the open codes as sorted by the sorting codes.

After the axial coding and sorting process the first round of conceptual reorganizing took place. Within the axial codes the data was arranged by how the participant approached change, what their view of success was, what their view of City College was, and what their view of the crisis was. These conceptual categories along with the axial coding helped to shape the issues identified in ways of relating to power and personal position.

From here concepts were developed through the major themes identified. These concepts are **worldview**, **supremacy logic** and **critical vision**. It is from these concepts that the emerging themes derive which then coalesce into the developing conceptual theory.

Archival data analysis focus

Tangential coding of archival documents articulating the state's policy vision and other think tank reports were coded through a discourse analysis. Grounded theory and discourse analysis share a similar critical constructivist stance.

Critical discourse analysis

The themes for this analysis derived from neoliberal critical theory (Ayers, 2005, 2009). This critical theory was applied because of the emerging theme supremacy logic. This coding helped to explore the themes related to hegemony and supremacy logic as it relates to neoliberalism, as mentioned, offering critical neoliberal theory. One transcribed interview was also coded in this way to compare to the text-based results.

Example documents coded with these critically discursive codes:

- Lumina Foundation Strategic Plan (2013)
- Student Success Task Force: Draft Recommendations (2014)

List of critically discursive codes:

- Austerity/efficiency/deficit
- Equity
- Equality
- Market-based & institutional adaptation to market-based solutions
- Outcomes based/Performance based
- Domination/competition
- Aims of education credential/ Linear/Carrot & Stick
- American Exceptionalism (middle class culture)
- Distance between state structures and source of problem
- Pathologizing issues

Emerging themes derived throughout this coding and sorting process of answering the questions of how one came to define the accreditation crisis and how they were engaging with the crisis, considering their structural positionality, a central focus to developing concepts. How the crisis was defined depended on one's worldview and positionality, as did how one acted within the crisis. Contextualizing these worldviews in a power analysis helped to differentiate them and illustrate how each person interpreted their experience through their relationship to decision making.

Analysis in practice

The initial open coding and sorting was done through the program TAMS Analyzer. TAMS is an acronym for Text Analysis Markup System. It is useful to use for identifying themes in texts and was designed for use in ethnographic and discourse research. It is a free open-sourced resource downloadable from the internet (<http://tamsys.sourceforge.net/>).

All the codes were then exported into a spreadsheet. The next step was to sort the codes, do an initial clustering, an initial analysis, then a more focused coding with a more focused sorting. All of this was done utilizing google spreadsheets which allowed for multiple spreadsheets created to sort the codes by both sorting codes and axial codes together. Color coding was used to help to differentiate between the different sheets and the sorting within the codes.

Summary of grounded theory analysis

Grounded theory is really about coming from the experience of individuals as part of a phenomenon. Grounded theory analysis occurs on two levels, both iterative and informal as well as systematic and formal. My research design remained emerging (Charmaz, 2006; Patton, 2002). In that my questions developed over time, and I allowed for the information I was gathering to help inform my next steps as far as who to interview, where to observe and what resources to seek out in terms of archival research. My analysis process was also very much emerging. The grounded theory constructivist perspective positions the researcher as “part of the world we study and the data we collect. We construct our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 9; see also Clark, 2006). It is with these basic assumptions that I also believe any “finding” I claim is an interpretation. I do not wish to make claims for truth, but to reveal insights for deeper understanding. This “approach explicitly assumes that any theoretical rendering offers an interpretive portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 10). I used a method of open coding to abstract my data into themes, yet I also have multiple layers to my analysis (Charmaz, 2006; Creswell, 2007).

The remaining sections of this chapter go into more detail about reflections on my role as the researcher and the main research instrument. This is followed by challenges and limitations along with ethical considerations to conclude this chapter.

Role of Researcher

Considering this is a qualitative study and a grounded theory study in particular, the primary research instrument for this study is the researcher. The researcher takes on the responsibility as both the research instrument in terms of asking the interview questions as well as the data collector (Patton, 2002). Integrity and accountability all reside with the researcher (Birks & Mills, 2011). At the same time the researcher is vulnerable because the research is always in flux and incomplete (Charmaz, 2006).

I do come to this research with professional, academic, and personal experience within a community college setting. One of the many reasons that this research topic evokes my own

passions is directly tied to life experiences. Throughout graduate school I was fortunate to serve as an external evaluator for a community-development innovation, where college-age students are supported through their Associates Degree attainment while participating in a farm-based leadership program. Through this evaluation work I have learned a great deal about how effective community-based organizations can be at developing relationships with a community college. And in turn, how community colleges can be a part of developing strong community-based partnerships, which can help to create more resources for the college as well as the community-based organization and for broader community development efforts.

Beyond expansion of resources, this partnership helps to reveal the power of co-learning in helping to develop more in-tune and responsive programs that imagine beyond meeting student needs today, and actually expand the network of opportunities for students to become active leaders and agents of change within their own community as they go to school and work. It is a community development approach to education and economic development, and the relation between the two are crucial. At the same time, it centers the people who live and work within the community to be the ones to become empowered to create transformational change.

This current issue CCSF and other community colleges are facing concerns me greatly. It is clear in this case how national reform efforts hinder a local community colleges autonomy and therefore capacity to leverage community resources in order to create more site-based and innovative approaches to student learning and broader community development efforts. This accreditation crisis took up a lot of energy and space within CCSF and created a great deal of fear and instability. Many participants talked about how the accreditation crisis created instability in the college and diverted attention, taking away energy that could be put toward more aspirational and constructive goals. Through analysis I have come to see how vulnerable positionality was for various students during this time, the students who easily become erased in the neoliberal social imaginary of what is productive and efficient community college education.

Personally, while I realize in many ways I reflect the history of a traditional student in the sense that I graduated from high school, went straight to college and after a couple of years of work returned to graduate school. I am also a white woman from a middleclass background and

attended both rural and suburban schools. Both of my parents work within the field of education, my father as an educational administrator and my mother as a school social worker. I have grown up with a strong emphasis on the value of education both for my own self-actualization as well as for attaining social mobility.

At the same time, I grew up in a critical and progressive home, where dinner conversation often revolved around the ideological debates within education and the broader political economic system and how my parents and their peers were experiencing the realities of federal and state reform through their daily work within spaces of public education and human services. In some ways my deeper research questions have been questions I have wrestling with my whole life.

I am a product of public education, having attended public schools all the way through my academic journey. During my senior year of high school, I opted to enroll in my local community college to complete my high school requirements, and I graduated from my local public high school as a dual enrollment student. This year of learning was pivotal to my own self-actualization as I was able to learn with students from all different backgrounds, experiences and academic motivations. The year enrolled at Piedmont Virginia Community College was paramount in my own personal growth and is a year I reflect on greatly to this day.

At the same time, I must be reflective in my assumptions community colleges are potential sites for transformational change. People of color and those from low-income families experience higher education differently. And there are structural realities making it difficult to enroll, matriculate, and seek educational goals, which ultimately, if met, cannot insure a job with a livable wage after going to school. I must not romanticize the community college as a space for intellectual liberation or for social transformation. Yet, it is through my personal and professional experiences that I have developed my own worldview and moral grounding which does see a great space for exploration. This has guided me through moral and ethical dilemmas in this research.

While living in San Francisco I worked hard to ground myself within the city context as much as possible. In the fall of 2014 I was fortunate to work as an outreach worker on a labor/community

coalition campaign to address affordability issues within the city. I walked miles of the city, knocking on doors to talk to registered voters, asking them to vote yes to raise the minimum wage to \$15 an hour, levy a tax on the turnover of housing for economic gain, and elect a progressive candidate to the state assembly. I walked hundreds of miles and over the course of three months knocked on thousands of doors talking to hundreds of voters. I got to know how the social justice movements in San Francisco collaborate to work toward collective visions despite some of the deepest hurdles toward transformative change - in particular the entrenched wealth within the city and how much this wealth has a stronghold on local decision making.

I did engage in a small level of participatory action research as I spoke out against the ACCJC's actions at a National Advisory Committee on Institutional Quality and Integrity (NACIQI). NACIQI oversees and provides recommendations to accrediting agencies as the representative governing body for the U.S. Department of Education (<https://sites.ed.gov/naciqi/>). I attended two hearings - one in the winter of 2016 and the other in the winter of 2017. During the 2017 hearing I registered and read testimonial to the board against the ACCJC. I also participated in marches and demonstrations in support of the Save the City College campaign. I am explicit about this here because, as stated, I am not a neutral observer. I consider myself to be committed to justice and social transformation toward the arch of creating a world where all people can live and thrive with dignity together. This pulse for justice beats through every decision I have made, and I will not compromise this compass.

Research Challenges and Limitations

There were several challenges and limitations to this study that I will be explicit about here. The first major challenge, which continued to be a challenge, was how to properly bound this case. Defining a community is a difficult feat and is also problematic. While CCSF is itself a community, there are also smaller communities within this larger institutional context, and the actors within these more specific communities flow in and out of different communal spaces. Furthermore, CCSF is situated within the larger community of San Francisco with important relationships between labor and trade unions, city officials, community-based organizations, and advocacy groups. CCSF serves a wide array of students with a diversity of needs and desires, stretching the college's reach to different socio-demographic communities throughout the city. It

was difficult to find the right balance between identifying an appropriate representative sample of different actors, while not neglecting important voices. My sampling was iterative with a snowball approach to the interview process - iterative in the sense that I analyzed my transcripts in between stages of three interview cycles. This helped me to stay reflective about what I was learning and what the insights I gained revealed in terms of the complexity and diversity of the CCSF community.

Another challenge to bounding the case was there were multiple “cases” within this case, and this case is also situated within a larger case of accreditation and state level community college governance. This is something I had to reflect on continuously to ensure I was taking a wide enough scope without becoming too broad. It was a delicate balance that revealed itself as I worked from description to generating themes.

The other major challenge that I constantly negotiated was how this is a highly political issue and there are many outspoken voices that have been able to shape how this issue is perceived in the media and in broader discourse. I realize there are voices I might not have heard from that have been neglected and marginalized. This is a limitation to my research. Through my saturation point I felt I had gathered all the data I need. I am sure there are blinders I have that I cannot identify but do exist. I was blinded by the focus of seeking out those who were vocal and engaging with the issue.

A major and obvious limitation is that I will never be able to know everything about this case. I will always be working with incomplete information and perspectives will always be unique to individuals. I cannot discover any sort of truth. I was only able to work toward a more integral interpretation, considering my resources as far as time and material support. I can strengthen the integrity of my research by talking with more people both formally and informally, as well as being more thorough in my observations and text-based analysis, how thorough one is always on a spectrum and could always be more so. I have integrity with regard to the saturation points I met while moving between data collection and more in-depth analysis throughout the process of developing this research.

The final challenge and limitation I perceived was working to get to some level of generalizability. CCSF has a unique history and community context. There are many details to this case and a challenge existing in how to diligently work through this without getting bogged down in the specifics. Although the contextual conditions did lead me to find the most pertinent details that I believe revealed meaningful, generalizable lessons (Creswell, 2007). Also, by focusing on one case I was not able to compare the CCSF experience with other community college's experiences. This presented limitations to the depth I could attain in terms of generalizability and concept development.

Ethical Considerations

Qualitative researchers face multiple and complex ethical situations throughout the research process. This made it difficult to create a list of procedural ethics to follow (Creswell, 2009). It is difficult to be prescriptive about what is right and wrong within all research, but particularly because I am not claiming an objective lens, I am offering an interpretive analysis. When considering the nature of this research, I built relationships with people that I was learning from. Because of this there were greater interpersonal dynamics to consider such as disagreement about my interpretations (Chenhall et al., 2011; Fluehr-Lobban, 2003). In addition, I worked hard to be present and be an empathetic listener to all perspectives (Patton, 2002). This also may have created some tensions when it comes to analysis. I cannot be deceptive in my empathy and lead people to believe I am taking any perceived sides within any conflict, this would be manipulative. I did build relationships with a handful of people that I have been able to have ongoing conversations with - touchstones within City College of San Francisco who were on the front line in terms of experiencing and engaging with the issue.

One ethical question running throughout my research is whom am I conducting this research for? The answer has evolved over time, as I thoughtfully navigated this question in reflections. I did offer gratitude to each of my participants by following up each interview with a thank you email. I am grateful for everyone's contribution. Ultimately though, I have made a choice to reflect back to the resistance to neoliberal reform and the advocates of open access and made a conscious choice to privilege their vital work as it is taking on neoliberalism in the broader struggle for justice. I feel it necessary to be transparent about this. At the end of the day, my

presence in the space, however I portrayed myself, was going to influence the issue simply because I am a researcher calling attention to the issue from the outside. Ultimately, I chose to portray myself authentically by becoming a participant action researcher in different ways throughout this process and being open and honest with everyone I met and interacted with along the way.

I felt compelled to become more of a participatory action researcher as I felt the need to stand up to the injustices I was witnessing the more I became involved with this case. I did participate in public hearings and demonstrations where I held signs for CCSF as well as spoke out against the ACCJC. I did so because the more I learned about this case the more it was clear to me as the researcher that this was the right thing to do. I think a way this research would be enhanced is if I had designed this research to be participatory action research from the onset of creating the research design and working with collaborators to do so. This is one of the recommendations I will state later for future research.

I can see how I helped to create a space for the resistance and this did not compromise the research but only enhanced it by deepening my relationship to the analysis. I do feel it is ethically imperative for me to be transparent regarding how I changed during this process, beginning with seeing myself as an empathetic, multi-partial researcher to a participatory action researcher helping to resist oppressive structural power.

Protection of The Human Subject

In spring of 2014 the initial dissertation proposal was sent to the Committee on Human Studies of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Hawaii at Mānoa. All participants were able cognitively to consent to participate in this research and no major risks are anticipated for participants in this study. IRB protocols were also met through the City College of San Francisco. A copy of the email from both the UH Mānoa IRB and CCSF IRB were presented to all participants. **See Appendix B, C and D** for the IRB consent form and the IRB exempt letters from University of Hawai'i Mānoa and City College of San Francisco.

Inconveniences were reduced by allowing the participants to arrange the time and place of the interviews. Participants were also informed they were able to willingly choose to terminate the interviews at any time and reschedule or end the interview without explanation. Prior to each interview I informed the participant that the interview is totally voluntary and that they could refuse to answer any question or end the interview session whenever they wished.

Confidentiality is maintained for the subjects by the use of codes in place of their names. The codes (Faculty, Student, Administrator) were used in all written records through analysis.

Confidential information will remain in a locked cabinet in the researcher's home and will subsequently be destroyed 6 years upon completing this research project.

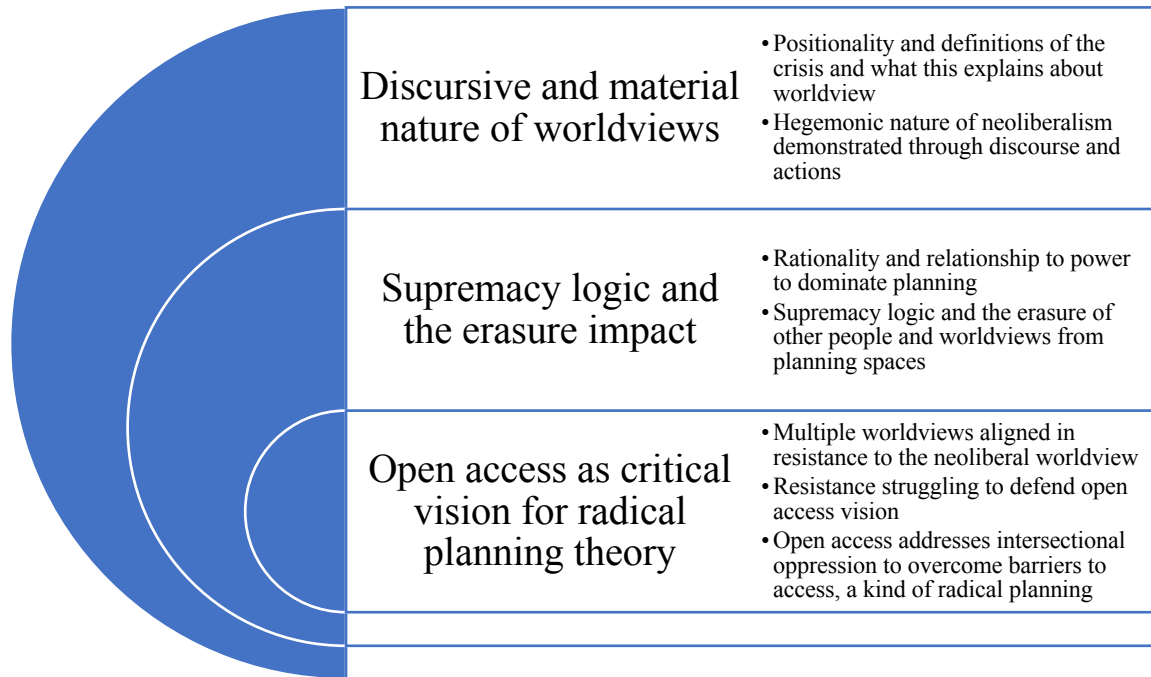
This concludes the chapter on describing the theory and practice of the methodology for this case study analysis. The following chapter is the application of these methods through the articulation of emerging theoretical concepts deriving from the analysis of the case study through a process of constantly comparing data and deepening analytical insights.

Chapter 3: Grounded Theory Case Study

Overview of Emerging Themes and Conceptual Theory

Through engaging in an analysis process of the constant comparisons of codes, themes began to emerge. The emerging themes were then analyzed through a process of constant comparison to then articulate conceptual theory. Three theoretical concepts have been formulated to describe the meaning abstracted from this case. The data analysis was situated around the inquiry of how those engaging with the accreditation crisis defined the crisis for themselves based on their individual lived experiences. Participants' descriptions were then situated within their position within the college, either as faculty, student, or administrator, as these various positions signify the kind of power the participant had in the context of this case. Starting with the investigation into what is the crisis, themes emerged. This series of emerging themes provided insights into three theoretical concepts, each one building off of the last. Below is a figure to help lay out the themes to be described and then analyzed through the various sections of this chapter. At the end of this chapter is a more detailed table describing the various emerging themes and their relationship to the conceptual theory.

