

Participatory Processes to Address Wicked Problems in K12 Schools:

A Case of Reimagining School Safety

by

Tara Lynn Bartlett

A Dissertation Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Approved October 2023 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Daniel Schugurensky, Chair
Margarita Pivovarova
Gustavo Fischman

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2023

ABSTRACT

School safety is a wicked problem due to shifting needs and available information, the diverse actors affected and involved, fluctuating budgetary demands and ramifications, and relations to broader social and political issues. School safety challenges encompass a range of factors, including threats of violence and fears related to school shootings, the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on student mental health and well-being, and research and rhetoric on punitive discipline practices and the school-to-prison nexus, especially regarding the use of School Resource Officers (SROs). Following the murder of George Floyd by police in the Summer of 2020 and the subsequent civil unrest, several school districts across the United States began to reconsider the use of police on campuses, with some choosing not to renew contracts with police departments for SROs. In most cases, school district leaders (e.g., governing boards or superintendency) unilaterally made this decision without authentic school community input or participation in inclusive processes and shared decision-making opportunities. Phoenix Union High School District (PXU), a diverse, urban high school-only district that serves 25,000 students, was one of those districts that did not renew its contract with the local police department for SROs. Instead, PXU undertook efforts to reimagine school safety through two parallel participatory processes: School Participatory Budgeting (PB) and a Safety Committee. Drawing from the literature on school safety, participatory governance, and student voice, I explore school safety's historical and current landscape, specifically the use of SROs and punitive discipline measures, alongside methods of participatory governance within K-12 educational institutions and the benefits, challenges, and implications of student voice in shared

decision-making processes. I then chronicle the two processes implemented in PXU using the Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) conceptual framework and a case study methodology. I analyze and discuss the tensions and the transformative potential of participatory processes that include student and school community voices in finding solutions to difficult challenges. In conclusion, I summarize the case study and raise recommendations for using participatory processes to address wicked problems in K-12 educational institutions.

DEDICATION

To my friends, both near and far, thank you for your support and understanding. To my cohort members Keti and Ivonne, thank you for our joint sharing of advice, resources, and words of affirmation. To my family, thank you for being my cheerleaders until I crossed the finish line. To my dogs (especially Thor), thank you for our daily walks and park trips, your unconditional love, and for helping me mentally and emotionally persevere. To my love Hector, I could not have done this without your patience, support, insight, and date nights. I appreciate you more than you may know.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my utmost gratitude to the chair of my committee, Daniel Schugurensky. You have always believed in me, prioritized my well-being and success, and supported my ideas and interests. Without you, I would not be the scholar I am today, and I will forever be grateful to have had the opportunity to work with you.

I would also like to recognize the other committee members, Gustavo Fischman and Margarita Pivovarova. Gustavo, I appreciate your straightforward approach in pushing me to be a more critical thinker and scholar. Margarita, your enthusiastic support, positivity, and sound advice carried me through, and I thank you for always providing me with the space to share my ideas and concerns. I had quite the dream team between my chair and committee members!

Thank you also to folks at the Center for the Future of Arizona for the partnership and opportunities to collaborate with you on our many projects, partners of the Arizona Civics Coalition who have assisted with providing impactful civic learning opportunities and partnership opportunities, and my former students who helped to shape my research interests, passions, and experiences -you all have been my teachers!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES.....	viii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
Problem Statement	1
Background	3
Conceptual Framework.....	4
Research Objectives and Questions.....	5
Methodology and Research Methods	6
Organization and Significance.....	7
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	9
Overview	9
School Safety.....	10
School Safety as a Wicked Problem.....	12
Approaches to School Safety	13
Policing in Schools.....	21
Roles and Typologies of School Resource Officers (SROs).....	24
Effects of Policing in School Communities	28
Participatory Governance and K-12 Schools.....	33
Participatory Governance Theories and Models	35
Participatory Governance for Wicked Problems.....	41
Examples of Participatory Governance in K-12 Schools.....	43

