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Educational settings are an under-examined mechanism of social reproduction. "Hidden" in plain sight, college space is embedded with socializing messages that pass largely unacknowledged. So commonplace are the spatial arrangements of classrooms, cafeterias, bathrooms, and campuses that the ways spaces act to normalize social hierarchies and reproduce systems of power often escape critical scrutiny. In this study I examine how an integrated theoretical and praxis-oriented framework drawing upon the scholarship of the hidden curriculum, spatial theory, and critical race theory (CRT), serves as a means to reveal "invisible" mechanisms of socialization and open possibilities to disrupt their influence.

Portland Community College (PCC) located in Portland, Oregon serves as a case study of how applied CRT in facilities planning and design can help to expose the ways in which educational settings reproduce dominant ideologies and, at the same time, how systemic and structural changes can advance racial equity. I employed two methodological approaches—ethnography and participatory action research (PAR)—and collected data over a period of nine months. Drawing on systematically documented, recorded, and transcribed interviews, observations, focus groups, meetings, and a student PAR project, I analyze institutional planning, campus design, and students' experiences navigating college space. I argue CRT is well positioned to bridge the significant theory practice divide. In illustrating the strategic potential of CRT, I hope to encourage

educators and campus leaders to apply CRT in the development of practical and transformative strategies to advance equity and inclusion, including changing the very architecture of education.

WHAT DOES CRT HAVE TO DO WITH A ROOF?: CRITICAL RACE SPATIAL PRAXIS – AN EQUITY APPROACH TO INSTITUTIONAL PLANNING, COLLEGE DESIGN, AND CAMPUS SPACE

by

Amara Haydée Pérez

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Approved by

____
Committee Chair

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To the 2018 student participants in *Space Matters*, my deepest gratitude for your stories, questions, camaraderie, and activist desire -- Fi Alagoz, Christina Felicia Ávila, Malia Forney, Cory A. Gillette, Andrés Lemus, Cleophas Limbrick, Luis “Luxo” A. López, Keyana Lowe, Derrick James McDonald, Aidée Medel Diaz, NguyYen Nhi Nguyeno, Brenda Prestegui, D'Varrio Rice, Gerson Rodríguez Razo, César Santiago Pérez, Mohamed Sheikh, Delia Torres-Enciso, and Erika Villanueva.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation written by AMARA HAYDÉE PÉREZ has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Committee Chair ____________________________________

Committee Members ____________________________________

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Date of Acceptance by Committee

____
Date of Final Oral Examination

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Built environments are an under-examined mechanism of social reproduction. “Hidden” in plain sight, space is embedded with socializing messages that pass largely unacknowledged. So commonplace are the spatial arrangements of neighborhoods, grocery stores, bathrooms, and classrooms that the ways space acts to normalize social hierarchies and reproduce systems of power often escape critical scrutiny. To bring space out of hiding is to expand an understanding of how social inequities persist. Educational research designed to reveal concealed forces of inequity on college and university campuses may offer new considerations for institutional change.

In this dissertation, I analyze data collected from an ethnographic study of a large community college in the northwest applying critical race theory (CRT) to align facilities planning and campus design with institutional values of equity and inclusion. This focus emerges from my experience as a popular educator and community organizer committed to social justice. I have drawn on critical theories to guide my work for over 20 years; they have served as a primary political tool – a means to theorize, develop leadership and political education programs, and map approaches to institutional change. Drawing on this long history and my more recent ethnographic project, I hope my study will contribute to a body of scholarship that demonstrates the value of applied critical theories to practical “real world” approaches to institutional change.

Critical pedagogy inspires my research interest to study built environments as a means to understand how racism persists in educational and other social space. In this study, I applied an integrated theoretical framework drawing from CRT, spatial theory, and the hidden curriculum as a means to reveal ways educational settings function as a mechanism of social reproduction, as well as identify possibilities for new institutional practices. The praxis-oriented framework I developed may help educational leaders to develop new strategies for institutional facilities planning and equity and inclusion efforts, while also aiding our collective imagining of alternative paradigms for educational space.

Statement of the Problem

Despite gains in access to higher education, racial inequities continue to persist. Much has been written about the various factors that impede access, retention, and completion for students of color. Most relevant to this study is the challenge students of color face navigating college space – the built environment – that regularly communicates dominant narratives that function to normalize racial and other social hierarchies.

Navigating college is a commonly cited barrier to academic success for students of color and first-generation students. To navigate is largely understood as an individual process where students must figure out college demands, expectations, and norms in order to survive and thrive. Institutional strategies designed to support students navigating college life tend to focus on "preparing students" that is, teaching students the implicit rules, guidelines, and norms – presumably the necessary information to traverse

an otherwise navigable terrain. Representing a deficit approach to educational equity, these compensatory solutions target students and not structures. Through this individualistic paradigm, systemic barriers remain largely invisible and intact.

In this study, I suggest applied CRT integrated with spatial theory can be used as a method to illuminate systemic, structural, and hidden dimensions of inequity (often connected to whiteness) that students of color face when *navigating* college space. Acknowledging college space as racialized, gendered, and classed reveals the material as ideological. To navigate space is to navigate explicit and implicit socializing messages embedded in the "brick and mortar."

Institutional efforts to support students navigating space are critical to advance educational equity and inclusion. Moreover, we need new approaches to racial equity and inclusion that acknowledge relationships between space and race. Indeed, to transform the social, space also must be transformed. Strategies informed by critical theories are needed to expose and disrupt hidden socializing messages as a foundation to strengthen education reform in service to racial equity.

Purpose of the Study

In this project, I explore CRT as a means to examine spatial dimensions of equity and inclusion in higher education. I use Portland Community College (PCC) as a case study of how applied CRT can help to reveal the ways in which educational settings and spaces reproduce dominant ideologies and, at the same time, how systemic and structural changes can lead to racial equity. In 2017, PCC issued a Request For Proposals (RFP) for a new initiative, *CRT in Facilities Planning*. My proposal was accepted. With support

from my dissertation committee and PCC, I collected data for my dissertation throughout the nine-month initiative.

PCC originally committed to CRT as early as 2014 when the Board of Directors approved a strategic plan to endorse CRT as a tool to advance equity and inclusion. The project that I proposed and that was subsequently selected is the most recent CRT project untaken by the college and one dedicated to "discovery." An exploratory phase of a multi-year construction project, I developed theoretical and praxis-oriented training sessions, inquiry activities, and pedagogical tools for campus planners, architects, college leaders, staff, and students. I presented CRT integrated with spatial theory as a critical lens to explore under-examined aspects of PCC space. This project provides the ethnographic basis of my dissertation study on applied CRT as a means to uncover, critique, and transform relationships among race, space, and equity in educational settings. Insights and conclusions from this study offer new considerations for educational leaders, campus planners, and architects in higher education.

Research Questions

Three questions drive this study:

- How do students of color experience and perceive college space?
- How does space function to teach dominant narratives, normalize racial hierarchies, and reproduce the status quo in education?
- How does a critical race spatial lens illuminate practical and strategic approaches for institutional change in service to educational equity and inclusion?

Applied CRT in Portland Community College

In 2014, Portland Community College's (PCC) Board of Directors approved a strategic vision for the college that has since become a guide for planning and action. The strategic plan, organized into six interconnected themes, articulates PCC's values and goals including: to provide outstanding and affordable education, drive student success, ignite a culture of innovation, transform the community through opportunity, achieve sustainable excellence in all operations and, most significant to this study, to create a nationally renowned culture for diversity, equity, and inclusion.

As part of this vision, which provides the foundation for strategies for planning and action, PCC utilizes a racial analysis, including critical race theory, to examine and dismantle systems of inequality at the college. A theoretical and praxis-oriented framework, CRT has been used in education as a means to understand and transform structural and ideological racism. I review the key tenets of CRT more fully in the forthcoming section on the theoretical framework of this study.

Since 2014, PCC has engaged staff, students, and stakeholders in various ways to understand and use CRT as an approach to equity and inclusion. *CRT in Facilities Planning*, the project I developed, was the most recent initiative designed to explore socio-spatial dimensions of racial inequity during a "discovery phase" of a multi-year construction project funded by a $185 million voter-approved bond measure. PCC engaged in facilities planning to provide a comprehensive framework for assessing the campus environment and linking future capital and maintenance needs with PCC's strategic vision. Through PCC's Planning and Capital Construction Office, the leadership

of facilities planning includes members of a district-wide task force, a steering committee, and workgroups dedicated to sustainability, information technologies, facilities maintenance, transportation, and ADA. While engaging in this work, I collected a large volume of data which I analyzed in detail for this dissertation.

Brief Description of Methods

I employed two methodological approaches to examine socio-spatial dimensions of equity and inclusion in higher education: ethnography and participatory action research (PAR). Comprised of a set of diverse research methods, ethnography and PAR were critical to investigating the multifaceted dimensions of a community college initiative designed to study college space and race. I analyzed data collected over a period of nine months. I used the following research methods: participant observation; in-depth interviews and two focus groups with *institutional stakeholders* (college administrators, managers, staff, campus planners, and architects); a PAR project with a cohort of 25 students of color that included analyzing student journals and photographs of colleges space; and institutional and project documents. I recorded and transcribed most interviews, focus groups, PAR project activities, planning meetings, and other project activities.

Researcher Positionality

I was raised in a multi-ethnic, multicultural, politically-conscious family. Both my parents were first-generation college students, and both chose careers in education. My circumstances as a woman of color from a diverse cultural background and unique social position influenced my interests in identity, power, culture, and social change.

Critical theories have informed my approach to community organizing and pedagogical strategies for more than 20 years. For over a decade I served as Director of Sisters in Action for Power in Portland, Oregon, a project dedicated to support low-income women and girls of color to engage in direct action on local issues. Over the years I was Director, we engaged in projects aimed to raise community awareness of dominant narratives that served to rationalize pernicious public policies. Critical theories of power provided me with a tool to examine both institutional practices and the ideological content deployed to normalize the local policies we aimed to reform. Using a critical lens, I developed a comprehensive political education program to support young women and girls between the ages of 10–19 to identify, analyze, and act on community issues. Between 1996 and 2006, Sisters in Action's educational program supported a series of youth-led issue-campaigns that focused on gender violence in public schools, affordable public transportation for K–12 students, the depletion of local public housing, gentrification, and the negative impact of No Child Left Behind.

Since that time, I expanded my experience beyond community-based sectors into higher education. For five years I served as the Director of a Multicultural Center (MC) at Portland Community College (PCC) in Portland, Oregon. In this role, I drew on applied critical theories to design a "retention" strategy involving a year-long social justice leadership and inquiry program for students of color. In this education program, I guided students into an exploration of structural inequity by teaching them how to investigate the experiences and perceptions of fellow PCC students of color. Each year student leaders identified, researched, and analyzed the campus climate issues in which they were most

interested. As a means to raise awareness and inspire new strategies for equity and inclusion, student leaders organized an annual event to share findings with college leaders and PCC community members.

I was introduced to CRT while working at PCC. I was one of many college leaders who played a significant role in the design and implementation of equity and inclusion initiatives. The instituting of CRT as a strategic plan inspired many of us to reimagine equity and inclusion efforts through a CRT lens. While I left PCC to pursue a doctorate degree, I have stayed connected with the college through personal and professional relationships and paid and unpaid projects. During 2015–2017, I designed and facilitated nearly a dozen daylong CRT trainings for faculty and staff in through PCC's Office of Professional and Organizational Development. As a former PCC employee with history and existing relationships at PCC, I am an "insider" and as such can offer a unique vantage point as a researcher. These experiences helped lay the groundwork for this dissertation: an ethnographic study on applied critical race spatial analysis including a participatory action research project.

Theoretical Framework

In this study, I join together three bodies of critical scholarship in an integrated theoretical and praxis-oriented framework. By combining critical race theory, spatial theory, and the scholarship on the hidden curriculum, I offer an innovative approach to unpacking the relationships among space, race, and equity in education. Each of these bodies of scholarship introduces a unique perspective and combined together offers a

shared set of theoretical tools essential to this study. I briefly introduce each of these theories below and develop them further in the next chapter.

Critical Race Theory

Originating in critical legal studies, critical race theory (CRT) has become widely used in education and the social sciences to study and transform relationships among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Applied to education, CRT offers a way to reimagine traditional educational scholarship (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Critical race theorists offer a set of tenets, claims, and assumptions that serve as a lens to understand the maintenance and reproduction of racism. Critical race theorists assert that racism is embedded and engrained in all aspects of society and that dominant narratives that purport equal opportunity, meritocracy, colorblindness, and neutrality often function to conceal structural racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Critical race theorists center the stories and experiential knowledge of people of color in their analysis of racism, arguing that the lived experiences of people of color are legitimate and critical to understanding racial subordination (Dixon & Rousseau, 2005). They value personal stories as important data and as "counternarratives" which challenge dominant ideologies that function to normalize racism and reproduce an inequitable status quo (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). CRT offers a theoretical and praxis-oriented framework to draw attention to racism and white supremacy.

Spatial Theory

Critical scholars like Lefebvre (1991), Delany (2002), Friedman and van Ingen (2011), and Soja (2010) posit that an analysis of space is essential to understanding the

(re)production of power in everyday life. Too often scholars and practitioners view space as something akin to a neutral setting or passive stage in which social activities and history unfold (Friedman & van Ingen, 2011). Spatial inquiry is about understanding the ways in which systems of power are produced by, and reproduced through, material objects, spatial arrangements, and built environments. The idea of space as socially produced is foundational in contemporary cultural geography (Friedman & van Ingen, 2011). Recently, scholars in other fields have also engaged in spatial analysis as well (Soja, 2010), even as it is still uncommon in education. Spatial theory offers a framework for revealing and understanding the material as ideological, that is, possessing a “point of view.”

The Hidden Curriculum

Critical theorists in education suggest an implicit (and sometimes explicit) social function of ideologies and value systems is enacted through derivative “delivery systems” by way of cultural norms, institutional policies, pedagogical methods, teaching materials, and daily routines. Research on the “hidden curriculum” is all about showing how schools function to reproduce inequities (Apple, 1982; Bourdieu, 1973; McLaren, 1989). Students acquire knowledge from sources beyond the “official” curriculum and learn “hidden” messages communicated in schools that tend to make a deep impact on shaping student value systems (Shapiro, 2012). Applied to space, the hidden curriculum serves as a critical analytic for exposing socializing messages communicated through everyday built environments that normalize racial and social hierarchies.

Critical Race Spatial Analysis of the Hidden Curriculum of College Space

Few researchers have brought together the three key bodies of scholarship from which I created the critical framework for this research. Among the most innovative scholarship that served as an inspiration for this study was Vélez and Solórzano's (2017) conceptual framework that brings together the tenets of CRT in education with critical spatial analysis to offer critical race spatial analysis (CRSA) as "an explanatory framework and methodological approach that accounts for the role of race, racism and white supremacy in examining geographic and social space…" (p. 20). While they used CRSA as a critical approach to geographic information systems (GISs) – like digital mapmaking – as a means to explore "colorlines" in neighborhood and school district space, it offers a useful framework to examine social space more broadly.

Applied to a study on the hidden curriculum of college space, in this study I use critical race spatial analysis as a lens to examine material objects, spatial arrangements, and built environments of a community college. I situate my study in this emerging critical discourse. Applied to my data, CRSA offers a theoretical foundation with which to examine racial inequities, and other forms of oppression, reproduced through planning, design, and space. In designing this study, I developed a set of integrated tenets drawing from CRSA, but articulated for the particular demands of the PCC project.

Interpreting CRSA for the purposes of my research, I developed a set of tenets to guide my work with participants. These "working" tenets evolved in the process of engaging them with stakeholders and students over the course of the project. In this chapter, I describe the tenets that reflected my initial articulation. In Chapter VII, I revisit

these tenets, share how they developed, and discuss how they came to serve as a practical framework for exposing and transforming hidden institutional inequities in planning and design.

- College space is racialized, gendered, and classed.
- Material objects, spatial arrangements, and built environments reflect curricular dimensions of space, that is "texts" that function to communicate hidden socializing messages that teach and normalize racial and other social hierarchies.
- Dominant narratives that rationalize built environments function to conceal the ideology of white supremacy and the ideological underpinnings of other forms of oppression.
- Socio-spatial experiences and perceptions of people of color are critical in understanding how space works to normalize racial and other social hierarchies.
- Revealing the hidden curriculum of educational space opens possibilities to reimagine space in service to equity and inclusion.

There is much to gain from praxis-oriented tools derived from these theoretical traditions. As part of this study, I used this integrated theoretical and praxis-oriented framework to analyze the data I collected from my ethnographic study of PCC's *CRT in Facilities Planning* initiative.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is threefold. First, I show the value of CRT in conversation with critical spatial theory as a praxis-oriented approach to institutional change and racial equity. Second, I illuminate the socio-spatial perceptions and

experiences of students of color as a means to expose hidden mechanisms of socialization. Finally, I propose new considerations for equity and inclusion largely overlooked among strategies for institutional change.

As I will show throughout this study, a critical race spatial lens (CRSL) is a powerful tool for transformation that can help scholars and practitioners to develop new approaches and strategies for designing educational space in service to equity and inclusion. While CRT has become a widely utilized theoretical framework in educational research to analyze patterns of racial inequity, few researchers have studied CRT as a means of institutional change. Drawing on findings from my ethnographic study, I argue that CRT in conversation with spatial theory is useful in exposing concealed mechanisms of racial inequity and illuminating places and opportunities for “intervention.” In illustrating the strategic potential of CRSL, I encourage educators and campus leaders to apply CRT in the development of practical and transformative strategies to advance equity and inclusion, including changing the very architecture of education.

This study is also significant in that I center the socio-spatial experiences of students of color inhabiting and traversing the space of higher education. Research and analysis of the socio-spatial experiences of students of color is uncommon (Samura, 2015). Yet insights from my study are critical in the development of a deeper understanding of ways that space, largely rendered as “neutral,” functions to (re)produce racial and other social inequities. That students of color learn early how to “navigate” white spaces, suggests that they may possess an epistemic advantage that can help unmask concealed mechanisms of social reproduction in educational space. Drawing on

counternarratives and alternative research paradigms, in this study I explored the value of critical race spatial analysis in disrupting dominant narratives, revealing the ideological logic of structural inequities, and constructing practical strategies for institutional change. As I describe in my final chapter, student insights offer new considerations for building practices, curriculum, student engagement, support services, institutional facilities planning, and architecture.

Finally, through this study, I develop new strategies for institutional change that can help to transform campus culture. I show the value of critical race spatial analysis to reveal the hidden curriculum of college space. Largely overlooked, this framework functions to reveal dimensions of power that normalize the ideological underpinnings of structural oppression. Insights may change the way educators and college leaders understand mechanisms of social reproduction and support the creation of innovative strategies to achieve long-term transformative social justice.

Overview of Chapters

In this first chapter, I named the problems I address in this study including: (a) racial inequity in higher education; (b) limited attention paid the ideological underpinnings of policies and practices rendering certain mechanisms of social reproduction as invisible, neutral, and rational; (c) the need for *critical* strategies to reveal and disrupt hidden socializing messages that function to teach dominant narratives and normalize racial and other social hierarchies. I also described the purpose of my dissertation and the research questions that drive the study. I situate myself in this study by tracing the origins of my political work and intellectual curiosity that inform the

research questions posed in this project. I presented background information on PCC, a brief description of my research methods, and an overview of the theoretical framework that guides my project. I conclude this chapter with a "road map" of the subsequent chapters of my dissertation.

Chapter II: Literature Review

In this chapter, I review a body of literature that informs this project and place a set of scholarly discourses in conversation with each other. I organized this chapter to review four scholarly conversations: (a) the hidden curriculum in education, (b) spatial theory, (c) critical race theory, and (d) the socio-spatial perceptions and experiences of students of color. In this literature review, I highlight the contributions of each discourse, point to gaps in the scholarship, and suggest how my study may contribute new insights that address limitations in existing research. This literature review provides the foundation for my analysis of ethnographic data.

Chapter III: Methodology and Methods

In this chapter, I begin with a brief review of a pilot project that served as a preliminary mini-study on the socio-spatial perceptions of students of color and discuss how this pilot influenced the design of my dissertation study. I then offer a brief critical race spatial analysis of interconnected contexts of a 50-year old community college located in the northwest. This critical perspective on the historical, cultural, and political landscape helps me to situate PCC as a case study and CRT as an approach to racial equity. I also describe key capital construction campaigns funded by bond measures, the evolution of equity and inclusion efforts, CRT initiatives deployed since 2014, and new

approaches adopted by the college to practice "integrated planning." After providing this background context on the site, I describe the research design of my ethnographic study, review the diverse methods I employed to collect data, and discuss my strategy to analyze data. I end this chapter by discussing issues of trustworthiness and positionality.

Chapter IV: Stakeholders and Institutional Practices in Planning and Design

A critical race spatial lens supported stakeholders to readily identify issues they perceived to reproduce racial and other inequities in planning. Stakeholders in this study cited distinct spaces associated with inequitable institutional practices, often masked by particular dominant narratives. In this chapter, I examine how stakeholders perceived a CRSL as a tool to expose inequitable practices. Applied as an equity tool for facilities planning and design, stakeholders in this study largely perceived CRT and spatial theory as useful. I explore these perceptions in this chapter and also how stakeholders came to evaluate strategies and obstacles for institutional change at PCC. I draw from the following forms of data:

- Two 2-hour focus groups with institutional stakeholders who were serving as members of PCC's facilities planning team.
- Four "praxis-oriented" *dialogue sessions* (dialogues focused on understanding and applying CRT to specific workgroup projects) with workgroups.
- Five semi-structured interviews with stakeholders,
- CRT dialogue sessions with four partnering architecture firms.
- Project planning meetings with Planning and Capital Construction Manager and Staff.

- Two meetings with Director of the Office of Equity and Inclusion and Bond Manager.
- Research journals I maintained throughout the project.

In analyzing this set of data, I show how CRT and spatial theory combined offer educational leaders, campus planners, and architects a practical and strategic lens for exposing institutional processes and practices that function to reproduce inequity within educational settings.

Chapter V: Students and Navigating College Space

A critical race spatial lens served to illuminate students' socio-spatial perceptions of PCC space. While students offered a diverse range of personal experiences and perceptions of navigating PCC, there were important commonalities. In this chapter, I analyze how students in the *Space Matters* participatory action research project experience college space and perceive a critical race spatial lens as a means to understand their experiences in a larger socio-spatial context. I draw from the following forms of data:

- Audio recordings and transcriptions from PAR workshops and meetings.
- Project journals maintained by student participants.
- "Spatial field notes" (applied critical race spatial analysis as a means to "read" PCC space using photos and narratives to identify hidden socializing messages).
- Project documents.
- Research journals I maintained throughout the project.

In analyzing this data, I argue CRT and spatial theory exposes under-examined socio-spatial dimensions to navigating college while supporting critical pedagogy and a liberatory educational experience for student co-researchers participating in *Space Matters*.

Chapter VI: Critical Race Spatial Praxis as an Equity Approach to Planning and Design

Over the course of nine months, student co-researchers and I designed three inquiry projects to investigate PCC students' perceptions of college spaces. Each inquiry project aimed to illuminate students' perceptions about college space and expose how built environments function to communicate and normalize racial hierarchies. In this chapter, I analyze how applied CRT and spatial theory helped our research team to identify practical and strategic direction for facilities planning and designing college space in service to equity and inclusion. I analyze data generated through my work with student co-researchers in *Space Matters* and suggest these insights provide new approaches to inequitable practices in campus planning and design. I draw from the following forms of data:

- Audio recordings and transcriptions from PAR workshops and meetings.
- Two culminating events, a *Community Forum* and *Critical Tour*, in which the student cohort presented inquiry findings and insights to stakeholders and facilitated a dialogue on recommendations for institutional change as a means to further institutional change.

- Institutional documents, including email correspondence, PCC news articles, and internal planning documents.
- Research journals I maintained throughout the project.

An analysis of this data helps inform new considerations for racial equity and inclusion for institutional planning, campus design, and college space.

Chapter VII: Discussion

In this final chapter, I answer my research questions. I begin by responding to question one and summarizing students' experiences of navigating college. Then, I answer question two using the "working" tenets (drawing from CRT and spatial theory) that came to guide my work with PCC stakeholders and students. I respond to question three by discussing how critical race spatial praxis can inform equity approaches to institutional change. Next, I discuss two broader implications of this study on the long-standing theory/practice divide and the principle of interest convergence. I then share limitations and recommendations, concluding this chapter with final reflections.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

There is an emerging research topic among scholars related to the relationships among race, space, and power. Theorizing across disciplines, critical scholars and researchers have helped to expose a largely inconspicuous yet pervasive mechanism of social reproduction, space. Starting from the premise that the material is ideological, spatial theory offers new considerations for critical pedagogy. At the heart of critical pedagogy is the practice of theorizing as a means to understand systems of power, to imagine what else is possible, and to act in ways that are transformative.

I am inspired by critical pedagogy to study college space, with a particular focus on material objects, spatial arrangements, and built environments in higher education settings. In this study, I center race to explore and reveal how college space communicates socializing messages than function to normalize racial hierarchies. Revealing the hidden curriculum of college space may help scholars and practitioners to disrupt the ideological underpinnings of white supremacy embedded in institutional culture. For leaders, educators, and organizers seeking theoretical and *practical* tools in service to equity and inclusion, a study of space provides a new approach to transform colleges and universities.

I draw on three bodies of critical scholarship in developing an integrated theoretical and praxis-oriented framework for my study. By combining the scholarship

on the hidden curriculum, spatial theory, and critical race theory, I offer an innovative approach to unpacking the relationships among socialization, space, and race in higher education. Each body of research and theory introduces a unique perspective and combined together offers a shared set of theoretical tools essential to this study. Studies on the perceptions and experiences of students of color inhabiting and traversing college space offers a distinct body of literature also critical to my study.

I have organized this chapter to review four scholarly conversations: (a) the hidden curriculum in education, (b) spatial theory, (c) critical race theory, and (d) the socio-spatial perceptions and experiences of students of color. In each section I will highlight the contributions of the scholarship as they relate to my research questions. I will then suggest limitations to the literature in that area. Finally, I will conclude each section by situating my study in the scholarship and suggesting how my research might contribute new insights that address current limitations. At the end of the chapter, I also discuss recent research in race, design, and architecture, before drawing some conclusions about the available literature. Overall, in this literature review, I provide the foundation for my analysis of ethnographic data to explore the value of applied critical race spatial analysis as a means of equity and inclusion in higher education.

The Hidden Curriculum in Education

The literature on the hidden curriculum in education entails an expansive body of scholarship that reveals the multifaceted ways in which schools function to reproduce the status quo. The utility of this discourse on socialization is the way in which it draws attention to the task of *bringing power out of hiding*, that is, to reveal mechanisms that

control social structures that reproduce inequity. The research on the hidden curriculum offers an analytic critical lens to my study on the function of space as a mechanism of socialization. Among the most innovative scholarship in this area is Margolis et al.'s (2001) typology of *hidden* socialization: hidden in plain sight, hidden in symbolism, hidden behind closed doors, and hidden by "a general agreement not to see" (p. 2). Nowhere is this analytic more applicable than to a study of social space. Applied to an analysis of social space, uncovering the hidden curriculum allows researchers to expose pervasive ways in which socializing messages are concealed in material objects, spatial arrangement, and built environments. Acknowledging *curricular* dimensions of space allows us to "see" space as social text, linking ideology to built environments of everyday spaces. In this section, I review the significant contributions of socialization scholarship in education in order to establish the usefulness of an analytic guided by the discourse on the hidden curriculum. I will also discuss limitations in the literature and how my study may contribute to the scholarship on the hidden curriculum of college space.

Critical theorists in education argue the social function of schooling within capitalism is to reproduce systems of stratification (Apple, 1982; Giroux, 2011). Studying the hidden curriculum reveals that schools function to reproduce inequity and subordination in often subtle (Apple, 1982; Bernstein, 1976; Bourdieu, 1973; McLaren, 1989). The hidden curriculum can exist within a continuum of intentionality from incidental and unintended to outcomes purposefully embedded in the social function of education (Vallance, 1973/1974). The hidden curriculum in higher education has been described as the curricular, ideological, physical, and structural components of schooling

that privilege dominant interests and serve social class reproductive ends (Gair & Mullins, 2001). Dominant ideologies and value systems are enacted in ways that pass largely unacknowledged. Critical theorists seek to expose that which is hidden, revealing curriculum beyond a lesson plan and as a product of ideology.

Scholars writing about the hidden curriculum have made important contributions to critical pedagogy, revealing concealed mechanisms of social reproduction that went under-examined before Jackson's (1968) influential work on the "unintended outcomes" of schooling. The hidden curriculum developed as a framework to understand the nonacademic but educationally significant consequences of schooling as a systematic but unstated rationale for education (Vallance, 1973/1974). The initial research into the hidden curriculum achieved its primary purpose by revealing covert political "interference" (Skelton as cited in Cotton et al., 2013, p. 193).

Over the last 50 years, scholars in education have revealed aspects of the hidden curriculum across the educational system. In primary and secondary education, researchers have examined mechanisms of social reproduction (Anyon, 1980; Bernstein, 1971; Bourdieu, 1973), gender inequities in policies and pedagogies (Clarricoates, 1978; Sadker & Sadker, 1986), racial inequities (De Lissovoy, 2012), and more broadly the reproduction of dominant value systems (Apple, 1982; Condon, 1986; McLaren, 1989). Scholars have also examined the hidden curriculum of pedagogical practices within higher education (Margolis, 2001). Studies on the social and economic power made available to advantaged students but withheld from others (Barfels & Delucchi, 2003); the informal and implicit demands of study and academic achievement

(Bergenhenegouwen, 1987); and the physical environments that make up classrooms, buildings, and campuses reveal distinct socializing messages (Costello, 2001) and illustrate how schools function to (re)produce patterns of social stratification.

Critical theorists in education acknowledge that schools function not only as sites of socialization, but may also provide possibilities for resistance (Apple, 1982; Giroux, 1983; Margolis et al., 2001). Uncovering students' "persistent integrity beyond and in spite of power" serves as a reminder of the important role of subversion and contestation as part of student agency (De Lissovoy, 2012, p. 479). Because culture is produced dialectically and almost inevitably produces contradictions of its own making, schools cannot be simply understood as sites of incontestable control. Rather, as part of their critical analysis of the pervasive and influential impact of the hidden curriculum, researchers must also analyze ways in which students, and other participants in educational settings, act to negotiate and reject socialization agendas (Margolis et al., 2001).

Limitations

Despite the multifaceted and robust body of literature on the hidden curriculum in primary, secondary, and postsecondary education, much of the critical scholarship on socialization focuses on social relations, policies and practices, and pedagogy in educational settings (Costello, 2001; Gair & Mullins, 2001). There is limited scholarship on the hidden curriculum of space. To many researchers, educational spaces remain as merely vacant settings, rather than culturally-produced and ideologically-informed. While it has been acknowledged that material environments of schools constitute the hidden

curriculum (Apple, 1993), insufficient attention has been given to the material environment through which dominant ideologies are reinforced (Costello, 2001; Gair & Mullins, 2001). More research is needed to analyze built environments and expand spatial awareness to understand critical relationships between space and socialization.

Through an analysis of the hidden curriculum of space, we can better understand processes of social reproduction. Consider a spatial analysis of the elementary schools Anyon (1980) conducted in her influential study of five elementary schools located in different socioeconomic communities: working-class, middle-class, affluent professional, and executive elite. Using classroom observations, interviews, and document analysis (curriculum and teaching materials), she identifies telling patterns in each social setting associated with social class. Anyon concludes the characteristics of school work correspond to class-based differences, offering important insights into relationships between everyday activities and interactions in schools and the reproduction of economic hierarchies. However, while she does not conduct this analysis, attention to a critique of built environments of the different educational settings may also have potentially expanded her analysis of social class and the hidden curriculum. Drawing on spatial theory, researchers can highlight the fact that everyday activities occur in built environments designed in part to reinforce and reproduce socializing messages.

Contributions

A small but expanding body of scholarship on the hidden curriculum illustrates the ways in which space functions as a mechanism of social reproduction. These researchers acknowledge that "while everyone is constantly subject to the socializing

influence of their surroundings, most people are typically unaware of being so influenced (McDowell, 1999). It is this work that I am most inspired by, to which I intend my research to contribute.

Among the most innovative scholarship in this genre is Costello's (2001) study of a law school and a social work school at one university in which she examined patterns of social stratification reproduced by socializing messages conveyed through distinct built environments. Through a socio-spatial analysis of data collected through participant observation and visual research methods, Costello revealed "distinct curricula embedded in the bricks and mortar, furniture and paintings" (p. 58). Hallways of the law school conveyed an impression of wealth and power through its imported wood from Africa, grand checkerboard linoleum, and walls covered with plaques indicating donors and financial contributors to the school. The hallways of the social work school conveyed decline through its peeling paint, bland beige walls, fluorescent lighting, and mismatched furniture. Through her critical spatial analysis of hallways, classrooms, artwork, she revealed the hidden curriculum of professional school space. Costello concludes that the socializing messages communicated through built environments work to prepare law students for privilege and exclusivity and social work students for limited resources and modesty. She describes the taken for granted ways in which educational space functions to (re)produce social hierarchies.

Other critical scholars acknowledge built environments as socializing agents. Gair and Mullins (2001) studied physical depictions of hidden curricula. Using open-ended interviews, the researchers invited scholars and educators—many of whom have

contributed to the literature on socialization—to engaging in "conversational inquiry" on the role of physical environments in social reproduction. In their reflections on built environments, these scholars suggest that "buildings, the physical arrangement of classrooms, occupation of physical space, and other architectural structures honor certain histories and convey political agendas" (p. 27). In drawing links between built environments and the curriculum, participants in this study frequently noted social stratification as communicated by buildings, posters, locations of offices, and even "codified student workstations" (p. 29).

Attending to spatial dimensions of university campuses, Giroux (2011) examines the impact of globalization on educational settings. He suggests globalization and consumerism have transformed university space into corporate space:

> Almost every aspect of public space in higher education is now designed to attract students as consumers and shoppers...such hyper-commercialized spaces increasingly resemble malls, transforming all available university space into advertising billboards...a consumer placelessness in which all barriers between a culture of critical ideas and branded products simply disappear. (p. 118)

Through conducting a spatial analysis of universities, researchers reveal ways in which socializing messages are embedded in built environments of college campuses that function to socialize students as consumers. Through such an analysis, elements of the hidden curriculum become visible in the very design of buildings, the spatial arrangements of campuses, and the material objects that serve as cultural artifacts in a highly commodified society.

Certainly schooling does not serve a reproductive function in isolation from other social institutions (Apple, 1982; Giroux, 2011). But, the scholarship on the hidden curriculum has been limited principally to educational settings. In conversation with spatial theory, links between educational space and neighborhood space, for example, may help researchers to expose under-examined forces of socialization. My dissertation study aims to contribute to scholarship that applies the theoretical and conceptual framework of the hidden curriculum across everyday spaces, that is to examine hidden socializing messages in built environments within and beyond educational settings. Students inhabit and traverse multiple spaces in their daily routines, all of which come to inform their socio-spatial perceptions and experiences.