Illustration 1: Emerging Themes Nestled in Grounded Theory Concepts



The first theoretical concept is that there is a discursive and a material nature to one's worldview; it is both how one describes the world and the meaning they are making as well as it is the source of which their information is grounded within to then take material action in the world. One's worldview, interpretive stance or also referred to here as one's social imaginary, is understood through both the biographical investigation of people's lived experience as well as an historical analysis of how the structures came to be and to persist through both a discourse and material analysis (Mills, 2000/1959). Because of this, one's identity is constructed, relational and interconnected (Collins, 2009; hooks, 2015/1984; Young, 1990, 1996, 2000, 2005). Collective identities create power through their ability to develop social imaginaries; these imaginaries are contingent upon a network of relationships forged through the construction of identity (Castells, 2010). And yet this identity is also psychologically shaped through systemic structures such as capitalism and consumerism supported through state control (Harvey, 2005). One's worldview, or social imaginary, is complex. For any one person it is contingent upon their unique experience in terms of their various identities and their relation to privilege and experiences of oppression. Through the various participants' articulation of the crisis, it is clear there are distinctly different

worldviews amid both an ideological and a material struggle for the power to create the world the specific actors sees themselves engaged in helping to create.

Worldviews

The ACCJC and the administrators persistently exert a narrative of how their actions are the only way, or in the least, the obvious way to doing what is best, presenting a neoliberal picture of what this looks like. The impact of these actions is significant, no matter the intent, in how these actions have pervasive negative impacts to CCSF's long time commitment to achieving open access. This kind of domination through the exploitation of the crisis leads to the next conceptual theory, where through a logic of supremacy, other worldviews are erased, and contextual histories are erased, in ways which serve to uphold the logic of the dominating worldview of neoliberalism. This is explored through the emerging theme of the relationship between power and rationality to exert a specific agenda as if it is the only way to address the issue, and furthermore, having dominance in how the issues are defined. When there are perceived limitations such as time and resources which sends people into a crisis mode, it seems certain epistemologies are valued over others, and these values are determined rational, reaffirming the power to construct the dominating narrative.

Supremacy logic and erasure

Rationality, power and truth can all be used to restrict how the world is framed (Flyvbjerg, 1998, 2003; Stein & Harper, 2003; Hou & Kinoshita, 2007; Umemoto & Igarashi, 2009). In this case, how the actions of the ACCJC and the administrators during the time of the crisis capitalized on a narrative of a lack of time and a lack of resources to reaffirm the logic that what has happened in the past has lead the college to this moment of crisis, and now outsiders are coming in with research-based, think-tank-vetted, education policy reform to offer the school the changes it needs within the rationality of the imposing outside. Pitting those who are against this set of policies as for the status quo as if the only other option is to be defending a failing and broken school.

The resistance to this domination then helps to reveal a structural analysis of how neoliberal education reform negatively impacts those who already exist at the margins of the education

system, and how neoliberal education policy fails to address and often exacerbates intersectional oppression. In this case, alternative worldviews aligned in resistance to the actions made in alignment with neoliberalism. Those that acted in resistance to the actions being made by the ACCJC and the incoming administrators represent many different worldviews, and yet they are all alternative worldviews to the neoliberal lens. These various worldviews aligned in resistance to the ACCJC for various reasons, a major one expressed by the participants of this study, to defend open access education.

Critical Vision

Open access is the vision and the orientation the college had been aspiring toward for many years despite the neoliberal reform efforts that have been mounting over the past thirty years. The work that it takes to aspire toward open access demonstrates ways in how to address issues of intersectional oppression to overcome barriers to accessing community college. In many ways the educators are playing the role of radical community planners to ensure open access for diverse student needs throughout the various communities of San Francisco. The final theoretical concept developed from the emerging themes is that of open access as a kind of critical vision for radical planning theory and how the practice of planning can work toward transformative goals by actively engaging with issues of intersectional oppression and building community alignment and resources to overcome the barriers to access. It is a critical kind of hope in that the actions the CCSF community makes to create open access offer critical insights into how radical planning theory can focus more specifically on the practices and the work required to address intersectional oppression in meaningful ways by centering the knowledge of those most impacted (hooks, 2015/1984; Freire, 2000/1970; Duncan-Andrade, 2009).

These dynamics reveal a different kind of theory and practice that is rooted in addressing intersectional oppression and looks more like community planning than state-wide, massive education reform. The resistance to the neoliberal actions offers important insights into both what is necessary to critique about neoliberal reform as well as alternative planning approaches to neoliberal theory more adept at addressing the deep structural changes needed to overcome the Western legacy of domination and exploitation through systemic oppression.

The resistance offers a planning process for how to create transformational democratic spaces, rooted in community that are both taking on structural oppression as well as addressing material need within the community through transformational aspirations. The alternative ideologies and practices in this case often were described in participants' desires to ensure CCSF remained as open and as accessible as possible and an articulation of a deep awareness to how this kind of work takes daily, on the ground, engagement where building relationships throughout the community is in constant process and where being flexible, reflexive, and responsive while engaging in programmatic planning and development is necessary and not easily tracked or codified.

This case revealed how the educators were taking a community planning process approach to addressing barriers to access education. The educators discussed this process as aspiring to be open access and so theory and practice is described here as open access, and open access is conceptualized as a kind of planning practice with insights to offer the field of radical planning theory.

It is through the constant work of aspiring to be open access that people at CCSF who are engaged in the struggle from the stance of wanting to "save the College" are offering an alternative policy and planning approach to addressing educational inequities while also taking a larger structural view that education cannot eradicate poverty, nor can poverty end without open and accessible kinds of education. These educator-planners, working with an open access lens, offer an important alternative vision for how community colleges can work to overcome structural inequities through local, community-based solutions that work to inquire within the community to contextualize issues of oppression, then negotiate and address how to overcome those barriers. This rests in deep opposition to the sterilized, monolithic approach of neoliberal policy reform originating from removed sources and where lived experiences of those intended to be served are not reflected in the policy.

Table 2: Descriptions of Emerging Themes and Grounded Theory Concepts

Emerging Themes	Conceptual Theory
How one defines the accreditation crisis is related to an individual's worldview, which is related to one's position of power within the CCSF traditional hierarchy	The discursive and material nature of worldviews and the hegemony of neoliberalism
The hegemonic nature of the neoliberalism worldview is demonstrated through the discourse and actions of the ACCJC and the outside-hire administrators coming on at the time of the crisis	
The relationship between power and rationality to exert a specific agenda as if it is the only way to address the issues	Through the supremacy rationality of neoliberalism, other worldviews and histories are erased from the planning space
How this relates to a logic of supremacy, which works to erase other worldviews from the space of planning	
The resistance to the domination of neoliberalism demonstrates multiple alternative worldviews aligning in resistance in order to take on the hegemonic power	Open access is a kind of critical vision for how to plan in ways that address structural oppression for social transformation, which lead to critical action.

The resistance was defending the work CCSF had been doing for many years to aspire toward an open access vision	
The planning work of aspiring toward open access demonstrates ways in how to address issues of intersectional oppression to overcome barriers to accessing community college. In many ways the educators are also playing the role of radical community planners	

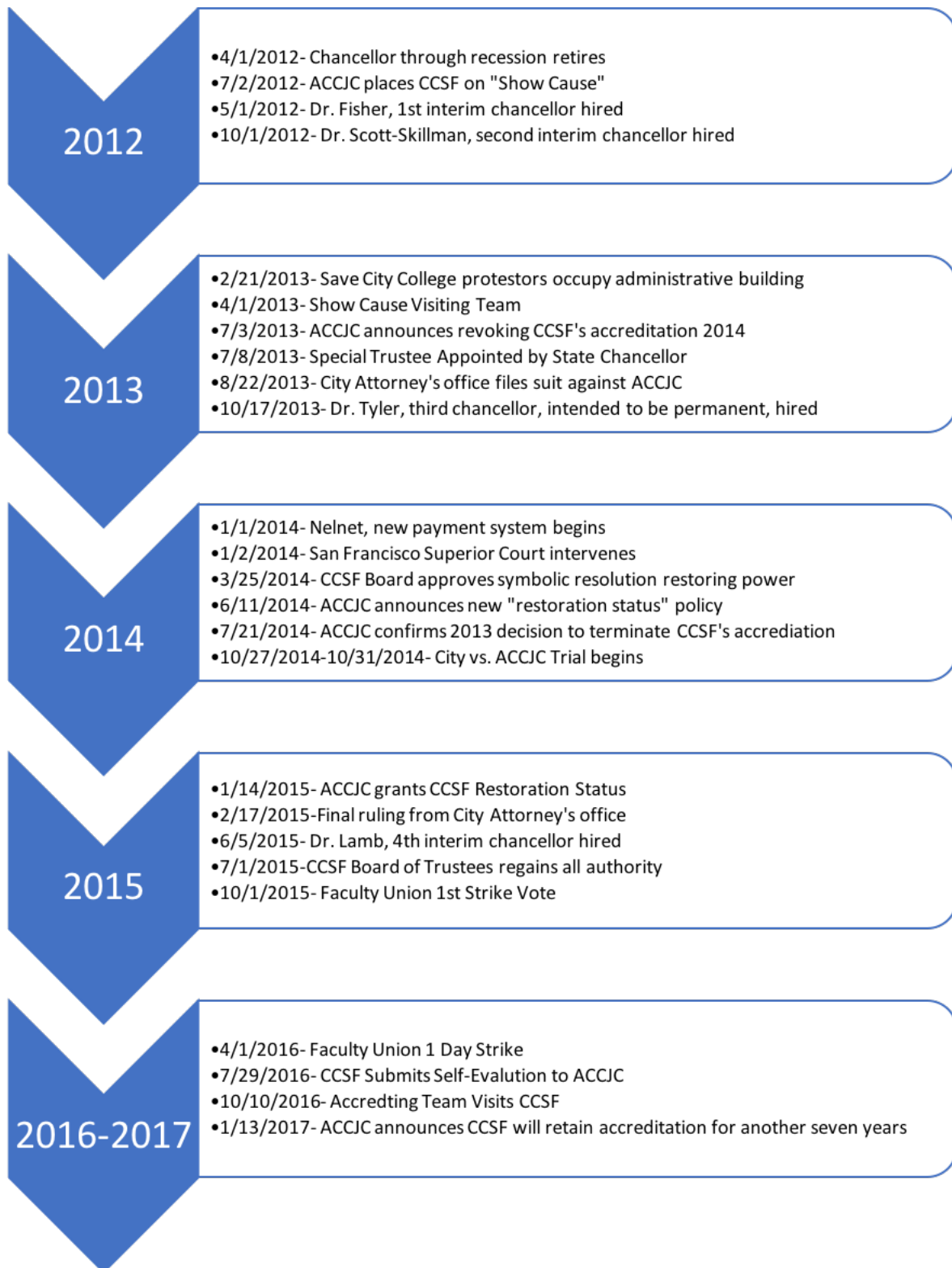
The following grounded theory case study explores these themes surrounding how those engaged in the struggle have come to define the crisis and through constant comparison of the data, what meaning can be made as a way to contextualize various aspects of this case through these conceptual theoretical frames and emerging themes. In the following sections a timeline is used to give context to various layers of actions that can help to give shape to the disparate worldviews struggling in this crisis. First, the actions made by the ACCJC will be described, followed second by the actions of the incoming administrators. Third, will be descriptions of the actions made in resistance to the neoliberal reforms. Each section of actions will be discussed in terms of the conceptual theory and connected emerging themes drawing from theory and critical analysis of participants. These three sections are concluded with a discussion of how, over many years, the actions of CCSF taken to create open access offer a critical kind of hope for community planning.

Neoliberalism from the Discursive to the Material

The following illustration is a timeline of various events that took place throughout 2012-2017, from the time of the initial sanctioning by the ACCJC to the final decision to affirm CCSF's accreditation for another seven years. Throughout this time various actions were made, for various reasons, and not all of actions associated with the crisis are captured on this timeline.

This timeline is a snapshot of several layers of the crisis. First, seeing the progression of the ACCJC's decisions and specific events that related to perpetuating the accreditation crisis. On another layer are all the various events related to administrative changes at the highest level of decision making, particularly changes in the Board of Trustees power along with various changes to the chancellor of CCSF. The third layer represents actions taken in resistance to the actions taken by the ACCJC and the incoming administrators.

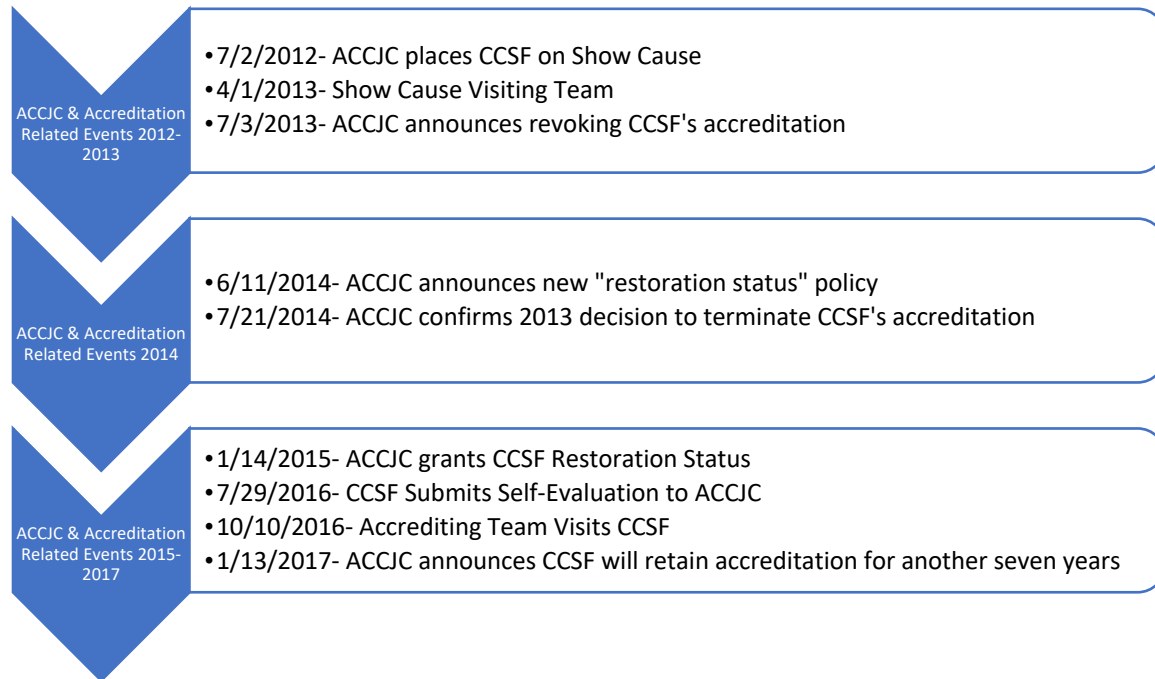
Illustration 2: Accreditation Crisis Timeline 2012-2017



ACCJC

The first layer of timeline events described are the ACCJC and incoming administrative actions in order to situate context with analysis of emerging themes.

Illustration 3: ACCJC Actions During Accreditation Crisis Timeline



In July of 2012 the Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges (ACCJC) placed City College of San Francisco on Show Cause status. According to the ACCJC, a college is sanctioned at this status when the commission finds that an institution is in “substantial non-compliance” (Beno, 2012, p. 1) with the commission’s eligibility requirements. On July 2nd, 2012 the ACCJC sent a letter to the Interim Chancellor Dr. Pamila Fisher informing the College of their failure to meet accreditation standards, and the consequence to this was for the college to be sanctioned at the most severe level. In this letter the Commission explains that at its June 2012 meeting it considered the institutional accreditation Self Study report, the report of the evaluation team, and the additional materials submitted by the College, and upon review, the commission stated it was compelled to order Show Cause. By placing CCSF on Show Cause the commission ordered the College to make internal changes to meet the recommendations of the accreditation team and address the issues listed by the commission, while at the same time

preparing for potential closure through planning and creating a Closure Report, all to be accomplished by the following March 2013 with a Special Report to be submitted October 2012.

The Accrediting Commission for Community and Junior Colleges places City College of San Francisco in Show Cause status, which happens when the commission finds that an institution is in “substantial non-compliance” with the commission’s eligibility requirements, accreditation standards or policies, or when the institution has not responded to imposed conditions.

...Compelled to order Show Cause and to require that the College complete a Show Cause Report by March 15, 2013... City College of San Francisco is also required to prepare a Closure Report by March 15, 2013, which is to be submitted with the institutions Show Cause Report. The Commission also requires the College to develop an overall plan of how it will address the mission, institutional, assessments, planning and budgeting issues identified in several of the 2012 evaluation team recommendations, and submit a Special Report describing the plan by October 15, 2012... Since the loss of accreditation would likely cause City College of San Francisco to close, during the Show Cause period, the College must make preparations for closure according to the Commission’s Policy on Closing an Institution (Beno, 2012, p. 1).

The letter states a list of several main issues of concern the commission has. All of the points listed by the commission reflect a similar narrative as to what the state had been recommending community colleges do in order to respond to the austerity measures. The college was cited on insufficiently meeting standards concerning the prioritization of the mission statement; administrative decision-making power; and financial budgeting.

The ACCJC explains that the evaluation report created by the visiting team found a lack of evidence to show CCSF was conducting ongoing assessments, integrated planning, financing/budgeting, and improvement that as the Commission states is required of an accredited institution. Aside from the evaluation report, the Commission made note that in the opinion of

the Commission, the funding base for CCSF was “inadequate to support the mission of the college as it is currently conceived” (Beno, 2012, p. 2). The Commission made a strong point about how CCSF is struggling with budget and planning.

The Commission is concerned about the institution’s ability to successfully adapt to the changing resource environment facing public community colleges and believes that the College has not demonstrated, through its review of the institutional mission, adequate attention to the impact on quality of the resources have declined while broad breadth of its mission has been maintained (Beno, 2012, p. 2).