CHAPTER	Page
Participatory Budgeting (PB) and Citizens' Assemblies (CA)	48
Student Voice	57
History and Epistemologies of Student Voice.....	60
Effects of Student Voice in School Communities	78
3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	82
Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) Framework.....	82
Enabling Conditions: Inclusion, Representation, and Power.....	86
4 METHODOLOGY	87
Study Purpose.....	87
Research Design.....	87
Research Questions	89
School Community Context.....	90
Data Collection and Analysis.....	92
Positionality.....	96
5 THE CASE STUDY	102
Introduction	102
School Participatory Budgeting (PB) Process.....	105
Safety Committee.....	147
Final Recommendations Adopted by the Governing Board	210
6 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	213
Overview	213
Research Question 1 Findings	213

CHAPTER	Page
Research Question 2a Findings.....	216
Research Question 2b Findings	220
Research Question 3 Findings	226
Discussion	230
7 CONCLUSION	234
Summary	234
Limitations and Strengths	235
Recommendations and Implications.....	237
REFERENCES	241
APPENDIX	
A SAMPLE SCHOOL-SITE DISCUSSION QUESTIONS	287
B DETAILED LIST OF IDEAS APPROVED	289

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. School Safety Spectrum	14
2. Ecological Systems Theory	71
3. Hart's Ladder of Participation	75
4. PXU SPB Process Organizational Chart	113
5. Idea Collection Results	118
4. Ideas Approved for Project Proposal Development	123

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

School safety is a wicked problem many school communities have increasingly had to navigate. This is partly due to the rising threat of violence on school campuses, fears related to school shootings, and the experience and effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, especially with student mental health (Gecker, 2022; Institute of Education Sciences, 2023; Sawchuck, 2021). Central to the school safety problem is the use of police as School Resource Officers (SROs). The debates on SROs include their shifting and, at times, obfuscated roles (National Association of School Resource Officers [NASRO], 2012; Rhodes, 2019); their effectiveness in fostering and maintaining a safe school environment (Devlin & Fisher, 2021; Javdani, 2019; Sorenson, 2023); and their overall presence and purpose on school campuses after having significantly expanded alongside more significant social and political dynamics such as the wars on poverty and drugs, the criminalization of youth, and more recently, responses to terrorism and school shootings (Adler, 2015; Hinton, 2016; Thureau & Or, 2019).

While SROs are often championed as a premier solution to school safety and are prevalent in school safety plans, the research on whether the presence of SROs in schools improves school safety has shown mixed effects and outcomes (Devlin & Fisher, 2021; Javdani, 2019; Sorenson, 2023). Some studies show that students who attend a school with an SRO (especially in low-income communities) experience a decrease in the sense of belonging and self-esteem and an increase in emotional distress (Curran et al., 2021;

Nakamoto et al., 2018; Theriot & Orme, 2016). Other research has shown that using SROs in school discipline matters is linked to the school-prison nexus (Fisher & Hennessy, 2016; Heitzeg, 2014; Hirschfield, 2008; Novak, 2019). Another set of studies on schools with SROs has shown increases in suspensions, expulsions, and referrals to juvenile detention, which are often inequitably and disproportionately applied to historically minoritized students, students with disabilities, and LGBTQ+ students (Crosse et al., 2022; Davison et al., 2022; Dunning-Lozano, 2018; Losen & Martinez, 2020; Mallet, 2014; Palmer et al., 2016; Sorenson et al., 2023; Zhang, 2018).

Following the murder of George Floyd by police in the Summer of 2020 and the subsequent civil unrest, several school districts across the United States began to reevaluate the use of police on their campuses, with some choosing not to renew their contracts with police departments for SROs. In most of these cases, school district leaders (e.g., governing boards or superintendent offices) unilaterally made this decision absent of authentic school community input or participation in inclusive processes and shared decision-making opportunities, therein excluding school communities from ideating school safety alternatives to SROs (Riser-Kositsky et al., 2022). Given the complexity of the wicked problem of school safety, alongside the promising outcomes of community-based decision-making models, other school communities attempted to provide opportunities for school community members to collectively ideate solutions to school safety without the increased presence of police. This case study highlights one of these school communities.