An analysis of education and reproduction requires examining other social modes through which dominant values are transmitted; this should help us to understand how education and reproduction are linked beyond the classroom (Apple, 1982). Delinking curriculum from its place in education and revealing curricular dimensions across social landscapes helps us to see the educative nature of built environments and the ways in which space socializes. For example, the pervasive arrangement of desks in a classroom, seating in a courtroom, pews in a church, or chairs in a theater, may help researchers to uncover the hidden curriculum of built environments across landscapes that socialize inhabitants as passive spectators of political and cultural life. More research on the hidden curriculum of everyday spaces is essential to critical pedagogy.

The literature on the hidden curriculum offers a framework to understand and thereby disrupt social reproduction. "Many kinds of socialization are indeed covert, will

not work if made visible, and in fact will produce resistance if revealed” (Margolis et al., 2001, p. 3). Understanding the ways in which larger social forces dwell in the realm of the *hidden* can help scholars to expose subtle and systematic ways that systems of domination act to obtain acquiescence as a matter of normal. Indeed, cultural practices of hiding power are critical to understanding how that reproduction of power is normalized (p. 2). By revealing hidden mechanisms of socialization, opportunities to challenge and transform power are potentially made more apparent.

The theoretical and conceptual framework of the hidden curriculum offers a lens from which I draw an understanding of space as social text and built environments as often-concealed mechanisms of socialization. The goal of uncovering the hidden curriculum is to illuminate the varied ways that built environments function to “teach” dominant values and belief systems and implicitly normalize racial and other social hierarchies. Acknowledging curricular dimensions of space can help researchers and educators to consider critical ways to “read” space and more importantly, develop creative strategies to “rewrite” space in service to racial and social justice.

Spatial Theory

Putting the hidden curriculum in conversation with spatial theory can help to uncover critical relationships between social and spatial inequities. The multidisciplinary literature on spatial theory is an expansive body of scholarship on the spatiality of the social world as conceived, constructed and linked to geographies of power and privilege. The utility of this discourse is the way in which researchers show how space is power laden, debunking pervasive perceptions of space as neutral. Spatial theory offers a critical

lens with which to expose and examine space as cultural. Material objects and spatial arrangements are an important part of social life; they both contain artifacts of culture, and are themselves artifacts of cultural norms (Tuhiwai Smith, 2013). Cultural norms, communicated through material objects, spatial arrangements, and day-to-day routines transmit ideologies and value systems in ways that pass often unrecognized. I suggest spatial theory is under-utilized in educational research yet offers much in the study of socialization in educational and everyday settings. Applied to an analysis of the hidden curriculum, spatial theory can help researchers examine the role of space in the maintenance and reproduction of social hierarchies. Acknowledging space as racialized, gendered, and classed serves as an analytic to reveal the hidden curriculum of built environments of educational and other social space.

Critical scholars like Lefebvre (1991), Delany (2002), Friedman and van Ingen (2011), and Soja (2010) claim the production of space is essential to understanding the (re)production of power in everyday life and employ spatial inquiry to understand the ways in which systems of power are produced by, and reproduced through, space. This discourse is critical because space is often considered a neutral setting and passive stage in which social activities and history unfolds (Friedman & van Ingen, 2011). In the traditional paradigm, space is deemed inconsequential and thus dimensions of power remain undetected by occupants of that space. Forces of social reproduction, passing as "innocent" spatiality of social life, are often difficult to detect, and thereby difficult to disrupt (Soja, 2010).

Long associated with fields like geography, architecture, and urban planning, spatial theorizing has expanded into disciplines like anthropology, cultural studies, and critical race studies (Soja, 2010). This "spatial turn" has sparked a new spatial consciousness even beyond the academy and into wider public discourse (Soja, 2010). For example, as a theoretical and praxis-oriented tool, critical spatial perspectives have been used as a framework for community organizing. A Boston-based organization, the Design Studio for Social Intervention, in partnership with a D.C. based organization, the Praxis Project, developed a spatial justice platform: *Spatial Justice: A Frame for Reclaiming Our Rights to Be, Thrive, Express and Connect*. The organizers analyze space and suggest how it has informed community organizing and collective action in major cities across the United States including Atlanta and Los Angeles:

> Practices of domination, subjugation and resource depletion have been historically honed and brought to bear through space. The taking of land, the massive capturing of bodies and taking them from one space to another, environmental exploitation, forced movement through economic deprivation; all of these practices of injustice tend to have a fairly clear spatial dimension to them...In fact, it is clear that any and every marginalized group has had space itself used as part of the terrain through which they experience injustice in their day to day lives. (Bailey et al., 2012, p. 2)

Foregrounding space as part of exploring relationships among space, power, and justice informed a theoretically grounded and practical political strategy. This project demonstrates the utility of applied spatial theory as a form of critical pedagogy and collective action.

Two significant spatial theorists include Henry Lefebvre and Edward Soja. In his important book, *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991) introduces the concept of a

spatial triad that is, conceived space, perceived space, and lived space, to demonstrate that space entails a set of relationships—produced and reproduced by inhabitants and their interests. Exposing space as something more than a passive setting, Lefebvre makes critical links among geography, built environments, and lived experiences. What is most important and relevant to my study about Lefebvre's work is his overarching claim "(Social) space is a (social) product...a means of production...a means of control, and hence of domination, of power" (p. 26). A previously underexamined realm of social life, Lefebvre advanced an understanding of space as a central feature of social reproduction.

Soja (2010) also contributes to this critical discourse of spatial analysis. He writes that "space is not an empty void. It is always filled with politics, ideology, and other forces shaping our lives and challenging us to engage in struggles over geography" (p. 19). His call to "put space first" highlights the importance of developing critical spatial consciousness as a means to encourage new thinking and new ways of acting on social injustices. Spatiality and spatial processes shape social relations of all kinds and potentially impact all forms of discrimination and injustice (Soja, 2010). Spatial justice is an important part of social justice.

Limitations

In the past decade, scholars studying space, especially in the field of geography, have turned their attention to previously ignored dimensions of space, in particular, questions of race (Delaney, 2002). A growing body of research on the links between race and space contributes to what was historically a gap in the literature (Neely & Samura, 2011). Scholarship focused on the spatiality of identity and oppression further deepens a

critical understanding of power. Racism is acknowledged as a product of historical geographies, implicating geographical space in the construction of race and production of difference.

> So racialized is the development of American society that virtually no social analysis can take place without a recognition of this reality. Similarly, no geography is complete, no understanding of place or landscape comprehensive, without recognizing that American geography, both as discipline and as the spatial expression of American life, is racialized. Racialization is part of the normal, and normalized, landscape and needs to be analyzed as such. (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000, p. 392)

Acknowledging space as a contributing factor to the reproduction of racism can deepen our understanding of power and the embedded nature of white supremacy. Delaney (2002) argues that “there is no outside to a wholly racialized world” (p. 7). Such a claim disrupts all notions of space as neutral and innocent. Race is not simply reflected in spatial arrangements; race, as ideology and identity, is what it is and does what it does precisely because of how it is given spatial expression (Delaney, 2002). These contributions expand pathways into new critical research on race and space in place. Applied to educational settings, space is implicated in the (re)production of racial hierarchies within schooling. Spatial theory in conversation with CRT can help scholars to examine the process by which racial difference and inequity are organized and enacted (Neely & Samura, 2011).

Geographical scale, that is, different levels of analysis from local to global, commonly ignore the more mundane dimensions of space. This tendency has resulted in limited scholarship on material objects, spatial arrangements, and built environments of

educational and everyday space. Further study on settings would contribute to critical discourse and pedagogy.

Contributions

Spatial theory contributes to the theoretical framework I am developing in this study to understand forms of social reproduction in service to white supremacy and other systems of power. Spatial theory can help scholars illuminate the production of a "wholly racialized world," that is, the material, cultural, and ideological facets of racism. In showing how built environments are mechanisms of socialization, I will disrupt pervasive perceptions of space as neutral, innocent, and inconsequential.

Among the many contributions spatial theory offers critical pedagogy is the assertion that the material and ideological are not separate. Understanding space as landscapes of power, products of ideology, and mechanisms of social reproduction can help researchers to explore the hidden curriculum of college space. In extending *curriculum* from its association with schools to acknowledging curricular forms beyond educational environments allows researchers to uncover socializing messages communicated across social landscapes. When we acknowledge curricular dimensions of social landscapes, we can then use spatial inquiry as a framework to reveal and transform systems of power.

My research in this dissertation will contribute to emerging scholarship on the particular relationship between college space and race-making. In making a case for new approaches to examine racial diversity in higher education, Samura (2015) explores the spatiality of diversity and how students navigate physical and social space. She argues

employing a spatial approach, "provides an accessible language to discuss experiences of racialization, race making and racism in higher education" (p. 124). This is critical because research on the experience of college students has not been prioritized as an explicit dimension of the analysis of racism in higher education (Samura, 2015). Van Ingen and Halas (2006) also study the ways in which school space constitute and reinforce aspects of the social. In examining racialized geographies in service to whiteness, they highlight the experiences of aboriginal students in Canadian schools to suggest school landscapes are shaped by colonial encounters. Contributing to the discourse of racialization of school space they expose the spatial processes which function to secure white privilege within schools.

Space is also embedded with notions of representation that function to include and exclude people and activities (Schmidt, 2017). As such, an understanding of the plurality of ways in which people inhabit and traverse space is critical. Given the plurality of ways in which people experience and perceive built environments, spatial theory invites researchers to consider identity and positionality as central to developing an understanding of how space communicates to groups of people in common and distinct ways. Lived experience, identity, and positionality shape how individuals and groups come to "read" and experience space.

Critical Race Theory in Education

Critical race theory (CRT) offers a theoretical and praxis-oriented framework to uncover, critique, and ultimately transform racism and white supremacy. In placing CRT in dialogue with the hidden curriculum and spatial theory, I am creating an integrated

framework from which to deepen our understanding of social reproduction. The literature on CRT in education is an expansive body of scholarship that reveals the multifaceted ways in which schools function in service to white supremacy. The utility of this discourse for my study lies in the set of tenets, claims, and assumptions that can be used as lenses to reveal the maintenance and reproduction of racism. CRT is a vital analytic to my study on the function of space as a mechanism of socialization in service to white supremacy. Applied to an analysis of social space, researchers draw on CRT to expose dominant narratives that mask structural racism communicated through material objects, spatial arrangement and built environments.

Originating in critical legal studies, Delgado and Stefancic (2012) describe CRT as a movement of activists and scholars dedicated to studying and transforming relationships among race, racism, and power. CRT has obtained particular relevance in education. Through multifaceted interconnected tenets, CRT helps scholars understand how white supremacy is maintained and reproduced.

Critical race theorists argue that racism is embedded and engrained in all aspects of society and exists as a permanent feature of American life (Bell, 1992; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Acknowledging racism as pervasive is the first step to developing critical and creative strategies for social change. CRT also draws our attention to dominant narratives purporting equal opportunity, meritocracy, and color blindness, that is, tropes that function to conceal systems and structures that contribute to the maintenance of racial inequity (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Savas, 2014). These serve as the master narratives and social myths that function as a hidden curriculum in the

reproduction of racial hierarchies. Exposing broader and institutional narratives that function to justify, normalize, or conceal dimensions of racial inequities is a central tenet of CRT. For example, consider the community college claims of an “open-access” institution. CRT invites an examination to the degree to which “open access” functions as a myth or a reality. Using the tenets of CRT, researchers can identify challenges and expose obstacles facing students of color entering and navigating academic demands and campus climate. Paying attention to the stories and histories of students of color can help us to uncover mechanisms of social reproduction and institutional rationales for racial realities and dominant ideologies (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995)

CRT centers the voices and experiences of people of color in any analysis. Critical race theorists acknowledge people of color as multidimensional and argue that understanding their lived experiences is essential in collective efforts to challenge dominant narratives and advance social justice (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 168). Because of their lived experiences of marginalization, people of color have “multiple-consciousness” that is, the ability “to perceive something in two or more ways...as a member of his or her group would see it and as a white would” (p. 168). Such an “epistemic advantage” (Narayan, 2004) is critical in the work to reveal and understand white supremacy. People of color “can operate with two sets of practices and in two different contexts...this advantage is thought to lead to critical insights because each framework provides a critical perspective on the other” (p. 221). Counternarratives challenge dominant myths of racism and amplify the voices of those most silenced by white supremacy (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005). Research in

CRT helps us to see deeply embedded ideological, systemic, and structural facets of domination based on race and other categories of marginalization, thereby enabling us to disrupt those structures and to advance social justice (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

The scholarship on CRT is expansive. Over the past 25 years, research grounded in CRT has contributed to many efforts toward racial equity (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Applied in scores of studies examining patterns of racial inequity, CRT has proven to be an invaluable analytical tool. In applying CRT, scholars have exposed patterns of whiteness in teacher education programs (Brown, 2014; Katsarou, 2009). In the context of higher education and student affairs, CRT has served as a guide to examine practices on college and university campuses (Patton et al., 2007); uncover microaggressions on college campuses (Solórzano et al., 2000); transform classroom dynamics and practices (Garcia, 2015; Knaus, 2009); analyze and disrupt color-blind frameworks in education (Garces & Gordon da Cruz, 2017); and to evaluate qualitative research methodologies and epistemologies (Parker & Lynn, 2002).

Limitations

Until recently, little has been done to integrate CRT in education and critical race geography (Vélez & Solórzano, 2017). Indeed, while critical geographers of race and CRT share common theoretical and political goals, engagement between the two schools of thought has been limited (Price, 2010). While a recognition of a “wholly racialized world” is at the heart of CRT, in educational research, little attention has been paid to racialized geographies and particularly racialized college space.

While CRT has become a widely utilized theoretical framework in educational research to analyze patterns of racial inequity, few researchers have studied CRT as a means of institutional change. "It might be argued that CRT is primarily a framework for analysis...the emphasis Solórzano places on social justice suggests...scholars expect more from CRT than an analysis of race..." (Closson, 2010, p. 277). More research is needed on how CRT can be applied in efforts to change institutional culture and practices.

Despite these two gaps in the literature, CRT offers a theoretical and praxis-oriented framework from which I draw an understanding of the hidden curriculum of social space. Applied to college space, CRT helps me to show the ways racism is embedded and ingrained in material objects, spatial arrangements, and built environments across schools, districts, and neighborhoods. Critical race theorists identify the dominant narratives in social spaces. These narratives contribute to pervasive perceptions of space as racially neutral and concurrently conceal the role of space in (re)producing racial hierarchies. The multidimensionality and positionality of people of color are vital to research endeavors that seek to show how space can function to maintain and reproduce white supremacy. Counter-narratives can help to disrupt socializing messages communicated through space and open possibilities to subvert and transform racism, as well as further institutional equity and inclusion.

Contributions

An emerging body of critical race scholarship in education draws on critical analyses of space. It is this work that I am most inspired by, to which I intend my research to contribute. I highlight two examples of applied CRT to analyze and

understand educational space. Drawing explicit connections between CRT and critical race geography, Vélez and Solórzano (2017) describe how maps can be used to explore and understand race and space. Working with undergraduate students to "reimagine" geographic information systems (GIS) in service to critical race research, these researchers use digital maps to engage in "ground-truthing." A process in which community members gather data to affirm or contest existing maps, ground-truthing through map-making illuminates socio-spatial terrain inhabited and traversed by students. Analyzed through a *critical race spatial analysis*, Vélez and Solórzano use digital maps to define geohistorical and geopolitical markers of racism and to capture the lived experiences of students of color across educational and community contexts.

Used to further the goals of CRT in education, Vélez and Solórzano offer *critical race spatial analysis* (CRSA), as a framework that acknowledges the role of white supremacy in the study of social space and provides tools to identify and challenge all forms of subordination. In this study, they show how spatial features can become inscribed with important racial meaning. Through photographs, interviews, and written district policies, CRSA and its use of GIS, is a tool for storytelling and offering counter-narratives.

> GIS technologies within a CRSA approach could also be used to examine how certain spaces that are defined by city and real estate institutions as "safe" or "marketable" are racialized and how this impacts the ways schools, and the students who attend them, are views within these spaces. (p. 24)

Vélez and Solórzano's approach to mapmaking serves as a methodological and conceptual tool to analyze and visualize connections between school and community

spaces and the dynamics of race and racism. Using applied CRSA, the researchers provide evidence of "color-lines" in the construction of space, revealing markers of privilege and opportunity. Undergirded by CRSA, ground-truthing is one way for researchers to map physical markers that reflect institutional practices of racial exclusion across everyday spaces like neighborhoods, school districts, public transit systems, parks, and community resources.

Vélez and Solórzano demonstrate the utility of CRT in providing educational researchers with a framework to explore space and the role of racism in the educational experiences of students of color and their communities. Identifying "color-lines" is a practical and critical way to understand spatial realities of a racist society that cut across school and neighborhood space. What is important about this study is how critical race spatial analysis served to illuminate the spatiality of racism across landscapes.

A study conducted on "predatory lending" and economic exclusion is another important contribution to the discourse on CRT and space. Hidalgo (2017) investigates the spatial patterns of payday lending through a CRT and Latino critical theory (LatCrit) framework to illuminate the overrepresentation of fringe financial services in working class Latino neighborhoods, arguing that these are connected to larger patterns of white supremacy. Foregrounding the voices of people most impacted by economic inequity, Hidalgo describes "augmented fotonovelas" as a unique research method to collect data that uncovers how space works to subordinate financial, credit and economic opportunities in neighborhoods of color. "Augmented fotonovelas" are multimodal projects that incorporate video interviews, photographs, interactive mapping, and other

technologies that privilege the voices and experiences of community members in making meaning of socio-spatial patterns of racism. Hidalgo identifies militarized spaces, geographies of despair, and geographies of hope as emergent themes in his study. Each theme communicated through augmented fotonovelas as storytelling, reflects experiences of how economic structures have impacted participants' lives. Hidalgo argues that photos of built environments and signage throughout the community are a kind of microaggression targeting Latino communities and giving rise to a setting dominated by preying off economic vulnerabilities. Research data collected by students and community members has since informed local community-driven campaigns for economic justice.

Like the work of Vélez and Solórzano, Hidalgo contributes much to an understanding of the relationship between race and space in practical and lived ways. Revealing the spatial dimensions of economic inequities in communities of color helps to illuminate how space functions to normalize exploitative practices. New innovative methodologies serve as critical research tools that can inspire community action. Through my study I seek to contribute to the emerging body of scholarship that demonstrates the efficacy of CRT applied to reveal the hidden curriculum of college space and to expand educational research in the area of critical race spatial analysis.

Socio-Spatial Experiences of Students of Color

The literature on students' socio-spatial experiences is limited in educational research (Samura, 2015), despite the large volume of research in CRT on student experiences of microaggressions. While limited, researchers studied the realities of racialized college space from the perspective of people most negatively impacted by

inequity in education. Studies that illuminate the experiences of students of color inhabiting and traversing college space are critical if we are to understand embedded inequity in the racial climate of campuses. In this section, I review three useful studies that center the perceptions and experiences of students of color about college space. These provide a useful foundation for this dissertation study.

Architectural design of campus spaces affects students' academic performance and behavior indicating that there is a compelling relationship between student achievement and the quality of buildings (Andrade, 2017). Through studying schools as a racialized environment, we can uncover differences in perceptions and experiences across racial groups advantaging some and disadvantaging others. Research on college students' experiences has not prioritized space as a dimension of analysis (Samura, 2015). There is an emerging scholarship however, that seeks to understand how students of color perceive and experience college space that is relevant to this study.

Barajas and Ronnkvist (2007) conducted a two-year study of Latino/a students participating in a mentorship program aimed to further college success. Countering dominant color-blind ideologies employed by schools, the authors observed how whiteness was built into the school organizational space through formal and informal practices. After conducting interviews with 45 Latino/a student mentors and 27 high school mentees, Barajas and Ronnkvist describe how racialization of school space is "directly determined by the relational power between what is categorized as white and not white...the racialized relationships that create practices that own and sustain

structure" (p. 1534). Students interviewed often experienced school space as, "being for white people" or how "not white" they were (p. 1525).

Defined largely by an understanding that organizational spaces are not race-neutral, Barajas and Ronnkvist sought to reveal embedded racial meanings in space perceived as "common sense" and therefore invisible. They observed that "school organizational spaces tend to be owned by those who have white, middle-class power and are likely to see their power as neutral and therefore limited" (p. 1521). Through their interviews with Latino/a students, they illustrated the ways in which organizational logic defined academic expectations based on white norms and "devised through symbolic meanings of what it means to be white in a white space and what it means to not be white in a white space" (p. 1527). They conclude by suggesting that to acknowledge school organizational spaces as racialized white spaces allows for more understanding about *real* differences and disrupts color-blind ideologies that dominate educational practices.

In another study of how college students experience space, Andrade (2017) examined Latino/a students' perception of educational environments and ways they identified safe spaces. Focusing on Latinos/as transferring from community colleges to four-year universities, Andrade interviewed 20 students at two schools and engaged "photographic elicitation methodology to discover the physical and visual characteristics of spaces where students navigated for positive integration" (p. 2). Through interviews and photos Andrade asked students to identify and describe comfortable spaces on campus, describe efforts to make spaces comfortable, and discuss ideas to improve the physical environment. Andrade identified three themes in the data: (a) students gravitated

toward spaces where they could connect with other Latinos/as; (b) students sought space to be alone as an escape from academic demands; and (c) students engaged spaces that were perceived to support their development in their major. Andrade concludes that Latino/a students developed an enhanced spatial awareness as part of their involvement in the study, particularly in navigating and identifying safe places to feel comfortable and enhance their personal well-being.

Samura's (2015) research among Asian American college students also points to the value of spatial inquiry as means to examine racial diversity in higher education. Through interviews, Samura invited students to share where they felt comfortable and safe and also where they did not feel safe in college space. Offering a set of vignettes based on her research, she suggests conflicts over space are often based on assumed belonging or entitlement. Samura concludes by suggesting a deeper understanding of retention issues and students' experiences of belonging is best understood as a set of spatial practices.

Limitations

Research on the socio-spatial experiences of students of color is limited in three ways. First, there appears to be an over emphasis on revealing places perceived as "safe" and "comfortable." Such studies may contribute to the idea that equity in college space can be demonstrated by universities providing "safe places" for students. Such designated places may be perceived as "neutral" or "multicultural" and therefore function to mitigate other college space that may remain "hostile." It also suggests that some spaces are not racialized or gendered, particularly spaces that are "made for" marginalized groups.

Focusing only on spaces that are perceived "to help" students of color ignores the broader college space as a mechanism of socialization. More research is needed to investigate how students identify, interpret, and experience space beyond ones marked "safe" and "comfortable."

Second, an overemphasis on kinds of space, or space that makes students feel safe and comfortable, ignores critical facets of other types of spaces. The myriad other material objects, spatial arrangements, and built environments that characterize college space remain uninterrogated. This may limit an understanding of the ways in which socializing messages are communicated throughout the college landscape to normalize racial and other social hierarchies.

Finally, the use of interviews as a primary (and in some cases sole) research method presents limitations. Studies reviewed in this section all employed interviews and a set of questions that aimed to generate insight into students' socio-spatial experiences. While this method may be useful in questions about safe and comfortable space, there may be limitations to exploring more complex and nuanced dynamics between race and space. Asking students to identify spatial practices or interpret college space without a broader context or a lens to examine that which may be "unconscious" or historically rendered invisible, may limit what they are able to see and say.

Contributions

In my dissertation, I hope to contribute to the critical scholarship on built environments, social reproduction, and critical pedagogy by centering the voices of students of color inhabiting and traversing college spaces. Through a participatory action

research project, student participants applied a critical race spatial analysis to explore their own and other students' experiences and perceptions of college space beyond safe and comfortable and into under-examined dimensions space. Through concerted reflection on socializing messages communicated through material objects, spatial arrangement, and built environments aim, students as co-researchers helped to illustrate often taken for granted aspects of space as instead power laden.

Race, Design, and Architecture

In recent scholarship, design itself is under scrutiny, suggesting design thinking at its core is often set up to “preserve and defend the status quo” (Iskander, 2018, para. 3). Privileging designers over users and engaging in exclusionary, versus participatory practices, common design processes fail to align and advance equity in college space.

It is widely accepted that environments influence behaviors. This is certainly true for campus environments. Campus planners Kenney et al. (2005) suggest:

> If we design our buildings and spaces in certain ways, we can cause certain things—more effective learning, more vibrant community—to happen there. Physical changes can be a powerful tool in facilitating social and organizational change in an institution’s culture. We can also shape perceptions, opinions, and memory. (p. 4)

The architectural design of campus spaces impacts students’ academic performance and behavior; there is a compelling relationship between student achievement and the quality of buildings (Andrade, 2017). Acknowledging and studying the educative capacity of built environments through a critical lens is an important complement to research on the hidden curriculum and space as a mechanism of socialization.

However, such perspectives do not necessarily always acknowledge ways in which space can normalize social hierarchies and reproduce inequity. Current researchers have recently started studying race and the role of architecture in the maintenance of white supremacy. For example, Wilson (2018), a scholar in architecture, planning, and preservation at Columbia University focuses her research on ways in which architects are productive of white racial hegemony.

Similarly, Muñoz (2009) draws upon CRT and practices of campus design to offer a theoretical framework that acknowledges the experiences of diverse students and the limited research concerning race and the college landscape. Theorizing space through CRT, Muñoz offers an interpretation of CRT in service to developing a critical stance on campus planning and architecture. For example, Muñoz argues that everyday artifacts, values, and ideas, like built environments and landscapes, are steeped in the "machinations of American racism" (p. 57). Challenging pervasive notions of neutrality, Muñoz suggests that spaces like classrooms and residence halls "perpetuate and reward White-normative behavior" (p. 57). Bolted down seats that prevent collaboration in classrooms and the naming of campus buildings function to further dominant narratives. These examples illustrate some of the ways in which CRT can be used to expose college space as ideological. Acknowledging the educative capacity of built environments through a critical lens is an important component of understanding the relationship between hidden curriculum and space as a mechanism of socialization. Muñoz acknowledges CRT as a critical tool for campus planners and architects dedicated to re-imagining educational landscapes in service to racial equity and inclusion.

Conclusion

Integrating the theoretical perspectives of the hidden curriculum, spatial theory, and CRT offers a unique approach to interpreting and transforming space as part of critical pedagogy and social justice work. Grounded in traditions of *criticality*, researchers developing each body of work I cite in this chapter acknowledge that systems and structures of domination are largely hidden, concealed, and normalized at multiple levels. As such, attention must be paid to the task of bringing power out of hiding as an important step in examining and transforming larger social forces that perpetuate inequities. Drawing from the scholarship on the hidden curriculum can help researchers to expose the pervasive ways in which socializing messages are concealed in built environments. In this dissertation, I add to the literature that shows how applied critical race spatial analysis can be a valuable analytical tool to probe deeper into the hidden curriculum of white supremacy in built environments. In uncovering dominant spatial narratives, researchers can better understand the "logic" of built environments and the ideological underpinnings that justify racialized spatial arrangements and reproduce white supremacy. There is much to gain from these overlapping discursive communities, as I will illustrate in this study.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

In this project, I explore the value of critical race theory (CRT) in conversation with spatial theory as a means to expose and examine racial inequities in higher education. I use Portland Community College (PCC) as a case study of how a critical race spatial lens can help to reveal the ways in which educational settings and spaces reproduce dominant ideologies and, at the same time, how systemic and structural changes can lead to racial equity.

CRT in Facilities Planning provides the ethnographic basis of my dissertation study on applied CRSA as a strategy to uncover, critique, and transform relationships among race, space, and equity in educational settings. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview of the research design and methods employed to collect data. Insights and conclusions from this study have significant implications for planning, design, college space and racial equity in higher education.

Pilot Study: Testing the Spatial Waters

As a small-scale pilot for this project, I worked with students who were identified and recruited by a PCC colleague of mine working in one of the campus Multicultural Centers. I conducted three semi-structured interviews (Glesne, 2016) with PCC students of color to test a set of questions as I imagined I might be interviewing students as a primary research method in my ethnographic study. The purpose of the interviews was to

learn how students perceived and experienced PCC space. Through these interviews, I hoped to uncover some of the ways students perceived that space functioned to reproduce racial inequity. While I had a few insights in looking at the data, for the most part the interviews "failed" as they did not help me to dig deeply into the dynamics of racialized space, especially since the students didn't have the lenses to uncover that which is traditionally hidden. This experience illuminated what I would come to understand as real challenges to studying space and the limitations of the method of interviews. In fact, similar challenges would resurface later in the project.

In these interviews, I asked students to share first impressions of the campus, to name what they liked most and least about the design of the college, to share where they felt safe and comfortable and why, and to identify how places along their weekly routines made them feel. I asked students if they perceived inequities in the built environment, what they thought campus planners had in mind when designing PCC space, and how PCC could communicate inclusion through space. I asked other questions, but ultimately, these interviews were not as revelatory as I had hoped.

Students seemed alienated from the questions, even when I tried to re-ask them in different ways, I was often met with, "What do you mean by that?" Halfway through one interview, a student even said, slightly frustrated, "I don't think I have an eye for what you're talking about." Disoriented by the questions, students were unsure about their answers, and ultimately frustrated by the interview itself. Questions I posed only seemed to prompt more questions back to me: "What do you mean by space;" "What do you mean, what do I think about the design of space, nothing, they're just buildings;" "I feel

comfortable in spaces where people look like me, that's really the only thing I notice;" and, "Would making more parking spots be what you're looking for, because it's stressful to look for parking."

While my assumption was, and still is, that we all possess spatial sensibilities, my questions implicitly assumed a level of spatial awareness that it turned out my participants did not have. Asking students to identify spatial practices or interpret college space without a broader context or a lens to examine that which may be "unconscious" or rendered invisible, ultimately proved to me that interviews would not be a useful primary research method in my study. In addition, the nature of interviews – that is, a back and forth, me with questions, students with answers—also felt inadequate. I wanted to work *with* students to explore PCC space and I knew we would need a shared lens to do it.

Despite the limitations of these interviews, I gained some critical insights and an opportunity to reimagine methods better suited for a study on students' socio-spatial perceptions and experiences. This pilot persuaded me to design and employ a participatory action research (PAR) project, to co-research with students, to yield deeper and more nuanced insights into students' socio-spatial experiences, but also to potentially expand students' spatial analysis, and offer a more mutually beneficial collaborative experience.

Research Questions

I have three questions that drive this study:

- How do students of color experience and perceive college space?

- How does space function to teach dominant narratives, normalize racial hierarchies, and reproduce the status quo in education?
- How does a critical race spatial lens illuminate practical and strategic approaches for institutional change in service to educational equity and inclusion?

Methodology

I employed two methodological approaches to examine socio-spatial dimensions of equity and inclusion in higher education: ethnography and participatory action research (PAR). Drawing on diverse research methods, I used ethnography and PAR to investigate the multifaceted dimensions of a community college initiative designed to study college space.

Ethnography, an approach widely used to study groups of people through an analysis of culture (Glesne, 2016), offered a perfect methodology for a study on how students and *institutional stakeholders* (campus planners, architects, college administrators, and staff) perceive and experience applied CRSA to facilities planning as a tool for racial equity and inclusion. Ethnographic methods involve paying close attention to culture. In this study, institutional culture includes policies, practices, and campus racial climate – the overall racial environment of a college campus as perceived and experienced by students of color (Solórzano et al. 2000).

The methodology of ethnography involves participant observation, interviews, and other qualitative methods to collect data used for interpreting how people "construct, share, and negotiate meaning" (Glesne, 2016). As I collected data over a period of nine months, I offer a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of the ways people make meaning of

race, space, and equity on the PCC campus. Ethnography is a useful methodological approach to “place-based research” which is about chronicling “lives lived in relationship to place through multiple methods...offering a sense of showing versus telling, bringing alive...socially embedded qualities of particular places in relationship to their historical, spatial and political contexts” (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015, p. 87).

PAR is an umbrella term that refers to a variety of participatory approaches to action-oriented research (Kindon et al., 2007). Drawing upon the educational philosophy of the Highlander Research and Education Center, PAR is grounded in the assumption that effective and meaningful solutions to social problems can best be generated by the people who are experiencing those problems (Lewis, 2001). In PAR projects, those who would be subjects of research are instead engaged as researchers (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015). With established roots in grassroots community organizing and movement-building, PAR has served as a method for social change by establishing links among research, empowerment, and collective action (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Lewis, 2001). Participatory research offers a unique opportunity to expand scholarship and critical discourse. As a means of critical pedagogy, through PAR methods, I engaged participants in storytelling, consciousness raising, individual and group transformation, and collective action.

While PAR represents a range of different approaches, there is a set of core principles and practices that characterize this methodology. First, PAR projects invite people most often excluded from research processes to participate as co-researchers and problem solvers (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Kemmis

& McTaggart, 2007). In my study this meant I actively recruited and engaged PCC students of color during all stages in the research design and implementation. Participatory action researchers acknowledge lived experience and experiential knowledge as essential to an understanding and examination of the research problem. Second, PAR is a collective practice of critique through a collective practice of research (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2001). Participants in the action research process become researchers about their own lives as a means to change themselves as well as the social world they inhabit. They develop practical solutions for addressing the problems they believe should be transformed (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2001). Finally, PAR is a methodology for collective action (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Kemmis & McTaggart, 2007). In service to social justice, PAR is explicitly "political" in its orientation and aims to transform oppression (Kincheloe, 2009). In my study, findings from students' socio-spatial stories and campus inquiry projects provide the foundation for identifying new strategies and approaches.

Setting

Portland Community College (PCC), established in 1961, is the largest educational institution in Oregon. Serving nearly 73,000 full-time and part-time students, PCC includes four comprehensive campuses and eight centers spanning five counties (Portland Community College, n.d.). The college is situated in what has been named as "the whitest city in the United States" (Badger, 2015), dubbed as a "white utopia,"

(Novack, 2015); and awarded by *U.S. News and World Report* as a 2018 "best city to live in."

Despite the many accolades, local government has historically facilitated the dominance of whites in business, housing, and culture (Semuels, 2016). Oregon, with an enduring current of militant racism, has a legacy of being the only state to enter the union with racial exclusion laws written into its constitution. The exclusion laws were not removed until 2002, after one of a series of campaigns led by people of color to expunge them. Even then, 28% of voters opposed the measure to clear the language (Wilson, 2017). Redlining was a prevalent practice in Portland, like many cities across the country, and thus people of color were often confined to living in only specific neighborhoods. Adding contemporary waves of gentrification, the net effect has been the creation of the whitest major city in the U.S. (Wilson, 2017). This brief historical context serves as the backdrop to the city's seemingly post-racial, colorblind consciousness that is materially displayed in discriminatory employment and housing data, and throughout its education system (Schmidt, 2015). More could be said about PCC—as both situated in and a microcosm of—Oregon's racist past and present and the pervasive colorblind consciousness that characterizes local Portland culture.