The Commission comments on how there is an inadequacy of administrative leadership and comments on how the Chancellor’s position is filled by a temporary employee, knowing that this was all a sudden shift due to health issues for the previous chancellor. The Commission cited a lack of changes made by the College to address the recommendations made by the 2006 evaluation visiting team. The Commission claimed, “the College lacks adequate numbers of administrators with the appropriate administrative structure and authority to provide oversight and leadership for the institution’s operations.” (Beno 2012, p. 3). The Commission expressed that it was “concerned that leadership weaknesses at all levels, and established campus precedents for governance structures, decision-making priorities and processes, have kept City College of San Francisco from adapting to its changed and changing fiscal environment. The Commission required the institution to act quickly and decisively to make needed changes in governance and decision-making processes.” (Beno, 2012, p. 2). While expressing concern, the Commission also reminded interim Chancellor Pamela Fisher and inherently the CCSF community that “while an institution may concur or disagree with any part of the report, City College of San Francisco is expected to use the Evaluation Report to improve educational programs and services and to resolve issues identified by the Commission.” (Beno, 2012, p.1)

The following July of 2013 the ACCJC sent another letter stating that the college had not demonstrated enough of an improvement and would be shut down the following year, with some caveats as to how this might not happen (Beno, 2013). Shortly after the ACCJC’s decision, the

State Chancellor for Community Colleges made the decision to revoke the City College of San Francisco's Board of Trustee's decision-making power and replace the board with a Special Trustee that had all the decision-making power, essentially creating a state takeover of the board (Churchwell, 2014).

In August 2013 the City Attorney's Office files a lawsuit against the ACCJC, claiming the commission was motivated by politics by revoking CCSF's accreditation (Barba, 2017). The following January of 2014 the San Francisco Superior Court Judge Curtis Karnow rules CCSF could not have its accreditation revoked until the outcome of the lawsuit between the ACCJC and the City Attorney's Office was resolved. The following summer in June of 2014 the ACCJC created a new policy called "restoration status" and placed CCSF on it which gave CCSF more time to meet the accreditation requirements (Barba, 2017), yet followed up in July of 2014 with the ACCJC confirming that CCSF's accreditation would be terminated. The following October 2014 the trial began between the ACCJC and the City Attorney's Office. The lawsuit claimed CCSF was treated unfairly in the review process and that the court should overturn the ACCJC's 2013 decision to revoke CCSF's accreditation.

In January of 2015 CCSF was granted restoration status by the ACCJC, which gave CCSF more time to meet the requirements (Beno, 2014). This new status was invented by the ACCJC to avoid taking CCSF off of Show Cause while still responding to the mounting external pressure. In February of 2015 Judge Curtis Karnow "orders the ACCJC to reconsider its 2013 decision to revoke CCSF's accreditation. That decision marked the final ruling in the lawsuit between the commission and City Attorney's Office" (Barba, 2017).

Along with the court case, the Department of Education put the ACCJC under review because of all the complaints filed by various California community colleges. Around this time, the State Chancellor also distanced himself from the ACCJC despite originally showing support of the ACCJC's decision.

By July of 2015, CCSF's elected trustees regained authority over all aspects of governance of the school. Throughout 2016 CCSF continued to submit reports and host an ACCJC visiting team to

then have the ACCJC announce that CCSF had retained its accreditation for another seven years in January of 2017.

Throughout this time CCSF experienced great drops in enrollment. The City College of San Francisco's headcount would range from about 90,000 to 100,000 over the twenty-year span of 1998 to 2008, with its peak being 100,000 students in 2002 (CCSF Guide, 2016). Starting in 2008 CCSF's enrollment numbers began to decline, dropping from 90,000 in 2009 to about 83,000 in 2010. The decline in enrollment numbers became considerably more dramatic between the years of 2011 to 2012 when the headcount was estimated to be around 73,000 - this headcount being 15,000 students less than the lowest headcount calculated between 1998 and 2008. As of 2016, the headcount was around 60,000 and steadily dropped from 2011 on. These drops in enrollment reflect both students enrolled in credit and non-credit classes alike. Based on how the enrollment numbers have dropped from the years 2010 to 2016, there are obvious forces at play that are affecting enrollment at City College. The accreditation crisis being a big factor. Considering City College of San Francisco predominately serves the working class and people of color, the drop in enrollment for CCSF means those with the most barriers to access higher education are the most likely not to be enrolling, demonstrating a class and racial impact.

The actions made by the ACCJC demonstrate a neoliberal worldview in various ways. For one, in the way the entity, which is a public-private partnership, employed governance tactics to what is supposed to be a peer-reviewed process, to enforce a restructuring of the college. This governance took place in how the college was forced to both plan for closure as well as address the specifics laid out by the recommendations. Much in line with the broader state college completion agenda, the recommendations catered particularly to a prioritization of the mission, a focus on concentrating decision making within the higher levels of administrative positions, and how the school prioritized budgeting, for instance, how CCSF chose not to cut classes versus cutting classes as a cost saving measure, and how 92% of CCSF's budget went to salary and benefits. All of these points are particularly catered to arguing a neoliberal, social efficiency, reform. The Show Cause sanctioning was not helpful in facilitating organizational improvement, demonstrating it is not necessarily the intention of the sanctioning to do so. People experienced it as an attack, feeling abused and mistreated by the ACCJC commission.

The college had issues with leadership, decision making, and financial management. There were issues there. But nothing that warranted closing the school. The school was serving so many people. Plus, the education was never in question. So, the accreditation thing has not helped to improve City College. In fact, it is making the processes that City College was already having trouble with worse from when the accrediting commission came in (Faculty).

The Show Cause decision itself has had unbelievably horrible effects on this college and the people who go here, and the people who work here and the citizens of San Francisco. It has been a disaster. Show Cause meant immediately we had to show them why we deserve to be a school. And the minute that happened it became a big story. It's like oh city college is going to close. There is the closure report. There is accreditation has been threatened and then people will go wait a second, I don't know if I want to go there. Is it accredited? Is it not accredited? It is a disaster. And they keep saying well this is designed to get the college to do what it needs to do. It has not done any of that. No (Faculty).

There is a level at which it would not have mattered, we did everything, this was not a fair process from the get-go. And to pretend that it was, and they were really here for Show Cause solely because of the standards and unbiased neutral team, it is just not the reality we were dealing with. A lot of people did not want to admit that or thought it was too dangerous to say it. (Faculty).

It is frustrating because the ACCJC has given so little, they are so obdurate, which tells me they have powerful friends that want this to happen... So, I think this fight is a fight for the entire 112 community colleges. That it is a fight for open access higher education (Faculty).

When the accreditation crisis hit the college, it was clear to pretty much everyone except a marginal few that the College needed to comply, within reason, to the recommendations made by

the ACCJC in order to meet accreditation standards. From the various voices this study was exposed to and captured, people from all perspectives worked tirelessly to meet the compliance measures. And yet many faculty and students saw that there were also aspects of the decision that needed to be challenged and that the rate of sanctions being made by the ACCJC needed to be challenged. People spoke of how it was not mutually exclusive between seeking compliance and resisting the actions of the ACCJC.

Show Cause came as a shock to many, the sanction being the most severe it could be. Potential loss of accreditation came as even more of a shock considering people were already experiencing a state of crisis, whereas the College had already been enduring difficult times due to the loss of state resources. This reality already created a difficult time for the College, putting any recommendations made by the 2006 visiting team on the back burner until City College had made it through the financial uncertainties, and creating vulnerabilities for the college in conditions where it may have seemed impossible to address during the financial crisis. It is difficult to define the accreditation crisis because it is very much muddled in with shifts in state-level community college policy and funding discourse.

I was shocked when I found out it was Show Cause, but we knew we were going to be sanctioned to some extent. I mean everybody expected it because we knew we had lost more than \$53 million in a couple of years. It was not like we were unaware of some of the crisis we were in. But we had also made some clear decisions about how we were going to try to get through this crisis. (Faculty)

We were speaking to people throughout the state, to other systems throughout the state, so we were pretty aware of how other institutions already felt about this accrediting body. And we did not have any delusions that these people [the ACCJC] were here to help us or that somehow, they were here to help us fix our problems if we had problems. And we were very aware of the tremendous concerns people had about what the ACCJC was doing around the state (Faculty).

I got a lot of calls from around the state in the first couple of days after Show Cause. One of those conversations I remember, the same night it got announced and the call was basically like, well I hate to say it we have been waiting for them to pick on somebody to take them on. And that was like. Holy shit, I don't want to take them on. I know they are messed up but... (Faculty).

ACCJC is a private/public partnership, and while traditionally the ACCJC claims to be a third party, peer review commission, in reality, the ACCJC is acting as a semi-private governing body, linking peripheral entities with state entities at a global scale. This demonstrates the move away from government to governance, with different structures playing the role of governing outside of the state yet in coordination with it (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). With this, the neoliberal social imaginary comes to light in creating the paradox that there is no choice, and there is no alternative. The schools are failing, the economy is failing, and people must efficiently get on-board with the national agenda to keep up with the global workforce. It is also alleged that the ACCJC engaged in lobbying for the Student Success Act (Fitzgerald Rodriguez, 2014). The recommendations made by the ACCJC and the revisions to the standards that have been made in the last fifteen years reflect an alignment with the Student Success Act components.

The concept that people are bounded and stifled from considering any other alternatives because there is no time is a kind of discourse of what Harvey (2005) and others call the “crisis of capitalism”. Capitalism thrives on crisis and also creates a sense of urgency that there is no time to consider other alternatives, and no time to question the legitimacy of the state. If one does call for a pause in order to question the progression, that person is labeled as wanting to uphold the status quo and standing in the way of progress (Flyvbjerg, 2003; Stein & Harper, 2003; Hou & Kinoshita, 2007). Capitalism then helps to create the urgency that leaves little time and space for people to question the legitimacy of the state and the ideology that the state is propagating. The various actions made by the ACCJC exemplify this.

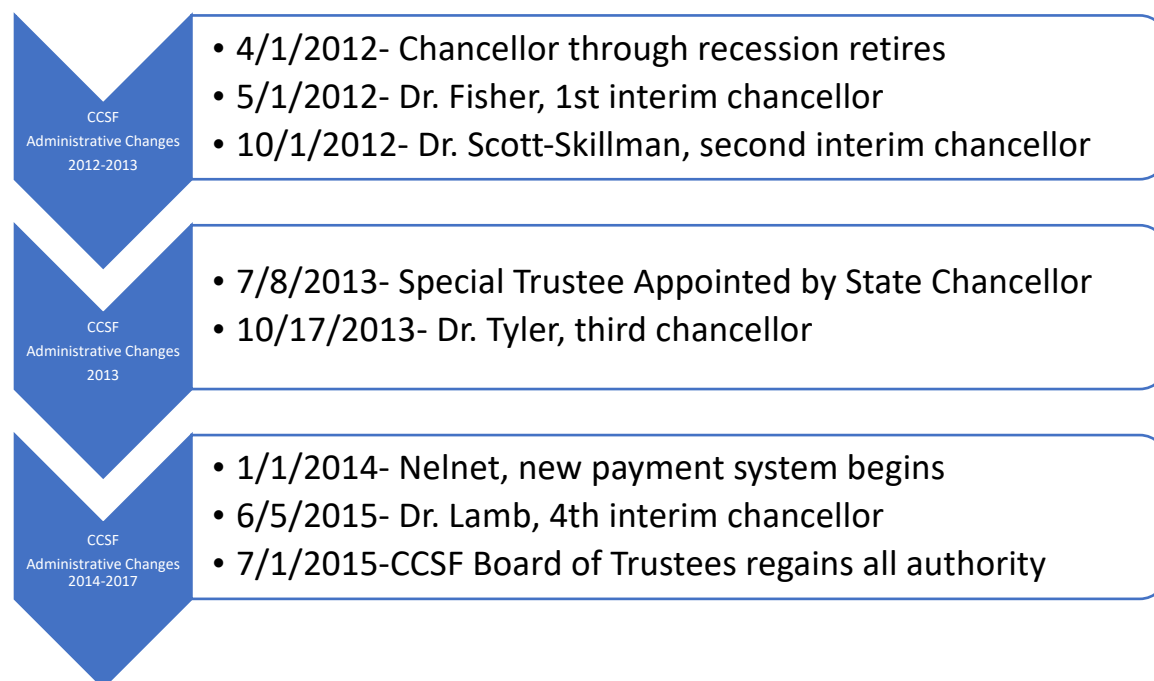
The conditions created by the compliance required by the ACCJC and the speed at which this compliance was necessary laid the rational for the necessity of a strong decision-making body to get the school in line with what it needed to do to ensure it was not to be shut down. In this way

this view is taking a non-systems view in terms of their analysis of the crisis (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012). Because the crisis is all internal, it has nothing to do with these outside factors other than the logic of how the outside experts can shed the necessary light on how the College could find its way out of its shambles. This narrative is reflected in the following administrative observations:

I think now that we have a permanent chancellor it is much better. Part of that is the reality of we have to live with each other. The changes that had to be made probably could not be made by someone that had to be here permanently. I think it has kind of normalized. There are still disagreements and contention, but I think people understand the new rules. And are trying to stay within that. It is not perfect. People still get upset with each other or mad at each other. I think it is a lot better and I think it is because he is a permanent chancellor (Administrator).

This section demonstrates how the ACCJC created a narrative that City College needed to be fixed in order to get in line with the state agenda and imposed conditions where CCSF was forced to comply to stay open. The following section will explain how the incoming administrators came in and actualized on many of the intentions set out by the ACCJC's forced conditions.

Illustration 4: Timeline of Incoming Administration and Internal Power Shifts at CCSF



In May of 2012 Chancellor Griffin quickly retired due to severe health issues. Dr. Pamela Fisher, an interim chancellor, was hired by a consultancy group, the Association of Community College Trustees (ACCT). ACCT offers training for community college administrative leaders and aspiring leaders; and also consults community colleges with recruiting and hiring high level administrative positions (<http://www.acctsearches.org/>). While originally Dr. Fisher was hired to help recruit an interim chancellor, at some point during this process Dr. Fisher became the interim chancellor.

ACCT's fundamental purpose is to enhance the capacity of boards through education, advocacy, and by helping boards identify and select the best CEOs to lead their colleges on behalf of their communities (<http://www.acctsearches.org/>).

From this point there were a string of short-term chancellors over the next five years, recruited through various consultancy firms like ACCT. Each Chancellor, in their own unique way,

carrying out the neoliberal reform agenda. One focus in particular that seemed to unify the various chancellors was the understanding that decision making during this time needed to be more concentrated because of the tough decisions that needed to be made to fix the college.

One of things we got called out for was our administrators had not really been decision makers. There has not been true administrative control. It has been other people who have been influencing and making decisions. And so, the reorganization had to do with coming up with new job descriptions and having people reapply for their jobs and making sure that those job descriptions actually reflected the authority and decision making for the administrators (Administrator).

The administrators spoke of a need to prioritize the mission, and this prioritization focused on a student completion rhetoric that aligned with the state narratives regarding student success. As discussed in the introductory chapter, student completion, in many ways, is a narrative for market expansion as it privileges the traditional student as the most efficient way to marketize education. Education is an outcome to be achieved that can be measured, modeled, and packaged. In this case the ideal normalized students in the eyes of the ACCJC and the Student Success Task Force are the students able to take time off from work and take on debt to matriculate swiftly toward a credential. This privileges students with means.

While student debt has been on the rise over the past twenty-five years, since the economic recession from 2008-2012, student loan defaults have also been on the rise (Choi, 2011). With the rising cost of college, federal, state, and local grants as well as loan financing have been on the increase, yet expenses financed through debt have been increased much faster than grant-based financial aid (Choi, 2011). Students from low-income households are the most vulnerable to these economic conditions because the amount that is needed to be borrowed is a larger proportion of funds in relationship to their overall family income, whereas peers coming from higher-income families can take on debt because they already have means to leverage to do so. Poor students are the least likely to take on high levels of debt and are the most negatively impacted by the repercussions of any kind of debt considering how vulnerable and over-extended they are in trying to cover costs that are too high in relation to what they are able to earn (Choi,

2011). Furthermore, oftentimes poor students have numerous life obligations outside of education that cannot be sacrificed, and they do not have the financial means to seek help to alleviate their responsibilities such as working to support other family members and taking care of family members (<https://www.ed.gov/college>; Levin, 2007). This is not the same reality for students from higher income families.

Through this debt-based system, students with access to financial resources are privileged over students from low income families. This prioritization perpetuates structural classism and racism, and by doing so, exerts a supremacy logic. One aspect of this logic is to assume certain kinds of education are more valuable than others to the public such as higher numbers of college graduates. Whereas the disabled student who most likely will never graduate with a credential, yet receives so much value from having classes to attend semester after semester may never be able to pay back student loans. Yet these students find community and a place to be seen and heard. The poor-disabled student is not able to measure up when resources are prioritized for efficiency. This student is viewed as less desirable, less important, and becomes easily erased from view.

In the neoliberal social imaginary, all students are measured by a norm to determine what is successful. What is deemed successful is that a student graduates in a certain amount of time, taking on a certain amount of debt if they have to, and getting through to the degree. In this narrative, students are reduced to consumers (Burch, 2009; Dowd, 2003; Lipman, 2011), yet this is the main focus of California Competes, the Student Success Initiative and eventually the community college state level policy, Guided Pathways. These initiatives and policies are all about articulating the model for how to usher student-consumers through to completion. One administrator explains how CCSF is falling behind because they are not engaging in the student success conversations.

So that is what most colleges in the state are doing. [And yet] We have not had a college wide conversation about student success. It was started with one small group of people in my understanding. A large number of people in academic affairs and throughout the college have not been in a conversation about student

success. Student equity started a month ago. And there is a 46-page template. And the reason it is a 46-page template is it is supposed to be based on 2-3 years of discussion at the college in which way you are going (Administrator).

What is omitted from this statement are the college-wide conversations that had been taking place over the years. The Student Success Act was not passed until just after CCSF was sanctioned with Show Cause, meaning the student success planning was all a suggestion by the state up until the point of passing the legislation. While the state was suggesting community, colleges engage in student success planning, CCSF was facing austerity policies and having campus-wide conversations on issues with an open access lens as opposed to a neoliberal lens. Below a faculty member describes how CCSF had worked for many years for the values of open access in the face of neoliberalism and how the accreditation crisis and the subsequent incoming administrative actions were a blow to the open access values of the College in ways they had never experienced before.

We had dodged the [neoliberalism] bullet, we had kept the values, we had kept the fees low, we had stood together, we had supported the students, we have worked hard to do that and only in this last great recession did the battle get lost (Faculty).

A student describes how she experienced one of the short-term chancellor's that came through during this time.

She started looking around and saying there is so much stuff wrong with City College and faculty have too much voice, we need more administration. You know she is basically a corporate administrator. And I think in a way a hired gun to come in and reshape our mission, the mission statement of the college. Because she was hell bent on that. She was like well we can't afford civic engagement and cultural enrichment and lifelong learning. We just need to be certificate and transfer, which is a big component of the Student Success Act (Student).