Background

In the Summer of 2020, Phoenix Union High School District (PXU hereafter) was one of the school districts that decided not to renew its contract with the local police department (P.D. hereafter) for SROs. PXU is a large, urban high school-only district located in Phoenix, Arizona, in the southwestern U.S. PXU serves a diverse population of approximately 25,000 students in grades 9 through 12 enrolled through its 24 schools and 11 magnet programs. When then-PXU Superintendent Chad Gestson shared a YouTube video and a press release to spread this announcement (Phoenix Union High School District, 2020), he also committed to reinvesting the \$1.2 million spent a year on SROs to a school community-led School Participatory Budgeting (PB) process to reimagine school safety. Through this process, stakeholder groups of students, parents and families, and staff conducted a needs assessment focused on safety within their school communities and then collaboratively ideated and created project proposals for school safety alternatives sans the use of SROs. About a year and a half later, PXU also launched a Safety Committee, tasked with 1) analyzing what other districts who chose not to renew police department contracts for SROs were doing instead to address school safety and 2) exploring what the broader PXU school community believed the role of SROs to be. These two processes aimed to provide opportunities for the PXU school community to participate in authentic, inclusive, community-led decision-making and foster school community engagement in reimagining school safety.

Conceptual Framework

For this case study, I use Fung and Wright's (2001) Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) framework. The EDD framework is grounded in guiding principles and design properties with defining features derived from democratic models and reforms that "aspire to deepen the ways in which ordinary people can effectively participate in and influence policies that directly affect their lives" (p.7). This framework relies on the participation of community members in deliberative opportunities to produce actionable outcomes and recommendations while at the same time increasing community capacity building and empowerment. Also key to the EDD framework is its use with large-scale reforms within communities, wherein superordinate actors grant authorization and provide support to subordinate actors to make recommendations, draft policies, and co-create and implement community-derived solutions and initiatives. Notably, the EDD framework has been used to analyze outcomes of community PB processes in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and with Local School Councils and community policing reforms in Chicago in the 1990s.

Alongside the EDD framework, I also apply the concepts of inclusion, representation, and power in my analysis of PXU's school safety initiative. These three concepts are derived from the literature on participatory governance and student voice and serve as enabling conditions for democratic processes and hallmark indicators for the quality of deliberation, access to decision-making spaces, and shifts in power structures with the potential to yield positive outcomes in pedagogical experiences and political efficacies.

Research Objectives and Questions

My research objectives were focused on exploring how PXU, a large, diverse, urban high school-only district, initiated a reimagining school safety initiative through two participatory processes, School PB and the Safety Committee. In the literature review, I provide an overview of school safety's historical and current landscape, specifically the use of SROs and punitive discipline measures, the methods of participatory governance within K-12 educational institutions, and the benefits, challenges, and implications of student and youth voice in shared decision-making processes. This review lays the groundwork for questioning and analyzing the transformative potential of participatory processes that center student and school community voices in shared decision-making to address wicked problems that K-12 educational institutions face.

Three main research questions guided this case study:

- What are the main debates on school safety, and how did the case study reflect those debates?
- What were the main features of the reimagining school safety initiative?
 - To what extent did the reimagining school safety initiative align with the Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) (Fung & Wright, 2001) framework's guiding principles and design properties?
 - What challenges and accomplishments were experienced during the reimagining school safety initiative regarding issues of inclusion, representation, and power?
- What lessons can be learned from this case study for using participatory processes to address wicked problems in school communities?

Methodology and Research Methods

I utilized an instrumental case study design (Stake, 2005; Yin, 2014) to explore PXU's reimagining school safety initiative, specifically through the two processes, School PB and the Safety Committee, which I liken to a citizens' assembly. The ideas, experiences, and engagement of the school community throughout these two processes constructed the context and bounded system of the case (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Data was collected from various sources (process documents, meeting agendas, public deliberation, public comment, etc.), while analysis was driven by identifying case study themes and further contextualizing the data collected with the existing literature.

During the School PB process, I collected data on the ideas proposed by the three stakeholder groups (students, parents and families, and staff), while throughout the Safety Committee process, I collected data on the documents used to inform and shepherd the process, the conversations among different actors and groups, and the public comments made during the meeting. I chronicled both processes and analyzed the interplay with the PXU Governing Board and how each process's different events and critical phases played out in the school community and local media. Then I analyzed the different data sources using the methodologies of document analysis (including content and thematic analysis) for the meeting agendas, newspaper stories, and accompanying documents (Bowen, 2009), thematic discourse analysis for the conversations among different actor groups during the School PB process and Safety Committee (Braun & Clark, 2006), and process tracing for both of the participatory processes (Collier, 2011).