A recent assessment conducted by the college offers a snapshot of PCC's campus climate (Davis & Smith, 2015). In a 2015 campus climate report, student survey data was used to identify three key themes: (a) marginalization, isolation, and discrimination based on race, age, religious affiliation, disability status, and sexual orientation; (b) perceptions of an unwelcoming climate for those in the LGBTQ community; and (c) ineffectiveness

of institutional actions including administrative policies and campus initiatives regarding discrimination and harassment complaints. In addition, the report stated, "Students of color across all campuses repeated described experiencing microaggressions from peers and faculty during class and in other social spaces around campus" (p. 36). It is interesting to note that in spite of these findings, PCC has been the recipient of several diversity and equity awards. For example, acknowledged by The Association of Community College Trustees, PCC was awarded the 2007 National Equity Award and most recently, the 2018 Pacific Regional Equity Member Award.

CRT at PCC

In 2014, Portland Community College's (PCC) Board of Directors approved a strategic vision for the college that has since become a guide for planning and action. The strategic plan outlines institutional values and goals including an innovative approach to diversity, equity, and inclusion—to apply CRT, as a "systems analysis" to examine and dismantle systems of inequality at the college. Since 2014, PCC has deployed various ways to understand and apply CRT as an approach to equity and inclusion, most recently the 2017 equity initiative, *CRT in Institutional Facilities Planning*.

Campus Facilities Planning

In November 2017, voters passed a bill to award PCC with $185 million to improve and update physical and technological infrastructure in several targeted areas. This was not the first bond PCC received. Nearly 10 years earlier, PCC won a $344 million bond for construction projects on several campuses (Theen, 2017). Voters have historically supported PCC's request for bonds to expand infrastructure and programs.

Interestingly, the 2017 voters' pamphlet featured three key arguments in opposition of PCC's most recent bond measure. The opposition critiqued PCC's designation as a sanctuary campus, the college's emphasis on cultural diversity, and a 2016 CRT initiative, Whiteness History Month, a month-long interdisciplinary series of programs that explored the role of whiteness in maintaining racism and white supremacy (Theen, 2017).

Historically, development of PCC's facilities has been approached as growth needs dictate. However, a 2015 accreditation visit to PCC opened up the opportunity to launch a college-wide integrated planning process (Chester, 2018). This was PCC's first ever attempt at conducting a system-wide planning process to meet both accreditation needs and to align facilities planning to PCC's Strategic Plan, which seeks to ignite a culture of innovation, achieve operational excellence, and support diversity, equity, and inclusion (Chester, 2018). Part of the facilities plan is to use CRT to explore under-examined facets of space at PCC.

Description of Participants

In this study my population was PCC students of color and *institutional stakeholders* (campus planners, architects, college administrators, and staff). I recruited students of color through a comprehensive two-month college-wide outreach effort. As a former employee still involved in various paid and unpaid projects with the college, I have history and existing relationships with PCC community members. This proved invaluable in my outreach and recruitment efforts.

Since I had to recruit student participants from 3,000 miles away I created a flyer (see Appendix A), website, and an online interest form (see Appendix B). The challenge of explaining the purpose of the project in an accessible way prompted me to create a "catchy" name and produce a short informational video. I named the PAR project of the larger facility planning initiative *Space Matters*. I spent a couple of weeks on site in Portland conducting meetings with resource center coordinators and faculty members who taught courses associated with PCC's social justice certificate, asking them to identify and recommend students. I was authorized to send emails through PCC's listservs, enabling me to outreach directly to students who had indicated they were "of color" on their enrollment application. Of the nearly 60 interest forms submitted online, I selected a cohort of 25 students of color from across PCC's four campuses.

Most stakeholders who became involved in this study were already serving on PCC's Facilities Planning Steering Committee and/or project work groups, which provided technical resources to targeted areas including: space utilization, facilities, safety and security, transportation and parking, information technology, ADA, and sustainability. Stakeholder participants understood from the beginning this project was not just a college initiative but also part of my dissertation study. I collected data as part of every aspect of the larger project and audio recorded all project activity that was feasible. In addition, many stakeholders agreed to participate in focus groups and interviews for the sole purpose of my study.

Data Collection Methods

I used a set of diverse research methods to collect data for my ethnographic and PAR study on how applied CRT can help to reveal the ways in which educational settings and spaces reproduce dominant ideologies and, at the same time, how systemic and structural changes can lead to racial equity. A primary data source for this study was audio recordings. I recorded all interviews, focus groups, praxis-oriented dialogue sessions, facilities planning meetings, workshops, and other project activities and strategically transcribed these recordings for analysis.

As principal investigator and a participant observer, I maintained personal written and audio journals to track and document observations, experiences, insights, and questions (see Appendix C). I conducted five 1–2-hour semi-structured interviews (see Appendix D) with stakeholders who served on the PCC facilities planning and design teams and were actively involved in the CRT initiative. I used these interviews to learn about stakeholders' perceptions of CRT as a tool for facilities planning in service to equity and inclusion at PCC.

I conducted two 2-hour focus groups (see Appendix E) with 8–10 institutional stakeholders (per focus group) who were serving as members of PCC's facilities planning and design team. I recruited focus group participants through an email using college listservs for those who engaged in the Faculty/Staff Workshop, members of facilities planning work groups, and members of the facilities planning steering committee and used these focus groups to learn more about their experiences and perceptions of applied critical race spatial analysis regarding PCC facilities planning and design. In addition to

focus groups, I conducted four 90-minute praxis-oriented dialogue sessions (see Appendix F) with facilities planning workgroups on the following topics: sustainability, transportation, informational technologies (IT), and facilities management. I designed these dialogues sessions to support stakeholders in exploring "practical" applications of CRT to specific areas of work in facilities planning.

Space Matters: A PAR Project for PCC Students of Color

Space Matters was the name of the "student voice and engagement project" of the larger CRT in facility planning initiative. *Space Matters* began as a five-week project during the 2018 winter term. I invited PCC students of color to participate in what I estimated to involve about a 40-hour commitment. I asked the students I selected for the winter term project to (a) participate in three day-long workshops, (b) conduct activities in between workshops to further campus-based inquiry projects (e.g., taking photos, making maps, talking to peers, conducting research), and (c) present inquiry findings, insights, and recommendations to institutional stakeholders. PCC provided student participants with $200 gift cards as an incentive for completing the project.

As a result of the outreach effort, 58 students of color submitted interest forms through the online website. Ultimately, I invited 25 students to participate. Interest forms asked students to share their "home campus," racial/ethnic identity, gender identity, and "other identities that were significant to their lived experience." Of the 25 students in the final group, 8 identified as African American/Black; 10 as Latino/a, 3 as biracial, 3 as Asian, and 1 as Somali. Fifteen identified as first-generation college students. Sixteen students identified as female, 9 identified as male. Three students identified as veterans, 2

identified as a person with a disability, and 3 students identified as members of the LGBTQ community.

I invited students who completed the winter term project to participate in a second iteration of *Space Matters* during the summer term that same year. Where the winter project was an exploration of college space, the summer term was targeted to examine three distinct campus spaces. In invited students to participate in a 10-week inquiry effort to conduct a critical race spatial analysis of a campus learning garden, a new space for campus resources, and an academic building slated for renovations. Twelve "graduates" of the winter-term project participated in the summer-term project. Students received $12 an hour for 10–15 hours of work a week paid by the college.

I collected data for this PAR project through various research methods. Audio and video recordings were the primary source of data. I audio recorded all PAR meetings and activities and transcribed these for analysis. I also captured some video footage, specifically the two culminating events, in which students shared findings and recommendations with institutional stakeholders. I analyzed a large volume of project documents generated through the student cohort's inquiry work. Documents include: survey designs, student-generated approaches to data analysis, drafts of outreach plans, presentation outlines, and other notes maintained throughout the process.

Student participants each maintained project journals and spatial field notes throughout their efforts. They wrote journal entries during workshop sessions and planning meetings. They used spatial field notes to collect data on their individual socio-spatial perceptions of PCC space. A tool inspired by visual research methods, I also used

photographs as a means to explore space (Banning et al., 2008). As part of their spatial field notes, I invited students to catalogue observations of college space with pictures and brief narratives that explained why the space was personally "noteworthy." I used a website that served as a portal to house and track data for students to upload these spatial fieldnotes.

In this project, I asked the student cohort to "read" specific PCC spaces through CRSA in order to learn about how college space potentially functions to normalize racial hierarchies. Reading space (see Appendix G) served as a research method and tool. Three texts inspired my design of the research tool I employed to support students in conducting a systematic reading of space: Lefebvre's (1991) spatial triad, Bailey et al.'s (2012) space bingo, and Costello's (2001) socializing space. Students spent hours—individually and in small groups—"reading" the campus learning garden, the new space for campus resources, and academic buildings. They took extensive notes and pictures during these "readings" while they engaged in individual and collective critical race spatial analysis of targeted college space. These "readings" provided written and visual data that they uploaded to a website portal I created.

Data Analysis Strategies

Data analysis involves developing a systematic way to organize "what you have seen, heard, and read so you can figure out what you have learned and make sense of what you have experienced" (Glesne, 2016, p. 183). Coding is one approach used by qualitative researchers to identify patterns, themes, and relationships that can then be used to develop explanations and make meaning from information collected to

investigate a research question (Glesne, 2016; Hatch, 2002). A pattern can be characterized by such things as similarity, difference, frequency, sequence, correspondence, or causation (Hatch, 2002, p. 155).

I conducted three cycles of coding for each of the three analysis chapters. In preparation for coding the materials I drew on for each chapter, I determined a list of data to be analyzed. I then catalogued each data unit (as interview, focus group, or audio transcript of a meeting, other), the subjects (as stakeholders, student cohort, or both), and the nature of the data (as workgroup meeting to discuss applied critical race spatial analysis to parking, planning meeting with cohort to design student survey, other). This helped me to organize and contextualize the voluminous data I analyzed to support each analysis chapter.

After I catalogued the data, I coded each data source. “A code is a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 3). During the first cycle I began by coding for general patterns that emerged from “first impressions” using primarily In Vivo coding (direct quotes) to maintain the language of participants (Saldaña, 2009). I then collapsed codes into categories. Finally, I analyzed categories to identify key themes related to the research questions that drive this project.

I employed analytic memos to document and reflect on the process and findings. In these analytic memos, I noted my thinking about participants, phenomenon, and the overall process of coding (Saldaña, 2009). I maintained analytic memos for each cycle.

This practice also supported reflexivity as I documented what I was doing, what it yielded, and what I thought about both.

For the second and third cycles, I coded with some categories and questions in mind. I considered codes that reflected the literature in which this study is situated. For example, I used codes like: the hidden curriculum, whiteness, dominant narratives, and socio-spatial perceptions. I also considered the following questions as a "filter" to code my data:

- How do participants experience CRT? Foregrounding race?
- How do participants experience CRT as a tool to examine college space? Foregrounding race in a study of space?
- How does college space function as a mechanism of socialization? Communicate dominant narratives that normalize racial and other social hierarchies?
- What are participants' perceptions and experiences in college space?
- What are spatial practices?
- What or where are the opportunities for disrupting and transforming college space in service to equity and inclusion?
- How might positionality (social identities) and role (relationship to PCC) be relevant to patterns?
- What else is emerging?

Through analytic memos for the second and third cycle, I continued to document the analysis process and emerging patterns, while also referring back to the guiding questions that drive this study. After the third cycle I analyzed across the codes, categories and

themes within each analysis chapter to determine relevant themes that answered the research questions. I also identified what was unanswered and what remains to be explored.

Trustworthiness

In an effort to conduct a trustworthy study, I employed three strategies commonly associated with qualitative research: triangulation, member checking, and audit trail (Creswell, 2009; Glesne, 2016). Triangulation entails using multiple data-collection methods, multiple sources, and multiple investigators (Glesne, 2016). Examining data derived from several sources serves to build a more coherent rationale and foundation for the themes that I identify through the process of coding and analysis (Creswell, 2009). In my study, I collected a large volume of data from recorded interviews, focus groups, training and workgroup sessions, planning meetings, photographs, institutional documents, and a student PAR project. A cross analysis of multiple data-collection methods including participant observation, assisted in the coding of themes and helped me to identify key ideas in the different pieces of data, adding richness and validity to my analysis. In addition, working with PCC students of color as co-researchers offered me a unique opportunity to analyze themes and interpret findings through multiple perspectives and positionalities achieved through "investigator triangulation" (Creswell, 2009).

Member checking is a strategy in which transcripts or drafts of chapters are shared with participants to create opportunities for feedback and interpretation (Creswell, 2009; Glesne, 2016). This approach to trustworthiness is particularly relevant to this

study given the collaborative nature of this project and my relationships to members of the PCC community.

In the fall of 2019, I organized two 2-hour member check gatherings, one with student participants in *Space Matters* and one with key PCC stakeholders. During both sessions, I presented key findings addressed in Chapters IV, V, and VI, along with some quotes from my data. I encouraged and facilitated an open discussion on the initial findings, inviting impressions, questions, concerns, and other relevant feedback. Overall students and stakeholders affirmed my findings and insights as relevant, meaningful, and reflective of a shared learning experience. These gatherings not only supported the validity of my findings, but also contributed to trust and trustworthiness in my relationships with participants. Feedback generated in these discussions also help me to clarify some of my initial insights.

As an example of conversations that occurred during these member-checking sessions, during the session with student co-researchers, we had a lengthy discussion about my use of “I” and “we” in Chapters V and VI and the implications of voice in relation to findings. My focus in Chapter V is an analysis of data collected at the beginning of the project related to students’ own stories of navigating PCC space. This includes an analysis of students' journals, spatial field notes (documenting their perceptions and experiences of college space), and recorded discussions among participants. In this regard, students were “the subject” of my research on students’ perceptions of college space. After the first month of storytelling, dialogue, and training, students’ role changed from “participant” to co-researcher. No longer just sharing their

stories, but also working with me as co-researchers for the next few months to learn the experiences and perceptions of others. Chapter VI reflects an analysis of the collaborative work "we" did together to outreach and investigate other PCC students' perceptions of college space. Through this discussion, students came to feel more ownership over the key findings described in my dissertation—both how their personal and collective experiences generate key insights as well as how their leadership informed new directions for stakeholders. These distinctions were clarifying and helped to illuminate nuances to PAR that had not been as apparent to me from the onset of this project.

In the other session, stakeholders expressed great appreciation for the culminating insights of an institutional effort to introduce a critical lens to planning and design. We collectively reminisced about where we "started" and what we had learned in the process, noting the exploratory nature of the initiative was the "right" approach. The highlight was hearing from students and yet, authentic engagement activities continued to be discussed as a barrier. There was a strong interest, for example, to get PCC to offer CRT courses for students. According to stakeholders, these kinds of courses would make it easier for planners and architects to identify and engage students in planning and design activities. In this discussion, stakeholders shifted attention away from acknowledging *new* practices in planning (presented by our research team) and instead appeared to return to more traditional aspirations to streamline and standardize student engagement. Reminiscent of a "quick fix" approach, dominant narratives of time and limited resources persist.

The third trustworthiness strategy I used was an audit trail. Creating an audit trail is an approach to saving and organizing documents that serves as a record of a research

process (Glesne, 2016). This strategy was particularly important given the large volume of data, the multiple data sources, and collaborative efforts I employed in this study. For each analysis chapter, I compiled and organized data by the following categories: my written and audio journals as a participant observer, journals and spatial field notes maintained by the student cohort, and transcripts from recordings of activities (interviews, focus groups, meetings, dialogue sessions) with stakeholders and PAR activities. Then, for each data source I maintained a log outlining the steps I took to code, identify themes, analyze findings, and interpret meaning. I maintained a notebook for each chapter that listed the data collected and the steps I took as a record of my research process. Through triangulation, member checking, and an audit trail, I was able to pay closer attention to the quality and rigor of my study and add to the trustworthiness of my findings.

Conclusion

In the next three chapters, I analyze the data I collected. Organized into three broad themes, I use these data analysis chapters to help answer the research questions that drove this study. In Chapter IV, I examine how stakeholders perceived CRT as a lens to expose institutional practices and dimensions of college space that function to reproduce racial inequities and the status quo. In this chapter, I also explore stakeholders' perceptions of institutional change at PCC—their ideas about what it takes and an assessment of what gets in the way of advancing equity in planning and design. In Chapter V, I explore the socio-spatial stories, experiences, and insights of students navigating college space. In this chapter, I offer an analysis of commonalities among

students' experiences as a means to illuminate socio-spatial features of white- and elite-space. I also examine how student participants perceived CRT and spatial theory as a lens to explore and understand their own socio-spatial experiences as students of color. In Chapter VI, I analyze the collaborative work developed and coordinated by myself and student co-researchers. I describe how applied CRT and spatial theory helped our research team to identify practical and strategic direction for facilities planning and college space in service to equity and inclusion. I analyze data generated through my work with student co-researchers in *Space Matters* over nine months and suggest these insights can help us to develop new approaches to designing space that disrupt colorblind, space-neutral, binary, and exclusionary practices in campus planning and design. Together these three data analysis chapters inform the discussion chapter, in which I conclude with key findings and implications of this study.

CHAPTER IV

STAKEHOLDERS AND INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES IN PLANNING AND DESIGN

At the time in which the CRT initiative began, PCC was already one year into a college-wide integrated planning process to provide a comprehensive framework for assessing the campus environment and linking future capital and maintenance needs with PCC's strategic vision. This was PCC's first ever attempt to conduct a large-scale, college-wide integrated planning effort. It brought together personnel from facilities, instruction, student development, and information technology (IT) and was managed through PCC's office of Planning and Capital Construction. These often disparate departments were now aligned to strategic initiatives outlined by the PCC Board of Directors, including advancing equity and inclusion through critical race theory. It is important to note that PCC was already committed to issues of equity and inclusion, and this project was part of ongoing efforts to institute those commitments. In fact, two other CRT district-wide projects had emerged as social justice strategies since the Board's plan had been adopted in 2015.

Prior to this CRT initiative, the primary approach utilized by stakeholders in facilities planning was Universal Design (UD), a framework for making material objects and built environments safe and accessible for all users, especially people with a range of disabilities. After several months, a few members of the steering committee—deans in

instruction and student development—pushed for CRT to be integrated into the planning process, not simply UD, and thus CRT was centered in the request for proposals (RFP). In responding to the RFP, I presented CRT combined with spatial theory as an integrated framework to examine both PCC's built environment and the planning processes employed by educational leaders and facilities staff. I combined trainings, dialogues, pedagogical activities, research, and other resources to support stakeholders in learning and practicing CRT within the scope of the project.

In this chapter, I examine data collected from my work with stakeholders. In this study, I use stakeholders to refer to college administrators, managers, staff, campus planners, and architects, almost all of whom were serving on one of three leadership groups. I use the terms stakeholder and participant interchangeably throughout this chapter. I analyze how community college stakeholders involved in facilities planning perceived CRT as an equity lens to align college space and institutional planning to strategic goals for inclusion. I argue CRT integrated with spatial theory offers a practical and strategic lens to expose and examine ways college space and planning practices function to teach dominant narratives, normalize racial hierarchies, and reproduce the status quo in education. In the rest of the chapter, I discuss my strategy for data collection and analysis as well as key findings in my work with stakeholders.

Participants

Stakeholders in my study were already involved in facilities planning at Portland Community College (PCC) when the CRT initiative began. The leadership was organized into a three-tier structure comprised of a district-wide task force, a steering committee,

and seven workgroups dedicated to the following areas: space utilization, facilities condition assessment, capital projects, safety and security, transportation and parking, information technologies (IT), American Disabilities Act (ADA), and sustainability. Most stakeholders were PCC employees; non-PCC employees were associated with partnering architecture firms or contractors. Many PCC leaders had previously participated in at least one social justice training provided through PCC's Office of Equity and Inclusion. Most stakeholders identified as white and understood from the beginning this project was not just a college initiative but also part of a dissertation. Many agreed to participate in focus groups and interviews for the sole purpose of my study.

Data Collection and Analysis Strategies

Over the course of four months, I designed and facilitated a set of project and pedagogical activities to support stakeholders in understanding and applying critical race spatial theory in facilities planning. I collected data as part of every aspect of the larger project and audio recorded all activities and meetings that were feasible. I collected data on the following project activities: a daylong training, two focus groups, eight "praxis-oriented dialogue sessions," two 90-minute meetings with college administrators, and dozens of "check-in" meetings with key project managers.

I launched the project by offering a daylong training for 50 stakeholders. Through a series of small and large group interactive activities, I introduced participants to a set of theoretical tenets that framed a critical race spatial lens. I then provided them with opportunities to practice "engaging this lens" to reflect on their own socio-spatial perceptions by analyzing images of everyday spaces like grocery stores, gated

communities, bathrooms, neighborhoods, and classrooms. I posed questions for reflection such as, What does this space communicate? What are potential hidden socializing messages communicated through the built environment? How might this space function to teach dominant narratives? How might this space function to normalize racial and other social hierarchies? Participants were given homework—to take "spatial field notes." That is, to identify and take pictures of "hidden" messages communicated through the built environment of PCC and local community space while traversing their weekly routines. I created a website link with a portal to upload photographs and analytic notes on perceived transmitted messages. We used these images as cultural artifacts in our ongoing exploration of race and space at PCC.

I ended the workshop with an extensive debrief and discussion about the possibilities and limitations of a critical race spatial lens in facilities planning. I took extensive notes which are part of the data I analyzed for this chapter. I also invited workshop participants to take part in my study by participating in focus groups aimed to learn about stakeholder perceptions and experiences of CRT in facilities planning as a means for institutional change. Within two months of the daylong training, I conducted two 2-hour focus groups with stakeholders.

For the next several months, I facilitated eight "praxis-oriented dialogue sessions"—five with facilities planning workgroups including: facilities condition assessment, safety and security, transportation and parking, information technologies (IT), and sustainability; and three with partnering architecture firms. I designed pedagogical exercises as part of these dialogue sessions as a means to support

stakeholders in exploring "practical" applications of CRT as a lens to reveal and explore equity issues. I used dialogue sessions to clarify critical race spatial theory, to deepen stakeholders' understanding of the integrated framework, and to explore possibilities for future work.

I developed two pedagogical exercises for dialogue sessions: an Inquiry Framework and Space Cards. For the Inquiry Framework, I aligned tenets of a critical race spatial lens to questions as a guide for facilities inquiry. These questions included: How is racism/white supremacy embedded in PCC space? How might PCC space explicitly/implicitly ignore, neglect, or exclude communities of color? How are diverse cultures reflected in PCC space? I invited workgroups to engage these questions as entry points into deeper discussions about race and space and to inspire new inquiry questions.

The second pedagogical exercise involved Space Cards that I created to uncover and explore participants socio-spatial perceptions of built environments. These Space Cards are similar to flashcards, except one side has images and one side has words. In using the word side, I asked people to recall and discuss spaces at PCC and in Portland that came to mind when distinct categories were named like: inclusive, elite, inaccessible, or white. Once spaces were identified participants were invited to share why those spaces came to mind. In using the image side, I asked people to identify and examine socializing messages communicated in built environments. In particular, I asked participants to identify messages about race, class, gender, authority, or dominant values within the images. Once messages were identified, participants were invited to share their analysis. These exercises invited storytelling and dialogue and served as entry points into deeper

discussions on identity, positionality, and dominant culture. Both sides of the cards aimed to initiate dialogue, to invite storytelling, and to heighten critical awareness on how space matters.

In addition to project activities and focus groups, I conducted two 90-minute meetings with college administrators which I recorded as part of the data collection—one meeting with the Director of the Office of Equity and Inclusion and one meeting with PCC Sylvania campus Division Deans. These meetings were designed to provide college leaders with project updates and support collaboration among equity initiatives. None of the administrators I interviewed served on the facilities planning teams. As a participant observer in this study, I maintained written and audio journals to document my own experiences, insights, and reflections throughout conducting an ethnographic study of this project.

To organize and align the data according to the guiding research questions that drive this study, I created a conceptual framework comprised of three inquiry areas: (a) perceptions of institutional practices that function to reproduce and maintain racial and other social inequities in education, (b) perceptions of CRT and spatial theory as an equity lens for facilities planning, and (c) perceptions of institutional change at PCC.

Drawing on systematically documented, recorded, and transcribed data from all the data sources I just described, I conducted three cycles of coding. During the first cycle I listened to recordings while reading transcripts. I began by coding for general patterns that emerged from my "first impressions." I then clustered direct quotes and stories that seemed related and that demonstrated patterns. I then coded the emergent

patterns. I did this exercise twice for each recording. For the third cycle I collapsed the codes into categories and analyzed the categories as a means to identify significant themes related to the research questions. In the next section I will discuss the key findings in this chapter related to stakeholders' perceptions about the value and usefulness of CRT in facilities planning.

Key Findings

In this section I share findings from an analysis of the data I collected during my four months of work with stakeholders. I begin by discussing how some stakeholders perceived this project to illuminate the ways in which leaders entered into critical race spatial praxis. These initial perceptions and reactions to the CRT in facilities planning initiative offer some context to my key findings. I organize my analysis of stakeholders' perceptions into four key themes: (a) CRSL as a means to expose interest convergence, (b) the hidden curriculum in institutional planning and design, (c) CRSL as an equity tool for planning and design, and (d) institutional change at PCC. I argue CRSL offers a practical and strategic framework for exposing and transforming under-examined, and often "hidden," mechanisms of social reproduction in educational settings.

Initial perceptions and reactions to CRT in facilities planning offer some context to the key findings in this chapter. Stakeholders represented different college "divisions"—academic and instruction, student development, and facilities. Leaders in these roles had different relationships to equity and space and therefore entered into this project in distinct ways that are relevant to understanding a college wide effort to advance equity and inclusion. I begin this section by discussing how some stakeholders perceived

this project at the beginning of the initiative as a way to illuminate the ways in which leaders entered into critical race spatial praxis. In these next sections, I share findings from my analysis of data I collected through my work with stakeholders.

Entering into the project, "Initial perceptions of CRT in Facilities Planning," stakeholders represented different college "divisions"—academic and instruction, student development, and facilities. Leaders in these roles had different relationships to equity and space and therefore entered into this project in distinct ways that are relevant to understanding a college wide effort to advance equity and inclusion. CRT, equity, and inclusion were not new lenses to college leaders working in academic and student development programs; they had been part of strategic planning for at least three years. Because many leaders already had a working understanding of CRT, it was not too difficult to introduce the added dimension of spatial theory. In fact, several participants who worked in student development confessed that a spatial lens made CRT more accessible than CRT was on its own. "Finally, something practical we can actually talk about," said one student leadership manager, "I have been asking for more concrete ways to talk about CRT forever and space is perfect."

In contrast, CRT was new to most facilities personnel, architects, and planners. One planner recounted, "At first I didn't know what CRT was until I got a phone call from Robin at PCC who asked me, 'have you heard of CRT?' Of course, I hadn't and so I had to Google it." In fact, what became the running joke over the four-month initiative was the confusion about CRT among architects. One project manager shared, "I really

had no idea what CRT was. I mentioned it to architects and they all thought CRT was a type of lumber. So, it's a real new concept for facilities work."

Beyond the lens, the dialogue that using a CRT lens invited was also new for facilities stakeholders. "People I work with," explained one planner, "are not used to this kind of conversation, talking about race, and some even question why race is an issue in design." One facilities manager shared,

> In my department, I deal with a lot of resistance to the concept of critical race theory—just recognizing white supremacy and racism as being everywhere is the argument I wind up having with people, not anything about how to move forward.

A project manager confessed concerns about the office of Planning and Capital Construction even engaging in CRT training and application. "When we first talked about the scope of work in this initiative, I was really nervous about introducing CRT training. Like, who is the office of Planning and Capital Construction to train on CRT? That's not our place."

There was also some confusion between CRT and Universal Design (UD), a common framework in planning that was already widely acknowledged as an equity tool for PCC's facilities plan. Several stakeholders believed CRT was UD because of its shared commitment to access. "Isn't Universal Design the same thing as CRT?" questioned one stakeholder at a dialogue session. "Universal Design is making space accessible to everyone, no matter what your race." The notion of "universal" was perceived to account for and address issues of race.

Unlike CRT, stakeholders did not perceive UD to possess a theoretical framework. The "T" in CRT created some initial pushback. One campus planner explained:

> We're really trying to advance our thinking beyond Universal Design and look at more social equity. It was suggested that we include CRT in facilities planning work. We initially thought, what the hell is CRT, how are we gonna do this? I kept hearing it was a theory and I am like, what am I going to do with theory and prioritizing roofs?

Throughout project activities, the starting point for many stakeholders was distinguishing between CRT and UD; these participants commonly perceived Universal Design a framework for "everyone" and CRT only for people of color. These reactions help illuminate the importance of entry points—that is how stakeholders enter into critical analysis and social change given their institutional roles. These initial reactions to a critical race spatial lens (CRSL) offer context for the key themes of my data analysis.

CRSL as a Means to Expose Interest Convergence

From the beginning of this project, participants understood CRT in facilities planning was an innovative, "cutting edge" strategy for educational equity—not only at PCC, but at any community college in the nation. Quickly, PCC as "trailblazer" became a narrative intricately linked to this project. In every training, focus group, or dialogue session this claim would be reiterated. Over the four months in which I worked with stakeholders, they often shared with me that college leaders were talking about the fact that "nobody else was doing this work." Board members and administrators communicated this narrative in various spaces—internally and externally—as a means to

demonstrate how PCC was working to fulfill its commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion.

This claim about being a trailblazer served many functions in my own effort to deploy CRT as a means to institutional change. I used it to introduce the project and inspire enthusiasm among facilities stakeholders, a community I perceived to potentially resist discussions about race and racism. I was not the only one who perceived this community at PCC as a potential challenge. Facilities Management Services (FMS), which includes maintenance and custodial personnel, had a reputation for being “a racist department.” When word got out about the possibility of an equity initiative foregrounding race and space, some anticipated resistance from FMS and other facilities stakeholders. I remember several of my colleagues “wishing me luck” with what they perceived to be “a difficult group to reach,” and the “people least willing to engage in discussions about race.”

I repeated this narrative to justify a strategy to explore rather than “fix” spatial dimensions of inequity and to rationalize the methodology of dialogue, inquiry, and practice over the sought-after silver bullet. “Never been done before” became a way for me and other project leaders to address common frustrations expressed by participants who expected measurable outcomes, success stories, or a ready-made checklist of what to do. “The first community college in the country” proved to be a viable frame to facilitate engagement and buy-in by some reluctant stakeholders who were encouraged by the rhetoric of “innovation.”

This narrative also functioned in part to maintain the status quo. That this CRT initiative was promoted as "cutting edge" was not always trusted as evidence of the college's commitment to equity. In fact, more critical stakeholders suspected this narrative instead to serve as a means to inflate institutional ego and demonstrate an unduly self-congratulatory disposition. This perception is demonstrated by a college administrator who shared her concern in a one-on-one meeting:

> I'm hearing a lot of messaging around how we're the only community college in the nation that's applying CRT into the facilities plan. At some point my fear is that we will lose the actual intent, that it will be more performative, just a talking point, or co-opted and it will not really change the way we do business and that is the antithesis of CRT. If we are going to engage CRT, it has to be authentic and grounded in what CRT is demanding of us, not sliding into a performative display of CRT. We've experienced this before when we did Whiteness History Month*. I was constantly fighting against this kind of cooptation. Once it became good and once it became national news, then the college tried to co-opt it. I had to get the leadership to understand—this is not what CRT looks like in practice—it's not just theory.

Other stakeholders shared this critical perception of PCC. One architect confessed he heard through the "grapevine" that the Board voted for CRT, "but didn't actually understand it." One manager charged the college leadership with "just wanting to check the box." He explains:

> We like to talk a good game, but we don't like to play a good game. We like to talk about CRT and I think there are individuals that think CRT is important, but when it comes to actual implementation or use, it continues to fall short. We like to say to our peers, hey PSU, look we're applying CRT to our facilities plan; it's great. But when you get down to the nuts and bolts of it at the top level where it needs to be, it's not there. It's like, well we built this whole great thing around CRT, but we're just going to check the box and go on instead of making it the core foundation. The college, the board, the president—has to decide how

important it really is and if it's important, but the actions are implicit in saying that it is not important, we're never going to get there.

As a former PCC employee whose work was directly linked to diversity, equity, and inclusion, I understood and shared these critiques and concerns. I myself left PCC in part because of the racial climate. Internally, PCC had often been characterized as colorblind and it was well known for failing to diversify faculty, for example. The college had a track record of ignoring racial microaggressions, co-opting diversity initiatives, underfunding multicultural programming, and muting the voices of faculty, staff, and students of color. Despite PCC reputation from many insiders, particularly people of color, the college was perceived externally as innovative and outstanding in the area of equity and inclusion. In fact, PCC was a recipient of the 2018 Pacific Regional Equity Member Award by the Association of Community College Trustees (ACCT) Board of Directors.

In a research journal I maintained during the study, I dedicated several entries to reflections on the conflict I experienced when realizing the narrative I had come to value in my work was potentially contributing to PCC's history and practice of racial window dressing. PCC as trailblazer in equity and inclusion was a narrative best understood through the CRT tenet of interest convergence. That is, the argument that the interests of people of color in achieving racial equity will be actualized only when it converges with the interest of the white dominant group. A critical race spatial lens as reflective of interest convergence helped me to make sense of PCC's conflicting identity and often contradictory practices. The college's strategic goal "to create a nationally renowned

culture of diversity, equity, and inclusion" through projects like CRT in facilities planning was perceived by many stakeholders to benefit the status quo more than achieve racial equity. Touted as an innovative initiative and evidence of an institutional commitment to racial equity, PCC's track record and racial climate generated significant doubt that this initiative would be any different than previous "cutting edge" equity projects that often functioned to reproduce whiteness rather than disrupt it.

A leeriness of the tendency of college leaders to co-opt and manipulate racial justice initiatives for institutional window dressing was a key finding in this study. While stakeholders did not invoke interest convergence explicitly, a critical race spatial lens offers a framework to interpret their expressed perceptions and concerns. My analysis of the findings in this study suggests dimensions of interest convergence expands beyond the confluence of agendas. Using the lens of interest convergence can help us to see the potential costs and consequences of critical initiatives adopted, promoted, and managed by institutional leaders who largely work in service to maintain the status quo. In Chapter VII, I will revisit this theme of interest convergence and the implications for institutional change.