During the time the administrators are administering the Student Success Act recommendations, they are also hiring more administrators while continuing to keep faculty wages suppressed and not replacing faculty. Counselors are being laid off at the same time counselors are needed more than ever for students to be able to register due to the student success model. Neoliberalism is known to be contradictory, considering the ultimate goal is market expansion more than any other claimed value (Rizvi & Lingard 2010, Harvey, 2005).

Part of abuse of power has to do with the efficiency model as a structure of violence. Like in the case of laying off the counselors and having less counseling staff where there is always a line out the door to see a counselor. While it is a mandate of the student success act for students to see a counselor, this is then underfunded in the name of efficiency (Faculty).

Supremacy Logic Policies

Another action by the neoliberal reformers was to contract the online payment system to a company called NelNet. The Nelnet contract was a unilateral decision signed by the special trustee Agrella while the rest of the board of trustees was revoked of its power. Nelnet works such that the student has to pay up front or they have the option of paying Nelnet an \$18 fee to set up a finance system to pay their fees over some period of time. If the debt is not made whole by the end of a six to 12-month period, then it is sent to collections. At the end of the semester, all debts must be paid in full or the student cannot enroll the next semester. In past practice students were able to continue to be enrolled in a course even if they had not paid all of their tuition and fees up front. While students did eventually have to settle their outstanding payments before enrolling, this would happen after a grace period of a semester or two. There was no fee for carrying a balance and no debt collector coming after the student.

Another change with the new system was that payments could only be made online with a debit or credit card through the contracted company. This was a barrier for students with no bank account, which occurs for various reasons such as immigration status, need of financial literacy and lack of trust of corporate institutions to name a few. Students experienced this change as harsh and expressed how it caused hardship. It is very common for community college students

to carry a debt small debts for a number of reasons. At the onset of this policy, it is estimated most students owed around \$200, with the highest debt being \$2,822 (Owen Lamb, 2013). Most of this was due to fees and is a small amount on an institutional level; yet means a great deal on an individual level in a student's life, especially for a low-income student or a student from a low income family.

The administration essentially outsourced their payment procedure to an online debt collector. The predatory nature of this, along with the unclear guidelines and anxiety inducing systems, becomes another barrier to access for students. Considering the predatory nature, this has the greatest impact on low-income students, becoming a barrier to access. The history of debt and debt collection is rooted in being a tool of elite and state oppression (Harvey, 2005, 2008).

This combined with the change in the BOG Waiver Fee created a great deal of hardship for low income students. California Community College Board of Governors (BOG) will waive enrollment fees for low income students through an application process. Previously the BOG Fee Waiver was accessible simply based on income. Changes to this have been implemented to once again limit the open access. With the new changes, a students must maintain a certain GPA, or they will be unable to continue and will have to pay back fees that were previously waived (California Community College Chancellors Office, 2016).

As mentioned in the introduction, to be merit-based over simply need-based imposes a kind of judgement where a certain student is valued over another without any analysis to the structural factors that create a student's reality. The social imaginary of neoliberalism creates this erasure of histories concerning identity; in this way neoliberalism does not have an historical perspective (Apple, 2006 ; Levin 2007). To be merit-based with no analysis of structural oppression has a supremacy logic where, once again, an erasure of students occurs in the name of efficiency. And yet the implications of this are to create a traumatizing system that feels punitive and inflexible considering a specific person's reality.

One faculty member commented on how, throughout their tenure at CCSF, whenever there was an economic downturn, it was experienced as an opportunity for the state to

turn to corporate interests to bring private money into the higher education arena. These major economic downturns have been used as opportunities to exploit crisis in order to push through major policy changes.

Every economic downturn has led to some kind of major policy change, which has basically restricted access in trying to cut costs. Trying to limit the number of people who can get it. For all of higher education. So, for community college's in the 1980's they introduced a fee, which really hurt black male enrollment [long term]. And of course, you have all the immigration issues surrounding who has to pay what to get what and stuff. The fee created a lot of issues... In the 90s they put a cap on the number of basic skill units you could take, and they said if you have a BA you have to pay \$50 a unit. So, what they did was destroyed the possibility of women who have families to go back and re-enter the workforce. (Faculty)

One faculty member explained that now they are “change[ing] the regulations on financial aid to make it merit-based instead of need-based. They are change[ing] the payment time, make[ing] you pay before you start [the semester]” (Faculty). And all of this is harming low income students and their ability to access education.

Planning of Campus Closures

The last-minute closures of campuses had a huge impact on student access. Some people made the structural assessment that the closure of campuses was connected to larger gentrification schemes.

If you listen to some of the administrators that are coming through the college, they are saying we want City College to get in line with the other 112. So, they have an agenda. They see us as a threat because we are the biggest feeder school. We are the biggest and we are the most liberal and we are right in the center of San Francisco, which is going through massive hyper gentrification, we have all this real estate. So, there is a local incentive, there is a state incentive and there is a federal incentive. At the local level, here we are a community college that serves

people a few pennies on the dollar. You got all these for-profit schools here. And we have a bunch of real estate. We have mission campus, Chinatown campus, downtown campus, all this prime real estate (Student).

One campus closure in particular offered insights into how these other priorities for social efficiency, for prioritization of mission, for re-appropriation of spending where labor is devalued, and market expansion is valued as a kind of gentrification of education where those who do not sit within the lens of this view are erased from having any meaning in the space.

There are 37 languages used at Civic Center... They said the building is seismically unsound and they could not put students there and since then they have not shown any evidence of that... We didn't know any of this was in the works, none at all. Until the Friday before classes start... It turns out that, it is unclear when the decision was made, they have told us different things at different times... So, students had not been informed, faculty had not been informed. The deans knew but had apparently been told not to say anything until the Chancellor had made the announcement. Faculty spent that weekend scrabbling to try to find students and inform their students, who speak 37 different languages. Civic Center campus in the middle of the Tenderloin. There are other kinds of classes there too, but it is mostly non-credit beginning, low level ESL classes. So, these are some of the neediest students at City College and some of the most vulnerable. These are students with beginning level ESL, so they are not, many of whom are not literate in their native languages. Recent immigrants who live in the Tenderloin show up Monday morning and the building is closed, well the lobby of the building was open, and the dean was trying to give people information but in 37 different languages there is no way you can do it. He had printed information in English and Spanish. The dean prevented teachers from setting up tables to inform students of what is going on. No idea why. The teachers had gotten translators for many, many different languages. Not 37 languages but for Russian, Vietnamese, Chinese, Arabic and Turkish and a few other languages. They had gotten some friends of theirs or faculty who spoke multiple languages or

advanced ESL students volunteered to help out. And their idea was to set up tables in each language... And the teachers were prevented by the dean from doing that. So, then the teachers then had to try to circulate through the crowd and talk to people. It was a mess. (Faculty)

This experience was then juxtaposed to another campus closing that happened previously in CCSF's history, how the faculty's experience was much different in this process, and in turn how the students' experience with the transition was much different. This reflects an awareness of an on-the-ground need and well thought out plans that consider people and offers information far in advance with information about how to navigate the changes. This reflects an organizational culture that is thoughtful and rooted in relationship.

A few years ago we had to close the entire John Adams campus for construction and it was really well planned and well thought out and I was teaching at John Adams at the time, it was a very well-done move. And they did not move all of the programs at the same time. They did one wing of the building and then the other and helped us move and it was really well thought out. And the building we moved to was a nice building a few blocks away. And they helped us move back. And I think it was 2 years, the whole process was two years, maybe two and a half. It was very well done and we still lost students (Faculty).

The faculty then offer analysis through their experience.

I think it is just part of this overall view that decisions come down from the top. I go back and forth about this. Part of me wants to think this was done to deliberately disenfranchise a vulnerable group of students. The more we talked to administration, the more I think this was not true. That is not that they are trying to disenfranchise the students, the students are just not in their calculations. It doesn't matter, they disenfranchise them more they don't care. It is more they wouldn't have done this to credit students studying physics, or maybe, maybe they

would have. But it is not out of malice, it is just that these students are not in their calculus (Faculty).

The lack of thought and the disconnect in worldviews creates an erasure, and through domination, one worldview comes to write the story. One faculty explains how the knowledge of those who are of the space is erased.

Faculty who live here and have been working here for a long time have connections in the community and might have been able to find alternative locations for classes. So, if he had told us six months ahead of time maybe we could have had actually done something. We asked him over and over why did you do that and he said, “I didn't have a decision.” “I didn't have a plan, I couldn't tell anybody until I had a plan,” which is not a real answer. Because what we are saying is involve us in making the plan because we are the experts, we are the resource... And I think it is part of seeing faculty and staff and students even as un-necessary and unskilled. And not valuable to the institution because we just do this cookie cutter thing (Faculty).

Hierarchical Design

Changes made to the internal governance structure have also reflected a kind of erasure in which the incoming administrators have imposed a narrative, and this narrative is disconnected from the faculty's and student's experiences - ultimately the ones who are impacted by the changes. The decision-making structure has gone from a shared governance to a participatory governance structure. Both faculty and students expressed having less of a voice in decision-making with the changes that have been made.

One administrator described how he did not see much difference in the shared governance and the participatory governance structure. This administrator, however, was aware that CCSF had previously been a very democratically-engaged college. “Well yeah shared governance, participatory, some use them synonymously. As I understand it, not having been here at the time. Is that it was much more so than other colleges yes” (Administrator).

In contrast, the faculty and students described the changes to the governance structure as having a dramatic and adverse effect for people on the ground with local knowledge of what is going on to be able to advocate for the what is best for those most impacted.

What I do know, what's happening now is the Chancellor is making decisions without consulting anybody. And then telling us about it afterward. They call it participatory governance but there is no participation at all. And they are trying at every level to get in the way of faculty control and student control of anything (Faculty).

At the same time the administrators discussed how there was a need for more concentrated power. This is partly what the college was cited for as far as being out of accreditation compliance. As mentioned earlier, concentrating power was a major focus of all the incoming chancellors.

One of things we got called out for was our administrators had not really been decision-makers. There has not been true administrative control. It has been other people who have been influencing and making-decisions (Administrator).

Another administrator claimed to the logic of needing concentrated decision-making due to the fact that there was little time based on the imposed conditions of the ACCJC.

The administrative point of view is that we need to make changes and actions really fast to come into compliance with the standards... But on the other hand there was sort of no choice. We didn't have the leisure to take nine months to have conversation and make sure every person's view is considered before we make a decision (Administrator).

This shift in the power dynamic at the college is crucial to understand. On one hand, the administration is saying that the new participatory governance structure is not much different from the old shared governance structure. At the same time, the administration is saying changes

needed to be made to give more authoritative control to the administrators. What is erased from this is how the previous system allowed more opportunity for information to be shared. The old decision-making processes may have been slower and included more voices, yet the importance of each voice in the planning process was recognized in its validity. One way this can be seen is the impact the changes to decision making processes have on programs like diversity studies, non-credit ESL, and other programs that are being deprioritized. With the shared governance structure, faculty and students would be able to advocate for these programs with real traction. Participatory governance and the speed at which decisions are being made limits this possibility.

Below is more rationale from an administrator as to why there is a need to change the governance structure. There is a subtext to the logic where it is understood that there needs to be clear distinction between where the decision is ultimately made versus people providing their input to the decision-maker depending on their role. Administrators reinforced this approach in many different ways.

A dissertation was about colleges that made it through accreditation versus those that didn't. They looked at two large ones and then two small ones and ones that made it through versus ones that didn't. And they came out with four factors that were deciding factors whether a college would make it through accreditation processes or not... One of the main factors they found is the difference was whether people could delineate their roles within the organization and recognized different roles and responsibilities within the organization (Administrator).

The outside administrators saw the top-level administrators as knowing ultimately what is best for the college versus seeing themselves as more of a facilitator to guide the continuous processes of planning, implementing, and reflecting to grow as a college through shared learning and decision making. One faculty member describes how things became so problematic considering the work CCSF had done over many years to secure a place for diversity studies and to create a more inclusive culture at CCSF where all students from all walks of life are made to feel welcome and can find space to grow academically in various different ways.

...[If] the faculty don't have a voice, the diversity departments get screwed, non-credit gets screwed, ESL gets screwed, continuing education gets screwed. They were threatening to close the Guardian Scholars program at one point. Guardian Scholars is a program that provides services and counseling for students of City College who are current or former foster youth. It is an amazing program. They do outreach in the high schools and they do a lot of services that help keep people in school once they are in City College. Academic support, tutoring, all kinds of stuff. And there was a big political fight and... They have lost a lot of funding... they were threatening to just cut the whole program. They didn't cut it, it survived, in pieces, it is smaller. Programs like that that are so valuable. What makes city college function is threatened (Faculty).

Feeling Attacked from All Sides

Incoming administrators also looked to enforce the rule of cutting classes of twenty students or less. It had long been an overlooked rule within the contract negotiated with the faculty union that classes with less than twenty students registered could be canceled. From the administrators' position this was a tough fiscal decision that had to be made despite people's complaints - that it had been fiscally irresponsible for CCSF not to cut classes up till that point.

A lot of people are new to it, have a lot of questions and a lot of frustrations because you know basically you're impacting students that want to come here and learn but at the same time you are trying to balance that fine line in terms of enrollment management but also the budget because every class that is low enrolled like that basically diverts resources or funding that could go to that class that could otherwise go to fund another class that will have 30-35 students in there. So unconsciously and not very overtly there is a budgetary decision to fund a class that may have four, eight, twelve students at the expense of if that class was canceled and if that money was transferred to another discipline or another division or even just another section within the same subject to go to a class that can serve more students (Administrator).

The logic is cutting classes is a necessary change and it is simply painful for people because it is a change from the past and people do not like change. This washes away the reality that it is painful for people because there is an understanding that the more classes are cut the more instability for students and faculty, which impacts the colleges ability to be open access. One class being cut in the first few weeks of a semester may be devastating from a faculty member or a students' perspectives. Whereas administrators felt what they were doing was necessary and could have been much worse then it was.

Now we are having where under 20, we have about 1200 sections under 20. Technically management could come in and technically has the right. Well you got to give me credit. We are just taking the smallest of the small. You know. But it is a change (Administrator).

The perception of how many classes were cut and the impact this had on the students was incredibly different between faculty and incoming administrators. While the administrators could describe it as random and following a procedure, the nature of the cuts had systemic impacts in the kinds of classes that were cut. It may not have been planned, but the lack of planning in terms of why it might be worthy to keep a section under twenty open had no proper process of deliberation.

Concerning what sections of classes were cut. There were hundreds, perhaps thousands of sections cut over those years, and every department was hit to a greater or lesser extent. Although I don't have numbers, I believe Disabled Student Programs and Services courses was devalued, as was ESL. Certainly, the diversity disciplines were under attack on the grounds that they had low productivity, the student/teacher ratios typical in those classes made them too expensive. However, my experience was that many or even most of the cuts lacked any coherent intentionality. For instance, they removed all CCSF classes from our Castro/Valencia site, a middle school that we had rented for evening classes that had easy parking. Relocating those classes to other sites was hit and

miss, and students didn't always move to the new places. As things turned out, foreign languages were probably the biggest loser of sections from that particular decision, was that intentional or just happenstance? A very large number of cuts resulted from Deans being told to cancel any class that wasn't fully subscribed before the first day of the semester. Some Deans used this directive to cut deeply, some were conscientious in working with Chairs and trying to promote sections before cutting them, and other Deans seemed to just ignore this instruction altogether, hardly cutting anything and allowing very small sections to be offered. It seemed to me that the difference in application varied with the personality of the Dean, not according to any plan (Faculty).

The ACCJC commented on how the budget needed to be reconfigured. Particularly, the proportion of the budget going to personnel costs being too high. This then became a task of the incoming administration to address as well as working to limit union voice in decision making through contract negotiations. One interim chancellor commented on how high personnel costs must be addressed, yet made no comments on addressing the rate at which administrators are paid.

Ninety-two percent of our costs are in personnel and that is much larger than the state average with respect to personnel costs. So, we're going to have to address personnel costs. The number of people we have, the compensation, the way people are compensated for certain kinds of work, the reassigned times — there are a lot of issues there that relate to or contribute to that 92 percent... The state has redefined the mission of community colleges. We are doing our darn best to still be all things to all people and the state has essentially said, 'You can't do that anymore.' So that means our Board of Trustees and our campus leadership are going to have to make some priority decisions about what programmatic things are most critical to the city of San Francisco and do more of some and less of others (Iverson, 2012).

CCSF had been working to do more with less for many years, but by using other mechanisms than what was recommended by the state to do so. Having money invested in personnel over other kinds of budget priorities demonstrates the College's commitment to maintain as many faculty members teaching as many sections of classes that could be offered so that the accessibility of a diversity of classes could continue. Support staff such as academic counselors, and library staff, etc. needed to be maintained as much as possible. The choices were invisible to the interim chancellor. The interim chancellor painted a picture of how the college was in disarray - in shambles from the inside.

She aligned herself entirely with the ACCJC... She had this thing about city college has a very big heart where we just don't have enough, we can't afford to have that big a heart any more. That was the line... She would talk about San Francisco priorities, we can't afford San Francisco priorities anymore. We can't be all things for all people. Those were some of her catch phrases and I think, you know and on the flip side it was you got to get smaller, you got to get more focused, never mind all these people, they are not the ones you are here for (Faculty).

[Administrators are saying] 'We need to fix the college.' While we are saying 'We need to save city college, this is our home, this is our community.' They are saying well we need to fix it, which is to push the student success narrative and that is wrong." (Student).

The administrators interviewed acknowledged times were stressful. And yet this stress was coming from a place where there was so much cultural change that needed to happen internally that it was inevitably going to be stressful because the crisis was rooted in the disfunction of the college. This narrative carried throughout various actions made by the upper-level administrators. "Several people have been saying we are building this thing at the same time that it is flying. And it is like everyone here, everybody is doing their best to move things forward but at the same time there is so much cultural change. It has a high level of stress" (Administrator).