Organization and Significance

This dissertation is organized into seven parts. Following Chapter 1 (this Introduction), Chapter 2 provides the three-part literature review focusing on school safety and policing, participatory governance and democratic processes within K-12 educational institutions, and student voice. Chapter 3 discusses the conceptual framework used, the Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) framework, and conceptualizes this framework within the context of the case study in a K-12 setting. Select aspects of participatory processes, including inclusion, representation, and power, are also discussed. Chapter 4 details the methodology and methods used for data collection and analysis of the two processes and a brief commentary on my positionality as an insider-outsider researcher during this study. Chapter 5 is the case study, wherein I story the PXU school safety initiative, beginning with the context of PXU, followed by a chronologically ordered account of the School PB process, the Safety Committee meetings, and select PXU Governing Board meetings from July 2020 through June 2023. In Chapter 6, I discuss the significant findings of the case study, drawing throughlines from the literature, the EDD framework, and the data collected in relation to the study's research questions. Lastly, in Chapter 7, I conclude with a summary of the case study, a reflection on its limitations and strengths, and implications and recommendations for future research.

This study is relevant for K-12 school communities given the timing of current events, the prevalence of school safety as a wicked problem that K-12 educational institutions face, and the potential and opportunity to embed participatory processes to address wicked problems and foster inclusive school community engagement. Through the School PB process and the Safety Committee, school safety values and priorities were

elevated by students, parents, families, and staff, thereby providing insight into the various lenses of how school safety is experienced and imagined. Further, while school communities weigh the options and explore the promising potential of participatory methods for authentic engagement, the lessons learned from the School PB process and the Safety Committee may provide ideas and implications for the adoption of these processes within K-12 educational institutions. To be clear, this study is not meant to be a critique of the choices school communities make concerning school safety but rather a guide and learning tool for school communities interested in adopting and implementing participatory processes, particularly those that rely heavily on school community-wide deliberation and participation, to address wicked problems they may face, including school safety.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

This literature review focuses on three areas that are relevant to this case study: school safety and policing, participatory governance in K-12 schools, and student voice. In the first section, I explore the topic of school safety, particularly in conjunction with the history and ensuing debate concerning School Resource Officers (SROs). I begin by broadly discussing school safety and its many implications, positioning school safety as a wicked problem that K-12 educational institutions are increasingly grappling with. I then briefly review the literature on various approaches to school safety, including punitive and exclusionary practices like zero tolerance, surveillance, and SROs. This I follow with a specific concentration on the history and literature of police in schools and conclude with parallels to the current debate on SROs alongside the effects of policing within the broader school community.

The second section of the literature review focuses on theories, practices, and models of participatory governance, with an emphasis on participatory processes within K-12 school settings. I begin by tracing the epistemological roots of participatory governance and its evolution through participatory and deliberative democracy, as well as its use and effectiveness in addressing wicked problems. Next, I describe common examples of participatory governance opportunities within K-12 settings. I then explore two innovative processes central to this case study, participatory budgeting and citizen assemblies, and discuss these processes within the K-12 context and regarding school and

community safety. I conclude the section by summarizing the needs and implications of embedding participatory governance opportunities in K-12 education spaces.

The final section delves into the third part of the literature review, student voice. Building upon the two previous sections, I explore how student voice has been used to address K-12 school climate and reform, student engagement, and democratic learning activities. I begin by defining student voice and then recount its history in K-12 educational spaces. Next, I discuss the theoretical underpinnings of student voice, including its relationship with democracy, power, and adultism. I discuss how the degree of authenticity and fidelity to which schools honor student voice varies in scope, application, and intended impacts. I finish the section on student voice by discussing the research on student voice in K-12 educational spaces.

School Safety

School safety is a complex, intersectional constellation of systems, policies, technologies, emotions, and actors and has long been an important topic of debate and decision within school communities. Therefore, defining school safety is a challenging, context-laden task rooted in the social construction of the school environment. Some literature defines school safety as a promotion of positive outcomes for students' physical safety, social well-being, and academic achievement (Loukas, 2007). Other literature posits school safety as lying within the physicality of the school environment itself, often described as Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED,) and includes the tangible design of a campus, the layout of buildings, and the technologies that equip a school with the ability to respond in a timely manner to threats or emergencies (Centers

for Disease Control [CDC], 2017; Partner Alliance for Safer Schools [PASS], 2023). Yet others define school safety as “encompassing well-being in its widest sense” (Diaz-Vicario & Salan, 2017, p. 89), with safety including the physical, emotional, and social well-being of the entire school community (Kutsyruba et al., 2015). This has often been referred to as school climate, or the “norms, values, and expectations that support people feeling socially, emotionally, and physically safe” (National School Climate Council [NSCC], 2007, p. 4). Pointedly, how school safety is viewed and operationalized is highly dependent upon the contextual conditions of the school community, including its demographics, norms, cultures, and values.