The Hidden Curriculum in Institutional Planning and Design

The second theme I identified in my data analysis was a hidden curriculum, that is, overlooked or concealed practices and dominant narratives that act to maintain and normalize structural inequities within the institution. CRT and spatial theory offered stakeholders a lens to expose and explore inconspicuous practices in planning and design at PCC. Elements of the hidden curriculum were described by participants as "CRT

issues." Issue identification is an essential practice and necessary first step to institutional change. As a former community organizer, I was trained through an Alinsky model to distinguish between problems and issues. Problems were broad and within all institutions; problems were racism, sexism, and classism, for example. Issues, however, were local and existed within a single institution; issues were laws, policies, and practices that maintained and reproduced social problems. It was a useful distinction when strategizing to develop action plans for local change. Issues were entry points for realistic, winnable, and practical change that would be widely felt by people most affected by social problems. We believed organizing issues-campaigns targeted institutionalized inequities and served as a strategy for "getting at" larger social problems. It is with this understanding that I use the word issue in this section—not just as a label to organize a key theme in my findings, rather to acknowledge institutional practices that offer real possibilities for action and opportunities for change.

A critical race spatial lens supported stakeholders to identify issues of racial and other social inequities embedded in institutional practices. These issues can be understood as the hidden curriculum. Stakeholders often expanded issue identification to include naming commonly accepted narratives perceived to justify, rationalize, and normalize institutional practices, decisions, and policies. In focus groups and workgroup dialogue sessions, participants frequently shared examples of particular spaces they perceived to be "best addressed by CRT." Often referred to as "clear CRT issues," participants cited seven key spaces in which institutional practices—often masked by distinct dominant narratives—were perceived to reproduce inequities: (a) campus public

safety offices, (b) bathrooms, (c) classrooms, (d) art, (e) transportation, (f) technology, and (g) decision making.

Campus Public Safety Offices

One of the most cited spaces related to issues of equity and diversity was public safety offices. Perceived as a "perfect CRT issue," stakeholders described how institutional practices associated with PCC public safety offices reproduced racial inequities. In particular, they perceived practices associated with the built environment of PCC public safety offices to stigmatize and criminalize college services. Covered windows, bars on windows, locked doors, built barriers, and intercoms functioned to transmit negative messages about the role of public safety. One administrator suggested:

> We stick public safety behind big dark glass in which you have to speak through an intercom and don't even see the face of the person that you are talking to. This sends a message that public safety is bad when instead we should be making public safety more open. It's a service to the campus, not a paramilitary security operation.

At the time of this study, two campus public safety offices were scheduled for upcoming major renovations. In fact, a large portion of the recent voter-approved Bond money was dedicated to fund a brand-new public safety office at a PCC campus located in a historically African American neighborhood. This was also the only campus in which the Portland Police Department shared office space with PCC public safety. Stakeholders, particularly PCC leaders, acknowledged the historical and political tensions at the college regarding policing, racial profiling, and community accountability.

The small, inconspicuous, dilapidated office, originally built as a residence and later serving as a dentist's office, would undergo a $3 million renovation. Several participants expressed concern about the plan to establish a more prominent presence in an already distrusting and targeted community. The message was interpreted as "Policing is more important at PCC than the community." While stakeholders acknowledged the existing building did in fact need remodeling, they also perceived the new building to assert an old message about embedded racial bias at the college. "How do you design a public safety police building with CRT in mind?" posed one manager. "How do you make it welcoming in a community that is distrusting for good reason? How do you not make it a bastion of white men coming out to enforce the law?" Institutional practices and the subsequent built environment of public safety space was a pressing issue. Dominant narratives of "security" served to rationalize practices and spaces for "safety." A critical race spatial lens supported stakeholders to establish these links.

Bathrooms

Another commonly discussed space was bathrooms. A point of contention at PCC for nearly a decade, bathroom space was perceived by many stakeholders as "unwelcoming" and a clear example of an equity issue. Specifically, participants troubled institutional practices to exclusively build male and female designated bathrooms. For example, male and female locker rooms combined with "big open showers" were perceived to contribute to oppressive spaces for certain groups of PCC community members. "It's not welcoming to transgender people or people with disabilities," explained one manger. "We've had lots of policing in the male locker rooms, white males

policing people of color. We’ve also had policing of transgender people who don’t fit the ‘norm.’” While the college did build a “family changing room” on one campus specifically to accommodate people with disabilities and people who did not feel comfortable changing in binary bathrooms, there were still barriers to accessing that space. “You have to have a lifeguard on deck and you have to go through a pool classroom.” explained one staff person. “We try to keep it unlocked but sometimes depending on staff it gets locked. So, there’s all these barriers around that space. CRT could help us make it more inclusive and welcoming for our diverse students and staff.”

Beyond locker rooms, most of the bathrooms across the four college campuses were built as “binary space.” In recent years, bathrooms had become a largely contested space by student groups. When renovations took place on campuses students often demanded the construction of gender non-conforming bathrooms. On several occasions the college failed to respond to these demands. One campus planner recalled a recent incident:

> When it first came up, it was through student protest. Students had to push it hard and it still didn’t happen right away. From the design side, there was a lack of response. We couldn’t do it, because it was too late and the money wasn’t there and the space wasn’t there. Thinking back on it now, as a design team, there wasn’t the knowledge or education of what was needed to respond to students. And, I think we could potentially walk into that same thing again.

Several administrators confessed the dilemma of addressing bathroom issues particularly when many college administrators “higher up” were unresponsive and unwilling to challenge their own ideas of gender. One administrator in a focus group shared that a lack of response from college leaders made the issue of bathrooms more

difficult to discuss and thereby difficult to address. College leaders were perceived to "drag their feet" and "block dialogue" with students who were demanding non-binary bathrooms. "The decision was held at the hierarchical level of the Cabinet," explained one administrator, "and that's white hierarchy holding it. Meanwhile, students were really angry. So, you just had this dichotomy of conversation."

Participants used a critical race spatial lens to identify pervasive dominant narratives that served to rationalize decisions regarding bathroom space. Some leaders at PCC historically perceived multi-stall gender neutral bathrooms as "dangerous." One manager explained:

> This issue goes back many years from an earlier Bond project. Multi-stall gender neutral restrooms were talked about and it was in no way a decision that was made using a critical lens. It was a couple of people who were in charge of departments that determined that multi-stall gender neutral restrooms would be dangerous and would encourage people to do things they weren't supposed to be doing in bathrooms.

Institutional practices associated with PCC bathroom space was a pressing issue for many participants. Stakeholders felt that bureaucracy and hierarchical decision-making contributed to slow and limited action. Dominant narratives of "safety" and pervasive gender norms served to rationalize male and female designated spaces while enabling college leaders to avoid embedded institutional gender bias.

Classrooms

Another commonly identified space for reflecting on CRT among stakeholders was classrooms. In addition to classrooms, they also discussed laboratories as teaching and learning spaces. Stakeholders frequently acknowledged that the design of classrooms

lacked input from faculty and students, which limited the creation of more inclusive learning spaces. “Faculty are rarely included in the design of classroom space,” explained one dean. “Questions about pedagogy and student engagement are rarely asked by architects.” The lack of student voice was also identified as a barrier to creating inclusive classrooms. Stakeholders perceived this practice to limit the ways in which space could actually support teaching and learning. “We need to ask planners how students are being given a voice in designing classrooms,” shared one administrator. “This could be a way to help them [students] engage and connect with learning.”

Even when attempts were made to include the voices and ideas of students, stakeholders believed these attempts fell short by the lack of support to fully participate. One dean recounted a time in which students were invited to review design plans for the renovation of a new laboratory:

> Even though students were there, the architects still had a lot of power in the conversation because we didn’t know, most of us didn't have any idea how to understand the drawings. They could be explained to us, but the spatial relationships were really tough. And when we brought in students they didn’t know any better than the faculty or anyone else. So even when we are involved we don’t have the same lens as architects to be able to really understand the design.

Opportunities to participate and the availability of some training to engage in planning and design, were key issues identified by faculty and deans.

Participants felt that CRT was a useful lens to not only identify issues, but also to expose dominant narratives that function to rationalize planning practices and decision making. These narratives serve as rationales for decisions and priorities, including the

limited participation of students in planning for example. One dominant narrative to account for lack of engagement around campus planning was “budget constraints.” One administrator recalled, “We were told to watch the budget, and that’s often the reason or excuse we are given for standardizing classrooms and there's value in that, I appreciate that, but, I think it's helpful to have the student perspective even if it costs more money.”

Referred to as an “outdoor classroom,” another commonly cited learning space “best analyzed through CRT” was campus learning gardens. A project of the Office of Sustainability, stakeholders in the workgroup identified the lack of participation and engagement of students of color as an “equity issue.” In include further discussion on the learning garden in the next chapter because student leaders participating in the research cohort analyzed these gardens using critical race spatial lens.

In dialogue sessions with stakeholders, they agreed that CRT was an essential lens to further student inclusion efforts. Learning garden staff shared their concerted effort to make the campus learning garden more inclusive to students of color but acknowledged there were key barriers: a predominantly white leadership at the college and in the sustainability movement at large, as well as the historical and economic relationship between communities of color and the land including slavery and migrant work. Unlike classrooms, PCC staff had more flexibility in “place-making” in the garden space as compared to some other settings on campus. As such they wanted to understand better how to respond to students’ lack of participation. Students had commonly shared with staff that they perceived the sustainability movement and college sustainability projects, as “privileged” and “white.”

In one dialogue session, stakeholders presented questions they hoped to explore through a CRT lens to “get at” racial equity and inclusion:

> How do we address the legacy of whiteness in sustainability efforts? How does that play out at PCC? Where is it embedded in the infrastructure and garden spaces? Why do people of color, indigenous peoples, and first nations people not feel that they are welcomed in this space? What can we do to better facilitate that?

Limited practices of inclusion were associated with classroom space and perceived by stakeholders as a contributing factor in the design of “dominant” teaching and learning spaces. Classrooms were seen as less inclusive because key “users” of the space—that is faculty and students—were not involved in creating the space. Dominant narratives of money and budget constraints worked to impede and stifle more inclusive practices. Consequently, participants in the study argued that PCC classrooms, laboratories, and learning gardens reproduced racial inequities at the college.

Beyond commonly cited spaces and the institutional practices associated with those spaces, stakeholders frequently identified other facets of “facilities” as examples of inequity at PCC. Largely generated in workgroup dialogues, stakeholders discussed three additional concerns within the scope of facilities but delinked from space. These issues included: art, transportation, and technology.

Art

Participants identified art as “an issue for CRT” because of the ways in which some campuses were perceived to be “sterile” and “uninviting.” A campus Dean explained:

> Art is one area where we have some control over. The art we select and put on our walls and other types of art as well should reflect the diversity and multiple identities of our students. We want to apply CRT to help us with this effort.

Many of the resources that funded campus renovations at PCC were generated by voter elected bond money. One percent of all bond money was regulated to art. As such, committees were often assembled to select art for campuses and buildings.

Art at PCC had already been a contentious issue. There had been an installation piece purchased and displayed at the front entrance of a new campus student union. It was a long, thick heavy black rope that covered the entire entrance wall. Staff and students of color reported feeling “very triggered” by the art piece and complained to administrators it communicated “negative and hostile messages invoked by the significance of rope in slavery, bondage, and lynching.” The campus committee that selected the art reportedly did not include any people of color or student members. Stakeholders discussed how a critical race spatial lens would have been very helpful in the art selection processes at the college. The art piece remains in the student union today, despite the request by people of color at that campus to remove the piece.

During our dialogue sessions, there was much discussion of a “lack of diversity in art” as a pressing issue. Stakeholders explored the possibility of how art could “represent” PCC’s diverse communities. Distinctions between “showcasing,” “stereotyping,” and “celebrating” diversity often reflected grey areas that stakeholders perceived to matter when considering art in service to inclusion. While most agreed art could facilitate inclusion, stakeholders believed it was a significant challenge without employing a critical lens.

Transportation

In addition to art, stakeholders acknowledged transportation as an "access" issue for many community college students. CRT served to expand an understanding of access beyond the availability of viable transit options. This was most apparent in a discussion that took place in a workgroup regarding PCC's free shuttle service. Shuttles transport members of the PCC community between the campuses and college centers free of charge. Participants described transportation barriers as relating to "getting on and around PCC spaces"—that is, related to walking distance from the shuttle to a sidewalk, charging a user fee, or the use of an ID to access services. The lens of CRT led to a discussion about other under-acknowledged access related issues. "Students of color report hearing racist comments at PCC and some of these comments happen on the shuttles," explained one staff person. "So, if we think about safe spaces for students of color who are sometimes the only person of color not only in their classrooms, but also on the shuttle, then that becomes an access issue beyond distance and cost." CRT offered opportunities for stakeholders to consider underexamined dimensions of transportation. Stakeholders were able to acknowledge racial microaggressions as a transportation access issue and illuminated spatial dimensions to transit matters.

Technology

Finally, in dialogue with the IT workgroup, stakeholders identified several issues in the area of technology perceived to be "perfect for a CRT lens." Access to technology was one the most common issues identified. "We have a lot of students that come to campus and can't do their work," explained one staff person. "They either don't have the

technology except when they're on the campus or we don't allow them access to what they need when they're not here." Participants discussed a "digital divide" in terms of the ways in which some students were at an advantage over other students measured by their access to the necessary technology needed "to succeed." For example, some students own a smartphone and laptop, others do not and yet these students are sitting next to each other in the same class trying to be successful in their course work. Students without access to technology are at a disadvantage. "We should make it easy for those students to have access to programs or services that will allow a greater equity in leveraging technology," explained one staff person. "They're taking the same assignments and quizzes and tests and yet they're starting from two very different places."

While PCC made resources like laptops available to students, participants described the checkout process as "inflexible," "arduous," and "filled with red tape." Students are required to go through a process described as, "thick and heavy on the policy and procedure side," which stakeholders believed often hindered access to those resources.

A second technology issue identified by stakeholders in the sustainability and IT workgroups was wireless access. Wi-Fi access was not equal across the four main campuses. Some PCC campuses had access anywhere on campus, others only in buildings. Most discussed among stakeholders however was the lack of Wi-Fi access for PCC's largest learning garden located at the Rock Creek campus. Rock Creek campus is 260-acres and located 12 miles outside of Portland in a rural area; it includes woodlands, wetlands, and grasslands, a diverse collection of farm animals, 14 career tech programs

and the 3.6 acre learning garden. The program leadership had been waiting three years for the college to address a work order to expand Wi-Fi access beyond the buildings. Stakeholders claimed college leaders did not believe Wi-Fi access was a priority for the campus and yet from their perspective, it was a key equity issue.

A critical race spatial lens served to illuminate links among student involvement, access to technology, and equitable Wi-Fi service across the college. “It's a good example of a programmatic use that everybody involved is telling us they want,” explained one IT staff person, “but the people who actually make the decisions tell us it's not something that the learning garden needs. College administrators basically think: why do you need Wi-Fi to grow plants?” Stakeholders perceived this response as a lack an “equity view” of interconnected access and engagement issues within technology.

Decision Making

Finally, decision making at PCC was a theme that cut across most CRT related issues. Decisions to create barriers in public safety offices, to build “binary bathrooms,” to determine who will participate in designing classrooms, or to stipulate Wi-Fi access—all reflected the centrality of decision making in the social reproduction of inequity. Participants frequently perceived these decisions as “arbitrary,” “uncritical,’” and made largely by people who did not “take into account students’ needs.” One manager shared his frustration with a recent decision to remove student lockers.

> Nobody likes the lockers. It's a pain in the ass to have to issue them, to change the combinations, to do all this stuff. …But nobody's decisions are based on the fact that it's critical for some students to have lockers. Some students don’t have a house they can take their books back to, yet decisions are actually being made based upon somebody that doesn't want to deal with paperwork.

A common thread across dialogue sessions, many stakeholders perceived decision making as sites of social reproduction and the ultimate measure of a commitment to equity.

Overall, CRSL helped stakeholders expose the hidden curriculum in planning and design. Institutional practices identified by participants are best characterized as colorblind, space-neutral, binary, and exclusionary, debunking the pervasive perception of college space as racially neutral and educational settings as a level playing field. A critical race spatial lens created opportunities for stakeholders to identify “sites of inequity,” to expose hidden socializing messages communicated in a wide range of college spaces, and to detect distinct practices that functioned to maintain the status quo. In addition, CRT uniquely encouraged stakeholders to identify dominant narratives that served to normalize and justify inequitable practices.

Issues identified in this study expanded my own understanding of inequity at PCC. As a former Multicultural Center Director, Co-chair of a Campus Diversity Council, and a member of the District Leaders of Diversity Councils, I believed I had a strong sense of equity issues at the college. Over the course of my work with stakeholders, I reflected in my journal on numerous occasions about how little I knew about “facilities issues”—that is, the ways in which inequity was reproduced at PCC through material objects and built environments. Rarely did stakeholders from facilities participate on diversity councils—PCC’s primary leadership bodies for institutional equity and inclusion. Rather, facilities planning seemed to take place behind closed doors in spaces unknown and unnamed by formal equity leadership. In hindsight, this practice

functioned to perpetuate dominant ideas of college space as neutral, facilities planning as technical, and both as unrelated to inequity in education. Employing a critical race spatial lens exceeded my own expectations for exposing the hidden curriculum in college space and facilities planning. Moving from this exposure, I now turn to how stakeholders talked about the usefulness of these new insights to facilities planning and design, as well as their limitations.

CRSL as an Equity Tool for Planning and Design

In this section I discuss stakeholders' perceptions of both the utility and limitations of a critical race spatial lens as an equity tool for planning and design. Stakeholders who participated in the CRT training, focus groups, and dialogue sessions described the utility of a critical race spatial lens in three broad ways: (a) practical to apply, (b) effective at exposing hidden messages, and (c) useful to illuminate diverse socio-spatial perspectives.

Utility: Practical to Apply

An overwhelming majority of stakeholders maintained that CRT in conversation with spatial theory was a practical lens to expose connections between race and space. "CRT helps frame the issue," commented one planner, "we can look and apply it in a concrete way to the physical environment which is enlightening and helpful." One administrator emphasized, "it was the concreteness that helped people in the workshop be able to see. Even though there was tension in the room because we see differently, we can all agree that what we are building really does send a message." One architect shared:

> We can take and really use CRT and apply it and I like that applicability. It really gave it legs for me, where other things have not given legs to CRT. Some of the images and questions were very tangible so there was definitely a concrete part of what we talked about. I can see how this can be applied in a physical environment.

Participants also felt that CRT was particularly useful to apply as a means to illuminate the concept of intersectionality. This aided in the perceived practicality of CRT and spatial theory. One participant explained:

> The most practical piece for me was also the most difficult to keep in mind, that is, that white supremacy and racism are central. I think something a lot of well-meaning white folks and particularity liberals tend to say they can understand the concept of intersectionality and they get the idea of different lenses, but then they still try to equalize across those different forms of oppression and say they're all the same, or they all affect people in similar ways, when they don't. Critical race theory says if you dismantle white supremacy you end up dismantling other systems of oppression as well, I think that's a hard one for people to accept, but one of the most important parts of CRT when it comes to PCC.

The centrality of race as a means to identify other social dimensions of power was acknowledged by some stakeholders as a useful lens to expose "multifaceted," "complex" and "overlapping" inequities. "You can walk into spaces and say this is designed to keep poor people out, you can see that in the architecture," explained one administrator. "And you can almost say at the same point that's white supremacy. You can see the overlap." Attention paid to intersectionality contributed to stakeholders' perceptions of CRT as practical.

Utility: Effective at Exposing Hidden Messages

In addition to practicality, many participants in my study began to perceive a critical race spatial lens as a useful approach to expose hidden messages transmitted

through built environments. Opportunities to expose messages were described as "powerful" and "eye opening." One planner shared, "It's all very eye opening, to get to a place of understanding CRT and then looking at how you apply it to the built environment, which is the conversation that's starting to happen in the facilities workgroups." Applied CRT to space opened possibilities to acknowledge space as educative, meaningful, and important.

CRT offered opportunities to explore other dimensions of space beyond function. While most campus planners acknowledged functional dimensions of space—that is, how space is used—it was less common for them to acknowledge space as an apparatus of socialization. A critical race spatial lens offered an opportunity to expose space as ideological. One project manager explained:

> From a design perspective CRT gets to real subtle messages of space which gets at something very different than use, circulation, how space functions, does it meet code. Those subtle messages about race aren't obvious in the design process. CRT helps us see that it's about perception, it's about users needing a kind of space that you can't see on a plan. So now we are starting to read space differently and get to those subtle messages that aren't obvious to us in the design process.

Stakeholders valued opportunities to expose "the-taken-for-granted" aspects of day-to-day routines by revealing messages "hidden in plain sight." Using the Space Cards as a pedagogical activity enabled stakeholders to re-look at everyday spaces. "It's really one of the most taken for granted things," explained a project manager. "This helps us see space as something that we experience all of our lives and how it influences us all day, every day but we don't think about it. Then you start to engage and notice all the signals

that are being sent all the time." Examining built environments, previously presumed neutral, was in part the appeal of CRT as a lens to examine educational settings. "Materials, material choices and just thinking about fences was really interesting," shared one participant. "A white picket fence versus a chain link fence and gated communities all of which you don't really think about, but they all send messages." Seeing something in the taken for granted objects of everyday routines was an entry point for many stakeholders to rethink previously ignored dimensions of power and privilege.

Utility: Useful to Illuminating Diverse Socio-Spatial Perspectives

Finally, most stakeholders valued the forms in which a critical race spatial lens illuminated diverse socio-spatial perceptions. Collectively analyzing images of built environments featured on the Space Cards created opportunities for participants to acknowledge how they personally perceived space and to learn from others how they perceived those same spaces. For many, this was the first time they had thought about their own spatial sensibilities and certainly, the first time they heard others. Perceptions of space lead to reflections on lived experience. It was not just that people perceived spaces differently that was illuminating, rather it was in the stories of why they had arrived at that perception that were most valued by stakeholders. "As a white person," one project manager shared,

> It's hard for me to see white supremacy in built environments. I know that CRT says it's there and that's helpful because now I'm looking for it where as before, it never occurred to me that space would be viewed by people differently. Hearing other people's perceptions was eye-opening.

Another participant explained:

> When I walk around PCC, I can see it very clearly from a gender perspective because I'm not male or female. I can see how the gender binary is so woven into the fabric of everything in the building, bathrooms being the most obvious thing but there are other things as well. But, I find that I struggle to think of how white supremacy would be manifested. I know that that's an area I'm a little bit blind and that is what I value the most about CRT.

Exploring socio-spatial perceptions offered architects in particular an opportunity to appreciate storytelling as a practical methodology for both increasing awareness and learning from “users.” “Thinking about and engaging with people about how their life experiences influence how they interact in a space or how they perceive space is what makes CRT so practical,” explained a planner. Realizing diverse socio-spatial perceptions served to disrupt notions of space as neutral and universal. One architect offered a compelling reflection:

> As a white male architect, my ideal image of what a campus should be is based on a Jeffersonian model, one I learned in school and one I actually like, but I am learning that’s not everyone’s ideal. In fact, that model of architecture may contribute to some students not feeling welcomed. Just that sort of awareness about people's upbringing and their lives and how they see spaces differently has been one of the best ways I can try to explain critical race theory and how to apply it to planning.

Using CRT to examine built environments served as an entry point for stakeholders to acknowledge the diversity of socio-spatial perceptions and experiences. One of the most poignant examples of differences in perceptions occurred at the daylong workshop when I asked participants to interpret messages communicated by an image of a gated community. Some participants perceived this space as “safe,” “secure,” and

“nice,” while others perceived this space as "exclusive,” “elite,” and “white.” The dissonance among perspectives generated a “tense” discussion about why people would read this space so differently. One manager explained

> As a person of color, this gate tells me I am not welcomed, in fact it may be dangerous for me to be in this space. Even if the gate was not there, I perceive this space to be exclusive and unsafe for my brown body.

Other participants responded by defending the logic of the gate. “What’s wrong with wanting a safe space?” One staff person said, “I know a lot of people of color who want to live in gated communities where they can feel safe.” In these discussions, material objects like the gate served as a portal to a deeper examination about racialized spaces.

In a similar example, I asked participants in the daylong CRT workshop to interpret images of public bathrooms. Some participants characterized the space as “binary” and “sexist.” One person identified sexist messages about how women should dress—namely in dresses as illustrated in most bathroom signage. Frustrated, one staff person said, “I don’t understand, it’s just a bathroom, I don’t see anything but a bathroom. Why is everyone so upset?” Explorations of socio-spatial perceptions of neighborhoods and bathrooms created opportunities to acknowledge “blind-spots”—that is, how people “see” or don’t “see” particular values transmitted through physical settings based on multiple identities and positionality.

A critical race spatial lens offered participants an opportunity to understand the value of stories and make connections to campus climate. “CRT shows us that we need to understand that for some people based on their life experience and how they experience

the world, they will experience the college differently, and that is a big step for PCC," argued one administrator, "We need this lens, not the institutional framework that has worked well for the dominant culture for a long time." A critical race spatial lens offered a practical and illuminating equity framework for exploring under-examined dimensions of educational settings.

While certainly many participants perceived CRT and spatial theory as a useful equity tool for facilities planning, some perceived notable limitations. Some stakeholders described how a critical race spatial lens possessed inherent qualities that limited its utility. The most common limitations included: (a) too theoretical, (b) negative, and (c) exclusionary.

Limitations: Too Theoretical

Some stakeholders perceived a critical race spatial lens as "too theoretical," "too academic," and "inaccessible." Often these critiques were expressed to discredit CRT as a practical lens for facilities planning. "We need something practical in our work, not just theoretical," shared one planner. Frustrated by the "intellectual labor" of learning and applying CRT in the dialogue sessions generated a kind of resentment among some stakeholders who complained that despite the effort, they "could not get their head around CRT." The "problem" was CRT.

Compared to Universal Design (UD), a more familiar lens to stakeholders, some participants felt that CRT placed the burden of interpretation and application on leaders. This "burden" was a cited cause of some stakeholders "checking out." "I get it when we are in the workshops and dialogue sessions, but when I try to explain it to my colleagues I

can't," shared one planner. "It's very dense and difficult to understand." These stakeholders deemed the fact CRT was a theory as the limitation, that is, having to apply theory at all presented the "learning curve" to practicing CRT. Because they named the theoretical tenets as the "problem" these critiques were often based on the perception that CRT was inaccessible for the demands of practical application. This critique, however, was not the most pervasive limitation cited by stakeholders.

Limitations: Negative

More commonly, participants described CRT as negative. Some campus planners felt talking about race and discussing socio-spatial inequities generated negativity. "When you ask us to share how we see spaces differently, you are creating a division between us. Isn't that the opposite of what we are trying to do here?" The idea that discussing racial inequities was a "negative process" and "made it worse" contributed to a perception that CRT was limiting as a tool for positive change in facilities planning. Demands for more a "positive" approach to inclusion were cited by some stakeholders as a key limitation.

In addition, some stakeholders believed critical race spatial lens failed to reveal "good spaces," success stories, or solutions. This perception served as a reason why for some, CRT "doesn't really work." These participants felt that a critical race spatial lens exposed what was "bad" and "wrong" about built environments but did not illuminate "good" and "right" kinds of spaces. This reflected binary thinking by many stakeholders in dialogue sessions who perceived CRT to suggest space was either good or bad. "I am eager to see how CRT can be used to design more equitable spaces because I am still not

sure how it's going to work," explained one manager. "We need to take this beyond identifying why a place is bad and start to look at examples of spaces that are good." Another participant said, "We need to see good, positive space and contrast that because that's the piece that's missing in CRT." One planner stated,

> What is so typically the case is that it's really easy to identify what is wrong with something—a system, a space, etcetera—and it's more difficult to say, well this would be right given, you know, these factors, but then trying to think about what would be an ideal space look like is a lot more difficult.

Often the desire for examples of "good space" came in the form of wanting success stories. "We need to show a success story," demanded one administrator in a dialogue session "a tangible example that shows what progress would look like." This common perception was demonstrated also by a manager who said, "If we could identify where there are some success stories it will push people to move forward because then they will be inspired by seeing a better example, a success story."

Some participants lodged the criticism that CRT offered no insight into "good spaces," nor examples of "success," or no direction for solving problems identified by CRT. For many participants, this generated a sense of perceived negativity, confusion, and even paralysis. One architect shared:

> The only thing I feel comfortable with right now in all sincerity, is that everything I know is wrong. And so, I feel a bit paralyzed in the role I am being asked to play on the project, that is, to provide guidance to a team about our process. And this is my sincere truth so I feel comfortable sharing it, but it's hard to apply CRT to planning.

Discussing the role of space in social reproduction tended to provoke many stakeholders to leap to solving the problem, this in turn generated feelings of frustration about how. It was this experience that some participants expressed their perceptions of CRT as an insufficient tool for planning.

Stakeholders wanted very much to have clear solutions to “fix” “bad” spaces. “We spend all this time talking about what’s wrong with space,” shared one PCC staff person, “but what can we do to fix it?” Invariably, minutes after exploring hidden socializing messages communicated through built environments, stakeholders in workshops and dialogues sessions wanted immediate solutions to fix the space to be more inclusive. Some of the most compelling examples occurred during dialogue sessions with partnering architecture firms. During these sessions, I would bring pictures taken by PCC students of color who were serving as co-researchers in the project. They were documenting and cataloguing PCC spaces as part of their field work. I used these images to draw attention to the diverse ways in which students perceived and experienced space. More often than not, architects and planners would immediately ask, “So what does CRT say we should do?” or, “How would they (students) want us to change it to be more welcoming?”

One image I shared to help illuminate the racial dimensions of space was of a recently renovated campus library lobby. A student had catalogued this space as “fancy” and “elite,” citing the furniture as “more for show than function.” The small round tables were low to the ground and many of the chairs lacked backs and arms. Stakeholders were frustrated by this student’s interpretation on a new space deemed “welcoming” by

planners. “What would they want instead?” they insisted. One particularly frustrated architect pointed to a painting in the background on the wall. While difficult to discern in the photograph, the painting was colorful. He emphatically pointed to the artwork and said, “What about that, what about that multicultural artwork on the wall right there? Doesn’t that show them [the students of color] they are welcomed in that space?” The immediate response to fix space often meant stakeholders were impatient with what CRT invited them to acknowledge, often jumping over the theoretical tenets to insist on solutions as a measure of the lens’ utility.

Limitations: Exclusionary

The third limitation identified by some stakeholders was the perception that CRT was “exclusionary.” CRT was often accused of excluding the voices, experiences, and needs of “other groups besides students of color.” This was made apparent in some initial reactions to my plan to outreach and recruit a cohort of PCC students of color to serve as co-researchers in this project. I was constantly confronted with questions from stakeholders like: “What about our first-generation students, or our veteran students?”; “How do we make sure we don’t exclude the needs of our LGBT students?” “Why are we only concerned with students of color? What about poor white students?” Later in the project, these concerns were raised also in workshops, focus groups, and dialogue sessions. For example, one staff person explained her motivation to participate in a focus group was directly tied to her concern about the focus on people of color, “I wanted to participate because we look a lot at race, but I want to make sure we don’t miss barriers for students with disabilities.”

Despite attention drawn to multidimensionality as articulated in CRT, participants struggled to acknowledge people of color as possessing multiple identities and resisted the idea that people of color could represent more than a racial category. In fact, all of the 25 students of color recruited for the project also represented other social identities including first generation, LGBT, and veterans. When I shared these demographics at various forums, stakeholders were truly surprised at the diversity among students of color.

Even when multidimensionality was acknowledged, some stakeholders rejected race as the entry point. This perception is best demonstrated by the following comment made by an architect:

> We are using race as the lever and we pull the lever and then everything else comes out—veterans status, all of that. So, you want everything to come out, that's the good part of it, but that's the part I struggle with a little bit. Maybe that's racist even saying that, but I feel like why should that be the lever? Gender is a big issue now, and the Me Too movement. Maybe that's how we should see things. But I feel just a little uncomfortable with race being the lever.

Some participants expressed that discussions about race in and of themselves would exclude people. "At PCC," one staff person explained, "people don't want to talk about race, it's easier to talk about other issues, but talking about race shuts people down." Participants stated comments like, "I know that those concepts can kind of rub people the wrong way, especially when you're first learning about it." Or, "Sometimes words are triggers, words like race and white supremacy turns people away. Maybe we need to re-word it some but keep the same goals." Stakeholders perceived CRT to be limiting specifically because this approach foregrounded race. One administrator critiqued,

> There's a very segregating element to CRT. … You're white and others are not, and it seems to me to be a very hard dividing line amongst people. I feel the spectrum of sexual orientation and gender is very wide and we understand that, and I don't feel we understand that with race here. CRT is making a dividing line.

CRT as a theoretical framework to uncover hidden socializing messages and center the socio-spatial perceptions of students of color, was perceived as a shortcoming to the lens. These perceived drawbacks suggest the challenge of disrupting normative systems.

It is worth noting that in contrast to CRT, throughout these discussions UD was not perceived as theoretical. While it aimed to address issues of access, it often did so at PCC without engaging stakeholders in discussions about social systems of power and privilege. Evaluating space through UD as a means to "fix" built environments, created a "positive" sense of solving problems. Notions of "universal" suggested "everybody" was accounted for in planning and design. Indeed, CRT was less palatable to some stakeholders precisely because it acted to challenge dominant ideologies and systems of power.

Institutional Change at PCC

The final theme I discuss in this data analysis chapter reflects stakeholders perceptions about institutional change at PCC. The CRT in Facilities Planning initiative, while acknowledged as an "exploratory" project, was designed in service to institutional change. Training, dialogue, pedagogical exercises, and inquiry guided by a critical race spatial lens offered opportunities to raise awareness, to explore perceptions of space, to identify socio-spatial equity issues, and illuminate opportunities for change. In this regard, CRT was not only understood as a lens to examine patterns of inequity, it also

provided a framework for stakeholders to evaluate opportunities to transform practices and the culture of PCC, as well as consider possible obstacles to institutional change. These discussions took place in focus groups, dialogue sessions, and interviews. When stakeholders were asked what it would take to bring about change at PCC, four strategies were most commonly identified: (a) CRT training, dialogue, and practice, (b) authentic engagement, (c) confronting a culture of conflict-avoidance, and (d) policy change.

Strategies for Change: CRT Training, Dialogue, and Practice

An overwhelming majority of stakeholders believed PCC needed to offer more CRT training, opportunities to dialogue in diverse groups, and additional forums to practice applying CRT. "Widespread teaching is critical," expressed one manager. "I still debate with people in my office whether racism exists, and I know it won't change overnight but we need more training." Discussions about opportunities for collective learning, dialogue, and practice also revealed stakeholders' perceptions of existing training practices at PCC. While trainings did occur at the college, not everyone knew about them, they were not accessible to all community members, nor were they mandatory. This was often frustrating to stakeholders. "I didn't know PCC offered CRT trainings. How would we know about them? Where are they advertised?" Some participants felt existing training opportunities were reserved for certain groups at the college. "From what I see, the focus has been top-down in the sense of training managers only," explained one manager. "The lower on the ladder you are, the less likely you will be allowed to attend day long trainings on the clock." Consequently, some participants

thought PCC undervalued “classified staff”—employees who are neither faculty nor program directors. For example, one manager shared:

> The college has very clearly, for some good reasons and some troubling reasons, decided not to extend training opportunities to classified staff. When they did start to talk about the possibility of opening the workshops to classified staff, some classist stuff came up—like they would have to dumb down the curriculum. So, they just took it off the table and decided classified staff would not get release time to participate. It’s really frustrating.