Administrators consistently discussed their actions in terms of creating transparency and accountability, and yet the faculty did not experience the actions of the new leadership as transparent; trust was not being developed. Although the administrators hyped the idea that if City College committed to the student success agenda and got the systems in place that were necessary, then transparency and trust would be created. The administrators consistently suggested that with the right policies and procedures in place the college would run the best that it could, and everything would run efficiently and properly. This is part of the supremacy logic. The reality is power is shifting based on relationships and context (Forester, 1999a; Young, 1990). Standards, rules, and codes of conduct can be perceived as counter-intuitive when compared in evaluation to the merit the policies and procedures have in one's life and the impact the policies have, intentional or not (Forester, 1999a). What needs to be balanced is one's political agency in relation to the application of rules and procedures. The administrators continued to assert that creating the policy would create the right conditions as opposed to understanding that policy can derive from the effort of articulating the conditions that are working to solidify them for future practice. These are two contrasting approaches to policy formation. One administrator described how the college would never be fixed if it did not write policies and procedures in order to fix it.

One thing you have to have policies and procedures. Cause otherwise there is no, there is not as much transparency of what the process is. There is no consistent framework or guidelines to create those expectation on when certain things are going to happen and how they are supposed to happen. And really without that broad understanding it creates a veil of in some respects, cloudiness over the process. When there is any sense of that there is always suspicion of wrong doing or propriety. So really starting off with a broader policy is really critical to have (Administrator).

So, when you look at the accreditation standards, those are the bookends. The resource issues. There is the governance issue. There is the mission and institutional effectiveness. And of course, educational programs and services is the big thing in the middle. But it has got to be supported by all these other

components. Those components got broken and it does affect our education as well. And when you look at what we got called out for. It was all of those components. And it required the college to change because we had been doing things the same for a really long time (Administrator).

In this way, the accreditation standards create the logic for the school to come under attack from the outside administrators coming in as well as other state and national forces.

Standardization

Standards of learning, codified as Student Learning Outcomes (SLOs), are becoming a kind of uniform procedure in education and are another way to limit access in terms of the value that is put on what kind of learning and outcomes of learning are prioritized over others. At this point, community colleges are being charged with creating their own SLOs for their specific schools with some guidelines. While some level of standardization is not necessarily a bad thing, there are signs as to how the impetus for imposing this SLO approach to creating college-wide standardization has the potential to lead to negative consequences long term. For instance, there is a push from the state for all schools to track their SLOs through a state-wide tracking system for both students and teachers. This way, all of the SLO data collected can be utilized as data for a state-wide SLO system. Even within the college this can lead to standards being written that disregard certain kinds of education over others.

By focusing on a standardization to learning and success being measured through prescribed learning outcomes, the student is reduced to the priorities outlined by the policy, whereas there are infinite numbers of ways one could measure what success means to any particular student at CCSF. What is measured, therefore, limits the priorities regarding the kinds of classes that are being offered. For instance, a student taking classes through disabled students programs and services most likely has different outcomes in mind for taking a class than a student who is seeking an associate's degree through the liberal arts program.

I was teaching theater with students with a range of disabilities, ranging from students with mild learning disabilities to a whole bunch of students with down

syndrome to students who were non-verbal and mostly non-responsive, all in the class together. And I am supposed to pretend that they all have the same objective. They don't have the same objective. One student really wants to sing on stage and one student wants to make people laugh and one student wants to dance, and one student wants to learn how to memorize lines and one student wants to just get over stage fright. And one student doesn't know why she is there, she is having a really good time and is making friends. And I have to write up student objectives and they have to be the same objective for every student in the class and they come up with some way to quantify their progress towards these objectives. It makes no sense. And there is no way to do it meaningfully, so I have to make something up that is meaningless... Part of the danger is that then my worth as a teacher or my students worth gets tied to these numbers, which are meaningless. And even if they were meaningful, I mean my classes aren't supposed to be graded why make up a grading system? (Faculty).

It is with the rhetoric of standards-based reform that one begins to see this global re-ordering where standards are associated with “world class standards”. While on the one hand, raising standards can be viewed as a way of raising expectations for what a student achieves by having a concrete standard or a normative standard, the created measurement acts to impose on an individual student’s identity. To say this is the norm and that if you do not fit then you are somehow sub-standard is a form of social engineering (Thompson, 2007). By all students being measured against a concrete norm, the standards become the logic that then creates the “new unit” (Scott, 1998). The individual becomes reordered under the authority of the nation-state. This authority is made legitimate through the state-justifying policies, and once enacted, these policies come to legitimize the authority. This is part of the history of standards-based education (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). By the state creating unified standards for what students should be learning, the state can then hold schools accountable for teaching these standards; by holding the schools accountable, the state reifies its authority. “The state is thus given an authoritative monopoly over subjects and institutions located within its territory, allocated through a system of international relations” (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010, p. 13).

Fixing A Broken College

While the incoming administrators, who are informed by the ACCJC sanctioning, saw a school that needed to be fixed and the fixing required following the state policy agenda, those who expressed a conflicting view from the dominant view saw City College as a special place - a place to be saved - a place that needed to be saved from the attacks of the accreditation board and other outside forces. The worldview of the crisis can be situated in two contradicting narratives, particularly, “Save the College” versus “Fix the College. One implies a structural reality that is creating a crisis for the college to be able to be as open and accessible as the CCSF community has strived for it to be. Fixing the college implies that all the issues are internal, and things have been going wrong within the college that must be addressed and fixed internally, erasing any of the structural conditions contributing to these conditions. One student offers important insights in this regard.

While we are saying we need to save city college, this is our home, this is our community. They are saying we need to fix it and there is shit that is wrong. And then they spin it, as if it is a disservice to black and brown students but are you kidding me? We have better transfer rates than most community colleges in the state. You want to talk about equity, equity is a k-12 education, it's the poverty (Student).

The administrators painted a picture of contention within the college and then created a prophecy to fulfill this contention that supported their rationale for needing to change the culture at CCSF. “The culture here is that there is always a tension here between various stake holders and having credibility or believability in how you are saying something and what you are saying” (Administrator). One administrator described what the school is going through as “culture shock” and in this way the resistance is delegitimized as people who are resisting what is considered inevitable change. One administrator compared the neoliberal reform changes as parallel to the technological changes that have taken place throughout society and how it is up to the school to get up to speed with the changing times.

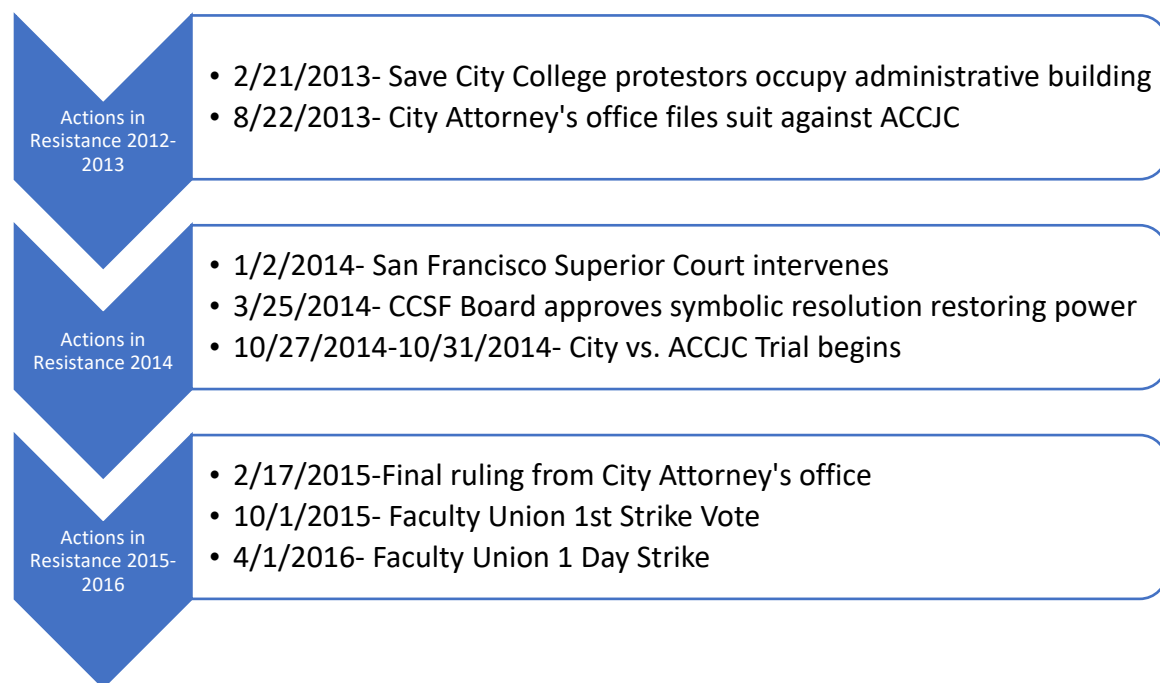
Putting those systems in place and actually making them into procedures so that people know how systems work. That transition that a lot of colleges did from non-technology you know when I first came to California community colleges it was paper and pencil. Your grades at the end of the semester on paper. In the 90s a lot of people started bringing those systems up. In the early 2000s they were integrating those systems. That integration. That building a system that you know you put this in and it comes out here somehow did not happen here. Just that integration of the basic stuff. The procedures (Administrator).

Overall, through a lack of on-the-ground knowledge to the kinds of students that are served through the community college and the values which reside in the importance of offering this particular student a particular kind of education, countless students are erased in the neoliberal imaginary. A particular kind of student is perceived as the more efficient student. This efficient student becomes the student administrators focus on. Through this, other reasons for education are erased from their view and through this, people become erased from view. In the efforts to create efficiency for a certain set of outcomes, i.e. graduation rates, people are erased. Through the ad hoc closure of classes and campuses, people are erased. Through the changes in decision making, voices become diminished, and people's needs become erased. Whatever the intention of the state forces and the incoming administration, the impact is an erasure.

I think it is just part of this overall view that decisions come down from the top. I go back and forth about this. Part of me wants to think this was done to deliberately disenfranchise a vulnerable group of students. The more we talked to administration, the more I think this was not true. That is not that they are trying to disenfranchise the students, the students are just not in their calculations. It doesn't matter, they disenfranchise them more they don't care... But it is not out of malice, it is just that these students are not in their calculus... Those students are not what they think of as overall part of the school (Faculty).

Resistance

Illustration 5: Timeline of various actions of resistance against the ACCJC



Students, faculty members and organizations from the broader CCSF community united in resistance to the ACCJC sanctioning and various decisions made by the administration. These efforts of resistance came from a place of understanding they were protecting vulnerable students in their community and protecting vulnerable programs that had been created to meet the needs and address the barriers to access for vulnerable students. In February of 2013, students occupied an administration building to protest the lack of communication regarding the accreditation crisis (Dage, 2013). The following summer the City Attorney's office filed the law suit against the ACCJC based on several suits filed against the ACCJC and under the premise the ACCJC had violated California fair business practices. Much of the research for this complex litigation lawsuit derived from research conducted by the faculty union, AFT 2121, to file their own suit against the ACCJC (Bing, 2013). Once the law suit was filed by the DA the San Francisco Superior Court intervened by nullifying the ACCJC's Show Cause decision until the court hearing and subsequent verdict. The CCSF Board of Trustees continued to fight to reinstate power and passed a symbolic resolution to do so in the spring of 2014. In the fall of 2014, the trial began, S.F. City vs. ACCJC. The following fall of 2015 and spring of 2016 the faculty voted

to go on a one-day strike to fight the administration's austerity measures and their attack on union voice in decision making. There were various other protests, teach-ins, demonstrations and, community meetings taking place throughout this time. This timeline is a sample representation of the various actions taken in resistance to the ACCJC and the actions made by the incoming administration.

Resistance speaks to the description of the crisis that is situated in a systems analysis (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). With this understanding there is an acknowledgement of the material histories of systemic oppression. The crisis is understood to be contextualized in this material history and is created by a cadre of external forces that are imposing changes on the college that divert it from its core mission of open access. Many view these forces as working in cohesion with the business and development community to downsize CCSF in order to maximize profits in student debt through pushing for an outcomes-driven model to both community college funding and policy as well as maximizing profits for the land development sector by closing down various city college campuses and developing other aspects of the campus.

These people that are all part of this corporate reform, they have folks they can call and bring in that will legitimize what they are doing. And they have people in elected positions, they have people in regulatory positions, they have people in non-profits. They have students and parents that are of color that are promoting that shit even though it hurts out community. Because they are paying them. They have students on the freaking payroll (Student).

From the resistance perspective, as much as there was work to be done internally to try to address the demands of the external forces, it was also necessary to be battling the external forces simultaneously. The resistance framed the crisis in terms of City College being under attack and needing to be defended and saved.

The resistance is made up of predominantly students, faculty, and support staff such as counselors and librarians along with the broader community of support.

We have had rallies and marches. And that organizing, the Save City College Coalition has an outreach committee and a lobbying committee that are outreach and research. So, the engine really driving it here has been the teachers' union and the Save City College Coalition. And lots of outreach to churches, to groups in the community (Faculty).

There was resistance to both the impact of the changes taking place as well as to the process of how it was taking place. Faculty, students, staff, and administrators (who had already been working at CCSF previous to current crisis) discussed feeling under attack. People within the resistance had various worldviews, yet all expressed feeling the attack. In this sense the attack brought people into alignment through a counterhegemony. This crisis also brought the broader community together to surround and support the open access mission of CCSF. People within the community built alliances to take on structures of power, and the faculty union, in particular, has gained strength in terms of members becoming more active and engaged. "The focus now of our local is much more on organizing. Organizing here, organizing with the community as well, community organization around the struggle of City College" (Faculty)

So, this is a black and brown issue. Community Colleges are really a life line for communities of color for working class people. Not only is it about the money. It is also about racism. I think its racism. I think its blocking the working class from upward mobility. This is class warfare. It is saying hey, the upward mobility, the civil rights gains that have happened, there is this pushing back of that. We are seeing this with the privatization of a lot of public services. The fact that it is so hard to access public resources now. And everything is being privatized.... I think we are at war. This is part of the larger war. This is a big battle for them. The have this mind set of we are going to take these principles and to just kind of try to apply them everywhere and we will do things the way we see it and well community, they just don't know. Or the teachers' unions, they are just in the way. And It becomes part of that whole narrative. Yeah, it is pretty bad... I feel like we are at war and this is one battle, battle of a big war. And the war is class warfare. We are in a class warfare state and we are losing democracy left and

right. And this is just one big battle, this a big prominent battle, an important one because we are in San Francisco, this was the epicenter of counter-culture and of community and I feel like this is an important battle and we have to win (Student).

The resistance to the ACCJC came in different forms. People resisting had different stances and views on the reasons for the resistance and everyone emphasized something a little differently than others. From the outset, there was a great deal of community organizing. Participants spoke of community meetings where people would vent their frustration about the ACCJC decision and make plans for how to respond. Some people focused on hunkering down and addressing the accreditation recommendations. Others focused on doing outreach in the broader community to take on the ACCJC politically, while others got involved organizing internally to take on decisions made by the administrators. Many people worked on several different fronts.

One participant described the first set of organizing meetings, and how, through these discussions, they revealed that people wished to engage in the struggle in different ways.

So, there was a split in the Coalition and more of the radical folks stayed around, I was a part of that group. We were like rallies, press conferences, sit-ins, demonstrations and what you have seen over the past couple of years. You know lobbying. I have worked a lot with AFT 2121 and have I been able to travel across the country speaking about education reform. Went to DC to testify at the DOE. Lobbying Jackie Spiers, Nancy Pelosi, and all these federal representatives. And we have really been doing whatever we can to save the school and also Prop A with the parcel tax we organized to bring more money into the college and that won. So many different fronts. Whether it was the electoral, whether it was like lobbying or direct action or community organizing, coalition building, this has been a full spectrum project for the last couple of years (Student).

Many people worked tirelessly through the faculty senate and other steering committees to get CCSF into compliance with accreditation recommendations. One faculty member discussed how

difficult it was to create a unified front though what they were resisting was a unified front that painted the resistance's actions as against the betterment of the college.

Because gathering community support around this crisis has been really challenging because people have different senses of what it means to save the college... So, there is this whole argument that sort of goes oh well because the college needed to make improvements, if you are somehow not making improvements on the college you are not really on the side of the college (Faculty).

Others focused on taking on the legitimacy of the accreditation board. Not everyone within the struggle felt it necessary to take on the ACCJC and to try to hold the ACCJC accountable for being abusive either in a court of law or through taking away the ACCJC's accrediting abilities certified by the U.S. Department of Education. There were a number of people, though, who felt compelled to try to stop the ACCJC from being an accreditor in order to ensure that no community college would go through what City College was going through again.

Our gift to the state with a lot of help from people around the state would be a better accreditation process. There is a bill that is going through this legislature now requiring it to be more open. The ACCJC gets authority from the department of education. Quasi-governmental power but no governmental accountability or transparency. Now they will have to have more than that. Now it would be much more difficult for the community college board of governors to replace elected boards. Eventually we hope to have a bill go through that breaks the monopoly of the ACCJC. That gives us some choice. Because you have to pay them to come in and once that happens they have history, they have been terrorizing people up and down the state for a long time (Faculty).

As the faculty contract fights became more heated with the administration over time, it became clear to the faculty union that the contract was the faculty's real power with the administration considering how much other historical processes for shared decision making had become

obliterated. The contract negotiations between the faculty union and the administrators then became something bigger than about compensation and benefits. It became a space to challenge actions made by the administration that were harmful to students and to faculty and to challenge actions having a negative impact on open access education. “Our goal is a contract that isn't just about us. It isn't just about getting more money, it is about this school being the kind of school we want it to be. Keeping it accessible. Making public education accessible to people who are poor, students of color, veterans, people who are homeless, people who are coming from all different kinds of backgrounds” (Faculty).

A union leader comments on how the work of resisting the ACCJC and organizing members to get involved in the contract negotiations because it is part of a bigger struggle helped to build the urgency for a stronger union. The union began to engage more in face-to-face conversations between members as a way of organizing the union internally. Participants spoke of how this was not happening previously and how they were not as engaged in the union. With the accreditation crisis and all the internal conversations needed to rally faculty to collectively address the issues, they created a stronger union culture of trust and political engagement from a broader base of members.