With the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic and the return to in-person learning, the discussion on school safety has included a renewed emphasis on mental health and social-emotional wellness (Adelman & Taylor, 2022; Duchesneau, 2022). This shift has been further impacted by the rise in school violence (in particular school shootings) and the need to not only equip the physicality of school campuses with more prevention and reactionary measures (Caffrey, 2022) but also to equip school communities with training and resources to identify and assist students suffering from mental health and social-emotional challenges (Kowalski et al., 2021). According to the U.S. Government Accountability Office ([GAO], 2020), approximately half of school shootings are carried out by students themselves. Moreover, many students who turn to gun violence in schools exhibit public signs of crisis before enacting their plans (National Institute of Justice, 2022). Equipped with this knowledge, school communities are exploring different approaches and innovations to prevent and respond to acts of violence as a part of a

comprehensive approach to school safety, with an overt focus on student social and emotional well-being.

School Safety as a Wicked Problem

In this case study, I position school safety as a “wicked problem.” The term wicked problem was coined by Rittel and Webber (1973) to describe social problems that were not easily definable, deeply interrelated to other complex social issues, and could not be easily solved by apparent solutions. Furthermore, wicked problems can result in severe risks and consequences if not addressed.

In the literature on wicked problems, Head (2008) posits that wicked problems lie within the dimensions of complexity, uncertainty, and value divergence. According to Kolko’s (2012) framework of what constitutes a wicked problem, the problem must be social in nature and one that is difficult to solve due to 1) incomplete or contradictory knowledge, 2) the number of people and opinions involved, 3) the large economic burden, and 4) the interconnected nature of these problems with others.

In positioning school safety within the literature of wicked problems, school safety can be hard to define since it is a complex issue that requires many considerations and perspectives. While a plethora of research exists on school safety and specific programs, policies, and practices, school safety agendas are constantly shifting to address new issues, rapidly evolving threats, incidences of violence, and uncertainties of solutions. School safety plans are also reflective of an oft-diverse school community’s needs, wherein students, families, and staff’s divergent life experiences, values, and knowledge systems are valued and reflected in school safety programs, policies, and

practices. Moreover, school safety programs, policies, and practices can be costly, depending on the types of personnel, programs, and technologies employed.

To address wicked problems, Webber (1983) encourages a “fostering of multiplicities of potential outcomes compatible with the wants of plural publics” (p. 89), and Fischer (1993) endorses the need for a collaborative inquiry-based approach that involves all stakeholder groups since wicked problems “seem to only respond to increased doses of participation” (p. 172). The next literature review section discusses methods to navigate wicked problems in further detail.

Indeed, school safety is a socially constructed paradigm within school communities and encompasses a myriad of challenges, including shifting needs and information, diverse actors affected and involved, fluctuating budgetary demands and ramifications, and relations to broader social and political issues. Likewise, different approaches to school safety cannot be considered within a vacuum but rather as a microcosm of the school community’s ethos and as a response to symptoms of larger societal issues.

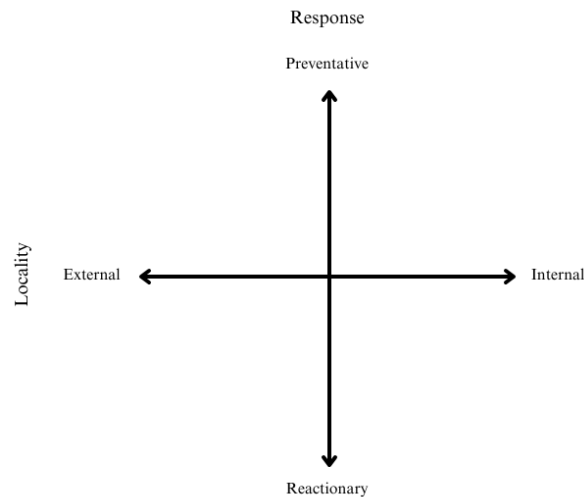
Approaches to School Safety

Approaches to school safety vary widely, are often multi-layered, and are contextually based on the school community’s demographics, funding sources, and values. Additionally, approaches to school safety straddle a balance of the locality and response spectrums (Figure 1). One end of the locality spectrum axis focuses on minimizing the external threats to the school community and includes practices such as hardening school campuses, hiring security guards and police officers, and creating