The perception of exclusivity in terms of training was complicated by a general perception that managers were often part of the problem in terms of “stalling” institutional change. While managers were frequently required to participate in trainings, it did not mean they would develop the necessary skills to “bring along” their departments. “Facilitating conversations about race is a tremendous skill-set and managers were not hired for that skill-set and often they are on their own journey,” one administrator shared, “They need more than a one-time daylong training if they are in charge of helping others get it.”

Participants suggested that existing trainings available through the college were insufficient and confusing. One person shared, “I have been to the social justice workshops, but they don’t talk about CRT.” Another staff person stated, “I went to a CRT workshop and the people leading it did not know much about CRT. Plus, there was no opportunity for discussion or even asking questions.” Some stakeholders even perceived existing training spaces to be sites of racial microaggressions that often went un-named and un-addressed. One administrator who participated in a focus group expressed this frustration:

> I think since we are all being honest here, we haven't done a 'train the trainers'. I have found in many of these situations microaggressions were taking place within those groups and it's very discouraging. I don't fault individuals. I think it's a flawed model and it's been disappointing. But the expectation that you go to a two-day training and now you're going to lead a group to work on these social issues is a problem.

There was much discussion on whether to mandate trainings. Most of the participants perceived doing so as a critical strategy for institutional change. "Not that I think everything should be mandatory," explained one staff person. "That's a terrible word, but I always see the same people when I go to trainings. How do we get people who really need it, who probably don't think they need it, or don't want it to actually come to the table?" Comprehensive, ongoing and accessible training was the most commonly discussed strategy for change.

In addition, stakeholders valued opportunities to "talk around a table" as a means to hear different experiences, views, and perceptions. Stakeholders argued that dialogue was critical. "We need to start by examining ourselves," explained one planner. "I think it helps to learn from others to realize our perceptions. Sharing our experiences is a great way to start that conversation." Diverse perspectives were not just based on identity, but also professional roles at the college. Participants maintained that a lack of opportunity to learn from diverse perspectives would actually limit their own ability to "see" different perspectives. Many stakeholders believed this collective "blind spot" would prevent broader institutional understanding of racial inequity and how it is reproduced.

Stakeholders also valued opportunities to practice CRT. One campus planner suggested, "If we could have something like a demonstration project, where we could

practice as a group applying CRT to a particular project then we could learn how to apply CRT and even more important, learn from our mistakes." Many stakeholders perceived opportunities to practice CRT would normalize failures and take the pressure off "getting it right." One staff person shared, "In the union we acknowledge the value of learning from failure. We need that value because we will fail along the way and that can't keep us from practicing and doing better."

For many stakeholders, "practicing" was a profound shift from notions of "applying" CRT. One planner described this shift well:

> There was a moment of saying, oh, it's a practice not really an application. That felt like such a relief. Like, oh, you don't have to have the answer that you just take and apply to a problem. We just need to continue the exploration and discuss the issues and it will come gradually with practice.

The practice of applying CRT also served to confront the tendency of many leaders to demand "quick fixes to big problems." Commonly participants would insist on "the answer." Usually in the beginning of a training, minutes after learning about the tenets of a critical race spatial lens, participants would leap to the resolution questions: "So what are we supposed to do?" "How do we fix it?" "What is the solution?" As one administrator stated,

> The thing we have discovered is that we don't need a tool that says, all right, here is your CRT tool, now go and apply it to your project. That approach is more like having a checklist which is not the strategy we know will work.

Perhaps one of the most significant insights generated throughout the collective process undertaken by facilities stakeholders, was that "applied" CRT was more accurately

understood as “ongoing practice.” More than checking off boxes or carrying out a prescribed list of “interventions,” participants valued the opportunity to practice CRT and believed this practice was critical to institutional change at PCC.

Strategies for Change: Authentic Engagement

In addition to training and practice, many stakeholders believed people most affected by inequities and most marginalized at the college needed to be engaged in facilities planning and decision making. “The users of space are never involved in planning how the space should look and feel,” explained one manager. People who created policies often did not “see the value in CRT” or more equitable solutions, according to participants, nor did they have “an understanding of the impact of policies they mandated.” Engaging “real users” was a key strategy in facilitating institutional change. One campus planner suggested:

> We need faculty and students to inform planning. Right now, they are not involved, or they are only involved at the end stages, like when we need to know what furniture they want in the space, what color paint they want on the wall, but the broader space has already been built. It’s too late then.

Others critiqued typical PCC outreach practices as exclusionary and suggested more inclusive practices at the planning and design stages. “We tend to outreach students and invite them to come to us,” explained one planner. “We don’t really go to where they are at, and that practice excludes people whose voices we probably never hear.” Often student voices were either absent or tokenized. Planners did not reach out to students directly and when students were invited it was often one or two selected by faculty or managers. These practices limited the “real” change necessary to design inclusive space.

Stakeholders believed expanding outreach and engagement efforts would be a key to transforming facilities planning.

Strategies for Change: Confronting Conflict-Avoidance

Critical to the process for institutional change, stakeholders also believed PCC would need to confront its culture of conflict-avoidance. Many participants in this study described this culture at PCC as one that discouraged “direct communication,” avoided “difficult discussions,” and dissuaded “conflict.” One staff person explained:

> I think we at PCC are so afraid of conflict. That has been my biggest experience at the college. There is a general fear of being put in a negative spotlight. We strive so hard to put out this image of what we're doing, that when conflict arises we try to hide and run from it, which makes it worse.

Stakeholders said talking about race and racism was often criticized as “negative,” “unprofessional,” or “starting conflict,” which tended to make people want to avoid these discussions. “People are uncomfortable talking about power imbalance, so they avoid talking about it,” explained one manager. Disagreement about perceptions was also cited by stakeholders as a form of conflict. “When we disagree about how we perceive space, like the gated community, that back and forth of negotiating perceptions is a kind of conflict,” suggested one stakeholder.

> I think we need that kind of exchange if we are ever going to learn how we see space different and how racism and white privilege shape our perceptions. But the culture at PCC is to avoid that exchange—because it’s not nice, not professional, or not positive.

As part of the process of advancing institutional change at PCC, participants argued that it was important to normalize “difficult” conversations and desensitize people to conflict and challenging discourse. “You have to encourage the conflict they're avoiding,” maintained one staff person. This cultural transformation was particularly critical in being able to “talk across lines of power and privilege.” “The students and the staff and the faculty and the people who work here every day, are not necessarily in those decision-making places,” shared one participant.

> When you can get them riled up and it makes it uncomfortable for the people in those decision-making spaces, that will cause change and it's even better when you can explain to them why it's beneficial to make that change.

The suggestion of this strategy for change points to an awareness of institutional culture. Confronting a culture of conflict-avoidance at PCC was key to stakeholders in furthering racial equity.

Strategies for Change: Policy Change

Finally, many stakeholders perceived policy change as a necessary step at PCC to advance “real” equity and inclusion. Some suggested, “putting teeth” into a CRT framework would mandate the lens in planning and design. CRT as an approach was compared to Universal Design and ADA compliance. There was much discussion about instituting a set of “standards” informed by CRT that would apply to building renovations and remodels. Among the most commonly cited example of a policy change was adding equity language in PCC’s request for proposals (RFP). New language would serve as a means to hire architecture firms and contractors with shared values and some experience

in applying equity to construction. One planner explained, "Putting CRT or other equity lenses in the RFP will help us find the right partners to apply this lens to facilities planning and design." They continued, "RFPs would reflect the seriousness of PCC's commitment and also make sure the right people are at the table."

A critical race spatial analysis offered stakeholders a lens to readily identify issues of racial and other social inequities embedded in facilities planning. Exposing socio-spatial practices and the dominant narratives that masked them, illuminated possible entry points for institutional change and a set of strategies perceived by stakeholders to facilitate institutional change in service to equity and inclusion. These strategies informed a multifaceted approach to heighten the awareness and enhance the skills of PCC community members, to share power through engagement, to challenge dominant culture, and to institute policy change.

In the numerous discussions about institutional change, stakeholders shared their assessment of what would "get in the way" of advancing equity and inclusion at PCC. Participants generally perceived three key barriers to institutional change at PCC: (a) hierarchical decision-making, (b) lack of racial diversity, and (c) pervasive dominant narratives. These insights, discussed below, are essential to understanding—and disrupting—when working to actualize CRT as an approach to social justice.

Barriers to Change: Hierarchical Decision-Making

The most commonly cited barrier was decision-making and the hierarchical structure in education that reinforced those practices. "Only a couple of people make decisions," explained one manager. "Usually the one or two people in any given

department and those decisions are based on their own identities and lived experiences." Most stakeholders perceived students, staff, and faculty as the most unengaged from decisions about space. The hierarchical nature of PCC is likely one reason for this practice. "At PCC it's very hierarchical," explained one staff person. "Managers make a lot of decisions about policies and how people should be supervised, so if they don't get CRT it will not change much."

In addition to the hierarchical structures, many stakeholders believed decisions at PCC were made behind closed doors. One staff person offered that "Sometimes we don't know who or how a decision was made at PCC." They added, "Behind door decision making means we are not transparent and it's hard to trace those decisions back to the people who made them and so we have less accountability." Decision making was often characterized as "informal" and "arbitrary" usually carried out by "small groups of people." Participants saw these practices as obstacles to the necessary "real change at the top."

Barriers to Change: Lack of Racial Diversity

Another common barrier cited by many stakeholders was a lack of racial diversity at PCC. One staff personal offered:

> I think PCC is going to struggle to apply CRT just because of how many white people work for the college. Most of the employees for the college are white, most of the faculty are white and that's always been something that students of color bring up. Honestly, we're not going to have solutions, because we aren't going to be able to see solutions.

This perception of whiteness as a barrier was reinforced by the numerous participants who acknowledged they could not see how racism and white supremacy play out in space because of their racial identity as white. In part, this is why they mentioned being interested in having conversations among diverse groups—in order to see what they had been socialized not to see. Members of the facilities planning team were almost exclusively white. Participants suggested this was a barrier to being able to achieve the kind of change in facilities planning that would help actualize CRT in practice.

Barriers to Change: Pervasive Dominant Narratives

Finally, a barrier to institutional change was how dominant narratives regarding college space and facilities planning were normalized and transmitted as "conventional wisdom." Stakeholders identified the most pervasive common narratives as "limited time," "budget constraints," "efficiency," and "safety and security." These assertions served to "shut down" discussions and stifle ideas for reimagining space and planning. One manager stated, "It's really hard to challenge rationales about security and safety at PCC." A narrative of the need for safety was used to justify inequitable Wi-Fi access, binary bathrooms, and a range of barriers (walls, windows, gates, locked doors), all of which stakeholders felt impeded real change. Budgetary arguments were commonly cited as the reason why classrooms and labs were standardized and incongruent with more participatory pedagogies. In a few instances, stakeholders shared attempts to advocate for more inclusive space and welcoming spatial arrangements; these attempts were refused. The response from "higher up" was almost always, "We can't because we have limited resources."

The most challenging aspect of this dominant narrative barrier was the perception these narratives were irrefutable because they were in part “real” and “valid.” One manager offered, “I know security is critical and we have to take precautions as a large community college. The problem is that there are no other lenses being applied to challenge those narratives or even test their validity.” Others proposed the option to accept security risks but not be bound to them as a commitment to access and inclusion. “We could say, yes, this is risky, and it may lessen our security measures, but because it will increase access we are moving forward.” Some participants invoked the notion of “cost benefit analysis” during workgroup discussions about dominant narratives and their interference with expanding access and inclusion. Most stakeholders felt limited in being able to confront and disrupt these rationales for decisions and priorities.

Conclusion

Overall, drawing on key findings in this chapter. I have begun to illustrate how a theoretical framework guided by CRT and spatial theory offers a practical and strategic approach to planning and design in service to equity and inclusion. Despite perceived limitations, participants generally acknowledged that CRT integrated with spatial theory was a practical and useful tool for planning and as a means to “go deeper” into difficult topics. Opportunities to reflect on personal socio-spatial perceptions and lived experiences combined with opportunities to learn from others heightened stakeholders' socio-spatial awareness. This increased awareness enabled participants to then turn the lens on PCC, helping to expose colorblind, space-neutral, binary, and exclusionary practices in planning and design.

Data in this study also contribute to research and organizing efforts aimed to understand what stakeholders most want and need in order to identify and transform institutional inequities. From the insights, accounts, and stories I shared throughout this chapter, we can see what stakeholders find most valuable and limiting about a critical race spatial lens. Most promising is the way in a critical race spatial lens served to draw stakeholders' attention to dominant narratives. Stakeholders came to appreciate the role of dominant narratives in masking and maintaining structural inequities. The practice of uncovering dominant narratives is essential given that far too often, the ideological underpinnings of policies and practices tend to remain concealed and thereby unmitigated, rendering mechanisms of social reproduction as invisible, neutral, and logical. To the extent that we can genuinely apply CRT to practice, this case study offers insight into the fuller potential of this theory in systemic and structural transformation.

Finally, I suggest PCC's conflicting identity and contradictory practices illuminate the complexities of institutional change and the looming possibilities of systematic co-optation. An understanding of interest convergence can help situate these dilemmas. On the one hand, critical strategies for equity and inclusion at PCC have been adopted, supported, and funded. These efforts have inspired several "homegrown" CRT initiatives and instantiated inclusion as a college priority. On the other hand, CRT initiatives at PCC have been difficult to institutionalize and maintain beyond the initial "hype." Interest convergence helps to explain these existing complexities and contradictions. We see some of these complexities in the experiences of students in this

research. I analyze data collected through the student participatory action research project in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

STUDENTS AND NAVIGATING COLLEGE SPACE

Historically, student engagement in PCC's Office of Project and Capital Planning was uncommon. In fact, only one student was involved on the facilities planning team when the 2018 CRT initiative was launched. This "student representative" position was new and had been filled for only a couple of months as part of a new effort to "hear from students." The creation of this role was in direct response to critiques by some PCC students that their voices were not accounted for in facilities planning, particularly on demands for non-binary bathrooms in newly renovated campus buildings. To better address this tension, in addition to student representative on the steering committee, college leaders included a procurement for "student voice and engagement" in the RFP for the CRT in Facilities Planning initiative.

In responding to the RFP, I presented the methodology of participatory action research (PAR) and designed a five-week leadership and inquiry program I called *Space Matters*. My approach was to recruit, train, and support a cohort of PCC students of color as co-researchers and collaborators to include their voices in a college discussion on planning, campus space, and inclusion. *Space Matters* serves as a case study of critical race spatial praxis as a means to explore students of color experiences of navigating college space. While CRT has helped to expose patterns and dimensions of

unacknowledged structural inequity, CRT as a tool for exploring students' socio-spatial perceptions of college space, is underdeveloped in the literature.

In this chapter, I examine how student participants in *Space Matters* used a critical race spatial lens (CRSL) to explore their own lived experiences of everyday and college space. Through storytelling, dialogue, pedagogical exercises, and inquiry, their stories and insights illuminate under-examined experiences of navigating college. I argue CRSL centers the experiences of students of color and acknowledges their lived experiences and epistemic advantage as critical to institutional efforts aimed to expose and transform how college space communicates and normalizes dominant narratives. I also suggest that students' socio-spatial stories serve as counter-narratives to the myth that college settings are neutral and the pervasive misconception that CRT is "too theoretical to apply."

Participants

To recruit a cohort for *Space Matters*, I developed a multifaceted plan to reach students of color using a website that included a short informational video and an online interest form. I sent a broadcast email (with a flyer and link to the website) through PCC's listserv, enabling me to communicate directly with students who had indicated they were "of color" on their enrollment application. I also conducted meetings with resource center coordinators and faculty members asking them to identify and encourage students to check out the website. Students who wanted to participate in *Space Matters* were invited to submit an interest form which included questions about social identities,

prior leadership roles and training experience, and why they wanted to participate. Nearly 60 interest forms were submitted.

I selected students based on three criteria. First, students needed to be able to participate in three day-long trainings (every other week) and conduct five hours of outreach and inquiry activities in between trainings over the course of five weeks. This time commitment was a significant barrier for many students. Second, in seeking representation from all four PCC campuses, I also selected students based on their "home campus." Finally, I aimed to recruit a diverse student cohort based on other social identities "that were significant to their lived experience." After a careful review of the submitted interest forms, I invited 25 students of color to participate.

Of the 25 invited students, 8 identified as African American/Black, 10 as Latino/a, 3 as biracial, 3 as Asian, and 1 as Somali; 15 identified as first-generation college students; 16 students identified as female, 9 identified as male; 3 students were veterans; 3 students disclosed a disability; and 3 students were undocumented. Other identities included being a "survivor," a refugee, and having a criminal record. Nearly half of the students indicated they had participated in a social justice training or had taken a course that discussed social justice issues. More than half identified some previous leadership or community service experience.

Space Matters began as a five-week project during the February and March 2018 winter term, in what I estimated to involve an overall 40-hour commitment including: (a) three day-long workshops, (b) activities in between workshops to further inquiry projects (e.g., taking photos, talking to peers, conducting research), and (c) presenting inquiry

findings, insights, and recommendations to stakeholders. Students were compensated at the end of the five-week winter project with a $200 gift card. Of the final 25 students who were invited to join *Space Matters*, 15 students participated in all aspects of the initial five-week winter term project activities and "graduated." At the end of winter term, college leaders were so inspired by student insights they invited us to continue our work that summer. Twelve graduates of *Space Matters* continued on to participate in the 10-week summer inquiry project.

During May, June, and July 2018, student participants were expected to: (a) participate in weekly three-hour planning meetings, (b) conduct outreach and inquiry activities (averaging three–five hours a week), and (c) present inquiry findings, insights, and recommendations to stakeholders. Students were hired by the college as research interns at $12 an hour. Where the winter project was a general exploration of college space, the summer internship engaged students in a systematic critical race spatial analysis of distinct college spaces including: a campus learning garden, a newly built space for student resources, and an academic building slated for renovations.

For this chapter, I provide examples largely from data collected during the winter term project and the stories shared by student participants regarding their experiences of traversing and navigating every day and college space. In Chapter VI, I expand my analysis to include a discussion about our collective work as a research team to design and evaluate outreach and engagement approaches to learn about other students' perceptions of PCC space. In what follows, I discuss my strategy for data collection and

analysis for this chapter as well as key findings from students' stories of navigating college space.

Data Collection and Analysis Strategies

In this section, I provide an overview of my approach to data collection and describe the curriculum design and research activities that supported this project. Then, I describe my approach to data analysis for this specific case study, which represents just one of three ways I analyze my data (each described in their own chapter). Over the six months I worked with student leaders, I collected audio and video data for *Space Matters* through various research methods. I audio recorded all project meetings and inquiry activities. I had most of the recordings transcribed professionally. Student participants maintained individual project journals. They wrote journal entries during workshop sessions and planning meetings.

To support a systematic analysis of PCC spaces through a CRT lens, I designed a research method to what I called, "reading space." This approach drew attention to three dimensions of space: felt space, perceived space, and socializing space and is discussed further in the methods chapter (and in Appendix G). Each dimension of space invited a particular line of inquiry guided by distinct prompt questions. Over the course of the project, students spent hours—individually and in small groups—"reading" PCC spaces and taking extensive written and visual notes that I called "spatial field notes." As part of their spatial field notes, I invited students to catalogue observations of college space with pictures and brief narratives that explained why the space was personally noteworthy and what they perceived the space to communicate. I created a website for students to upload

their spatial field notes. This website provided the key written and visual data of students' socio-spatial perceptions and analysis of PCC spaces. The sources of data for this chapter include recordings from workshops (storytelling and dialogue sessions), project and planning meetings, as well as student journals and spatial field notes.

To support socio-spatial storytelling and spatial field notes, I offered students prompts to identify campus spaces associated with "descriptors" that I used as a pedagogical tool for reflection and dialogue. I designed a conceptual framework, Socio-Spatial Descriptors for Reading Space, comprised of three socio-spatial descriptors: power laden descriptors (e.g., white-space, male-space, elite-space, hetero-normative-space), cultural descriptors (e.g., intimidating-space, safe-space, diverse-space, inclusive-space), and affinity descriptors (e.g., Black-space, Latin@-space, native-space, indigenous-space, queer-space) (see Appendix H). Inviting students to identify PCC spaces associated with socio-cultural descriptors served as a pedagogical strategy to apply critical race spatial theory and create entry points into deeper discussions about college space. This analytic help me to frame the findings in this section.

To organize and align the data according to my guiding research questions, I created a conceptual framework comprised of three inquiry areas: 1) students' experiences navigating every day and college space, 2) students' perceptions of PCC space, and 3) students' perceptions of a critical race spatial lens. I analyzed the data similar to how I did in Chapter IV: coding, clustering, and identifying themes. In the next section, I discuss the key findings in this study.

Key Findings

In this section I share key findings from an analysis of data I collected (as described above) during my work with student participants in *Space Matters*. Specifically, I focus on students' experiences navigating college space and their perceptions of a critical race spatial lens (CRSL) as a tool to explore lived experiences, space, and equity. I organize my analysis into three key themes: (a) CRSL as a means to illuminate students' socio-spatial perceptions of college space, (b) CRSL as liberatory pedagogy, and (c) students' socio-spatial stories as counter-narratives. I argue CRSL offers a transformative framework for amplifying the voices of students of color and illuminating their under-acknowledged experiences of navigating educational settings while exposing college space as power laden.

CRSL to Illuminate Students' Perceptions of College Space

Using a critical race spatial lens, students participants were to identify and explore their socio-spatial experiences of navigating PCC space. Through journal reflections, spatial field notes, storytelling, and dialogue, students discussed a diverse range of personal experiences and ideas about the socializing function of space. Among these stories and critiques there were distinct common experiences and specific shared perceptions of navigating college space. I have organized these findings into three key themes: (a) student resources and services as hidden-space, (b) socio-spatial features of white-space, and (c) socio-spatial features of space perceived as white and elite.

Student Resources and Services as Hidden-Space

The *Space Matters* student cohort perceived PCC student groups and resources to be "hidden-space." Students felt that vital information about enrollment, loans, scholarships, leadership opportunities, events, and courses was difficult "to find out about." Through a critical race spatial lens, students acknowledged not only was information hidden, so were specific spaces including student resource centers and academic services. Support for "marginalized" communities seemed to exist in "marginal" spaces on campus. "Hidden down hallways" and "invisible by location," resources for people "most in need" were hardest to find. One student explained:

> There are places on campus with resources for disadvantaged people, but they are out of the way and inconvenient. Internalizing dominant narratives causes negative feelings about asking for help and seeking out resources, especially going out of the way to get them.

Students expressed frustration about the time it took to learn about certain resource centers and where they were located. These spaces are "Literally tucked away!," wrote one student in their journal. Students also perceived knowledge about other student services as hidden. One student shared:

> Most new students don't know where resources are," shared one student, And if resources are important to your success, then the fact we can't find them is a problem. Like, did you know there are lockers on campus? And a prayer room? I didn't know this until I had been at PCC for a year or so. Why don't we know these things?

Not knowing about resources was an added stress factor for students navigating PCC space. Often this contributed to a diminished sense of belonging. One student shared:

> My first year I did not know about places like the Multicultural Center. I knew it was 'back there somewhere' but even after finding it, the next challenge was to feel comfortable in the space.

It took many students several terms to learn about resources like the Multicultural Center, tutoring services, and study rooms. "There are all of these places that we don't even know about that we could have access to," explained one student, "but we just don't have the information to know." Students stories of accessing resources illuminated socio-spatial dimensions of navigating college space.

Socio-Spatial Features of White-Space

There was a wide variety of PCC spaces labeled by students as "white-space"—classrooms, administration offices, parking lots, and some suggested the whole college was white-space. In analyzing students' perceptions of PCC space, I identified four socio-spatial features that characterized white-space: (a) white people, (b) "being the only one," (c) lack of intersectional space, and (d) linked to other power laden descriptors.

First, people inhabiting space often served to define space. A key socio-spatial feature of white-space was largely measured by the lack of people of color in that space. "If I'm trying to figure out how comfortable I might be, I look for people who look like me. If there are no people of color, no Black people, then that's white-space." First impressions of space were largely determined not by the built environment, but by a "scan" of the people in the space.

Second, "being the only one" in space was a socio-spatial feature of white-space. One student wrote in her journal: "We are always the cock in a room full of feathers. We are the heaviest thing and the most obvious in any room or situation we are in." Being

“the only one” was a source of discomfort and doubt for many participants. Several students shared their common experience of being the only person of color in at least one or more of their classes at PCC. One student recounted:

> I have been the only Black person in my class. There is no diverse perspectives in the classroom and you get around people who haven't interacted with people of color yet. They’re nervous, they are not quite sure how to be and sometimes they look at you like ‘you don’t look like you're supposed to be here’ and you’re the only person of color in the whole room.

Students talked about white students at PCC who had not been around people of color before. “They are not used to seeing people of color in space, it’s automatic that they stare when you are the only one. As long as it’s not an aggressive stare I just ignore it.” Students posited being “the only one” in a class was a potential barrier to academic success:

> Do you want to take a science class when you’re the only person of color, probably not? But we need the science class, so even though there are a lot of white people in the class, you should still feel comfortable in that space, you have a right to feel comfortable in that space.

“Being the only one” did not just occur in classrooms. Two students discussed their perception of the Veterans Resource Center (VRC) as white-space. One student recounted:

> I have people ask me all the time when I go into the VRC, so when did you serve? What did you do? They want all my information and it’s like I have to validate my service. I have to prove that I am a veteran. People look at me and say, oh you’re not a veteran because I am older, I am a woman, and I’m Black. So, even if you are a veteran of color, you get the sense you really don’t belong there.

Another woman of color who was also a veteran shared her similar experience of "being the only one:"

> That interrogation happens to me all the time at PCC. Because I am a woman of color, and in my case, I look younger than I am, they don't believe that I served 6 years and that I was a Sergeant. They just look at me and assume I don't belong. So, I see the VRC as racist-space, elite-space, sexist-space, and white-space.

Third, a lack of intersectional space was perceived to be a variable of white-space. With each campus having distinct resource centers for students who identified as women, people of color, LBGTQ, or veterans, white-space was "having to choose" between identities and between spaces. "As a queer person of color, there are queer spaces and there are spaces for people of color but the intersectional space isn't always there." Not acknowledging students' multidimensionality contributed to a feeling of "not belonging anywhere." Single identity-based resource centers and the subsequent presumption that students "were only one thing" significantly contributed to the cohort's perception of white-space. "Race always overshadows our personalities and other parts of ourselves," reflected one student.

Fourth, students perceived white-space as linked to other power laden descriptors. Rarely were PCC spaces characterized as only white-space. Through stories, spatial field notes, and dialogues, student participants often argued that navigating college space entailed navigating multiple forms of oppression. For example, several students perceived the VRC as white-space and sexist-space. Campus administration offices were identified by many students as white-space and elite-space. One campus building was characterized as white-space and heteronormative-space. Academic buildings were often perceived as

white-space and elite-space. One student suggested his campus math building was not only white-space, but also privileged certain disciplines over others:

> The math building is the nicest. All the other buildings on campus are all cement. That one has nice wood, it has a tree inside of it, and the sunlight hits the classrooms. And this reflects the real world. Engineering pays you well, mathematics pays you well, even PCC reflects this. But you never see people of color there.

Students posited classrooms where STEM courses occurred were the nicest spaces on campus because of a "new corporate demand for these kinds of workers." "If you take biology at SE campus you get to use the new fancy labs and the nicest study space." While there were some efforts to "diversify" STEM programs at PCC, these classes and buildings tended to remain "very white" and "very elite." Another student reflected on her perception of a building she perceived as white-space, elite-space, and fancy-space. Her insightful comments are worth quoting at length:

> There is the technology and computer science building at Sylvania campus that's super nice inside. It's nicer than everywhere else on campus. Every time I go in there it's all white people. The first time I was going to cut through there to get to my car. It looks so exclusive and not too inviting for someone like myself to just walk through. I say someone like myself because I dress very casually most of the time. I initially felt like you had to dress a certain way to walk through (business casual). Everyone in there carries a tote bag, or a laptop bag and looks official. After walking through a few times, it still felt very awkward and almost uncomfortable. So, I thought, I will just go around. Then, I recognized that I did that. So, the next time I wanted to get to my car I walked through there as a protest. And then I thought it was really silly first, to feel intimidated by it, and then two, to feel like it's a protest for me to even walk through there.

Beyond just exclusionary, students experienced white-space as characterized by other dominant social forces revealing an experience of interconnected oppression

communicated through campus space. Stories illuminated social-spatial features of whiteness in educational settings and exposed college space as racialized.

Socio-Spatial Features of White-Space and Elite-Space

Students commonly perceived white-space at PCC as also elite-space. Students' stories, discussions, and spatial field notes describe an experience of inhabiting and traversing college that involves navigating multiple forms of intersectional and interrelated oppression. Through an analysis of students' stories, I identified three socio-spatial features of PCC space identified by students as both white and elite space: (a) quietness, (b) aesthetics over function, and (c) unnamed rules.

First, sound, or the lack thereof, was associated with a kind of dominant space characterized as both white and elite. Students talked about ways in which silence in space communicated exclusionary messages. "If a space on campus is quiet, then it needs to stay quiet and you have to be quiet in that space. If you're not, you shouldn't be there." The work of maintaining silence was a way to regulate and monitor space, heightening an experience of surveillance. "The staff's main job is to keep that lobby area quiet. So, you walk in and you just know not to make any noise. It's intimidating." One student shared a photo and her analysis of sound in a new academic building:

> This is a picture of a new building that I marked as white-space, elite-space, and intimidating-space. It was very quiet, like too quiet. An eerie quiet that makes whispering feel too loud. It's so quiet and still that you hear every step someone makes when they walk through almost as to announce your presence. For me, as a minority having my presence made audible like that was very uncomfortable in a room of predominantly white people. What's interesting is that the building design makes it look like you're outside with the light posts, benches, and plants, but feels and sounds nothing like the outside.

Quietness was equated with white and elite; conversation and “noise” was perceived as more “inviting and welcoming.” One student wrote the following comment in their spatial field notes of a library:

> This is a computer room on the second floor of the library. During the day it stays on the more quiet side. Later into the evening it's mostly filled with people of color and you hear more conversation going on. You hear a medley of different accents and languages. Even though I'm different than the people in there, it feels more welcoming because there's more diversity, conversation, and you don't have to worry about intruding on others space or feeling weird about talking in another language.

Recent changes to PCC library space included floors now designated for conversation and group work. Students articulated that these changes contributed to more inclusive library space at PCC. While most students welcomed quiet space, they generally agreed that quietness was often a feature of whiteness. Often prompting students to self-regulate, the cohort commonly identified quietness as a marker of how students experienced white-space and elite-space.

Second, students commented about how aesthetics contributed to a felt sense of white-space and elite-space. “Beautified” spaces served to facilitate a kind of differentiation and order. “There’s definitely a role and a purpose that aesthetics serves,” explained one student, “You can kind of tell just by looking whether something fits in a space or not and, whether you fit in the space.” Landscape arrangements, “well-manicured lawns and trees,” “flowers and plants,” “fancy benches and chairs” marked a kind of beautification of PCC spaces that students sometimes also felt marked whiteness.

“Aesthetics over function” was described by students as furniture that “looked fancy but was uncomfortable” or spatial arrangements that “showcase an entrance but implies you shouldn’t actually use the furniture.” One student wrote the following spatial field note:

> This is a picture of the lounge area in front of the library. Walking into the building, I immediately thought "this is so nice!" To me, nice or fancy equates to being elite. The type of furniture in the lounge area is very close to the ground and you get a sense that it was more for show than for functional purpose.

This shared perception of “dysfunctional space” as white-space and elite-space communicated a dominant value of aesthetics over function. One student stated,

> We are at a college and when you have furniture that doesn’t match what we do as students here, it doesn’t seem practical. Like, you have low tables and chairs, but why not have a desk or a desk-like table that is more practical for studying?

Other students identified campus courtyards as space “no one uses” but they “make the campus look good.” Dysfunctional space—space “you’re really not meant to use”—extended beyond buildings and courtyards. One student reported:

> The lawn! The benches on the outside imply that the lawns are more decorative than a park would be. I just really don't see the purpose of lawns besides signaling middle-class status and values. These could be community gardens, a bazaar, fruit trees, a gazebo, a playground, a skate park, a child-care facility, a rec hall, like literally anything else but a lawn.

A third feature of white-space and elite-space was “unnamed rules.” Students commonly perceived space “without directions” or space that was “not intuitive to use” as features of dominant space they had to navigate at PCC. Similar to navigating

“dysfunctional space,” “mysterious space” prompted students to question what they were “really” allowed to do or question how they were supposed to engage. For example, one student reported on a campus Free Assembly area:

> A potentially good idea that gives students a place where they can assemble. But it is left pretty vague to me. There are no rules for use posted, which leads me to assume that students can utilize the space in any way for any reason, but my gut tells me that a lack of any structure might discourage some from creatively occupying it. Are only students allowed to use it? Is assembly allowed outside of the designated area? Do events have to be coordinated officially, or is it freely available? In the absence of student-led initiatives, will PCC host events to help draw attention to its potential?

“Unspoken rules” about space also fell into the category white-space and elite-space. For example, in a critical race spatial analysis of a campus learning garden students described how unnamed rules contributed to a perception of white and elite.

> It’s missing opportunities to share what’s growing, how things grow, what is being practiced, and most important how we are supposed to engage in this space. It doesn’t make me want to do anything even though it’s supposed to be open and inviting.

Socio-spatial stories of space perceived as hidden, white, and elite point to the under-examined exclusionary dimensions of college space. An analysis of students' stories draws attention to how educational settings communicate dominant messages while also exposing spatial dimensions of navigating college.

Critical Race Spatial Lens as Liberation Pedagogy

A second key finding in my analysis is CRSL as liberatory pedagogy. The students involved in *Space Matters* described critical race spatial praxis combined with

socio-spatial storytelling, dialogue, and inquiry, as a liberatory form of pedagogy. Throughout the project student participants shared in journal entries and workshop discussions their ongoing experience of "feeling empowered." These experiences contributed to their learning in ways that they described as "transformative," "eye-opening," "validating," and "life changing." "This changed a lot of my perspective and how I see things and what I notice," shared one student. "I am viewing areas at PCC differently," explained another student, "I have started to really think about what they represent, what they feel like, who they allow, and who they might exclude."

In addition, several students commented on how participating in *Space Matters* contributed to feeling more "courageous" and "confident." One student shared, "I felt more courage to go in spaces that have made me uncomfortable before." While many students acknowledged they had in fact thought about space before participating in *Space Matters*, they now valued having "the words" to talk about it more confidently with others. One student said, "I was always aware of the things we have been discussing but it's just making the connection with everyday life. I actually feel more comfortable on campus."