And as I have learned more and more about being an organizer in the union world, one of the things this local has done really well is to organize the members to get involved in the contract negotiations. So, there's the contract fights, which is not just the contract negotiations. It is getting organized as a union, making sure our precinct reps are talking to everybody in their precinct. Making sure there is a solid train of communication between the 1500 or so members of the union and the leadership, that we if we want people to come out to a rally that they do. And so that we actually have the strength of a union and that is built by the face to face organizing work. And people say the best union organizer is a bad boss. Right? And the ACCJC really forced this local to get organized. And that has come huge leaps and bounds from when I started here almost 2 years ago now. To where we are now we are just so much stronger as a union (Faculty).

Yet, even before the accreditation struggle, the faculty and staff unions had worked together to mobilize the community to pass Prop A, parcel tax in San Francisco to specifically raise money for the community college during the recession. This is to show the union was already active and engaged on a political level prior to the accreditation crisis. Organizing the accreditation crisis helped to take the internal union organizing work, presumably, to another level. “Then the other thing, thanking the SEIU and AFT with their campaign and huge support on was the parcel tax, which was another \$15.2 million dollars which prior to that this college did not have” (Faculty).

Many people did all of these actions or some combination of these actions. Their motivation for doing so would be slightly different from person to person, overall though these were the trends of how people engaged with the struggle during the accreditation crisis. This also changed over time. At first people there were many people who were afraid and did not want to take on the ACCJC. This caused tension and relationships at the college became strained at the time because of the conditions they were experiencing brought on by the accreditation crisis, contextualized in the reality that the college had already been making tough decisions, like across the board pay cuts to keep classes open during the recession. The accreditation decision tipped the scales and pushed people to their breaking points. People were all over the map in their feelings about what to do. “There had been some people that were complaining that we weren’t doing anything and then there were other people who were like why can’t we just cave on negotiations already. People were all over the place. People thought very strongly that we shouldn’t be talking about the accreditation commission (Faculty).

People are exhausted. I have been waiting, wishing someone would come with a research project on occupational health and psychology... there is like a whole other story to be told... (Faculty).

And the internal struggle is what kills me the most while all this is happening students are suffering. People can't get their financial aid, people can't get their housing voucher, and they are homeless, and people can't get a decent, people can't get registration and their classes are being cut while administrators are

getting a 20% raise. It is like real time shit that is impacting students because of this whole agenda (Student).

Internal union organizing helped to rally and mobilize community around a set of various issues from the parcel tax, to taking on the ACCJC's Show Cause decision, to challenging incoming administrators' harmful actions, to later Free City College campaign to make CCSF free for all residents of San Francisco. Both the parcel tax campaign and the Free City College campaign were successful and great victories for the resistance movement.

The Free City College campaign is an initiative spawning out of the coalition building work of the Save the City College Coalition and the faculty union AFT 2121 in the efforts to take on the austerity measures and accreditation crisis (<http://www.aft2121.org/freecity/>). The coalition to move this campaign to success was made up of students, labor, community organization, and City leaders. The last time City College was free for any student was 1984.

In the Fall of 2017 City College began offering free tuition to all San Francisco residents who had a valid California license. There were no strings attached to the student receiving free tuition, no credentialing the student needed to agree to, no caveats as to which classes were free. It was simply free. It is important to note that enrollment saw a boost of 11 percent with the onset of this initiative (Waxmann, 2018). The conditions of the policy are contingent upon the city council continuing to vote year after year as to whether to allocate the funds or not. So far, the initiative has been a success. This work demonstrates the power of the collective organizing work that took place during this time of crisis for the college, despite major negative impacts.

The Free City College campaign is a manifestation of the open access social imaginary - a kind of critical visioning helping to keep CCSF open and accessible despite what appears to be insurmountable odds against this through the implementation of the neoliberal policy agenda. The concluding chapter will focus on how the City College community was cultivating open access for many years, always at odds with

neoliberalism, and because of this, constantly critiquing and offering alternatives to neoliberalism. These themes will be explored through a discussion of radical planning theory which will help to offer insights into radical planning practice. The concluding chapter will follow up with recommendations for future research and finally concluding thoughts.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Overview

This dissertation set out to explore the lived experience of those engaging with the City College of San Francisco accreditation crisis from 2012-2017. The grounded theory that has emerged from the analysis of this case has revealed a story of how the social imaginary of neoliberalism has come to pervade community college public policy. And yet, within the setting of one specific community college, one can see how the struggle between opposing worldviews to neoliberalism continues exist, despite the pervasiveness of the hegemony. As the accrediting commission and other outside forces worked through the neoliberal social imaginary, the teachers, students, and broader CCSF community offered a different kind of social imaginary - an imaginary that both offered a critique of neoliberalism and its erasure of students as well as insights into alternative kinds of practice that can help to overcome issues relating to structural oppression. The resistance is rooted in a commitment to open access education which reveals itself as a set of practices that offers a critical kind of visioning that is transformative and leads to material action toward creating a vision for the world that is rooted in an ethic of love and care.

The previous chapters have set out to explain the context of this case, the methodology for the analysis of this case, an analysis of findings in terms of how various people within City College acted to engage with the accreditation crisis, and what underlining values and worldviews motivated their actions. The following sections will describe in detail more of how City College aspired to be open access, and through an engagement with radical planning theory and critical race theory, explore how the practices of open access reveal a critical vision for radical planning practice. This section will be followed by a summary of the findings through an analysis of critical race theory and a description of the salient radical planning principles and practices to offer implications for radical planning. This is followed by recommendations for future research, and finally concluding thoughts.

Open Access as Critical Vision for Radical Planning Theory

CCSF's historical practices of aspiring to be as open and accessible as possible offers an alternative, humanistic path forward in order to combat neoliberalism and transform beyond the

historical legacy of supremacy thinking as the dominant social order. CCSF has a history of being dedicated to social justice within San Francisco and for any and all potential students.

In 1983 [CCSF] hired its first Chinese Chancellor. That was a big deal because it meant also meant integrating the board of trustees. And there was total intent to change the make-up of the board to reflect the community that needed to go to community colleges. Additionally, CCSF kept all the sites, so it had 9 major campuses and it had 250 cites out into the community. In churches, in buildings. And in K-12 schools in the evening or when they weren't being used. Out in the alleys, out in the marinas (Faculty).

Another faculty member describes the open access work over the years in more detail and offers critique as well in terms of campuses being shut down and programs are not being run as robustly as they once were.

It is hard not to be touched by what we were doing. And CCSF is such an incredible place. We have campuses all over the city, specifically to bring in populations that might not be able to get to the school. There were at the time 12 campuses, now there are 10. Plus, there were off-sites, places that aren't really campuses and community centers and junior high schools, all over the place. And it was well thought out. The program no longer exists, we had a group of students in the Bay View who were trying to come to the high school completion program at the south east campus and couldn't because they couldn't safely leave their neighborhood. And they ran buses, access was a big deal. I was working at the John Adams campus and we had a group of students come from the Filmore, who were only safe there. They wouldn't be able to go to the mission campus safely or the south east campus safely. They could go to John Adams safely. The high school completion program in South East is still there but there are no longer buses. There was childcare, there was so much going on to make those programs successful (Faculty).

Faculty discussed how CCSF was out in all corners of the city through various partnerships and collaborations, and how the various programs at the various campuses and different community-based classes hosted by churches, schools, and senior centers would evolve and change over time.

When we had 100,000 students we did it with one Chancellor, 2-4 vice chancellors running city college. This was very streamlined. That way you can give counselors and libraries to the noncredit students. So, there was a plan there. And when we reorganized in 1990 to streamline administration specifically to save costs, we brought in James Guffery who was head of the Department of Education at UC Berkeley. And Jerry Hayward who was Berkeley's director of the policy analyses center for education who used to be the state chancellor for community colleges. These were thinkers (Faculty).

At CCSF, non-credit classes are made accessible as open entry - meaning a student can enroll in a non-credit class at any point in the semester simply by showing up to class at any point during the semester (CCSF, 2010).

With the non-credit flexibility of open entry/ open exit you could change your offerings to meet the needs. Plus, when someone arrives here with open entry/open exit they don't have to wait to start mid-semester. You become unemployed you didn't have to wait for the next semester to start. So, it is a very effective model that not a lot of other places are using. That is the open entry/open exit noncredit (Faculty).

Faculty described workforce development collaborations with local unions and businesses to create real pathways from credentialing and/or skills-based education toward work that pays a living wage within San Francisco. City Build of San Francisco is an example of a kind of collaboration CCSF has worked on over the years.

The City Build Academy is a pre-apprenticeship program as an entry point to the construction trades. It is a program administered by the San Francisco Office of Economic Workforce Development and is in partnership with this office, the Construction trade unions, City College of San Francisco, and community-based organizations (<http://hope-sf.org/citybuild.php>). This is one example of many community-based efforts toward workforce development. One faculty member spoke of this work and expressed how “workforce development is very local, people are place bound because they don’t have resources” (Faculty).

The CCSF community expressed a belief in education as a process for personal growth and development and saw the college as a major resource to help various people throughout the city find access to these opportunities in various kinds of ways. There is an understanding that this work cannot be measured and tract to then be turned to a set of best practices. And the impact access to this kind of education has cannot be measured. One faculty spoke to this broadly, “The personal development of a person. The economic development because a person now has a whole new set of skills to deal with in the market place. These things, some of them are, incalculable” (Faculty).

Another faculty spoke to the more specific impact. One faculty member discusses the theater class they teach through the disability services program.

For my students getting through is not the goal. In my theater class some of them are trying to graduate but most are trying to learn theater. They are not trying to get through anything, they want to be able to act on stage and there is no, completion isn't, you can't quantify it. At least that is not one of the goals that makes sense to quantify. But if you prioritize students that make you look good then on paper you can say this number of students got through a nursing program. And it fits in with a general idea that education is solely for the purpose of getting a job, which is something that is being pushed all over the country (Faculty).

CCSF attributes the civil rights gains of the 1960s and 70s as giving rise to the diversity department at City College. The programs all grew out of various social struggles as mentioned

on the diversity collaborative website: the United Farmworker's Movement, the Women's Liberation Movement, and the Stonewall Riots (https://www.ccsf.edu/en/educational-programs/school-and-departments/school-of-behavioral-and-social-sciences/diversity_collaborative.html).

It is with the diversity collaborative partly where CCSF offers its commitment to intersectional analysis, "where students learn how their multiple identities contribute to the richness of their lives and provide strength to our continuing struggles for social justice" (https://www.ccsf.edu/en/educational-programs/school-and-departments/school-of-behavioral-and-social-sciences/diversity_collaborative.html).

The diversity collaborative is made up of African American Studies; Asian American Studies; Asian Studies; Behavioral Sciences; interdisciplinary studies; Labor & Community Studies; Latin American & Latino/a Studies; Lesbian, Gay Bisexual and Transgender Studies (LGBT); Philippine Studies; Social Sciences; and Women's Studies. It is broad and deep in offering critical education for understanding intersectional oppression in various ways.

There was a culture of collaboration at City College, where the diversity of ideas and interests created healthy tensions for deliberation on how to make CCSF more accessible and more committed to learning for students of all needs and desires.

CCSF coming together and organizing, being student-centered- years of work. All The stuff they are criticizing is what creates a strong community. You know the ability, we would talk through all of our issues so that people understood them. We would try to work them through so that we would come to an agreement but sometimes you couldn't. Almost everything you could really, sometimes things would take longer, or things weren't getting done then maybe they shouldn't be getting done. We always had to challenge procedures. We talked it through, we valued history, we valued the collaborative process. We were not afraid. If there were issues we wanted them discussed, we wanted to be the best and we wanted to be engaged and be open and transparent about it. They are trying to do

everything now top down, the management mandated, and the management does not have the knowledge and the experience of the community to make good decisions. And to impose them. San Francisco had been taught that this is a democracy and that you have to stand up. You are not supposed to be a by-standard, you should be an up-standard. And stand up for your rights. We created that culture. What they are going through it is really David and Goliath (Faculty).

Many of the attributes expressed through describing the open access work are transferable to radical community planning work as they are relationship-oriented and rooted in the context of place in this regard. Radical planning theory offers helpful insights into analyzing the work of visioning and creating open access to generate conceptual theory. Radical planning theory, in particular, holds the practice of planning accountable for grappling with issues regarding social, economic, and environmental justice. The United States has a long history of being rooted in structures of oppression through its legacies of dominant hegemony in the forms of capitalism, patriarchy, and white supremacy. These systems of oppression then manifest into the intersecting nature of oppression within these dominate systems. Planning outcomes often favors state repression and private property regimes and, in this way, reinforce these systems of domination and exploitation (hooks, 2001; Purcell, 2009; Rankin, 2010; Roy, 2005b).

Democracy and democratic processes are held up as the answer to the question of how to address issues of injustice, and yet the kinds of democratic resistance that are going to be transformational from theory to practice is where the discussion of radical planning theory comes to the fore (Purcell, 2009; Rankin, 2010; Roy, 2001, 2005a, 2005b). The democracy of the United States currently exists as a paradox because the democratic institutions are structurally entrenched within structures of domination and exploitation, privileging the worldviews reinforcing this paradigm, and subsequently erasing other worldviews. It is not enough to claim there are democratic processes; an investigation into the kinds of democratic processes is necessary.

Much of the dialogue in the planning literature situates democracy in terms of liberal democracy (Nussbaum, 2011; Sen, 2000) or deliberative democracy (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004;

Forester, 1999a, 1999b; Healey, 1998, 1999; Innes & Booher, 2002, 2010). And yet radical planning, pulling from radical democratic theory and other critical theory, problematizes liberal and deliberative democracy because of neoliberalism's pervasiveness within all aspects of life. Radical planning theory questions whether these methods of democracy go far enough, as oftentimes these practices tend to reinforce the existing power dynamics, offering little as far as how to transform beyond (Purcell, 2009, p. 142). A radical theory is required to offer critical insights into practice that will address power and issues regarding intersectional oppression. Radical planning theory seeks to address this paradox (Evans, 2002; Purcell, 2009; Rankin, 2010; Roy, 2001, 2005a, 2005b; Watson, 2006).

Radical planning theorists draw from radical deliberative democracy (Mouffe, 1996, 2005; Mansbridge, 1996), postcolonial theory (Fanon, 2004/1963; Tuhiwai Smith, 2002), and critical race theory (Collins, 2009; Crenshaw, 1989; hooks, 2015/1984) among other radical critical theories. Radical planning offers a conundrum regarding planning to achieve true aims of social transformation away from structures of domination and exploitation. Planners are then at the heart of the paradox because they must be concerned with how to be critical of the structures while also engaging with development to pursue transformational social change (Rankin, 2010, p. 186).

This calls for planning theory to be concerned with how it is shaping imaginaries of practitioners. In this way, planning theory can offer insights into practice which works in resistance to the dominant hegemony rather than reproducing the dynamics of global capitalism and supremacy logic. In this way radical planning theory is a call for "a radical reconstruction of history and knowledge production" (Rankin, 2010, p. 182). The following quote from Rankin (2010) offers a insight in terms of the paradox for planning being grappled with in this case study:

As John Forester (1987) famously put it, planning theory can't just be about complaint; it also has to be about hope- about fueling political imagination, identifying the limits to hegemonic power, developing criteria for judgment and advocating change. It is this commitment, more specifically, to praxis that unifies planning theory- whether articulated around an objective of socioeconomic

redistribution, cultural recognition, efficiency, or any other interpretation of the public interest/s. Too often, however, an orientation toward practice is confused with an orientation toward the future, with history being reduced to functionalist and politically decontextualized ‘lessons learned’ or ‘best practices.’ In the context of imperialism- rarely acknowledged in planning theory- this ‘forgetting’ of history takes the form of a paternalistic benevolence toward others, with ‘difference’ becoming the basis for dividing up the world into separate cultural spheres conceptualized around the categories of self and other (Rankin, 2010, p. 182).

Within the social imaginary of neoliberalism resides the logic of domination and exploitation which is connected to a supremacy logic where a norm is created and everyone outside the norm becomes the other - where individuals are pitted against one another through centering the individual and seeing those different than an idealized norm as people to fear. For those who are privileged, there is the myth of meritocracy in which the privileged person situates himself as deserving of privilege because of hard work and morality. Within this structure, this person differentiates himself from people living in poverty. The people living in poverty, then, are thought of as deserving of their fate because of their lack of morality. One can see how this kind of supremacy logic pervades Western culture such that poverty and inhumanity are justified - even made legal and embedded in policy (Gans, 1995). This is how people are dehumanized and mistreated in often violent ways structurally where the action to dominate and exploit is made rational through the process of dehumanization.

As has been mentioned, in this way, neoliberalism also works through an eradication of histories in order to presume a playing field where the market can expand to serve all people’s interests. Planning follows suit, historically, through practices like red-lining access to purchasing a home so black families and other groups of families are unable to purchase and own their home in the neighborhoods where they lived, and often aligning with private development interests in general (Manning, 1994; Rankin, 2010). These kinds of practices are kinds of erasures, as well. Radical planning is focused on

addressing this. The work of addressing these erasures is partly about addressing the structural realities perpetuating the harmful impact.

Through the student success and completion narratives, an ideal student is imagined, and all other students are held against this ideal student or they no longer exist within the educational space. As mentioned, this is rooted in a supremacy logic in which it is presumed that there is a best student - a most efficient student. Following this logic, there is a norm against which others can be measured (Lipman, 2007, 2011; McLaren, 2007). This is the same logic that perpetuates white supremacy and patriarchy. It is the standard by which everyone is measured to create constant fear and insecurity in order to induce a consumer culture through capitalism.

White supremacy is essentially a system of cultural norms to uphold capitalism (hooks, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Stovall, 2006). The completion agenda in community college education is a kind of white supremacist's cultural approach to serving the interests of capitalism. As has been demonstrated, this interest is harmful, oppressive, and violent to those who do not measure up to the norm. To plan in this manner - to impose practices from the outside with an erasure of history and context perpetuates this supremacy erasure and is colonialistic, imperialistic and harmful to local communities (Roy, 2005b).

What is offered here is a way to engage with development while also being critical of the structures. A kind of practice that is focused on addressing past erasure of histories that have been created through structural oppression. In this sense, this is a practice concerned with thinking about how to address issues regarding intersectional oppression through a kind of planning practice. Open access is viewed here as a kind of critical vision for radical planning theory as it informs radical planning practice.