protocols and partnerships with emergency management personnel and services; the other end of the locality spectrum axis focuses on addressing the internal threats and includes practices such as identifying students experiencing trauma or crisis, intervening to address acts of violence, enforcing disciplinary codes, and maintaining an environment free of bullying and abuse (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC], 2017; Fein et al., 2004; Partner Alliance for Safer Schools [PASS], 2023). The response spectrum is composed of preventative practices, which are practices posed for early intervention and act as deterrents to violent, abusive behaviors and misconduct, and reactionary practices, which are practices reserved for when violent incidences or acts of misconduct arise and are necessary for emergency situations (Astor et al., 2010; Green, 2020; Osher et al., 2010).

Figure 1

School Safety Spectrum



While some experts in school safety recommend a balanced approach that encompasses both ends of each of these spectrums (Partner Alliance for Safer Schools

[PASS], 2023), schools may often focus more heavily on one spectrum's end than the other. This is, again, partly due to a school or district's financial bandwidth, the values and needs of the school community stakeholders, and the overall existential climate and culture of the school community.

Additionally, approaches to school safety can include a variety of practices and programs, with each often producing a different intended effect. In an earlier co-authored article, I reviewed the literature on school safety practices and programs and found 17 nonpunitive options (i.e. omitting zero tolerance, surveillance, and SROs) that have shown promising evidence in supporting a safe school environment (Bartlett et al., 2023). My co-authors and I categorized these findings into four categories: Equity and Inclusion, Social-psychological, Community-based, and Self-governance. It is important to note we used an all-encompassing definition of school safety when undertaking this review, in that we define school safety as “the feeling students experience in a place that protects from bodily infringement and harm and incidences of harassment, bullying, violence, and substance use and provides physical, emotional, and social safety and well-being” (p. 2). I will begin by discussing the high-level, thematic findings of this review, specifically the school safety programs and practices in each of these categories, and then turn to the literature to discuss the following punitive approaches not explored in the article: zero tolerance, surveillance, and (in the next section) SROs.

Equity and Inclusion approaches to school safety seek to combat long-standing inequalities stemming from social disparities rooted in identities of class, ability, gender, sexual orientation, and race. Examples of these approaches include anti-bullying programs, anti-bias training for school personnel, culturally relevant pedagogy and

culturally responsive leadership, safe spaces for historically marginalized student groups, and enumerated policies that specifically codify the responses to school safety issues. Research has shown that when schools adopt and implement Equity and Inclusion approaches, students experience an increased sense of safety, stronger school connectedness and engagement, higher academic achievement, and overall self-esteem (Byrd, 2016; Gaffney et al., 2018; Snapp et al., 2015; Wernick et al., 2021). Likewise, studies have shown schools with these approaches to enact more equitable classroom management strategies (Larson et al., 2018; Sparks, 2020) and experience an increase in school personnel response to incidences of bullying and violence and an overall decrease in incidences of bullying (Bishop et al., 2021, Sadowski, 2017).

Social-psychological approaches tend to focus on a multi-tiered system of support (MTSS) to deter and address violent behaviors and misconduct while providing opportunities for socialization and behavior self-management. Programmatic and practice examples of these approaches include Social Emotional Learning (SEL), mindfulness and reflection, Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS), trauma-informed education, and overall mental health support through counseling, group therapies, social workers, and mentors. Findings from these approaches show an increase in positive school climates and stronger relationships between the school community (Jones et al., 2018), heightened coping and self-management skills and increased academic achievement among students (LaBelle, 2019; Lee & Gage, 2020; Kautz et al., 2021; Krein, 2021; Mahoney et al., 2018), and an overall reduction in discipline incidences (Bohnenkamp et al., 2021; Bradshaw, 2013). The emphasis on student-related outcomes

is merited because the social-psychological approaches tend to focus more on student-level interventions.