In addition to empowering and transformative, students perceived a critical race spatial lens to (a) validate their lived experiences, (b) to provide new language, (c) illuminate socio-spatial commonalities of navigating everyday space, and (d) make visible hidden mechanisms of power.

Validate Lived Experience

Students described how the opportunity to work with other students of color validated their lived experience. For most students it was the first time they had been in a PCC space with all people of color; participants found this experience to be the most "powerful" aspect of the project. In their journals, students wrote about how a space dedicated to students of color contributed to a transformative learning experience. "I realized that this is the first time I have been in a room with no white people at PCC. I can't explain how refreshing it was for me." Students described feeling included and validated in a "safe space" to talk about racism. For example, one student wrote, "Today, I felt the most included in a classroom I have ever felt. I feel so validated and for once not alienated or made to feel unheard or like I am the crazy one making up all this in my head."

The opportunity to explore race and racism without white students offered a unique setting for students to "go deeper" in examining their lived experiences as people of color. The absence of white students opened new possibilities for sharing and dialogue. "In this space people got to let down their guard and be honest about their feelings and experiences." Being in a space with other students of color offered some participants a learning experience that made it "easy" to talk openly. One student wrote, "It was incredible to have the opportunity to be vulnerable and discuss such complex subjects in an encouraging environment without fear of being judged or ridiculed or dismissed for speaking my truth." Another student reflected, "It was eye-opening to see how our conversation flowed and how much more open I was to participate in a group

conversation with only people of color in the room." Discussing race and racism with other students of color who "could relate," who "would not judge," and who would "not doubt the experiences shared in discussions" all contributed to an opportunity for participants to speak freely, share more than they would typically, be less self-censoring, and experience validation.

Provide New Language

A critical race spatial lens opened opportunities for students to enter into personal ruminations about space from a wide range of perspectives while also offering new language to better "name" and "explain" those experiences. Explorations of spatial memories and experiences were not linear or homogenous. Some students associated space with the "people in the room." "When you bring up kinds of spaces, I automatically think of the people in that space and the energy that comes from them," shared one student. Another student explained, "When I think about space I am thinking about spaces in relation to each other and how they make me feel. A lot of spaces in my life conflict with each other's like spiritual space, home space, and school space."

Not everyone found their personal perceptions of space easy to locate. One student shared, "Thinking about space is hard because I want to speak in tangible ways about space but it feels so intangible to me which is difficult." Another student explained, "I keep wanting to think more about connecting my younger me to the present and thinking about my experiences as a child growing up in Portland and being in different spaces." However, with practice, students got better at putting what at first seemed ineffable into words.

For others, their experiences and interpretations regarding space were salient. "Where I grew up," shared one student, "there were no sidewalks and no green spaces. This limited traveling, how we traveled." Another student reflected, "When I think about space, the first thing that comes to mind is the police force and their presence." Stories included accounts of where they were from, where they had lived, places that felt comfortable and affirming, and places that they associated with exclusion and discrimination. "As a person of color, I am always thinking about space," explained one participant. "Like, as a Black man I am systematically denied space, but as a male, I feel privileged in space." Other students claimed space affected people of color uniquely "because most of us have been relocated in some kind of way."

A critical race spatial lens offered students a variety of entry points into a collective exploration of race and racism. Socio-spatial storytelling met students "where they were at" by inviting personal memories, associations, and perceptions with particular attention to spatial dimensions of their lived experiences. Sharing their experiences and thoughts served as a foundation for dialogue. A critical race spatial analysis offered a lens for students to explore both distinct and shared experiences collectively in new ways. For most participants, while they experienced their socio-spatial lived experiences deeply, they previously didn't have a language to name them. Their socio-spatial sensibilities, while regularly practiced, were default and unconscious (under-examined). Similarly, their perceptions of power-laden space, while in some ways obvious, had not been validated as "real."

A critical race spatial lens helped students to "locate," "name," and "explain" their experiences and practices while aiding in making a connection between "the personal and political." For example, one student said that "The themes and topics we have discussed through a CRT lens have been prevalent throughout my entire life." They continued, "But only now do I feel like I am acquiring the tools necessary to see and explain and think about them critically." One student reflected: "After our workshop I had some friends in town. It was easier for me to talk to people about these issues and articulate the concepts that I was aware of before but didn't necessarily have the tools and language. It's been really helpful." Another student shared, "CRT puts words to a truth that I have experienced my whole life. I can't say enough about how this feels." Acquiring new language to name lived experiences was a critical element to student's perceptions of CRSL as a "relevant" and useful framework.

Illuminate Socio-Spatial Commonalities of Navigating Everyday Space

A critical race spatial lens highlighted students' diverse range of socio-spatial experiences while also serving to illuminate distinct commonalities as people of color navigating everyday space. This was an important insight to the cohort. "There are no right or wrong answers. We are basing it on our own experiences and what space means to each of us." Using the CRSL, students were able to see their differences as well as their commonalities, as they realized the multidimensionality, complexity, and nuance to the stories they both shared and heard. At the same time, through an analysis of the data, I identified three commonalities that "deeply resonated" with students and illuminated a "shared experience as people of color" in everyday spaces: (a) holding sidewalk space,

(b) being watched, and (c) the labor of navigating college. These commonalities serve to further illuminate under-examined experiences of navigating every day and college space.

Holding Sidewalk Space

Students perceived sidewalks as a contested space in which white people commonly exercised a kind of socio-spatial entitlement. Students shared at length about having to actively hold or relinquish sidewalk space due to a social "expectation to move over for white people." One student shared:

> My boyfriend and I go for walks in our neighborhood, which is predominantly white. When we walk down the sidewalks we notice we are usually the ones that have to go off the sidewalk for them. They literally won't move.

Other students agreed, adding dozens of personal accounts of similar experiences and confirming a shared perception that, "white people expect us to move off of sidewalks."

Students shared their common experiences of trying to hold or claim sidewalk space. Several common consequences for not moving included: bodily contact, "an oppressive silent treatment," or "getting a look." "If you don't move," explained one student, "you get that look like, why aren't you moving for me." Several students shared accounts of white people literally walking into them because they were not looking, they claimed not to see the person, or they were not willing to move. "It happens to me all the time," said one student, "Even when I felt like It wasn't my fault I would say I'm sorry, but they would just look at me." Some students suggested this phenomenon did not just

occur on “sidewalks but included other walkways.” “It’s not just sidewalks, it’s pathways in stores too in terms of who is expected to move.”

Students navigated between conscious and unconscious avoidance as they traversed their everyday lives. Some lamented that they often choose avoidance, to “just get out of the way.” Others confessed the frequency with which they found themselves “walking off the sidewalk” to make space for white people. One student shared,

> Not only are you expected to move, but subconsciously we believe we should be the ones to move. We internalize their entitlement and believe we should be the ones to get out of their way even when they are taking up all of the space.

Stories of refusing to move as an act of protest often led to unwanted contact, a “shoulder bump,” and even being pushed. “They would rather run into you than be the ones to move,” claimed one student. Students generally perceived “there were no good options” to confront this practice of white entitlement and felt the ways white people “took up space” to demonstrate a kind of socio-spatial privilege. While these experiences were widely felt by many students, most agreed they “never talked about it.” One student elaborated:

> I was already paying attention to space before this, but I didn’t have words to describe any of it, or talk about any of it, so that’s been interesting. The sidewalk thing I couldn't get out of my head from the last workshop. It’s been interesting because I talked to a few of my friends about it and everyone knows these things, like we all have these experiences but none of us ever talked about them. When I started paying closer attention, I realized I don’t even get out of the way on purpose. I try to hold my ground, but I just automatically move and that was interesting for me.

Socio-spatial storytelling affirmed students' experiences while enabling them to name a form of socio-spatial white privilege. What started as an individual "sidewalk story" generated many similar stories of holding or claiming sidewalk space. This realization of a shared experience was affirming to many students who initially believed "they were the only ones" to experience sidewalks as racist. For students who commonly deliberated whether to move off sidewalks or not move, discussing the phenomena helped to legitimize and depersonalize the experience.

Being Watched

A second commonality was a shared experience of 'being watched." "It's always assumed we are going to steal, or that we don't belong, that we must be up to something, just because of how we look," stated one student. In our early trainings, students shared stories of being watched and followed in stores, singled out in classrooms, schools, and workplaces and surveilled in neighborhoods. In general, students perceived "public space" as a contested space in which white people exercised white privilege through racist gazing, watching, and profiling. "I went to an all-white high school and was one of the only people of color," share one student, "Teachers would watch me in class and in the hallways more than other students because I was Black. It was a reminder to me that I was different."

This experience of being watched was frequently compounded by the fact that many students reported being the only person of color in these public spaces, especially because they lived in Portland—"a very white space." Many of the students shared some version of the sentiment. "I am the only person of color in the store and they follow me.

Meanwhile it's probably the white girls who are stealing." Another student commented, "As a Black man I am always being profiled and watched. Especially if two or three of us gather together in one space; the police will be there in minutes." Students discussed the heightened surveillance that came with being with other people of color in public space. One offered, "If I am out with my friends who are also people of color, I am even more cautious because I know for sure they will be watching us."

Students generally perceived being watched as a form of control, but not one that is often acknowledged as tied to space. "It goes back to this idea that Black people aren't allowed to be in space because it's a threat for us to be together and to have this community," claimed one student. She continued:

> Some communities have been allowed that and other communities have not been allowed to come together and we have to recognize it's not as easy to say that we can do that as people think it is because everyone just doesn't get that privilege.

Students cited other examples of how race was connected to space, including neighborhood displacement and gentrification, forced relocation, and other ways people of color historically had been pushed and pulled in and out of space. One student reflected:

> Every time a group of people of color are at a park having a picnic, the police are always called. Anytime there is a space where people of color come together, especially to listen to music, that place will not last. Eventually the police or the city or the PDC [Portland Development Commission] will take that space and make something else of it, like a dog shop, and make us move to another location which breaks up that whole group of people that were coming together to share their love of music and dance. So even the question of who gets to occupy space, who gets to gather in space, is about race. This is why space is important to people of color, because most of us have been relocated in some kind of way.

The Labor of Navigating College

Finally, the student cohort described the added stress and "labor" caused by the "constant self-talk and self-regulating" that people of color commonly experience while navigating every day and college spaces. Students discussed how the lived experience of "always being watched" and policed had caused them to possess a "hyper-awareness" of being under a white gaze. They suggested that people of color "hyper-think" about the likelihood of being surveilled or "work to avoid" being "seen and scrutinized." Students discussed the labor of navigating college space as a significant and shared experience throughout the project. As people of color, students perceived the "labor" of internal conversations to include: "double-consciousness," "hyper thinking," "having to rethink everything," "being watched," "censoring," "worrying about what others think," "proving yourself," or "convincing yourself you belong." "It's the double consciousness of having to be in two spaces in one time, having to be two people, or have two consciousnesses," explained one student. This socio-spatial labor according to students, was required not only to inhabit and traverse everyday spaces but exemplified the of labor navigating college space. One student explained:

> Every minority has this kind of split. You have you and how you think, and then there is another part of you that thinks and acts like your 'supposed' to. We go back and forth without acknowledging what we're actually doing. It's like a coping mechanism that white people don't have because it's about being in racial situations.

Another student described her experience as having a kind of internalized censorship:

> I realized in this discussion that I am always wondering how white people will see me. Obviously, I am not doing it consciously, but I do wonder, what will they think? And, I doubt whether or not I will have a moment where I am not thinking about it. It's still so in my subconscious.

These internal conversations in educational settings were tied to students' self-doubt and sense of not belonging in relation to college space. One student explained:

> I think you have to challenge yourself, to go to places you may think you don't belong. I've been there, now I am kind of over it. I basically just walk around like I do belong here just as much as anyone. That's my attitude now. Sometimes you have to tell yourself, I belong here.

The labor of navigating college space was largely about belonging—assessing space to determine if they could belong, scanning space for other people of color who appeared to belong, and when all else fails, performing you belong.

Students perceived this socio-spatial labor to be unique to the experiences of people of color who navigate space "in which we are not entitled." One student described an example of socio-spatial white privilege as, "not having to have that internal dialogue" and instead being able to travel in space "without thinking about it at all." "It's weird that we have to have these conversations in our head though," another student mentioned, "Because some people just walk into a space, never question if they should be able to walk in, they do it without even thinking." Another student shared, "It's so shocking to me that white people can walk into a classroom and be so confident."

The socio-spatial labor of navigating space can have a long-term health impact, as one student noted:

> That's what kills people, the stress, like the double-consciousness that James Baldwin talks about. Emotionally we get so worked up that we don't know how to deal with it and that's what kills us. It's not the actual space but it's the space within our bodies and that's what's so hard to fight against.

In fact, PCC students of color discuss "self-care" as a key issue they faced. "We need to be paying attention to self-worth and self-discovery to combat the double consciousness and self-doubt that tells us we are not worthy enough to go through that building," asserted one student. "We need to be more aware, and to have a mental check to take care of ourselves." Acknowledging a shared experience of the labor of navigating college space generated possibilities for coming together. "We have all experienced this hyper-thinking and yet none of us have talked about it with each other. This is why we need to come together and talk so we can claim spaces at PCC."

Participating in *Space Matters* enabled students to expand their socio-spatial awareness of their own lived experiences and gave them a language to talk about the racialized dimensions of everyday and college space. A critical race spatial lens highlighted students' diverse range of socio-spatial perspectives while also revealing distinct commonalities as people of color navigating everyday space.

Make Visible Hidden Mechanisms of Power

Students described how CRT and spatial theory helped to "make visible" hidden dimensions of racism they "knew existed but couldn't explain." Understanding space as a

social construct helped draw students' attention to the inner workings of power. One student shared:

> You walk into spaces all the time and never really understand all that is going into it, the plans, decisions, money. Once you see it and connect the dots, you start to understand why you perceived it the way you did to begin with. Spaces are designed to include and exclude things and people all the time. We just don't know about it.

Acknowledging space as racialized was a critical insight for most students, offering opportunities for students to make connections between multiple dimensions of structural power. "Not only do we lack representation in the curriculum and in the faculty, but we are also not represented in PCC space." Another student suggested:

> There is a psychology to spatial arrangements. We are being groomed to do things, like to shop, to behave in a certain way, to stay in a line, or behind the line. It is kind of like a form of assimilation and control.

A critical race spatial lens opened new ways of understanding how culture and systems work. "Learning this lens has changed my life," maintained one student, "And it changes my view of our current landscape in America because I understand better how racism works." Another student wrote in her journal, "This lens is giving me a tool to improve not only myself but also my community." Developing a shared language and lens for understanding socio-spatial forces offered student participants a framework for critically "reading" the world.

Applied CRT and spatial theory served as an approach to liberatory education by "getting at" often unnamed socio-spatial experiences and helping to expose under-

examined apparatuses of power. Entering into dialogue about a diverse range of memories and experiences helped students shape a collective understanding of space as ideological. This allowed students to affirm experiential knowledge, offered new language to name lived experiences, and provided a framework to situate experiences in a broader socio-spatial context. Through using a critical race spatial lens, students felt their lived experiences and multidimensionality were valued and essential to an institutional exploration of college space.

Students' Socio-Spatial Stories as Counter-Narratives

The final theme in my analysis of students experiences as part of this project is that students' socio-spatial stories are good examples of what critical race theorists call counter-narratives. Students' socio-spatial perceptions and experiences serve as counter-narratives to pervasive beliefs that often function to conceal mechanisms of social reproduction. In this study, students' stories served to debunk two dominant narratives. First, students' perceptions of PCC space illuminated hidden features of campus climate often concealed by dominant narratives and common perceptions of educational settings as neutral. In fact, many PCC stakeholders shared the popular belief that the material world is neutral, rendering material objects and spatial arrangements as unbiased and unrelated to equity and inclusion. Using a CRT lens combined with their experiential knowledge, students were able to uncover college space as ideological, often exclusionary, and linked to a sense of belonging. Students' socio-spatial stories of PCC space as mysterious, white, and elite, serve as counter-narratives to the myth of college

space as neutral. Instead, their stories help to show how educational settings reflect the dominant culture and shape how students navigate and experience college environments.

Second, student participants' experienced CRSL as a transformative, validating, and relevant lens that helped them name deeply felt experiences and identify commonly shared perceptions. They were then able to critically analyze PCC space in order to expose hidden dimensions of social reproduction in educational settings. CRSL was never rejected by students as "too theoretical," "negative," or "inherently exclusive" as critiqued by some PCC stakeholders in this study. Claims that CRSL, like other critical theories, are too inaccessible to apply are so commonplace they have been taken for granted as valid critiques.

Students' socio-spatial stories disrupt this pervasive critique and serve to diminish its credibility. In point of fact, for PCC students most affected by racial inequities in education, a critical race spatial lens resonated as practical, intersectional, and transformative. Students' socio-spatial stories of engaging CRT serve as a counter-narrative to a dominant narrative of CRT as inaccessible and instead illustrate positionality and ways of knowing as likely factors in how PCC community members perceived CRT as an equity lens. Findings from this study suggest critiques of CRT as "too theoretical" function to conceal systemic racism and discourage critical approaches to institutional change.

While counter-narratives have been used to debunk notions of neutrality at large, they have infrequently been applied to the neutrality of college space in the research literature. In addition, pervasive perceptions of CRT as "too theoretical," "negative," or

"inherently exclusive" have commonly been used to discredit and dismiss CRT as a viable and practical equity tool for institutional change. Socio-spatial stories as counter-narratives serve to legitimize CRT—not only as a transformative lens for students most affected by racial inequities, but also as a practical framework for exposing and transforming hidden dimensions of exclusion.

Conclusion

Overall, through identifying key findings related to student experience in this chapter, I have argued that a theoretical and praxis-oriented framework guided by CRT and spatial theory offers a transformative approach to centering the experiences of students of color, illuminating under-acknowledged dimensions of navigating educational settings, and exposing college space as power laden. After education to understand CRT, students in this study could easily identify features of college space that function to reproduce inequity. Indeed, these features also help illuminate possible opportunities for transforming power laden spaces, which I will discuss in the remaining two chapters of my dissertation.

A critical race spatial lens served as an approach to liberation pedagogy by validating students' experiences and spatial sensibilities, expanding students' socio-spatial awareness, and inspiring a sense of agency and action. As part of their training to engage in a CRT spatial analysis, students started by sharing experiential knowledge, and then learned to draw on the language and theoretical tenets of CRT to re-look at PCC and everyday spaces differently. Using a CRT spatial lens, students were able to acquire new language to name lived experiences and deepen their understanding of systems of power.

Students' socio-spatial stories illuminate hidden dimensions of campus climate and serve as counter-narratives to pervasive beliefs that often function to reproduce racial inequities. In the next and final data chapter, I expand on the students' insights and reflection and the possibilities they opened up. I discuss how student participants in *Space Matters* applied their newfound socio-spatial awareness and tools to explore and assess outreach and engagement strategies for inclusive planning and design.

CHAPTER VI

CRITICAL RACE SPATIAL PRAXIS AS AN EQUITY APPROACH TO PLANNING AND DESIGN

In responding to the RFP, I presented an integrated theoretical and praxis-oriented framework that brought together CRT and spatial theory and a participatory action research project designed to engage a cohort of students of color in an institutional effort to examine links among planning, space, and educational equity. I introduced a critical race spatial lens (CRSL) as an approach to expose institutional practices in planning and design, explore students' experiences of navigating college space, and also to identify new strategies in service to educational equity. The effort to identify new strategies was done in collaboration with student leaders participating in *Space Matters*.

As co-researchers participating in a larger institutional effort, I worked with the cohort (whom I introduced in the previous chapter) to apply their newfound socio-spatial awareness and CRT tenets to design and evaluate outreach and engagement approaches as inquiry strategies to learn about other students' perceptions of PCC space. I refer to this inquiry process of critical race spatial praxis as "disCRiTsition." Drawing from the meaning of the word "disquisition," which is "a formal inquiry into or discussion of a subject" (Merriam Webster, n.d.), I offer "disCRiTsition" as a form of inquiry through a CRSL into an action-oriented discourse. I suggest that disCRiTsition can be used as a form of inquiry to transform issues of racial inequity and engage in critical race spatial

praxis in service to action and institutional change. Using CRT and spatial theory combined with inquiry, we designed and coordinated three projects to hear from other students and to expose hidden features of college space. I use the word “we" here and throughout this chapter because while I served as project coordinator and principal investigator, it was my work in collaboration with and alongside the students' work that gave shape to the key insights and conclusions I discuss in this chapter.

The experience of participating in *Space Matters* activities, combined with the collaborative experience of “testing” the engagement approaches I describe in this chapter, ultimately served to inform our collective insights and recommendations for inclusive planning and design. While CRT has helped to expose patterns and dimensions of unacknowledged structural inequity, as articulated in the literature, few scholars have used CRT as a tool for exploring and transforming the hidden curriculum of college space. This was my goal in responding to the RFP and as part of this dissertation. In the previous two chapters, I discussed how a critical race spatial analysis could transform students and stakeholders’ ways of thinking about space. In this chapter, I more fully address the possibilities opened up by these shifts in thinking for making institutional changes.

In this chapter, I analyze how critical race spatial praxis helped our research team to illuminate practical and strategic direction for planning and design in service to equity and inclusion. I argue critical race spatial praxis offers an equity approach to explore how colorblind, space-neutral, and exclusionary practices in campus planning and design can instead be transformed to further institutional equity and inclusion. Student-led

recommendations for institutional change demonstrate the utility and practicality of CRT as an approach to change. In these next sections I discuss my strategy for data collection and analysis as well as the key findings in my work with student co-researchers.

Data Collection and Analysis Strategies

In this section, I provide a brief overview of my approach to data collection and analysis for this aspect of the study. Over the six months I worked with student leaders, I audio recorded all project meetings and inquiry activities. I had most of the recordings transcribed professionally. I also captured video footage of three culminating events (winter and summer terms) in which students shared findings and recommendations for change with institutional stakeholders. In addition, I analyzed a large volume of project documents generated through my work with the student cohort. Documents include: drafts of outreach plans, survey designs, student-generated approaches to data analysis, evaluations of plans, and other documents maintained throughout the process.

As a reminder, *Space Matters* began as a five-week project during February and March 2018 winter term, in which students were invited to participate in: (a) three day long workshops, (b) activities in between workshops to further inquiry projects (e.g., taking photos, talking to peers, conducting research), and (c) presenting inquiry findings, insights, and recommendations to stakeholders. At the end of winter term, college leaders invited us to continue our work that summer.

During May, June, and July 2018, student leaders: (a) participated in weekly three-hour planning meetings, (b) conducted outreach and inquiry activities (averaging three–five hours a week), and (c) presented inquiry findings, insights, and

recommendations to stakeholders. Where the winter project was a general exploration of college space, the summer project aimed to engage students in a systematic critical race spatial analysis of distinct college spaces including: a campus learning garden, a newly built space for student resources, and an academic building slated for renovations.

For this chapter, I draw on data collected largely during the summer term project and specifically our collective work as a research team to design and evaluate outreach and engagement approaches as a means to learn about other students' perceptions of PCC space. I analyzed the data similar to how I did in the other chapters, coding, clustering, and identifying themes. An analysis of the data generated through my work with student participants in *Space Matters* suggests new approaches to inclusive planning and design. Student-led recommendations for institutional change demonstrate the utility and practicality of CRT as an approach for transformation and institutional change. In the next section, I discuss the key findings in this study.

Key Findings

What was originally planned as a five-week leadership and inquiry project expanded into a six-month endeavor in which I worked closely with a cohort of students to actively participate in uncovering perceptions of PCC space and test approaches to engagement for inclusive design. Inquiry activities offered an opportunity for students to participate in the design and evaluation of approaches and tools aimed to support institutional planning for equitable and inclusive design. Working with a cohort of students of color as co-researchers to examine socio-spatial inequities at PCC also contributed to a transformative learning experience for student participants.

In this chapter, I extend my analysis of this experience by discussing findings in my inquiry work with student participants. I have organized my analysis into three key themes: (a) critical race spatial inquiry, (b) CRSL as an equity framework for inclusive planning and design, and (c) critical race spatial praxis as a strategy for institutional change.

Critical Race Spatial Inquiry

Recruited as co-researchers and acknowledged as possessing vital experiential knowledge, participation in *Space Matters* gave students an opportunity to learn and apply CRT and spatial theory to investigate their own and other students' socio-spatial perceptions. After learning about both CRT and spatial analysis, the next phase in the project was to apply a critical race spatial lens to design and "test" outreach and engagement strategies.

During the 2018 winter and summer terms, the student cohort and I designed three disCRiTsitions to outreach and investigate students' perceptions of three PCC spaces: the overall college, a campus-based learning garden, and newly renovated student resource centers. Each disCRiTsition aimed to illuminate students' perceptions about college space and expose how built environments function to communicate and normalize racial hierarchies.

Using CRT and spatial theory, we analyzed the findings that each project generated and assessed the outreach designs themselves as potential "blueprints" for inclusive planning and design. As a means to contribute to institutional efforts, for each disCRiTsition we compiled findings and insights to share with stakeholders in face-to-

face forums. While I attended and participated in each of the three forums, students always led the presentations and facilitated forum dialogues. In this next section, I briefly review the three inquiry plans we designed and discuss students' perceptions of these outreach and engagement plans.

DisCRiTsitions as Inquiry Plans

We designed the first disCRiTsition in March 2018. Students decided to design an inquiry plan to learn about the "lived experiences not being heard at the college" and focus on the voices of PCC students of color. Students developed a college-wide survey that could be filled out on paper and via online links that could be accessed by cell phones or laptops. They administered the survey via face-to face outreach. Students organized themselves by home-campus, set survey goals, and brainstormed places to "meet students of color where they are." The survey invited students: (a) to identify PCC places they associated with 10 socio-spatial descriptors, (b) to share if they believed PCC space "represented them," and (c) to list ideas for inclusive spaces. The cohort conducted outreach in student resource centers, libraries, common areas, hallways, and classrooms. They included students they knew and strangers they "just walked up to." After two weeks of face-to-face outreach, students collected 138 surveys completed by PCC students of color across the district.

The cohort shared inquiry insights from the college-wide survey at a community forum called, "How Space Matters: Reflections from a Student Inquiry Project on Race, Space and the PCC Landscape." Over 60 stakeholders, including college administrators, partnering architects, campus planners, faculty and staff attended this two-hour student-

led program. The community forum took place in a large conference room in the district administration offices on the oldest and largest PCC campus. Following the presentation, students facilitated an open dialogue with stakeholders to discuss findings and implications for new practices.

The second disCRiTsition took place in June 2018 and was inspired by an invitation from PCC's Office of Sustainability. College leaders in the Sustainability office were members of the facilities planning task force and strong supporters of the *Space Matters* project. They invited the student cohort to conduct a critical race spatial analysis of PCC's largest campus learning garden. Learning garden staff shared about their ongoing challenge to engage students of color in program activities and welcomed an opportunity for the cohort to apply CRT to analyze the learning garden to "tell us what you see." Using a research method that I designed called "reading space" (Appendix G), students engaged a series of prompts to examine the learning garden through a critical race spatial lens. Students captured their "readings" in spatial field notes and included photos and brief narratives. Students were especially interested in the opportunity to conduct a systematic analysis of "outdoor space." "Using CRT to analyze outdoor space is different for us," shared one student, prior to this, "we have only been looking inside buildings." The notion of outdoor space as "built" was also noteworthy. "We think of gardens as natural and therefore neutral, but PCC gardens are like classrooms and each campus has different gardens, but they are not equal." Twelve student participants spent three hours inhabiting, traversing, and studying the learning garden space. Through journal reflections and spatial field notes, they engaged in individual and personal

reflections, as well as worked in pairs and small groups to conduct "CRiTwalks" (Hughes & Giles, 2010) in which they analyzed the garden space out loud together. The session ended with a large group debrief of findings and insights and several follow up discussions on implications.

Student participants shared these insights at a small meeting with three stakeholders, including one representative from the Office of Planning and Capital Construction, the PCC Sustainability Manager, and the Rock Creek campus learning garden Sustainability Coordinator. The meeting took place in a small conference room in the building for public safety and facilities management on the oldest and largest PCC campus. Students shared the inquiry process and tool, insights from their critical race spatial analysis, and ideas to potentially expand access and student engagement which then lead into a group dialogue.

The third and final disCRiTsition I analyze took place in July 2018 and involved analyzing a newly remodeled student resource center space on the oldest and largest PCC campus. This space included a "open, common area" and the campus student resource centers including: Women's Resource Center, the Veterans Resource Center, the Multicultural Center, the Queer Resource Center, and Student Government. The cohort decided to survey "all students" on campus since the newly renovated space was designed for "all students." Given insights that emerged in the evaluation of the first disCRiTsition, the cohort decided to continue face-to-face outreach as a means to be more relational and less transactional to encourage interaction and engagement with their peers. In order to design more "accessible" questions, students worked additional hours in

small and large groups developing, vetting, and revising the “right words” to learn the stories we most wanted to hear. Students paired up and worked in shifts to conduct three weeks of outreach targeting people inhabiting and traversing the common area and resource centers. In total, they collected 215 surveys.

Student participants shared their insights with stakeholders through an interactive critical walking tour of the resources center space. Rather than a traditional presentation or meeting, students wanted to more fully engage stakeholders in the actual space under examination. Over 50 college administrators, architects, campus planners, project managers, and PCC staff participated in the tour. Students developed a critical tour of the resource center space comprised of 17 “stops” and curated the tour with findings and quotes from the survey, excerpts from spatial field notes, and short historical “lessons.” To amplify student voice and encourage participation, students created interactive index cards with student quotes that they distributed at stops. Then, they asked stakeholders on the tour to read student quotes aloud in distinct spaces. Students also facilitated short “applied CRT exercises” along the tour, inviting people to collectively interpret classrooms and bathrooms and identify dominant narratives featured in these spaces. The one-hour tour ended in an academic building that was slated for renovations on the oldest and largest PCC campus. Students concluded the tour with final thoughts about new approaches to outreach and engagement as a strategy for inclusive design.

Lessons from Praxis

In these next sections I offer an analysis of our collective work to examine inquiry findings, assess outreach designs, and evaluate overall approaches employed across the

three disCRiTsitions. While these insights reflect a collective process, I draw heavily on students' perspectives and the data (described above). I first offer an analysis of the significant utility of this approach before discussing some of the limitations. Students perceived a critical race spatial lens to offer a strategic and transformative approach to outreach and engagement in four distinct ways. CRSL served to: (a) center voices of students of color, (b) acknowledge students' perceive PCC space in diverse ways, (c) inform "good questions," and (d) expose socio-spatial "issues" for further action.

Utility: Centers the Voices of Students of Color. First, the cohort perceived CRSL to validate the experiential knowledge and lived experiences of students of color. By centering the voices of students of color and engaging students as co-researchers in a college wide effort, CRT opened new possibilities for inclusion. One student explained:

> Our personal narratives, lived experiences, and positionalities are often not accounted for in scientific data as a result of our muted voices and an inability to quantify feelings and perceptions. We value the feelings and perceptions of marginalized groups and believe in the power of storytelling in order to find ways to implement institutional change.

In addition, students were persuaded that without "targeting" students of color, opportunities "to hear from them" and learn about their experiences would be significantly limited. "We already know that white students will always have a voice and will be engaged in leadership opportunities," shared one student, adding that "We also know if we don't reach out to students of color on purpose, we definitely won't hear from them."

Utility: Acknowledges Students Perceive PCC Space in Diverse Ways. Second, student participants valued the ways in which a critical race spatial lens illuminated diverse perceptions of PCC space. Revealing the complexities of students' socio-spatial perceptions, CRT helped to debunk the myth of space as neutral. Using CRT, students were able to expose how built environments shape students' experiences navigating college space. Two examples illustrate the utility of CRT as a means to expose students' socio-spatial perceptions.

First, through the July 2018 survey we conducted on the newly renovated space for student resources, findings indicated a diverse range of perceptions. Some students we surveyed liked the new open space and large windows into the various surrounding resource centers. One student surveyed suggested, "Not hiding resource centers allows for more students to be reached and seek out services, to interact, and engage from the points of their identity." However, other students surveyed perceived the space to be less welcoming and more invasive. Some students reported feeling "watched," "stared at," and in the gaze of people walking by. Using a CRT and spatial lens students were able to illuminate how PCC space is perceived differently, often depending on the positionality of the students, and draw attention to the need for further inquiry to explore how these socio-spatial perceptions potentially impact student experience navigating college and accessing campus resources.

Second, through the critical race spatial analysis of a learning garden, students uncovered a range of complex socio-spatial perceptions. Many students perceived the learning garden as "calm," "relaxing," and "peaceful." At the same time, several students

also expressed feeling conflicted by what one student called, "historical trauma" associated with outdoor space. In a journal reflection one student wrote, "I am particularly aware of the history of people of color being exploited/forced to do arduous labor in fields/farms/etc." Another student wrote: "I thought I would have had a more relaxing feeling but it brought memories of my hometown [the name of rural town], Washington and what my people do in agriculture to survive." Some students expressed conflict over the range of feelings they experienced. One student shared with the group:

> This learning garden makes me feel conflicted. I can see the purpose and mission behind creating a space like this, but my mind wanders between the practical, the historic, and the implications of agriculture. I also just want to enjoy the moment, the fresh air and the sunshine. I then think about my mother's family and the fields they worked so tirelessly so they could feed their families.

A CRT and spatial lens illuminated the complexities of students' perceptions of the learning garden space. Further inquiry to explore how these perceptions potentially impact student participation in learning garden program activities would be useful. Overall, the cohort valued the ways in which a critical race spatial lens illuminated diverse perceptions of PCC space which also served to debunk the myth of racially neutral educational settings.

Utility: Informs "Good Questions." Third, student participants valued the ways in which a critical race spatial lens invited critical inquiry. Identifying and crafting "good questions" was critical to the project and required trial and error. Using a critical race spatial analysis, students were able to understand and explore dimensions of space that

aimed to “get at” students’ feelings, perceptions, and “reads” of space. One student explained this insight particularly well, and thus it is worth quoting at length:

> We have come to understand that when people are in a space, there is an intuitive felt experience within that space. There is something that elicits our past experiences, our positionality in society, and that evokes sentiments while we are in that space. We have also learned that there is a linkage between felt space and perceived space. When we feel these things in space, there are features of the space that we attribute those feelings to. There are things we perceive within the space that we identify as touchstones for those feelings. As features of the space elicit feelings, based on our individual lived experience, there are messages and dominant narratives that are reinforced and these work to socialize us in society and the communities we exist in.

The cohort appreciated the utility of a CRT spatial lens as a guide to develop questions that were both accessible to students and relevant to the inquiry.