Critical vision is meant here because this is a vision for transformational change where addressing power at every turn is at the heart of the work. Where those most impacted by any kind of structural oppression are brought to the center in order to learn how to address the issues

affecting their ability to take care of themselves and their families and thrive. This is the heartbeat that must persist no matter the other values and factors that interject themselves into consideration. This is an adaptation of the idea of critical hope which is rooted in the acknowledgment and knowledge of suffering (Duncan-Andrade, 2009). With this understanding instead of blaming community colleges for failing students, it is important to look to the material conditions of poverty perpetuating and exacerbating the barriers poor students experience in efforts to access education. This vision of transformational change cannot be contingent upon someday reaching a societal utopian future or to reside in the illusion that a student's access to education will be their pathway to ascend to the middle class (Duncan-Andrade, 2009, p. 184). Neither one of these visions is feasible nor transformational. Transformation takes daily work - addressing issues as they constantly arise. It is often rooted in the need to heal because of generations of enduring structural violence (Brown, 2017; Duncan-Andrade, 2009; hooks; 2001; Freire, 2017).

Intersectionality is concerned with the impossible nature of detangling and identifying specific identities. Identities do not simply reside on axes, such as race, class, and gender. Oppression is, instead, multidimensional and interconnected. It is the structures of white supremacy, patriarchy, and capitalism that perpetuate systems of structural sexism, racism, and classism. And yet, how one experiences these oppressions on an individual level, through the complex nature of their identity, is always unique (Crenshaw, 1989; Jacobs, 2018, p. 5). This is where Black feminist thought offers a great deal to radical planning theory. Patricia Hill Collins (2009) articulates a Black feminist vision for social transformation, which can be reflected in the work of City College of San Francisco aspirations for open access. Collins articulates that a just community is realized through “a process of self-conscious struggle that empowers women and men to actualize a humanist vision of community” (Collins, 2009, p. 39).

Open access, as it is described here in various ways, offers a place-based, process-oriented approach to community planning. It is necessary to aspire to be open access continuously, just as it is a constant work of relationship-building and addressing issues related to power.

For this research, I am attempting to articulate a set of principles that are reflected in the work of continuously aspiring to be open access at CCSF. There is recognition here that this analysis could use some more in-depth research, with a particular focus on the research design as it pertains to questioning and grappling with open access in a variety of ways. These principles are shared here in the spirit that they are emerging and malleable - not to be prescriptive, simply illustrative (Charmaz, 2006). These principles are an offering for radical planning discourse as to how practice works both to be critical of structures of power and to develop toward transformational visions.

The open access approach to community planning is a cyclical process of planning, implementing, evaluating, and re-planning. Issues facing communities are constantly shifting and changing and are complex and interconnected. What needs to be centered in order to be addressed is the constant shifting and changing. This is a kind of practice that acknowledges this reality and works with it. Open access radical planning is also place-based and relationship-oriented with a grassroots approach to planning and decision-making. Knowledge and action derive from the ground up. Knowledge comes from those implementing the policy who are affected by the policy. Issues of power are constantly being addressed in order to seek out the best actions to help students gain more access to education.

At the core of this work, there is a critical vision. This critical vision centers those that are the most oppressed and recognizes intersectional oppression must be brought to the forefront and constantly addressed in order to achieve transformational visions of social justice. In this practice diversity is viewed as a strength - not something to be erased, but something to be worked with in order to achieve the deepest levels of understanding regarding the complex, multi-layered issues that are facing communities and creating barriers to access education and broader social issues.

A list of radical planning principles and practices generated from this case:

- Emerging and Process-oriented
 - There is a constant process of planning, implementing, and evaluating
- Placed-based, relationship-oriented, grassroots, and ground-up

- Knowledge comes from those impacted, and those impacted are the most knowledge about what they need. Because of this, issues of power are constantly addressed.
- Critical Vision with Critical Action
 - Intersectional oppression must be brought to the center and addressed in order to achieve transformational visions of social justice. Issues facing communities are complex and multilayered and always emerging.
 - By bringing to them to the center, issues can be addressed discursively and materially and to then link to other issues to work toward more transformational action.

It is important to be transparent in how what is offered here are principles applied from other practices. There is a material history to this rationality of how to engage in critical praxis (See Brown, 2017). It is a praxis that is also reflected in other radical theories such as critical race theory, as mentioned. Critical race theorists have been cited throughout this dissertation (Collins, 2009; Crenshaw, 1989; hooks, 2015/1984,2001; Stovall, 2006).

Summary of Findings

Open access acts as a counterhegemony in this case as it articulates important critical insights about hegemony and how to transform beyond it. Within this counterhegemony there is a diversity of ways of seeing and knowing the world; their alignment comes in their resistance and desire to build something different that is rooted in the values of educational access for all. At the same time, the possibilities deriving from an open access worldview help to reveal a way of engaging in deliberative planning where different ways of seeing and knowing the world can be recognized and accepted as strength to the collective whole. This is what is required when the engaging in the kinds of practices required to do the transformational work of aspiring to be open access. It is not efficient, and it is not clearly codified and measured.

Lefebvre (1996) discusses how we all have a right to construct our world, therefore constructing our world is a collective act. The city becomes the collective's oeuvre or body of work (Harvey, 2008; Lefebvre, 1996). Alternative space creation is a part of this in the scheme of the

hegemonic power of capitalism and its latest iteration, neoliberalism. At the same time, Lefebvre discusses how within a capitalist system the spaces that we live in are often conceived or socially engineered (Gulson & Symes, 2007; Lefebvre, 1996). Our agency is inextricably linked with our ability to engage in this construction, to understand when it is being conceived for us, and to know whether this is in our best interest. While neoliberalism forces us to consider the spatial dynamics of marketized approaches to education reform (Gulson & Symes, 2007), we must use this analysis as deeper understanding for how we can exert our agency to see outside of this narrowly scoped narrative. Open access offers insights into how to do this.

With this case the accreditation crisis is defined by differing worldviews, and different worldviews acted in ways to reveal insights into both the oppressive nature of neoliberalism and the supremacy logic underlying the social imaginary as well as a deeper understanding for how to approach policy and planning in more transformative ways, in which the margins continue to be brought to the center (hooks, 2001). The analysis presented in this dissertation emerged from the perspective radical planning theory intends to inform planning practice in terms of how to take a critical stance to structural oppression while simultaneously working to develop transformational change. What was revealed is that this is daily, on-the-ground, anti-oppression work. This work is presented here through the lens of how to continuously aspire to creating open access to education for all students, which means bringing to the center those marginalized from traditional education and more generally, in the broader society, dominated by neoliberalism.

While critical race theory originated in legal scholarship (Crenshaw, 1989), the education theorist Gloria Ladson-Billing (1998) offers applicable insights through critical race theory which applies well to a broader context outside of education. Particularly instructive is the articulation of the function of white supremacy through five tenets (Stovall, 2006). The first is to name and engage in discussion of how racism is a pervasive and daily reality for people of color, and how this serves to disadvantage people of color in various ways. The second is to deconstruct policy for its “race neutral” stances, to expose the erasure through policy within the capitalist system. The third function is to center the voices by legitimizing and promoting the narratives of people of color as sources of needed critique of the hegemonic, i.e. dominant and

exploitative social order (Crenshaw, 1989; hooks, 2001). The fourth function is to deconstruct the current democratic system including systems of laws and underlying ideology to address their inability to dismantle structural kinds of oppression - especially in the name of economic efficiency and/or private property, i.e. capitalism and the wealth of the economic elite. The final function is to be critical and disrupt race neutral and multicultural movements where White-ness and white behavior is made the norm, creating a disadvantage in the design.

These functions reflect more methodically a great deal of what emerged out of this research - which goes to show that even though the research in this dissertation is emerging, it is not claiming to be original. The ideas presented here all stem from a history of discourse regarding radical transformational change in a variety of ways, of a variety of perspectives. The richness of thought is vast and deep, and it derives from immense struggles on a multitude of levels. I cannot begin to attribute it all here. And while conceptual theories that emerged within this research, there is a broader discussion imbedded in the conceptualization which aligns well with Ladson-Billing's functions and this is why it will be utilized here to offer further analysis on the summary of findings.

There are three conceptual theories presented in this research. The first concept is that there is a discursive and material nature to worldviews and the hegemony of neoliberalism that dominates discursively and materially where there is a relationship between the two. The second concept builds on the first to articulate how, through a logic of supremacy, neoliberalism erases other worldviews by reinforcing its own logic which then comes to dominate logic and rationality. Because of this there is a relationship between rationalities and power, and the ability to impose a logic then works to reinforce the logic that the neoliberal worldview is superior to others. This happens in ways people may not be cognizant of in their decisions and actions, and yet how their actions align with the social imaginary or neoliberalism works to enforce this logic even without their consent. As viewed through the various actions of the incoming administrators, there is a claim of taking a perspective of fixing the school internally, and yet there is a lack of awareness of their imposed neoliberal analysis of the situation and the prescribed actions they take to address fixing the college. These administrators are engaging in this dialectical relationship with these broader structures (McLaren, 2007; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Considering all this, the

resistance offers both a critique to the dominant hegemony as well as a counter-hegemony. Leading to the third concept presented in this research, open access is a kind of critical vision for how to plan in ways that address structural oppression for social transformation.

The first concept here is concerned with naming the pervasiveness of all structural oppression and the second speaks to how the logic of domination and exploitation works to erase other histories (hooks, 2001; Stovall, 2006). For Critical Race Theory the central focus is race. While race is one of the most pervasive aspects creating disadvantages for people in order to privilege and benefit others, race is not the only identity experiencing structural oppression, nor can it be separated from all other kinds of oppression (Crenshaw, 1989). Similar critiques and functions could be articulated for issues regarding ableism, sexism, and classism, etc. Then there is the intersect of all these identities that lead to unique circumstances for various layers of experienced oppression. The first two concepts here then broaden on this critical race perspective of how to deconstruct and work beyond White supremacy, to offer a similar perspective on how to work beyond neoliberalism.

The first step is to name it - to name the experience of oppression and its relationship to the dominant hegemony. The second step is to deconstruct the policies claiming to be neutral and desiring to address inequality. The importance is in remaining critical, not neutral, and with this to expose the erasure of neoliberalism. The third step then is to center the voices of those most impacted as having the most information about how best to critique neoliberalism toward transforming beyond it. In the case of open access, this is to center the students most marginalized through traditional education which is reflective of who is marginalized and oppressed more broadly throughout the broader nation-state frame. The fourth step then is to deconstruct the paradoxes of the democratic systems that derived from these histories of White supremacy, patriarchy, and capitalism, i.e. domination and exploitation (hooks, 2001), remaining critical and persistent in the work of centering those who are being oppressed and problematizing the normalization of a privileged class. Although presented in steps, this is not a linear process. It is emerging and iterative. This framing through the Critical Race Theory lens helps to offer insights into application of this emerging conceptual theory.

All of this is to demonstrate, through the critical race lens, that critical visioning cannot occur as the process of critique manifests into the process of addressing the critique, and yet the process is emerging, iterative, reflexive, and ongoing where the work is to remain critical by centering those most impacted in ways where collaboration can occur to address the injustices and harm being caused. This is why these critical race theory tenants are used as a tool to demonstrate the interconnectedness of the critical aspect of visioning beyond for social transformation.

Critical Vision Principles for Radical Planning Practice

Open access work, as a critical kind of visioning, offers a humanistic perspective as to how to continuously strive for social transformation through on-the-ground community planning work. The praxis moves beyond supremacy logic and toward a logic that works to constantly center those who are marginalized in order to continuously learn how to overcome structural oppression. In this way, open access planning is a kind of community planning work which offers information about how to engage in community planning for transformational goals. The work of open access is the work of constantly bringing the margins to the center to understand who is the most vulnerable and how to overcome these vulnerabilities as well as how to offer an education that is going to suit the goals and desires of these vulnerable community members or the broader community.

The work of the CCSF community offers insight about how to engage in the work of centering those who are structurally oppressed and taking this information to then act. It is constant work that is always emerging as far as who must be centered and what information this centering reveals about how to act. There are so many examples of how the CCSF community engaged in this kind of work in the face of neoliberal hegemony. Some of the examples I raise are the Free City College campaign, the City Build program, programs for foster youth, disability services programs, and how CCSF, for a long time, had classes in every crevice of the city.

This understanding of practice suggests a distinctively counterhegemonic or democratizing role for planning and administrative actors: the exposure of issues that political-economic structures otherwise would bury from public view; the opening and raising of questions that otherwise

would be kept out of public discussion; the nurturance of hope rather than the perpetuation of a modern cynicism under conditions of great complexity and inter-dependency (Forester 1999b, p.6).

This is seen in how CCSF has a long history of creating robust, emerging, and always evolving programs through various spaces that are constantly shifting and expanding throughout the city. All of this work derives from the ability of people within City College to go out and build relationships to situate those who are most marginalized in ways where their specific needs can be addressed. How these needs are addressed yields critical insights into how structural oppression perpetuates itself and what is needed to overcome this oppression.

Open Access Principles and Practices for Radical Planning

- Placed-based
- Relationship-oriented
- Emerging and continuous process
- Grassroots and ground-up approach
- Critical collective visioning to critical collective action

The implications for planning are in how this research is offering principles to contribute to a social imaginary for planning practitioners to orient themselves toward simultaneously working to critique and disrupt the dominant and exploitative hegemony while engaging in transformative community development work.

Implications for being placed-based and relationship-oriented suggests the planner acts as a facilitator who must become accountable to the history of the specific place and help move a process from collective critical visioning to collective critical action. This means doing the diligence of seeking out all the impacted voices. This requires learning the histories as those who traditionally sit at the margins would tell it (Sandercock, 1995, 1997). And this means engaging in this work where one is accountable because of his relationship with the people he is planning with and for (Sandercock, 1995; Umemoto, 2001; Watson, 2006). A relationship orientation is the opposite of a transactional relationship. There is a reciprocity that is not based on an

exchange; instead, it is a trust of continuous care and respect through an ethic based on love (hooks, 2015/1984). The processes of planning are emerging in that they are flexible and malleable (Brown, 2017).

Emergence allows for critical insights to reveal themselves without preconceived notions of what these insights are as well as responding to new insights on injustices and addressing the needs of those being harmed. This also allows for reflective spaces where learning can be shared (Booher & Innes, 2002; Healey, 1998). At the heart of all these principles is the work of centering the knowledge of those who are most impacted and by doing so allowing this knowledge (Corbon, 2003; Andrade-Duncan, 2009; Sandercock, 1995) to inform actions to address and make right the injustices as well as inform a new vision. A transformative vision that sees beyond the current oppression and yet rests in understanding the process involves constant struggle to navigate towards the vision. And because of this the visioning work is iterative and continuous as well.

Because the work is focused on centering those who are the most harmed, it is important not to privilege one harm over another, but instead, to see the multitude of harms and hold space for all of it. This also comes with the work of recognizing harm has been done. The implication of this being people need spaces to heal in order to fully participate. Healing must be a major aspect of this kind of transformational work. Healing allows for new insights to emerge in ways no one could preconceive. Healing is one of the most basic functions we do as humans to help us remain resilient and thriving. The implication for planning is we must grapple with how to create spaces for healing within these planning processes that seek radical transformation.

Recommendations for Future Research

As mentioned throughout, there are various ways this research could be strengthened through further research. In future research I would be more inclined to focus on what is critically hopeful and aspirational about open access overall as well as look to where it might be necessary to critique open access to engage in a more robust understanding of the potential offered through this lens. There are three different recommendations for further research described here - all three with this spirit in mind.

The first is to conduct a qualitative study where students of all different backgrounds, experiences, and aspirations are centered. As mentioned in the section on participants in this study, this research focused predominately on the voices of faculty with some administrators and some students. Focusing predominately on students would center the student experience in a way in which a researcher could inquire into all different aspects of the student experience from enrollment to matriculation as well as from work life to home life to school life - filling out complete narratives, creating a picture of how a student is integrated within a larger frame, and how their unique experience manifests. This research also has the potential to break down into several research projects in terms of focusing on one school and a diversity of students along with looking across schools and seeking out how other community colleges are approaching an open access mission.

The second recommendation is to engage in collaborative, participatory action research with a college to engage in how to actualize more of an open access imaginary. This kind of research would reflect the values of open access by seeking to center the margins, bringing the edges to the center (hooks, 2015/1984). Being collaborative and action-oriented would fit well with sharing in the values of open access. In this way the research would be more democratic, relationship-oriented, rooted in the knowledge of a place and so forth. This research could be emerging in design, more structured, or involve elements of both considering there may be multiple people engaging in the research, increasing the research capacity as well as the opportunities to create co-learning spaces as people share in their findings collectively to then make decisions about actions to take together to create more access.

A third recommendation is to take the set of principles generated here in this case, to broaden the scope, and look to see where there may be cross-over with other sectors, other policy arenas, and other theory. This research would focus on interrogating the principles found here in a robust way to see if the offerings presented can hold up, then deepen the theory beginning to coalesce in this research.

These recommendations all offer a pathway to deepening an understanding of open access in practice to inform theory. This is ultimately where I see the greatest vulnerability within this research, this research focused a great deal on the critique and discussion of the crisis. In retrospect, spending more time focusing on the kinds of practices required for this open access orientation to radical planning would offer more to the theory of radical planning and planning practice to interrogate these practices in ways of bringing power to the practices. Of course, I only see this clearly now because I went through this journey. The recommendations offered here are offered as the research needed to transform beyond structures of domination and exploitation. This is the research my cursory research uncovered to me.

Concluding Thoughts

There is paradox in Western democratic processes because institutions are structurally entrenched within structures of domination and exploitation that privilege the worldview reinforcing the paradigm of domination and exploitation and creating undemocratic institutions. With the rise in the dominance of neoliberalism, local landscapes around the world have rapidly privatized which leads to undemocratic and unjust outcomes. As it stands now the top richest 1% own half the world's wealth, while the world's 3.5 billion poorest account for 2.7% of the global wealth (Neate, 2017). The disparity between rich and poor has continued to increase as working peoples' wages have seen a race to the bottom and corporate profits continue to skyrocket (Harvey, 2005; Monbiot, 2016). At the same time, one can witness the rapid privatization of public spaces from parks to education. The more privatization is the dominant mechanism to create sweeping change, the more corporate power has influence over policy decisions and the deeper these sweeping changes become.

It is much deeper than this, though, because not only are the voices of the corporations more directly in the ear of political decision makers, they have access to shape policy as there is a revolving door between corporate jobs and the policy development/think tank world (Burch, 2009). There are many ways in which the voices of the corporations have become more entrenched within the decision making about how public dollars are spent. Neoliberalism coopts the idea of the public good by focusing on the value of the individual, meaning everything

should serve the individual, i.e. the corporation. Efficiency means spending less to keep more in the individual's pocket.

Public education is a reflection of these larger phenomena and, therefore, has been in and continues to be in a similar predicament. Public education is both an ideological and physical public space. Through implementing policy and practicing pedagogy students are taught with underlying values that must be constantly questioned in order to ensure openness. Within the constructs of neoliberalism, public schools become the physical space to condition students through a specific ideological approach. This approach is standards-based, which is what Freire (2000/1970) would call a "banking" form of education in which students are viewed as empty-vessels to be filled with specific knowledge. It is then through testing that students and teachers are held accountable for these standards. The results of these tests are used to place students within tracks which, in many ways, determine their future economic status within society (Burch, 2009; McLaren, 2007; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

Not only does privatizing education lead to a more stratified society, it also diminishes democratic spaces for public voices to influence education policy. Private firms are creating the standards, creating the tests and creating the curriculum to teach the standards. These private firms have a great deal of money and a direct line to political actors. "As neoliberal policies create more space for market principles, they can make less space for democratic processes in education policy and policies informed by public interest" (Burch, 2009, p.14). At the same time, these firms are not held accountable; there is a lack of transparency and they tend to perpetuate the status quo despite marketing innovation. Particularly disturbing is the fact that private firms are not held to the same standards of ensuring civil rights in their services. A firm can, for example, decide not to provide services to a particular group because they may not be viewed as profitable. The more schools become privatized the less access those already at the margins will have toward attaining higher levels of education.

Public education is a microcosm of the effects the neoliberalism ideology has on the local social imaginary. Privatizing the public education system further exacerbates current inequities in access to quality education which leads to an even more stratified society as the wealthiest access

the highest quality education and the public system is reduced to workforce development through standards-based reforms. Yet education is one contested public terrain where there is great potential to create generational approaches to community empowerment and social change. It is with this that I have sought out to explore the praxis of planning and its intersection with public education as a public space that is vital for community empowerment, structural transformation, and hopefully, someday, real democracy.

Through the narrative that community colleges are failing, neoliberal actions erased all the work that was being done within the college to address issues related to equity and imposed this narrative about what the problem is and what the answers are to solve the problem. One of the administrators pointed out, “Equity access... how is this shift taking place?” (Administrator) as a major concern during their time at CCSF. The administrator was speaking to the assumption CCSF had not been paying enough attention equity access and the student success path would help CCSF to get there. In reality, CCSF has a long history of being concerned with equity access, in innovative and transformative ways.

The social imaginary of neoliberalism paints education as a means toward access to the global workforce, and currently, this workforce is dominated by visions of the “knowledge economy.” “Education is seen as the best economic policy, necessary to ensure the competitiveness of the national economy. Here, education is regarded as the producer of the required human capital” (Rizvi & Lingard 2010, 18). In the age of pervasive neoliberalism ideology and global capitalism, in many ways, the meaning of human life has been reduced to an economic efficiency model through one’s ability to produce and consume. This simplification and reordering for economic prosperity is so pervasive that it is difficult to see beyond this lens (Kenway et al., 1994; Harvey, 2005, 2008). The times require the need to think beyond the rhetoric of Thatcher and Reagan that “There is no alternative” to global capitalism. The pervasiveness of this narrative oftentimes leaves people stuck in a paradox with a deep understanding that life is more than economic efficiency while feeling the pressure to compete in this globalized economy to survive.

With this research, community colleges are situated within this paradox in order to grapple with

why it is that even though there are alternatives, the status quo continues to operate as if there are none. Education is at the core of understanding what is currently taking place and our agency to make change. “Education is bound up in struggles for housing, place, and community,” which is then wrapped in the struggle to define both our material and cultural realities (Lipman, 2007, p. 157). Our public education system has continued and continues to fail so many students, and yet we continue to implement reform policies that are proven to exacerbate the inequities within the system (Burch, 2009; Kovach, 1998). Like other public institutions, public education is a highly contested space, one where corporate interest has always had a stronghold on most reform efforts (Brint & K, ???; Burch, 2009; Lipman, 2007).

Through interrogating this strong hold of the global corporate governance on education policy I hope to break through and move beyond “there is no alternative” to share possibilities for reclaiming our ability to shape our identities and the world that we live in. Yet as much as we can struggle to resist and to create alternatives, we must remain critically engaged in how our actions are being appropriated. There are many examples of social movements that, on the surface, feel as though they have created great strides for civil rights, yet it seems that those rights afforded through struggle often become exploited and subsumed within this economic force. At the same time resisters to neoliberalism are painted into a corner with allegations that they are protecting the current education system, which many can agree has been ineffective and aids in exacerbating social inequities. The self-proclaimed “change agents” are dishing out more of the same hidden behind a progressive narrative and masking the reality of privatization (Burch, 2009; Lipman, 2007; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

This case helps to reveal how those in positions of power aligned in a neoliberal social imaginary, and those opposed to the neoliberal reforms aligned in an alternative, counter-hegemonic space. In this sense the social imaginary of the resistance offers an alternative social imaginary. It is an imaginary where those who are most impacted are privileged to have the most information to offer policy formation. Open access, as a kind of social imaginary, offers insights into practice as to how to go about doing the work of centering those that are the most vulnerable, the most marginalized, and the most negatively impacted by globalization and capitalism. In doing so, it creates material change in the moment with a critical eye for creating

transformational change long-term through an ongoing process of critical collective visioning and critical collective action.

While there are various worldviews struggling with one another throughout this case study in numerous ways; there is a clear exertion of power with regard to the hegemonic nature of neoliberalism. Those living through this crisis are situated in relation to the discursive and material reality to how neoliberalism takes shape in the world and how people experience it. The actions of the ACCJC, state policy makers, and the outside administrators coming into City College during the time of the crisis represent this hegemonic power structure, and no matter any one individual's good intentions or specific and unique worldview, the actions overall aligned to assert a neoliberal reform agenda both discursively and materially. All of this is happening despite and in response to City College of San Francisco's longtime commitment to an open access mission which both discursively and materially offers a much different worldview from neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism claims to be able to solve social problems through economic efficiency and market expansion where the market is the answer to all social problems (Ayers, 2005; Apple, 2006; Ball, 2012; Harvey, 2005; Levin, 2007; Lipman, 2011; Purcell, 2009; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Roy, 2005b). This is demonstrated in how the ACCJC and the incoming administrators focused on the logic of the Student Success Act to focus on completion rates as a barometer of how the college should plan. And yet, the impact of the neoliberal reform is an erasure of the very students it is claiming to be supporting to degree completion. The student is supported only under the specific conditions that are prescribed through the policy. CCSF's commitment to open access offers a disparate worldview from neoliberalism where students are brought into the light of the CCSF purview in order to create access by naming and addressing the barriers to the access. In this sense, this deep commitment to addressing issues of intersectional oppression in ways where diverse forms of access to education are created acts as a resistance within itself to neoliberalism. The open access alternative is a counter-hegemony to the hegemony of neoliberalism (Purcell, 2009; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

The implications of neoliberalism for a community college are that low income students, students of color, students with disabilities, and students with non-traditional educational outcomes are erased in an effort to prioritize which students are served in the name of economic efficiency. There is a supremacy logic to this, that privileges certain educational priorities over others. Capitalism and the latest iteration, neoliberalism, is rooted in a logic of supremacy in order to dominate decision making and exploit people and resources for economic gains. The values behind open access education offer a different lens – a lens rooted in place and relationships where the knowledge of those who are most impacted by a phenomenon are centered in order to chart the best path forward to addressing barriers to access. This offers insights for radical planning theory. The nature of addressing structural change through social transformation requires insights derived from lived experience and what this looks like in place in practice.

Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Question Guide

Open-ended questionnaire

6-10 questions

Approximately 1½ hours per interview

How are you affiliated/involved with CCSF? What is your role within CCSF?

How long?

What brought you to/ brought on your involvement with CCSF (or some specific aspect of CCSF, i.e. program, event)?

How is CCSF, as a local public institution, a part of the San Francisco community?

What role does CCSF play within San Francisco?

How does CCSF serve the broader community?

In what ways do you think CCSF should serve the broader community?

How do go about expressing your concerns and views here at CCSF? (Implicit: what are your interests).

In what ways do you feel that your interests are being heard?

In what ways do you feel that your interests are being represented?

How has CCSF changed since your involvement (attendance, tenure etc.)?

Have you witnessed any changes with CCSF over the past two-three years?
Past 5-10 years?

How have you taken on any leadership roles or responsibilities within CCSF?

What has been/is your role in solving the current accreditation issues?

How do you see this issue being resolved?

If you had the power to change CCSF in anyway, how would you change CCSF?
What is your ideal vision of CCSF?

Why do you feel CCSF is facing loss to accreditation?

What do you think would help to resolve the accreditation issues?

Appendix B: IRB/Consent Form

**AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE
City College of San Francisco Dissertation Research Project**

Molly Chlebnikow

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Department of Urban and Regional Planning;
(808) 351-4699 2424 Maile Way, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96822

Activities and Time Commitment: If you participate in this project, I will meet with you for an interview at a location and time convenient for you. The interview will consist of 6-10 open-ended questions, and will take approximately 1 hour. Only you and I will be present during the interview. I will audio-record the interview so that I can later transcribe the interview and analyze the responses. You will be one of about 60 people whom I will interview for this study. In reporting your identity will remain anonymous and I will be the only person to have access to your audio recording and transcriptions.

The investigator believes there is little or no risk to participating in this research project.

Participating in this research may be of no direct benefit. It is believed, however, that the results from this project will help City College of San Francisco to be better informed for future education planning processes.

Research data will be confidential to the extent allowed by law. Agencies with research oversight, such as the UH Committee on Human Studies, have the authority to review research data.

Participation in this project is completely voluntary. The interviewee is free to withdraw from participation at any time with no penalty.

The participant understands that if injured during the course of this research procedure, you may be responsible for the cost of treating your own injuries.

If you have any questions regarding this research project, please contact the researcher, Molly Chlebnikow, at 808-351-4699.

If you have any questions regarding your youth's rights as a research participant, please contact the UH Committee on Human Subjects at (808) 956-5007.

If you cannot obtain satisfactory answers to your questions or have comments or complaints about your participation in this study, you may contact:

Committee on Human Studies (CHS), University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
2540 Maile Way, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 96822
Phone: (808) 956-5007

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE
City College of San Francisco Dissertation Research Project

If you agree to participate in this project, please sign and date this signature page and return it to:

Molly Chlebnikow

Signature:

I have read and understand the information provided to me about participating in the research project,

My signature below indicates that I agree to participate in this research project.

Printed name: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Appendix C: IRB Approval University of Hawaii



UNIVERSITY
of HAWAI'I
MĀNOA

Office of Research Compliance
Human Studies Program

April 16, 2014

TO: Molly Chlebnikow
Principal Investigator
Urban & Regional Planning

FROM: Denise A. Lin-DeShetler, MPH, MA
Director

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Denise A. Lin-DeShetler".

SUBJECT: CHS #22080- "A Story of Institutional Change in the Face of Adversity: City College of San Francisco's Struggle for Accreditation"

This letter is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study as exempt.

On April 16, 2014, the University of Hawai'i (UH) Human Studies Program approved this study as exempt from federal regulations pertaining to the protection of human research participants. The authority for the exemption applicable to your study is documented in the Code of Federal Regulations at 45CFR 46.101(b)(Exempt Category 2).

Exempt studies are subject to the ethical principles articulated in The Belmont Report, found at <http://www.hawaii.edu/irb/html/manual/appendices/A/belmont.html>.

Exempt studies do not require regular continuing review by the Human Studies Program. However, if you propose to modify your study, you must receive approval from the Human Studies Program prior to implementing any changes. You can submit your proposed changes via email at uhirb@hawaii.edu. (The subject line should read: Exempt Study Modification.) The Human Studies Program may review the exempt status at that time and request an application for approval as non-exempt research.

In order to protect the confidentiality of research participants, we encourage you to destroy private information which can be linked to the identities of individuals as soon as it is reasonable to do so. Signed consent forms, as applicable to your study, should be maintained for at least the duration of your project.

This approval does not expire. However, please notify the Human Studies Program when your study is complete. Upon notification, we will close our files pertaining to your study.

If you have any questions relating to the protection of human research participants, please contact the Human Studies Program at 956-5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu. We wish you success in carrying out your research project.

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An Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Institution

Appendix D: IRB Approval City College of San Francisco

Dr. Raymond Gamba (IRB Co-Chair) and I have reviewed your research protocol for the "A Story of Institutional Change in the Face of Adversity: City College of San Francisco's Struggle for Accreditation." We concur with the University of Hawaii - Mānoa's IRB determination and have approved your research as exempt from full review.

If this protocol is used in conjunction with any other human use, it must be re-reviewed by CCSF's IRB. We require CCSF IRB approval before implementing any changes in any of the approved documents. We also ask that you notify us immediately of any complications or incidents of noncompliance which may occur during any human use procedure.

This determination only pertains to approval regarding the use of human subjects and does not serve as an institutional endorsement for your research. As we discussed, and as we believe you have already done, please touch base with CCSF's Accreditation Liaison Officer, Gohar Momjian.

Sincerely,
Kristin Charles
IRB Co-Chair

Appendix E: Research Timeline

Date	Formal Interviews	Field Participation	Text-Based Research	Transcribe	Analysis/Writing	Member Checking (Creswell, 2008)	Dissertation
January 2014	3 Preliminary Interviews	X	X		Journaling		
June-2014	3 interviews	X	X		Memoing		
Jul-14	2 interviews	X	X		Memoing/initial coding		
Aug-14	2 interviews	X	X		Memoing		
Sep-14	2 interviews	X	X		Memoing	Checkin in with liaisons	
Oct-14		X	X		Memoing		
Mar-15	1 interview	X	X		Memoing		
Apr-15	1 interview	X	X		Memoing	Checkin in with liaisons	
June 2015-June 2017			X	X	Coding, sorting, memoing		
Jul-17	2 Interviews	X	X		Substantive coding	Emerging themes focus group	
August 2017-March 2018			X	X	memo integration		Dissertation Draft to Committee
Apr-18			X		Theoretical codes	Circulate dissertation draft	Dissertation Defense
Jun-18							Dissertation Final

Appendix F: Description of Participants Based on Various Roles within College

Identifier	CCSF Job	Other Role	Other Role/ Other Info
Administrator	Vice Chancellor of Finance		Former Vice Chancellor of Finance for Compton College closure
Administrator	Accreditation Liaison		Background in accreditation process
Administrator	Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs	Eventually becomes Chancellor	From surrounding community college district that successfully went through a reprioritization in the eyes of ACCJC
Board of Trustees	Elected Member	Locally-based lawyer	Save CCSF Coalition
Faculty	Librarian	Faculty Senate	Save CCSF Coalition
Faculty	Labor and Community Studies	Save CCSF Coalition	Chair
Faculty	English	Union Leadership	SAve CCSF Coalition
Faculty	Political Science	Union Leadership	Save CCSF Coalition
Faculty	Disabled Students Programs and Services	Union Leadership	Save CCSF Coalition
Faculty	Studio Art	Save CCSF Coalition	
Faculty	Latin American & Latino/a Studies		Enrollment outreach work
Faculty	Engineering	Faculty Senate	Save CCSF Coalition
Faculty	African American Studies	Save CCSF Coalition	
Student	Board of Trustees	Save CCSF Coalition	
Student	Save CCSF Coalition	Student activist	
Union	AFT 2121 Union Organizer	Save CCSF Coalition	

Appendix G: Racial and Gender Diversity of Participants

	Total	People of Color	Non-Cis Male
Faculty	9	2	6
Students	2	2	1
Administrators	3	1	2
Board Members	2	1	1
Union Staff/Leadership	4	0	3

Appendix H: Table Describing Process of Constant Comparison for Data Analysis

Initial Open Coding Key Terms	Focused Coding Key Terms	Focused Codes	Axial Coding	Substantive Codes	Substantive Coding Key Concepts	Emerging Themes	Notes on Conceptual Theory
Scarcity	Worldview	Abuse of power	Administrative Relations	How to approach change	Worldview	Social imaginary- material and discourse	Domination of Neoliberal social imaginary
Political Forces	Violence	Being Attacked	Mission & Prioritization	What Success Looks Like	Supremacy Logic	Supremacy logic and the need for alternative theories i.e. black feminist thought	Use of power to exert this specific reform agenda as if it is the only way to address these issues is rooted in a logic of supremacy
Resistance	Determination	Bigger Forces	Financial Resources	View of City College	Critical hope	Addressing racial inequities through community planning as a practice in constantly doing the work of centering intersectional	The work to create open access is a kind of community planning
Self-Determination	Context	Inhumanity		View of the			
		Response to Abuse		Issues relating to power			
		Looming Threat		Perception of Accreditation			
		Scarcity					
		Abundance					
		Focus of Issue					
		Strategic Resistance					
		Silver Lining					
		Response to crisis					
		Political Forces					

Appendix I: Initial Open Codes

Open Codes

How to approach change

Issues relating to power

Perception of

Accreditation

Response to crisis

View of city college

What success looks like

Scarcity

Abuse of power

Inhumanity

Response to abuse

Being Attacked

Bigger Forces

Looming threats

Scarcity

Abundance

Focus of Issue

Strategic Resistance

Rooted in Community

Silver Lining

Appendix J: Table of Sorting of Axial Codes with Open Codes

Sorting Code	Open Code	Axial Code: Administrative Relations	Axial Code: Mission & Prioritization	Axial Code: Financial Resources
Worldview	How to approach change	X	X	X
Worldview	Issues relating to power	X	X	X
Worldview	Perception of Accreditation	X	X	
Worldview	Response to crisis	X	X	X
Worldview	View of city college	X	X	X
Worldview	What success looks like	X	X	X
Worldview	Scarcity			X
Violence	Abuse of power	X	X	X
Violence	Inhumanity	X	X	X
Violence	Response to abuse	X	X	X
Violence	Being Attacked	X		
Violence	Bigger Forces	X	X	X
Violence	Looming threats	X	X	
Violence	Scarcity			X
Determination	Abundance		X	
Determination	Focus of Issue		X	
Determination	Strategic Resistance		X	
Determination	Rooted in Community		X	
Determination	Silver Lining		X	

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