Utility: Exposes Socio-Spatial Issues for Further Action. Finally, overwhelmingly students agreed that the survey findings helped “prove” PCC space was not racially neutral, that students experience PCC space differently based on their multiple identities, and that socio-spatial perceptions can help stakeholders to better understand the relationships between educational settings and feelings of inclusion. As a means to raise awareness and draw attention to under-examined aspects of the campus climate, members of the cohort believed that CRT was a vital tool for raising awareness. “We are not solving problems,” explained one student, “we are bringing attention to issues and sharing knowledge.” While surveys were transactional and surfaced more questions than answers, engagement strategies did effectively draw attention to potential socio-spatial issues that could then be investigated and acted upon. In this regard, there

was value in surveys, but not as a means to share stories, rather as a means to identify issues.

There were challenges. Students identified four key challenges from our experience of designing and coordinating outreach and engagement activities including: (a) time, (b) transactional instrument, (c) the elusive nature of space, and (d) a lack of shared lens and language.

Challenge: Time. Each inquiry project presented time constraints and students were balancing between *Space Matters* activities and classes, work, family, and other responsibilities. “We found the survey difficult to plan, design, and execute comprehensively due to time and resource constraints,” explained one student. One inquiry project even took place during the summer in which fewer PCC students were on campus. Limited time to outreach and engage students was one challenge students discussed at length.

Challenge: Transactional Instrument. Second, students perceived surveys to be an inadequate instrument for storytelling and sharing lived experiences. Even with face to face outreach as a “personal touch,” the survey was an insufficient tool to learn about complex and nuanced perceptions of space. One student explained in a community forum with stakeholders:

> The survey doesn’t allude to the stories that exist in the people who occupy the space and fails to identify the way that students are informed personally by the spaces they are experiencing. It provides us with a ton of data points, but those data points are out of context. There is a contextual component to this that is essential to understand how people are affected by space.

While a good starting point, surveys were limiting, too transactional, and did not allow for deeper insights into the complexities and nuances of students' socio-spatial experiences. Given those limitations, it was difficult for us to "dig deep enough" to understand the experiences behind the perceptions, leaving much unanswered. "Much of what we learned is inconclusive," claimed one student. For example, while the survey revealed many students of color identified a PCC space when they thought of white-space or intimidating-space, we were often unable to determine from the survey why students perceived the space in this way. "We don't know why the place came to mind. Is it the people in the space? The activities there? The location? The built environment? A personal experience? We have no idea," explained one student in a debrief meeting of the inquiry findings. Perceived to be too "transactional" and a method better suited to "extract information," students recommended instead the method of focus groups or workshops. One student offered, "No amount of survey will extract what we need in order to develop ways in which the institution can be changed."

Challenge: The Elusive Nature of Space. Third, the elusive nature of space was also identified by students as a challenge to engaging their peers. "Space is not something we think about," explained one student. "After learning about CRT, we know that's not true, but that was one big problem we went through doing our surveys. People don't think about spaces or the effects of them." While conducting outreach, the cohort reported getting "weird looks" and "silence" when explaining the survey. "We are talking about something that no one really talks about," stated one student. "It's hard because space is so normalized, people are like, 'it's a building, what are you talking about?' It's easy to

take for granted and at first hard to see." Many students did not understand the survey questions and ultimately the answers did not correspond well with our goals. "What we got was not what we were asking," one student shared. While frustrating, it was an important insight into the challenges of exploring students' socio-spatial experiences.

Challenge: Lack of Shared Lens and Language. Finally, students perceived the lack of a shared lens as a significant barrier to authentic engagement with other PCC students. One student shared:

> Many students were like what is CRT? So, at the same time we were asking questions to learn from them, we had to educate them first. So, if we want more students to be involved we have to educate them. They don't know what they don't know.

Students emphasized the need to educate students as a way of "engaging" them in the questions. The cohort argued education on CRT and spatial theory would support students to acknowledge their lived experiences and also look more critically at their surroundings, which could, in turn, help to illuminate socio-spatial inequities in college settings. Applying CRT in this way would contribute to authentic engagement strategies for inclusive design. At a community forum a student discussing this challenge shared the following:

> Even in our first Space Matters workshop, we took a lot of time just getting on the same page and learning about CRT and getting introduced to language we didn't have before. That was important to our work, being educated first.

To honor students' lived experiences and encourage fuller participation, the cohort believed there had to be a training component. "Even for us we needed to learn about

CRT and space to talk about it," shared one student. "And then when you apply it to your own life sometimes you don't have the words to name what you know."

The students realized that to truly engage their peers in a fashion consistent with CRT, they would need to find ways to invite storytelling and experiential knowledge, as well as work to raise socio-spatial awareness. "People have not had the chance to think about these questions before or engage in the theory or share stories with others," explained one student. Without training or orientation to CRT, or some of the associated concepts, full engagement was limited. One student explained:

> We wanted to make sure we heard from other students, so it wasn't just our voices. We noticed from the first iteration of the project that frequently students don't have the most critical perspective of their environment. We asked questions to get thoughtful answers and instead we would get responses like 'swimming pools would make PCC more inclusive'. We want to bridge the gap between the questions we actually want to ask and where the students seem to be.

These limitations ultimately influenced students' ideas and recommendations for more "authentic engagement" strategies in planning and design. Ultimately, the experience of participating in Space Matters activities combined with the experience of developing disCRiTsitions, served to inform students' broader insights and recommendations for inclusive planning and design.

CRSL as an Equity Framework for Inclusive Planning and Design

Critical race spatial praxis provided a powerful example of one way to support students as co-researchers to investigate socio-spatial perceptions of PCC while simultaneously exploring new institutional approaches to engagement. Students were eager to share their insights and contribute to college efforts for institutional change. "We

need to be in that room and with people in power to make sure we are heard," asserted one student. Another expressed, "What we are doing has to be shared with people in power, with white people in leadership roles at PCC to educate them. If we are just doing this in a vacuum, then what is the point?"

After six months of study, inquiry, and analysis, in July 2018 the student cohort and I presented to PCC stakeholders a new approach to inclusive planning and design guided by a critical race spatial analysis. Given the ways in which space does in fact matter and based on our practical experience (the three disCRiTsition), the cohort and I developed a praxis-oriented model to align built environments to institutional values of equity and inclusion we called, Critical Race Participatory Planning and Design (CRPPD) (see Appendix I). This praxis-oriented model involves a specific set of strategies or actions that college stakeholders, planners, and architects can take to put into practice the theoretical tenets of CRT and spatial theory.

In this section, I share culminating project insights and argue these findings offer new direction in campus planning and design through the practice of the four guiding principles of CRPPD. Specifically, planning and design practices that support equity and inclusion should entail: (a) inclusive outreach; (b) authentic engagement; (c) the design and curating of college space that demystifies, disrupts, and represents; and (d) an action-orientation. I review the four principles by making links between what CRSL requires that we attend to, how it can be applied to facilities planning specifically, what we have learned from our work at PCC, and tangible strategies to actualize each principle as a means to facilitate institutional change.

Inclusive Outreach

The first principle was inclusive outreach. In drawing on CRSL, educators are exposed to a legacy of structural racism that has systematically excluded, diminished, and ignored the "voices" of people of color. One of the ideological underpinnings of exclusionary practices within institutions has been a dominant perception that denies and renders invisible people of color as multidimensional. That is, people of color are treated as only a single identity, one based on race and therefore, they can only represent the "voice" of their racial group. Despite a racist legacy of exclusion in education, to center the voices of students of color in an institutional effort to "hear from students," is still commonly perceived to "exclude" the voices of other identity groups based on gender, class, ability, or sexual orientation. This was true at PCC, as evident when the initial plan to recruit a cohort of students of color was met with "push back" that asserted such an effort would exclude women, LGBT, and first-generation students. In other words, to pay attention to the "voice" of students of color was perceived to shut out the voice of others. This lack of intersectional analysis reflects a dominant narrative that dehumanizes students of color, rationalizes the absence of their voices, and explains why there are rarely institutional approaches to "listen" to students of color at all. Through a CRSL, outreach efforts in service to inclusion centers the voices of people of color. An intersectional analysis helps stakeholders to recognize that race alone does not fully account for people of color's experiences and that people of color can also "represent" the voices of other identity groups. In fact, critical race theorists assert that people of

color possess a unique positionality and "vantage point" that offers a vital perspective necessary for advancing racial equity.

Applied to facilities planning, a critical race spatial analysis can help to illuminate the systematically excluded, tokenized, and ignored voices of students of color in the planning process. Historically, limited approaches to student outreach by PCC's Office of Project and Capital Planning resulted in a lack of student voice in campus design. While PCC leaders have been making a concerted effort to reach out to and include students, strategies to reach students of color specifically are still being discussed and continue to raise concerns by some stakeholders: "What about other students? Aren't we just excluding other voices?" CRT offers a practical and strategic lens to re-imagine institutional outreach efforts in service to PCC's commitment to equity and inclusion. Through an analysis of the findings of my work with the student cohort, we identified several new directions for inclusive outreach. As PCC has modeled, colleges and universities committed to equity and inclusion can institute practical and strategic approaches to outreach. Including student voices in college planning and campus design should be a matter of ongoing practice. Student-centered planning requires developing systematic processes for contesting practices that commonly exclude students. In addition, drawing from a CRSL, stakeholders committed to equity must develop and coordinate inclusive outreach strategies that specifically aim to engage students of color. Acknowledging students of color possess an epistemic advantage, some outreach strategies should center their voices in collaborative planning and inclusive design.

College leaders and campus planners should "push back" on claims that centering the voices of students of color is "exclusionary" and remind all stakeholders that students of color are more than a racial identity and thereby are also "qualified" to "represent" other social identities. Inclusive outreach plans "map" relational (through partnerships and collaboration with advisors, mentors, faculty, student groups, clubs, resource centers) approaches to recruit, engage, and support the leadership of students of color in ways that meet them "where they are" and offer meaningful opportunities for authentic engagement.

Authentic Engagement

The second principle in the model we presented to stakeholders was authentic engagement. CRSL supported our research team to pay attention to dominant narratives and the ways they can function to camouflage whiteness and structural racism. Pervasive myths such as color-blindness and neutrality render whiteness as invisible and normalize racial hierarchies. Critical race theorists assert that the experiential knowledge and stories of people of color debunk the validity of dominant myths and serve as counter-narratives. In debunking the myth of neutrality, counter-narratives work to expose policies and practices that reproduce racial inequities.

Applied to facilities planning, using a critical race spatial lens helped us to uncover color blind practices in campus design and the dominant narrative of college space as racially neutral. Students' stories of navigating college served as counter-narratives to the myth of educational settings as a level playing field. Socio-spatial counter-stories expose college space as ideological, a hidden dimension of campus

climate, and directly linked to issues of inclusion and exclusion. For that reason, counter-narratives are not just stories of navigating college, they expose how college space functions as a mechanism of social reproduction and in doing so illuminate tangible opportunities for action and institutional change.

Findings in this study also suggest that authentic engagement in inclusive planning and design is best supported through an orientation to a critical race spatial lens that involves storytelling, dialogue, and collective inquiry. Engaged as co-researchers, student participants in *Space Matters* were collaborators, not subjects, working with other students and stakeholders to address a problem that directly impacted them at the college. For the student researchers, this was a transformative experience.

Given the elusive nature of space and the ways in which space often functions in hidden ways on college campuses—as indicated in the findings of this study—building from CRT can help to validate spatial sensibilities and expand spatial awareness. One cohort member explained in a community meeting with stakeholders,

> Students don't necessarily have the perspective and education that we do from participating in *Space Matters*, but that link between felt and perceived space still exists. Often times it can be very difficult for students to acknowledge and name that sense. Helping students to apply a CRT lens offers language for naming their experiences and offers a more authentic way to engage in problem solving.

Student co-researchers argued that CRT offered a transformative lens to validate lived experiences, to re-examine PCC space, and to imagine what college space in service to inclusion might look like. Students maintained that activating CRT for these purposes supports authentic engagement strategies for inclusive design.

New approaches to engagement should be mutual, relational, and collaborative. Students should be invited to participate in liberatory pedagogy that invests, supports, and values their socio-spatial perspectives. This research provides evidence that new engagement strategies that utilize workshops, focus groups, and other relationship/community building forums, and that introduce a critical race spatial analysis as a lens for reflection, dialogue, and visioning can both transform individual participants and institutional practices. New approaches to authentic engagement should invite students to explore their experiences navigating college through a CRT lens guided by new questions that aim to reveal experiential, relational, and socio-cultural dimensions of space. The methodology of storytelling and dialogue can help students to uncover existing spatial sensibilities, enabling them to discuss the lived experiences of felt and perceived space, and expanding their socio-spatial awareness of, and tools for, navigating. Authentic approaches require that students are engaged as vital collaborators in an institutional effort to advance equity and inclusion through a participatory process. Their socio-spatial experiences navigating college serve as counter-narratives and are critical to design in service to equity and inclusion.

The Design and Curating of College Space that Demystifies, Disrupts, and Represents

The third principle in the model we presented to stakeholders was space that demystifies, disrupts, and represents. Critical race spatial praxis supported stakeholders, students, and our research team to acknowledge that racism is embedded and engrained in all aspects of society—the cultural, social, and the material. As a mechanism of social

reproduction, built environments communicate dominant narratives and normalize racial hierarchies. Thus far I have discussed some of the ways in which built environments reproduce the status quo, contributing to inequitable and exclusionary "design problems." I summarize three of these problems below, before arguing that campus planners should work to demystify the purposes of spaces, disrupt hidden socializing messages, and create more representative spaces. Critical theorists are often most successful at describing problems, but not offering strategies for responding to, and ideally transforming, these problems. Here, I offer three practical "aspirations" for educational settings as a means to contest the "design problems" and instead "activate" space in service to institutional inclusion.

To summarize the "design problems" that contributed to marginalizing students of color, first, some built environments were often perceived as "inaccessible" due to missing information, limited signage, and hidden protocols or rules. In this regard, space contributed to a sense of disorientation. "Mysterious things can hurt marginalized students," explained one student. "Making rules explicit takes the burden off students to figure it all out." Not knowing how to navigate PCC space contributed to doubt and diminished a sense of belonging. One student shared:

> It is hard to tell by being here what activities are really allowed and encouraged and what activities are not. Open spaces in active places can leave a lot of room for interpretation. Sometimes that can be a negative experience.

Second, students perceived many PCC spaces to communicate messages that normalized social hierarchies. Binary bathrooms, English only signage, inaccessible

classrooms, and “hidden” resource centers were some examples of how space normalized social inequities. “There are places with resources for ‘marginalized’ students, but they are sometimes out of the way and inconvenient,” explained one student, “Internalizing narratives can cause negative feelings about asking for help and discourages some students of color from seeking out hidden resources.”

Third, students believed PCC did not adequately represent communities of color. In fact, our survey of 138 students of color across the district, 36% reported that PCC spaces did not “represent them.” While “multicultural” murals and art were featured in some PCC spaces, students believed these were often tokenistic and stereotypical. The cohort perceived these three features of PCC space to alienate some students and potentially inhibit the confidence necessary to engage fully in learning experiences. Drawing on students’ socio-spatial experiences as counter-narratives and our experiences throughout this project, we offered PCC three possibilities for educational settings to respond to these “design challenges” so as to further institutional inclusion: demystify, disrupt, and represent.

First, college space designed and curated in service to equity and inclusion should demystify implicit, unnamed, hidden expectations and “rules.” For example, in a critical race spatial analysis of a campus learning garden, student co-researchers identified limited signage, hidden protocols, and missing information as key features of an unwelcoming and exclusive space. To better demystify the learning garden space, students suggested better wayfinding strategies, various approaches to explain appropriate (and wanted) activities to be engaged by “users,” and more visible

explanations of rules and guidelines. These ideas show the possibility of design working in service to demystify hidden features of college space.

Second, college space designed to service to equity and inclusion should disrupt implicit and explicit socializing messages and dominant narratives that normalize racial hierarchies and reproduce the status quo. For example, design strategies in this context would aim to disrupt bathrooms that normalize the gender binary, monolingual signage that reproduces whiteness, or highly regulated silence in libraries that normalize dominant perceptions of learning as individualistic. These ideas point to possibilities of design that works in service to disrupt social hierarchies.

Finally, college space aimed to further inclusion should represent the histories and contributions of communities of color with an aim to disrupt whiteness as the norm. Many strategies were identified by our research team over the course of our work together. While we always acknowledged the potential of tokenization, we agreed representation was key to inclusion. Art and color were two strategies to represent diversity in space. White is the dominant paint color across all four PCC campuses. White, identified by stakeholders as a neutral color, literally reflected whiteness. Students believed merely the use of bright colors would “represent” communities of color in space. Another idea was to use the indigenous names of the surrounding mountains visible in the learning garden like, Wy'east. Currently, garden signs use western names like, Mt. Hood. Another example was to name buildings after people of color. One project carried out by leaders at a PCC campus profiled contributions of long time African American activist on a wall outside of the campus library including pictures and accomplishments as a tribute

to her leadership and contributions to the local community. These ideas inspire the possibilities of design that contests whiteness and represents people of color.

Action-Orientation

Finally, an action-orientation was a key principle we recommended to stakeholders in our model. CRT invites us to acknowledge that racism is embedded and engrained in educational policies, pedagogical practices, organizational culture, and built environments in hidden ways that reproduce racial inequities and the status quo. CRT provides a framework for a broad social justice agenda built on the belief that eradicating racism also supports eliminates other forms of oppression.

Applied to planning and design, a critical race spatial lens can help stakeholders to see the institutional socio-spatial practices that reproduce the status quo through colorblind and space-neutral approaches, transactional outreach strategies, binary concepts of "good" and "bad" space, and outcome-based strategies for change. Through inclusive outreach and authentic engagement guided by critical race spatial praxis, stakeholders should include the voices of students of color in college discussions about space, campus planning, and inclusive design. An action-orientation to planning would enable student insights to inform institutional practices. Students' insights and recommendations should inform institutional change. As one student explained:

> It's one thing to have people of color represented but we also need a voice and to be listened to when making decisions, not just representing an identity and being tokenized. Students of color are eager to be part of the planning process, but we lack the institutional power and tools to improve the conditions we critique.

New approaches for planning and design should demonstrate a long-term commitment to institutional change that is process-oriented and focused on praxis cultivated through experience, training, application, and collaboration. According to one member of the research team, students "want planners and leaders to practice CRT, not just add multicultural pictures, or use certain paint colors and furniture when designing inclusive space." Findings in this study demonstrate there is no "ideal" or racially neutral space; there is no silver bullet or CRT checklist. As one stakeholder explained in using CRT in planning and development: "It's not a product, it's a culture shift." Planning and design efforts should involve new opportunities to collaborate with students of color as a means to inform recommendations for new socio-spatial practices in service to a student-centered, action-oriented approach to equity and inclusion.

Critical Race Spatial Praxis as a Strategy for Institutional Change

Using the critical race spatial lens that I have discussed throughout this dissertation helped to ensure student engagement in institutional change efforts at PCC and served as an example of taking CRT in praxis-oriented directions for campus planning. While the project is ongoing, there are at least four significant changes as evidence of institutional change at PCC. These relate to (a) organizational culture, (b) policy, and (c) institutional practices.

First, through conscious efforts to use the language and tools of CRT and spatial theory in everyday conversations and planning efforts, discussions of race, power, and inequity within facilities planning are now common and ongoing. It is now rare for people to question whether racism is reproduced through the built environment, rather,

stakeholders start from the assumption that it is and work to understand it so as to transform it. As an approach to equity and inclusion, CRT offered a practical framework that brought together traditionally disparate departments at PCC. The language of CRT is now infused into everyday conversations across the college within academic programming, student development, and now, facilities planning.

Second, in the fall of 2018 the Office of Planning and Capital Construction adopted a new practice for RFPs and job announcements. Under this practice, potential contractors would be asked to describe and demonstrate their experience in applying an equity lens to their work, including not just issues of universal design, but also concerns related to racial equity and access for historically marginalized groups. In some RFPs, applied CRT was explicitly named as a wanted tool for planning. Foregrounding PCC's mission to advance equity and inclusion, new RFPs are changing business practices and standard operating procedures. Ensuring that future construction projects are undertaken with equity concerns paramount no doubt will change the very architecture of campus space in the future. It will also guarantee that these issues stay on the broad college agenda, as work towards equity is never simply a box that one can check off.

Third, PCC is committed to utilizing the Critical Race Participatory Action Design Process for future projects, including two in the works now. The process we created to involve and engage students of color revealed to stakeholders the significant limitations of traditional design processes and questions employed by campus planners and architects. PCC is now planning ways to consistently and regularly involve students, particularly students most impacted by educational inequity, into facilities planning. They

are also discussing ways to utilize CRT inspired counter-narratives and storytelling as key methods to gather information and students' voices to inform design choices.

Fourth, two years since the launch of the CRT in Facilities Planning initiative, CRT has been instituted as an equity lens in three new construction projects. This is the first time PCC will engage critical race spatial praxis in the planning and design process for major renovations including an academic building, a campus library, and a new workforce center. Drawing from our model of a Critical Race Participatory Action Design Process, one of the partnering architecture firms hired two student leaders from *Space Matters* to serve as CRT advisors; two other student leaders were hired to work on the library project. Embedded in the renovation project team, student leaders are now working directly with designers, contractors, and PCC's Planning and Capital Construction staff to apply CRT to outreach, engagement, and design. While transformations at PCC are still in progress, the most notable outcome of these efforts is that a wide range of stakeholders are now drawing upon tenets of CRT to guide their partnerships, planning, decision-making, and manner of operating in ways that would have been unimaginable a mere five years ago.

Conclusion

As can be seen in an overall assessment of PCC spaces, the student participants and I were able to engage in critical race spatial praxis as a means to open possibilities for authentic engagement both in what *Space Matters* modeled and what student leaders experienced in their own outreach and inquiry efforts. The college dedicated time and resources to support this effort. College leaders prioritized a process-oriented approach

over a more traditional outcome-based approach. Students were engaged as researchers, not subjects. They were acknowledged as possessing an epistemic advantage in an inquiry effort that aimed to expose socio-spatial dimensions of racial inequities on a college campus. Critical races spatial praxis supported students in being able to offer meaningful, practical, and strategic approaches for inclusive engagement and critical inquiry as a strategy to further institutional change at PCC.

Understanding both the process and findings from this study can help us to further analyze college space, particularly starting from the reality that "navigating" college is a socio-spatial experience for all students, but most especially for students who come from traditionally marginalized groups. Educational leaders, campus planners, and architects can apply these insights to pay closer attention to how built environments function, especially working to demystify hidden rules and disrupt dominant messages. A process of student-led inquiry and analysis served to educate stakeholders and generate new possibilities for outreach and engagement. In the next and final chapter, I expand on the key insights I have shared in my data analysis chapters, answer my research questions directly, and discuss the broader implications of this study.

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

The material world is an under-examined mechanism of social reproduction, including the reproduction of white supremacy. Material objects, spatial arrangements, and built environments are too-often taken for granted as logical, universal, and rational. Tables, chairs, walls, gates, bathrooms, classrooms, campuses all pass largely unacknowledged as cultural artifacts of a highly stratified society. Dominant myths such as meritocracy, colorblindness, and neutrality camouflage whiteness and render space as invisible.

However, as I have shown throughout this dissertation, college space, like other spaces, is ideological and often functions in service to the status quo. The ways in which spatial arrangements and built environments act to normalize social hierarchies often escape critical scrutiny. In educational settings, to ignore, overlook, or not "see" the spatial dimensions of campus climate, is also not to acknowledge and understand the spatial experiences of students of color navigating college.

The purpose of this study was to expose the hidden curriculum in planning and design, to illuminate the socio-spatial experiences of students of color, and to identify practical action-oriented approaches to institutional change. Through an ethnographic study, I examined how using CRT and spatial theory, as an integrated praxis-oriented framework, combined with participatory action research, could assist in an institutional

effort to amplify the voices of students of color and identify strategies for inclusive planning and design at a community college.

In this final chapter, I answer my research questions: (a) How do students of color experience and perceive college space? (b) How does space function to teach dominant narratives, normalize racial hierarchies, and reproduce the status quo in education? (c) How does critical race spatial praxis illuminate practical and strategic approaches for institutional change in service to educational equity and inclusion? First, I will respond to question one by summarizing students' experiences of navigating college and reflecting on the implications for popular education.

Second, I will answer question two using the "working" tenets (guided by CRT and spatial theory) that came to guide my work with PCC stakeholders and students. The tenets I share here changed from the tenets I described in Chapter I by engaging them in the "real" work. I offer this version to demonstrate the practicality of a tool that can be shaped through praxis. In this section, I discuss how each tenet helps expose the ways in which space functions to teach dominant narratives, normalize racial hierarchies, and reproduce the status quo.

Third, I will respond to question three and discuss how critical race spatial praxis can inform equity approaches to institutional change. After answering my three research questions, I then discuss two broader implications of this study on the long-standing theory/practice divide and the principle of interest convergence. Then, drawing from the key insights of this study, I share limitations and offer tangible recommendations to

educational leaders, architects, educators, and researchers. I conclude this chapter with a personal reflection.

Answering the Research Questions

In this section I answer my research questions. I situate this discussion in a social justice, praxis-oriented discourse, reminding the reader of my positionality in this study. I am a longtime popular educator, action-oriented researcher, organizer, and strategist. As a community organizer I was trained in popular education, a philosophy and methodology that draws from experiential knowledge, engages *conscientização*, or consciousness-raising, and links education to action. Through institutions like the Center for Third World Organizing and Highlander Institute, I came to understand popular education as a liberatory pedagogy, explicitly concerned with understanding mechanisms of power, and grounded in collectivism. Paulo Freire (1970), often cited as the founder of popular education, best explains its primary aim as *teaching to read the world*—that is, to expose, examine, and intervene in the dominant social forces that shape everyday life. At its core, popular education is participatory, cooperative, and employs methodologies of storytelling, critical analysis, dialogue, and praxis.

In community organizing, popular education is a strategy for developing the leadership and critical analysis of people most affected by structural oppression and supporting their collective power to bring about social change. It is intimately connected to other participatory methodologies like community-engaged or action research. Together these tools and research approaches can assist in the identification of issues and help guide the necessary strategizing efforts to transform communities and institutions.

Guided by critical and feminist theories, popular education and action research supported my community organizing work with middle and high school girls of color and later my work with students of color working in the multicultural center at PCC. It is this experience that motivated me to conduct a study on the possibilities of critical race spatial praxis and it is through this perspective that I respond to the questions that drove this study.

Students' Experiences and Perceptions of College Space

The findings in this study demonstrate that college space is not neutral. Based on an analysis of the data, it is evident that navigating college is a socio-spatial experience; indeed, space matters. Students of color in this study experienced navigating college space in intersectional ways, and often as navigating multiple forms of oppression. As I described in Chapter V, socio-spatial features of buildings, bathrooms, resource centers, libraries, and learning gardens contributed to students' experiences of college space as white, elite, exclusionary, or unwelcoming. These features contributed to a shared experience among student participants—questioning a sense of belonging, the labor of navigating whiteness on campus, and a congruency between traversing college space and the experience of navigating everyday space. Students' socio-spatial stories are counter-narratives to colorblind, "space-neutral," and binary paradigms that often characterize institutional planning and campus design in educational settings.

Based on the research findings in this study, a theoretical and praxis-oriented framework guided by CRT and spatial theory offers a transformative tool for popular education, that is, storytelling, critical analysis, dialogue, and praxis. An opportunity to

explore space and spatial experiences through an examination of white supremacy can be meaningful, relevant, and "life changing." As I described in Chapter V, critical race spatial praxis validated students' of color lived experience, introduced new language that helped them to make visible hidden mechanism of power, and cultivated community among participants in the cohort. This experience inspired many students to participate in the ongoing effort to investigate and identify new practices in planning and design and take leadership to inform "real" institutional change. Critical race spatial praxis offers a curricular and action-oriented framework for social justice education.

The Hidden Curriculum of Planning and Design

In this section, to reflect on my second research question about how space teachers dominant narratives and normalizes and reproduces the status quo, I use the six theoretical and praxis-oriented tenets I developed for planning and design (Appendix J). Here, I offer a later articulation of the tenets as they came to be in the process of engaging them in the practice. I discuss how each tenet illuminates insights on how space functions to teach dominant narratives, normalize racial hierarchies, and reproduce the status quo in education. I argue critical race spatial praxis offers an accessible and strategic approach to expose aspects of the hidden curriculum of institutional planning, campus design, and college space. The six critical race spatial tenets for planning and design are: (a) identity, positionality, and lived experience shape our perceptions of space; (b) racism is embedded and engrained in all aspects of society including institutional planning, campus design, and college space; (c) dominant narratives in planning and design conceal institutional racism; (d) college space functions as a

mechanism of social reproduction; (e) voice, multidimensionality, experiential knowledge, and stories of people of color serve as socio-spatial counter-narratives; and (f) work to dismantle racism in planning and design advances equity, inclusion, and social justice in education.

To practice applying theory is to take direction from theoretical tenets. In this regard, theory is "living." It directs our attention, invites us to examine, engages us in questions, and expands our imagination. In answering my second research question, I anthropomorphize theoretical tents to "give them voice." I argue this is a methodology of praxis.

Identity, Positionality, and Lived Experience Shape Our Perceptions of Space

This tenet offers an entry point into exploring our multiple identities, experiential knowledge, and spatial sensibilities. It serves as an analytic to examine relationships between epistemic advantage, epistemologies of ignorance, and how we read, experience, and navigate space.

In this study, participants used this tenet to acknowledge a diversity of socio-spatial experiences and to understand how positionality may socialize us "not to see." For example, through this tenet we were able to explore why many stakeholders (most of whom identified as white) were not readily able to detect socio-spatial features of whiteness in everyday space. This tenet is critical to examining our social and spatial ways of knowing and more importantly to acknowledging epistemic obliviousness. The socio-spatial phenomena of "not seeing" dominant messages communicated in built environments functions to reproduce structural ignorance. Through this tenet, we can

better understand the role of structural ignorance as an apparatus of white normalization that renders space as racially neutral. This tenet offers a point of departure for exploring personal socio-spatial experiences in relation to larger social forces. Starting with the personal can open opportunities to understand white privilege and racism while at the same time, expand appreciation of the epistemologies of people of color.

Racism is Embedded and Engrained in All Aspects of Society, Including Institutional Planning, Campus Design, and College Space

This tenet acknowledges a social problem and establishes the need for an equity lens. It serves as an analytic to examine concepts like *embedded* and *engrained* as a means to understand structural and institutionalized racism. This tenet reminds us that equity work should expose hidden socio-spatial practices that reproduce racial inequities. Institutional norms can be understood as intentional and unintentional practices that without "critical" intervention tend to operate in service to the status quo. As such, while this tenet draws attention to structural issues, it also suggests issues can be transformed in service to equity through *new* norms and *inclusive* practices. As described in Chapter IV, colorblind, space-neutral, binary, and exclusionary practices in planning and design function to reproduce institutional inequities.

Colorblind. Prior to the CRT initiative, PCC facilities planning did not engage an equity lens. Largely informed by Universal Design (UD) this framework focuses primarily on access for people with a range of disabilities, not terms of issues of race or culture. Stakeholders perceived UD to "make space accessible to everyone, no matter

what your race." A framework for *everyone*, UD rendered whiteness invisible, dismissed embedded racism, and resulted in colorblind practices in facilities planning and design.

Space-Neutral. Pervasive perceptions of college space as racially neutral also characterized socio-spatial practices. The name of this dissertation captures the prevailing question posed by stakeholders at the beginning of the CRT initiative: what does CRT have to do with a roof? The implication of this question are what does race have to do with built environments; space is racially neutral. Space-neutral logic normalizes planning and design practices that function to reproduce racial hierarchies and the status quo.

Binary. Binary is a paradigm that frames discourse as good or bad. A binary paradigm in facilities planning served to reproduce dominant notions of space as either "good" or "bad." Binary paradigms rationalize outcome-based practices. Pervasive outcome-based practices encourage a preoccupation with "fixing bad space" while ignoring and concealing inequitable practices. Institutionalized racism transacted through day-to-day processes remains unexamined when stakeholders are focused solely on outcomes. The behind the scenes machinery of social stratification remains legitimate and we continue to *not* to pay attention to that which is concealed "behind the curtain." The implications of binary thinking are to ignore the dialectical relationship between process and outcome and ultimately stifle the full potential of a critical lens.

Exclusionary. Exclusionary practices are default practices when no outreach and engagement strategies are instituted. The absence of inclusive engagement processes results in the systematic exclusion of the voices of students of color. Enacting

exclusionary practices results in a disconnect between the people who design space and the people most impacted by those spaces. The absence of inclusionary practices limits the voices of people of color, normalizes the logic of whiteness in planning, and reproduces racial hierarchies in educational settings.

Dominant Narratives in Planning and Design Conceal Institutional Racism

This tenet exposes the ideological underpinnings of institutional practices. It is intimately connected to the previous tenet in that it functions to normalize policies and practices through a "logic" often rationalized by social narratives. This tenet is critical to understand how stories and myths function to conceal structural racism and render whiteness as invisible. In this study, stakeholders were able to use this tenet to better understand the relationship between the dominant narrative of *neutrality* and inequitable practices in planning and design. Stakeholders were also able to identify four distinct narratives that commonly legitimized PCC practices.

Time, Resource, Efficiency, and Safety. Related to facilities planning and design, stakeholders identified PCC narratives linked to broader dominant values (often connected to whiteness) that justified decision-making that furthered the status quo. "We don't have time to engage students in planning;" "We don't have the money to create flexible classrooms;" and "It's not safe to have non-gender binary bathrooms." Perceived as common-sense and logical, these particular narratives in planning and design rationalized much of the decision-making. They were difficult to contest because stakeholders believed there was "some truth" to these claims. In their institutional roles,

stakeholders felt beholden to uphold these "reasonable" arguments when decisions were made.

Uncovering dominant narratives is essential given far too often, the ideological underpinnings of institutional practices tend to remain concealed. Once exposed, narratives are still challenging to refute precisely because they are perceived as the conventional wisdom. Disrupting the logic of whiteness is paramount to transforming racist practices. By paying closer attention to these narratives, we can better interrogate their validity and work institute other norms in decision-making that further equity and inclusion. These strategies pave the way for new practices, which can then be normalized through critical narratives.

College Space Functions as a Mechanism of Social Reproduction

This tenet asserts college space as a mechanism of social reproduction. As an analytic, it serves as a way to introduce and examine the *hidden curriculum*, the notion of space as *text* and spatial awareness as an act of *reading*. Drawing from this tenet, participants in this study were able to explore how space functions to *teach* dominant value systems and *communicate* socializing messages through built environments. Students used this tenet to expand their spatial awareness by *reading* PCC spaces through a critical lens. When provided opportunities to *read* space*,* participants were able to expose the hidden curriculum, disrupt dominant narratives of college space as neutral, and illuminate built environments as a critical dimension of campus climate.

Through this tenet we can better acknowledge the curricular dimensions of space and understand how it functions as an apparatus of hegemony. The material world

possesses a profound authority by its mere presence in our everyday lives. Hidden in plain sight, cloaked in neutrality, built environments are a persuasive normalizing force that demands critical scrutiny to "see." Its current power lies in the ability to both mirror and rationalize whiteness while being presumed as innocent and neutral. Indeed, brick and mortar play a central role in maintaining and normalizing white supremacy.

Voice, Multidimensionality, Experiential Knowledge, and Stories of Students of Color Serve as Socio-Spatial Counter-Narratives

This tenet serves to assert two key claims. First, people of color are multidimensional and affected by multiple-forms of oppression. In planning and design, students of color are often only recognized as their racial identity. They can only "legitimately" represent the voice of people of color and "speak to" issues of race. Despite possessing other identities and lived experiences, they are rarely "legitimately" able to represent the voices of other groups, nor are they perceived to possess the "authority" to "speak to" issues of gender, class, sexual orientation, or ability. Related to outreach and engagement, not only are students of color excluded, they are often tokenized. While white students can "legitimately" represent all students and serve as the voice of many, students of color can only represent the voice of one. In that paradigm, engaging one student of color is often enough. Too center the voices of students of color is perceived to exclude the voices of other groups. Single dimension perceptions about people of color in planning and design function to reproduce whiteness within educational settings.

Second, this tenet affirms the epistemic advantage of people most affected by racism and other structural forms of oppression. It acknowledges students of color as multidimensional, possessing a unique vantage point that comes from the experiential knowledge of living as people of color in a white supremacist culture. Students socio-spatial stories of navigating college are counter-narratives to pervasive myths that conceal whiteness in design. Counter-narratives are critical to institutional change. Socialized not to see, architects in the United States are largely white and male. Practices in planning and design that exclude or tokenize people of color limit the possibility for student voice and more importantly, students' stories, to shape plans and designs for college space. Socio-spatial counter-narratives illuminate critical and practical avenues for transforming space in service to equity and inclusion. Educational settings, designed without "hearing" from students of color, often function to reproduce whiteness and racial hierarchies.

Work to Dismantle Racism in Planning and Design Advances Equity and Inclusion in Education

This tenet offers a vision and rationale for institutional change that centers racial equity in a larger effort for equity and inclusion. Racism is a linchpin to other forms of structural inequity in education and people of color are negatively impacted by other forms of oppression. Despite this, racial equity is often not articulated as a key goal in education reform. As I described in Chapter IV, many stakeholders resisted centering race as a strategy for equity. Commonly, stakeholders are more comfortable talking about other forms of inequity based on class, gender, or ability. In this study, drawing from this

tenet helped participants to understand the *logic* of employing a CRT lens as an equity approach to planning and design. In fact, CRT has served to bring together traditionally disparate departments at PCC. The office of Planning and Capital Construction, like other PCC departments, is now more accountable to aligning planning and design efforts to institutional goals for equity and inclusion. When equity initiatives do not center race, racist practices within educational institutions persist.

Critical Race Spatial Praxis as a Strategy for Institutional Change

More than four decades ago, Martin (1976) asked a question still relevant to leaders committed to social justice: *What should we do with a hidden curriculum when we find one?* In this section, I answer my third and final research question while discussing how critical race spatial praxis illuminates practical and strategic approaches for institutional change in service to educational equity.

Structural change is fundamentally about the on-going, long-term task of transforming institutional practices and introducing new norms as a way of being in the world. Because social reproduction is transacted in day-to-day routines, processes, and practices, exposing the hidden curriculum reveals patterns of inequity and also creates points of departure toward institutional change. In educational settings, the design of inclusive space emanates from inclusive practices. In this sense, outcome and process are one of the same, in dialectical relationship to one another: an *inclusive* process through which to expose the ideological functions of dominant narratives also serves to inform the strategies necessary to disrupt dominant ideologies and advance equity.

Critical race spatial praxis offers tangible and strategic direction for new practices and institutional norms that work in service to racial equity. In this ethnographic study, critical race spatial praxis facilitated the ability of stakeholders to examine largely overlooked patterns of inequity in planning, design, and space, as well as expose the ideological underpinnings of these very institutional practices. Critical race spatial praxis also enabled student participants to deploy their experiential knowledge and new socio-spatial awareness to expose ways that college space functions as a *hidden curriculum*. Exposing distinct institutional practices and hidden socializing messages that reproduce racial inequity is a necessary task in any effort to bring about change.

In community organizing, exposing practices and other features of social reproduction is understood as “issue identification,” a “first step” in applying theory to praxis as a means to illuminate a potential course of action. As discussed in Chapter IV, “issues” are entry points for realistic, winnable, and practical change that would be widely felt by people most affected. Theory informs the next organizing step: more action research. Further research should focus on understanding who benefits, loses, and how, identifying strong arguments (new norms), developing a possible institutional “intervention,” and determining who has the power to institute change. Next, organizing steps should include engaging more leaders (people most affected), building support (allies), and creating partnerships (across and beyond the institution) to build the collective power necessary to institute a new practice.

In Chapters IV and V, I described a wide range of potential “issues” well-suited to organize around for instructional change. They are points of departure for engaging in

further research, building leaders, mobilizing support, determining a "demand" (intervention), and mapping out a series of "tactics" to institute inclusion. With theory as a guide, institutional change must be carried out through a series of steps. In this regard, theory is not just used to expose patterns of racial inequity, it is also a resource for addressing what we do with inequity when we find it. Theory does not give us solutions, we create avenues of change by practicing theoretical tenets in action-oriented ways. Social justice organizers have historically applied theory by putting theoretical tenets in conversation with organizing strategies.

In Chapter VI, I described a set of strategies or actions that stakeholders can take to put into practice the theoretical tenets of CRT and spatial theory. These ideas, informed by critical race spatial praxis, aim to transform some of the very issues identified by stakeholders and students as problematic and reproductive of white supremacy. They are practical, transformative, and "get at" the very spaces of social reproduction. Institutional change should be process-oriented, grounded in the stories and lived experiences of people of color. It aims to transform policies and practices while being transformative to the people most affected. It disrupts dominant narratives of whiteness that get in the way of establishing a new "logic" is in service to racial justice. The case study of PCC shows the potential of critical race spatial praxis as a viable and necessary means to institutional change.

Implications

In this section I discuss broader implications of my study in relation to two key themes: the long-standing theory/practice divide and the principle of interest

convergence. These themes are critical in any discussion on praxis in service to institutional change. I first argue the "theory/practice divide" is a dominant narrative used to discredit and dismiss critical theories, like CRT, as praxis-oriented approaches to education equity. I then revisit the principle of interest convergence as an analytic to examine institutional spaces of convergence, as well as to disrupt and reimagine action.

Bridging the Theory/Practice Divide

Interpreting and applying CRT is often a source of frustration for many educational leaders who critique critical theories as inaccessible and ineffective. These pervasive critiques have functioned to contribute to the underutilization of critical pedagogies in institutional change efforts. In this study, students' socio-spatial stories of practicing CRT served as a *counter-narrative* to pervasive critiques of CRT as too theoretical or too academic for the practical demands of change. This is known as the theory/practice divide. In this section, I offer three possibilities for bridging the theory/practice divide: (a) employing theoretical tenets as praxis-oriented tools, (b) centering *practice*, and (c) debunking the divide *myth*.

Employing Theoretical Tenets as Praxis-Oriented Tools

Bridging the divide involves translating theoretical tenets into praxis-oriented tools. As described throughout this study, tools can be "working definitions," critical questions, and pedagogical exercises. Praxis-oriented tools support an understanding of theoretical claims and enable people to use tenets as a lens to acknowledge, examine, and re-imagine dimensions of power. Tools should be customized to the "local" contexts in which they are engaged and tailored to meet the specific problems within a community or

institution. Praxis-oriented tools function to introduce and strengthen key skills needed for critical analysis and radical imagination. Translating theory into tools is an essential task of praxis and one that serves to bridge the divide.

Centering Practice

Shifting from notions of applied to instead center practice is key to bridging the divide. To *apply* suggests a transaction, a solution, a silver bullet, a promise, an outcome, and/or a box to check. In my work with stakeholders and students, we came to see the value of instead using concepts like "practicing CRT" or "being a student of CRT." These concepts helped to center *study* and *skills* while demystifying praxis. To *practice* and be a *student of* theory is to engage in an on-going process of learning and skill-building necessary for long term social change. Disrupting misconception of "applied" theory, we can more authentically appreciate and engage the tasks of praxis, or practice informed by theory.

Debunking the Divide Myth

Pervasive misconceptions of CRT (like other critical theories), have been used to discredit theories of power as viable tools to bring about equity in education. The two most common critiques of CRT can be summed up as, "too theoretical to apply" and "effective at exposing problems, but not offering solutions." These critiques are so commonplace they have been taken for granted as valid, leaving pertinent nuances under-examined. Perceptions of theories of power are shaped by our identity, positionality, and lived experiences. In this study, while many stakeholders perceived CRT as too theoretical, student participants believed it was validating and transformative. To bridge

the divide, and specifically to interrogate the validity of the "too theoretical" critique, we need to critically examine what gets in the way of understanding principles of power. I argue, the problem lies not in the density of theory rather, in the nuances of positionality and epistemology.

The critique that CRT is useful at exposing problems but not at offering solutions must also be examined. This perception of CRT and other critical theories stems from a kind of binary thinking that is ultimately outcome-orientated and functions to frame the discourse on space as either good or bad. It implies "solutions" are reflected in outcomes rather than practiced in processes. "Good space" is thereby delinked from the necessary inclusive processes that would serve to create those very possibilities. This critique also suggests that the value of theories of power rests in their ability to produce an answer divorced from praxis. Binary paradigms rationalize a preoccupation with "fixing" outcomes while at the same time camouflaging praxis and concealing racism transacted through day-to-day processes.

"Too theoretical" and "ineffective at actualizing solutions" are linchpins to the historic theory/practice divide narrative and have functioned to systematically stifle the adoption and practice of critical theories as a viable strategy for social justice. Contesting these cornerstone critiques of critical theories can help us to disrupt the underlying claims that substantiate a "theory/practice divide" at all. The divide is not caused by inaccessible ideas, abstract theoretical claims, and ineffective tools, rather I argue *the divide* is instead shaped by a "clashing" of positionalities, epistemologies, and paradigms. To bridge the theory/practice divide is to dispel these pervasive misconceptions and confront *real*

barriers that divide theory and practice. Contesting these dominant myths, foregrounding process and practice, and translating theory into praxis-oriented tools may serve actualize the full potential of CRT as an approach to institutional change.

The Principle of Interest Convergence

Critical race theorists assert that racial equity only advances when it converges in the interest of whiteness. Institutional change is slow because justice progresses at the pace of least resistance to the status quo. In this study, interest convergence helped participants to understand the complexities of conflicting identities and contradictory practices within an educational institution. It also helped to illuminate patterns that social justice initiatives endure while going through a process of changing institutions.

As I discussed in Chapter IV, several key administrators shared openly about their critiques of PCC patterns, including the tendency of equity projects to be used as window dressing and the "watering-down" of radical initiatives to be more palatable to institutional norms. Even the "innovative CRT initiative," they warned, would lose its radical edge by the inevitability of institutional co-optation.

The life cycles of "critical" initiatives often include phases in which projects are cultivated, supported, and ultimately co-opted (de-radicalized), defunded, or abandoned by leaders. These patterns, examined through an analysis of interest convergence, help to explain why social change efforts are slow and demonstrate how institutions can both make room for "critical" initiatives and still manage to reproduce the status quo.

As an analytic, interest convergence is a vital tool to examine the life cycle of critical initiatives aimed at disrupting institutional inequities. To acknowledge the

inevitability of convergence is to plan for it, consider strategies to mitigate it, and to explore options for preserving the radical focus necessary to advance "real" change.

As a tenet, interest convergence invites us to pay closer attention to the structural push and pull of "progress" and the inevitability of critical initiatives to converge with the status quo. Indeed, it is in the systematic converging that reproduces the status quo, rather than transforms it. As leaders working for institutional change, further discussion is necessary to examine options and approaches that contend with patterns of interest convergence that derail the critical potential of CRT, turning it into an approach that is not only palatable to whites, but actually supports the continuation of white supremacy. We must critically analyze the possibilities as well as the potential costs and consequences of "critical" initiatives that are adopted, supported, and managed within institutions that ultimately function in service to whiteness.

Limitations and Recommendations

In this section, I describe some of the limitations of this project and offer recommendations for educational leaders, architects, educators, and further research.

Limitations

One limitation to my research is that there are critical dimensions to the production of college space that I do not discuss or address in this study. First, I do not adequately address or examine design processes and driving relationships. Architects create detailed and comprehensive ways to work with "clients," hear from "users," investigate peoples' aspirations and the functional needs of their programs. They align what they hear to multifaceted designs for space. These plans are negotiated between

firms and clients (like PCC) and sustained through relationships and elaborate communication systems. The relationships and programming work that facilitate the design of college space went beyond the scope of this study. Yet, they are paramount to a discussion on the production of space.

In addition, planners, architects, and administrators are not the only "stakeholders" who are relevant for this study. Moreover, they are most disconnected from everyday relationships with students. Missing in this study are the voices and experiences of PCC people working with students every day. The faculty, advisors, mentors, and librarians that shape, make, and hold "everyday space" on campus that often defines students' experience navigating college. This study is limited by the fact that I did not explore practices carried out by educators and staff individually and in groups, making-decisions about things like the spatial arrangements of classrooms, the use of posters and murals in multicultural centers, or instituting sound zones in libraries. In the context of educational settings, everyday place-making and curating are critical to an understanding of college space as sites of social reproduction and spaces of resistance.

Recommendations

Inclusive outreach and authentic engagement are critical to institutional planning, campus design, and the production of college space. College leaders, planners, and architects need to develop comprehensive activities and programs that acknowledge space as ideological and that aim for the kinds of inclusive and engaged practices that I describe in Chapter VI. Critical race spatial praxis offers a practical approach to aligning college space to institutional commitments to equity and inclusion. Stakeholders should

be process-oriented as a means to develop the necessary "critical" skills among leaders and to advance the essential paradigm shifts within institutions.

Critical race spatial theory also offers educators—across disciplines and learning spaces—an approach to critical pedagogy and a transformational framework for learning. Curricular strategies guided by critical race spatial theory, invite stories of lived experiences and acknowledge spatial sensibilities. Using a critical lens, teachers and students can re-look at everyday space as a means to expose and understand mechanisms of social reproduction. Increased spatial awareness can facilitate an understanding of the dominant social forces that shape everyday life in ways that open the imagination for what else is possible.

I recommend three areas for further research. First, more can be studied to explore the place-making and curating of colleges space as perceived by faculty, advisors, mentors, and librarians. Second, some dimensions of space need further investigation. One critical dimension of social space that I only touch on in this study is sound. Silence or quietness is produced and maintained through spatial arrangements and the curating of space. Given the ways in which silence is often closely linked to whiteness and perceptions of elitism, more could be studied to explore how sound uniquely functions in service to social reproduction. Finally, I suggest that there are distinct college spaces that should be studied in their own right. Some of these spaces include: libraries as cultural artifacts that communicate dominant notions of education; laboratories perceived as the most "technical" of college spaces that aim to prepare students for the "real world;" and the material dimensions of spaces of resistance.

Concluding Thoughts

As I come to the end of this study, I conclude on a more personal note. While the exploratory nature of the initiative was congruent with my own pedagogy, as project coordinator and researcher I initially felt great angst about the possibility that CRT and spatial theory would *not* be practical or transformative for planning and design. Spatial theory integrated with CRT, was a new lens to me when I submitted my proposal to PCC. Planning and design is a different professional world in which I am still very much an outsider. I had doubts. Despite my doubts, this experience was transformative for me. And, while the *CRT in Facilities Planning Initiative* officially ended July 2018, it continues to generate new conversations and questions previously unimaginable. A surge of interest in this project has put CRT on the map in Portland activating a new discourse with local architecture firms, planners, and contractors that centers race in an examination of design and social impact. It appears as though this project has inspired a small CRT movement, at least for now. Over the last two years, I have continued to work with many student leaders from Space Matters on various renovation projects and in efforts to share our work with others. To date, we have traveled together to present at three professional conferences: the Student Success and Retention Conference, the Society for College and University Planners, and the Critical Race Studies in Education Association. We also have plans to co-author an article reflecting on our experiences as a research team.

Institutional and social justice demand changes in processes, even when we are uncertain about the outcome or where that process will take us; it is in transforming the process that we can truly measure and mark "real change." Based upon hours of planning,

strategizing, examining, and analyzing with student leaders during the summer term, we came to have a saying: "trust the process." It was usually invoked at times when we collectively felt the uneasiness of not knowing an outcome—an outcome of a plan, a set of questions, the survey tool, a meeting with stakeholders. We would take a collective breath and say out loud, "trust the process." This may be the biggest take away for me—to trust a collective process of "practicing" critical theories as a strategy to expose and transform power.

In finishing this dissertation, I am not only inspired by the findings, I am also deeply reflective about how valuable this framework would have been in my prior work in both an educational and community-based setting. In point of fact, my decision to pursue a doctoral degree was in part driven by a desire to reflect on my 20 years of social justice work and find new theoretical frameworks to address organizing challenges I had both experienced and witnessed. Today, I am persuaded that an integrated framework that brings together critical race theory and spatial theory is practical, uniquely strategic, highly effective at exposing the most hidden elements of social reproduction, and profoundly transformative to people most affected by racism.

In hindsight, this theoretical and praxis-oriented framework would have been helpful in my role as Director of a community college Multicultural Center (MC). When I started in 2010, the MC was already a part of a Bond remodel project to renovate and move the space to a new location in the same building. At the time, the MC was a small room located down a long corridor tucked behind the men's bathroom. Inside, the walls were covered with posters, art, murals, photographs, and students' work. For the next five

years I would work with planners and architects to conceptualize the new MC. I participated in a series of "programming" activities facilitated by the design team aimed to learn what we needed from a space to support our desired programs and services. The questions I would come to answer—in what felt like a series of interviews—were almost exclusively about the function and use of an "ideal" space. Meetings were commonly organized around plans; I would review and offer feedback on each iteration. Because of the technical nature of these interviews, it never occurred to me to involve my students, nor was I invited by planners to include students in activities aimed to "hear their voice." After two years, while construction began, we were moved to a temporary space behind a massive wall located behind the cafeteria. The MC would occupy this temporary space for the next five years and beyond my role as Director.

In 2018, I returned to my former campus in a new role as CRT consultant in planning and design. In fact, it was the first time I visited the MC in its new home since the completion of the renovation. As I looked at the new space and configuration of resource centers, I was overwhelmed with a feeling of disappointment. The open concept, large glass walls, a closer proximity to administrative offices, and a standardized look across the centers was not what I had imagined. The new space looked like a fish bowl centered in the dominant gaze and close to power. The resource centers, now brought together in one space, all seemed to look the same while simultaneously communicating distinct identity lines that reinforced single dimensionality. In reflecting on this study, I am persuaded a critical race spatial lens would have transformed my programming experience and potentially the outcome of a new MC. My students would have been

engaged in a process of sharing their socio-spatial experiences—not just accessing the MC but offering their perceptions of navigating the overall college. I would have been asked questions that integrated other aspects of space beyond function, questions that would have explored the relational, experiential, and cultural dimensions of space. What felt like interviews might have been more like a series of discussions in which we, "MC users," would have explored with the project team a broader socio-spatial design problem that can only be investigated when we recognize that space is not neutral and that educational settings are never a level playing field.

Going back further to my community organizing experience, in hindsight I am persuaded a critical race spatial lens would have transformed a youth-led multifaceted campaign to address the local impact of displacement. In 2001, after a four-year fight against the Portland public transportation system, Sisters in Action for Power (where I served as Executive Director) won a major victory—the creation of a reduced-rate monthly student bus pass. This was significant because at the time, Portland Public Schools did not provide yellow bus service, placing the financial burden on families to pay to get their children to school.

It was a well-organized effort in which we developed a strong cadre of trained middle and high school leaders. We organized a broad base of support from allies, gained tremendous local media coverage (print, radio, and television), and earned national recognition for holding a major public-private institution accountable to transit equity. This was our second major victory since the organization was founded in 1994 and it positioned us well to identify a new campaign to address pressing issues facing

communities of color. After months of discussion and research, youth leaders determined we would organize a multifaceted campaign to address the privatization of Oregon's large public housing complex, the gentrification of N/NE Portland, school flight caused by No Child Left Behind (NCLB), and the sale of public school land. We called it the "Land Equity Campaign."

Like many organizers, we had a spatial sensibility—a sense that there was an overarching thread related to space that linked these local issues together in a way that mattered. "Land," however, did not offer a theoretical framework to expose and understand how issues identified by youth leaders could be addressed and challenged strategically at the local level. Ultimately, we lacked the theoretical tools to maintain a multi-issue campaign. And, while we went on to organize the only student-led campaign against NCLB in the country, we were unable to sustain what could have been an epic effort to further spatial justice in a community most impacted by racism and expressed so poignantly through the spatial realities of the time. Today, I am persuaded that a critical race spatial lens would have transformed our land equity campaign into a spatial justice effort aimed at addressing the local impact of racism in housing, neighborhoods, and schools. Reflecting back on these two examples has deepened my appreciation for this integrated lens.

However, this insight is in hindsight. When I began my role as consultant and researcher for PCC's CRT, initiative I felt great angst and uncertainty about the utility and potential of CRT and spatial theory. It was a new lens to me when I submitted my proposal to the college. Planning and design was a different professional world in which I

am still very much an outsider; I had doubts. Despite uncertainty I, along with other leaders involved in this project, came to “lean into” the unknown and focus our attention on the process. And, while the *CRT in Facilities Planning Initiative* officially ended July 2018, it continues to generate new conversations and questions previously unimaginable. Today, a surge of interest in this project has put CRT on the map in Portland, activating a new discourse among local architects, planners, and contractors that centers race in an examination of design and social impact. It appears as though this project has inspired an emerging CRT movement, at least for now.

Institutional and social justice demand changes in processes, even when we are uncertain about the outcome or where that process will take us; it is in transforming the process that we can truly measure and mark “real change.” Based upon hours of planning, strategizing, examining, and analyzing with student leaders during the summer term, we came to have a saying: “trust the process.” It was usually invoked at times when we collectively felt the uneasiness of not knowing an outcome—an outcome of a plan, a set of questions, the survey tool, a meeting with stakeholders. We would take a collective breath and say out loud, “trust the process.” This may be the biggest take away for me—to trust a collective process of “practicing” critical theories as a strategy to expose and transform power.

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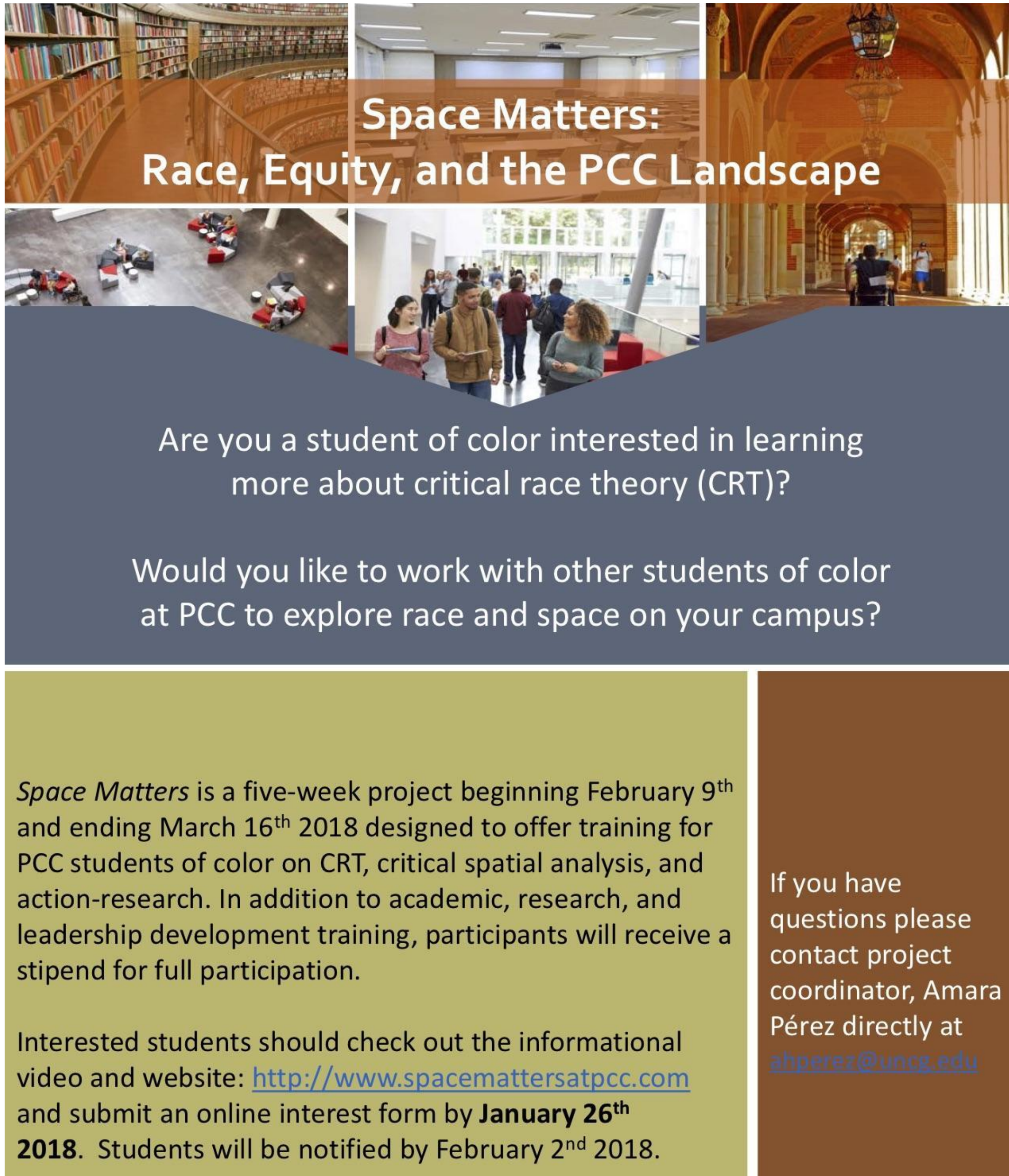
APPENDIX A

CRT IN FACILITIES PLANNING AND DESIGN STUDENT OUTREACH PROJECT

FLYER



APPENDIX B

INTEREST FORM QUESTIONS

Name

Email

Phone Number

Anticipated credit hours winter term?

How did you hear about this project?

Briefly describe why you would like to participate in Space Matters.

On what campus are your winter term classes? (Check all that apply)

What is your racial/ethnic identity?

What is your gender identity?

Are there other identities that are significant to your lived experiences? For example do you identify as LGBT, a person with disabilities, first generation college students, and/or veteran?

Describe any community and campus leadership involvement (Examples: clubs, groups, organizations, community service).

Have you participated in any social justice trainings or courses before? If yes, describe.

Are you able to participate in all 3 daylong workshops held on: Friday, February 9th, Friday, February 23rd and Friday, March 9th?

APPENDIX C

OBSERVATION GUIDE

- Log: Date, Time, Space (specific place, building, campus)
- Public Observations: What am I observing? Be specific.
- Acts & Events: What activities are taking place? Who is engaged in the activities? What activities are not taking place? Who is not engaged?
- Talk: What is being said, communicated (verbally and through body language)? Note, is it a quote? Paraphrased? Or the spirit of what was communicated?
- People in Space: Social identifiers? Role at PCC? Dress? What are they holding/carrying?
- Questions: What does it make me wonder? Consider emerging and evolving questions. Push to translate observations into questions.
- Ideas: What else is possible? What else should I explore? What is not on my mind?
- Personal: What does this remind me of (outside of the scope of the research study)? Consider my positionality, where I come from, my background and multiple identities. Who I am as a researcher?
- Flip the Gaze: Am I gazing? How am I gazing? Who am I gazing? What does gazing feel and look like?
- Critical Spatial Inquiry:
    - Description of social landscape: Note built environment, material objects, spatial arrangements, sounds, and smells
    - Conceived space: What is the space designed for? Who is the space designed for? How do I know?
    - Hidden Curriculum: What is the built environment communicating? What are hidden socializing message in the built environment? How do I know?
    - Lived Space: How are bodies traversing space? Are there observable spatial practices? What might be patterns of spatial practices (if any)? Will I be able to observe people "reading" space? How will I know?
    - How might spatial arrangements relate to spatial practices?
- Critical Race Spatial Analysis:
    - How is space racialized? How do I know?
    - How is whiteness embedded in built environments? How do I know?

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Opening Statement

I want to thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview. I very much appreciate your time and value your insights. As you know this research project seeks to study PCC and its 2014 strategic vision to adopt critical race theory (CRT) as an approach to institutional equity and inclusion. In particular, this focus group aims to study the new CRT initiative the PCC facilities planning and design team has undertaken to apply critical race spatial analysis as a means to align the PCC landscape with the college's commitment to equity and inclusion.

Questions: Background

1. Please describe your role at PCC.
2. How long have you worked at PCC?
3. Have you had other roles at the college? If yes, please describe.
4. Have you been involved with DIE (diversity, equity, and inclusion) projects at PCC? If yes, please describe.

Questions: Applied CRT

1. What were your initial thoughts when PCC facilities planning and design determined to engage CRT in Phase I and II of the Bond project?
2. Why do you think this decision was made?
3. What do you think is the relationship between the PCC space, student success, and institutional equity?
4. Give your scope of work (workgroup), what do you need from PCC to engage in this project? What do you think others may need from PCC to engage in this project?
5. What are your hopes for this project? What are your concerns?
6. How do you think colleges and universities can engage CRT in their efforts to align built environments with institutional commitments to equity and inclusion?
7. What do you think it takes to change institutional culture in service to equity & inclusion?
8. What role can educational leaders like you play in these efforts?
9. Is there anything I didn't ask that you would like to share?

Closing Statement

Thank you again for your time and insights.

APPENDIX E

FOCUS GROUP GUIDE

<u>Welcome and Overview</u>

Welcome everyone! I want to thank each and every one of you for agreeing to participate in this focus group. I very much appreciate your time and value your insights. As you know this research project seeks to study PCC and its 2014 strategic vision to adopt critical race theory (CRT) as an approach to institutional equity and inclusion. In particular, this focus group aims to study the new CRT initiative the PCC facilities planning and design team has undertaken to apply critical race spatial analysis as a means to align the PCC landscape with the college's commitment to equity and inclusion.

You were selected for this focus group because you are leaders in the PCC facilities planning and design team and because you participated in a recent workshop on critical race spatial analysis and the PCC landscape.

Please know there are no right or wrong answers and differing opinions and perceptions is totally fine—you don't need to agree. You also do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. My hope is that we will have a discussion in this space that feels "organic" and authentic. My role as the moderator is to pose some questions and potentially probe into what is shared for further exploration. I have some questions prepared but I am comfortable with "lines of flight" that may emerge from a hopefully organic discussion.

<u>Questions: CRT</u>

1. What were your initial thoughts when PCC facilities planning and design determined to engage CRT in Phase I and II of the Bond project?
2. Why do you think this decision was made?
3. What do you think is the relationship between the PCC landscape, student success, and institutional equity?
4. In what ways did the workshop (on critical race spatial analysis and the PCC landscape) expand your understanding of the guiding theories and approach to this new initiative? What were the limitations of this workshop?
5. What do you personally need from PCC to engage in this project? What do you think others may need from PCC to engage in this project?
6. What are your hopes for this project? What are your concerns?
7. How do you think colleges and universities can engage CRT in their efforts to align built environments with institutional commitments to equity and inclusion?
8. What do you think it takes to change institutional culture in service to equity and inclusion?
9. What role can educational leaders like you play in these efforts?
10. Is there anything I didn't ask that you would like to share?

<u>Closing Statement</u>

Thank you all again for your time and insights.

APPENDIX F

PRAXIS-ORIENTED DIALOGUE GUIDE

Opening Comment

Thanks for allowing me to join your workgroup today. As you know I am spending time with each workgroup to learn more about how you are experiencing and applying CRT in your work.

Questions: CRT

1. What do you think about CRT applied to explore PCC space?
2. In what ways have you applied CRT to the scope of your work?
3. What seems useful?
4. What are the limitations?
5. What else do you wonder?
6. Is there any support you need to continue/start to apply CRT?

Closing Statement

Thank you again for allowing me to be here today.

APPENDIX G

PROMPTS FOR READING SPACE

<u>Felt Space</u>

- How does the space make you feel?
- What about the space makes you feel that way?
- Consider your multiple identities and complete the following prompts:
  - As a (list social identity), I am particularly aware of….
  - Repeat as needed…

<u>Perceived Space</u>

- I read this space as (choose socio-spatial descriptors that apply):
  - Intimidating
  - Inaccessible
  - Fancy
  - Relaxing
  - Elite
  - Hierarchical
  - Hidden
  - White
- What factors contribute to your perceptions (choose all that apply):
  - Spatial objects/materials/built environment
  - People in the space
  - Personal experience
  - What you heard
  - Other

<u>Socializing Space</u>

- What socializing messages are communicated in the designated space? (Write a brief description)
- How are the socializing messages communicated? (Take a picture)
- What dominant narratives are being communicated through the space? (Write brief description)
- How are the dominant narratives communicated? (Take a picture)
- What about the designated space potentially functions to normalize and reproduce racial hierarchies and white supremacy? (Write brief description)
- How does the designated space function to normalize and reproduce racial hierarchies and white supremacy? (Take a picture)
- What about the designated space functions to normalize and reproduce other social hierarchies? (Write brief description)
- How does the designated space function to normalize and reproduce other social hierarchies? (Take a picture)

APPENDIX H

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: THREE SOCIO-SPATIAL DESCRIPTORS FOR READING SPACE

1. **Power laden descriptors**: Male- space, elite-space, hetero-normative-space, white-space, binary-space, inaccessible-space, U.S. citizenship-space

2. **Cultural descriptors**: Hidden-space, safe-space, intimidating-space, diverse-space, inclusive-space, welcoming-space

3. **Affinity descriptors**: Black-space, Latin@-space, Native-space, indigenous-space, queer-space, trans-space, lesbian/gay-space, women-space, accessible-space, immigrant-space

APPENDIX I

MODEL: CRITICAL RACE PARTICIPATORY PLANNING AND DESIGN PROCESS (CRPPD)

1. Inclusive outreach
2. Authentic engagement
3. Space in service to inclusion (demystify, disrupt, and represent)
4. Action-orientation

APPENDIX J

SIX CRITICAL RACE SPATIAL TENETS FOR PLANNING AND DESIGN

1. Identity, positionality, and lived experience shape our perceptions of space
2. Racism is embedded and engrained in all aspects of society including institutional planning, campus design, and college space
3. Dominant narratives in planning and design conceal institutional racism
4. College space functions as a mechanism of social reproduction
5. Voice, multidimensionality, experiential knowledge, and stories of people of color serve as socio-spatial counter-narratives
6. Work to dismantle racism in planning and design advances equity, inclusion, and social justice in education