Community-based approaches to school safety derive from the wrap-around support of the entire school community, including students and families, school personnel, community organizations, and governmental agencies. Programs and practices in this category include positive youth development, community schools, and parent and family engagement. The research on Community-based approaches has shown they produce increased trust and stronger relationships among school community stakeholders (Cowan et al., 2013, Payne, 2008), greater student academic achievement and overall school engagement (Afkinich & Klumpner, 2018; Heers et al., 2016), and reductions in dropout rates, discipline incidences, and suspensions (Campbell et al., 2013; Cueller, 2018).

Self-governance approaches aim to center the school community, and pointedly students, in decision-making opportunities concerning school safety. The programs and practices within the Self-governance category include peer mediation, school-based teen courts (SBTC), restorative practices, conflict resolution and peace education (CRPE), and democratic schools. Research results from these programs and practices demonstrate among students an increase in academic achievement and self-esteem and a decrease in aggressive, anti-social behaviors and bullying (Garrad & Lipsey, 2007; Katic et al., 2020; Mager & Nowak, 2012; Smokowski et al., 2020). They also show improvements within the school climate, including greater connectedness and reduced discipline incidences and suspensions (DePaoli et al., 2021; Friend & Caruthers, 2015; Gregory & Evans, 2020).

Punitive approaches to school safety have proliferated alongside the criminalization of youth. Examples of punitive approaches include exclusionary discipline practices like zero tolerance policies, surveillance, and the use of police in schools. Oftentimes, these punitive practices for school safety are used in tandem with one another. Punitive approaches have been shown to perpetuate the school-to-prison nexus, a systems-based pipeline that disproportionately focuses on criminalizing students, in particular students from low-income backgrounds, LGBTQ+ students, students with disabilities, and racially minoritized students, and referring them to the juvenile justice system (Heitzeg, 2009, 2014; Hirschfield, 2008; Meiners, 2007). This has been shown to be especially true for schools that enact zero tolerance policies alongside employing SROs (Fisher & Hennessy, 2016; Na & Gottfredson, 2013).

Zero tolerance policies garnered traction within school communities as a disciplinary practice during the late 20th century. These policies are enacted through a school's discipline plan as mandated, pre-determined consequences for a variety of serious offenses and behaviors and are constructed as an increasing application of suspensions and expulsions resulting in a referral to the juvenile justice system. In 2018, over 90% of schools had some form of zero tolerance policy in place (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP], 2018). Overall, even when school-based violence had declined or held steady, the evidence from employing zero tolerance policies has not yielded positive findings, but many K12 schools have readily adopted zero tolerance policies (Skiba & Knesting, 2001; Yell & Rozalski, 2000).

While zero tolerance policies are meant to be prescriptive, the language within such policies may be written too vaguely, thus allowing the consequences to be broadly

applied. For example, while zero tolerance policies were initially intended to address violence or serious offenses, there have been incidences of these policies used to discipline students for minor offenses like tardiness or creating general disruptions to the school's learning environment (Black, 2016; Brady, 2002; Skiba, 2014). Research has also shown the disproportionality in the application of zero tolerance practices, with several reports noting Black, Latino, and Native American students and other minoritized populations experience higher suspension and expulsion rates. Blad and Harwin (2017) found Black students to be six times more likely to be suspended than their white peers. Heitzeg (2014) found that Black and Latino student populations contribute to nearly 70% of all school-based arrests resulting from such policies. Two other recent reports showed that Native American students who attend a school with zero tolerance policies and an SRO is present are 66% more likely to experience exclusionary discipline and that Arizona has eight of the top 20 school districts that disproportionately suspend Native American students (Losen & Martinez, 2020; Pentak & Eisenberg, 2018).

With the application of zero tolerance policies, research has shown that impacts have ranged from students missing instruction and scoring lower on standardized tests (Raffaele-Mendez, 2003) to having lower overall engagement within the school community (Nelson, 2014) to exhibiting heightened negative social-emotional behaviors (Christle et al., 2005; Fabelo et al., 2011; Fisher et al., 2019; Tobin et al., 1996) to experiencing lower graduation and higher dropout rates (Perry & Morris, 2014; Rausch et al., 2004). In fact, some studies on zero tolerance policies have shown such policies to be counterintuitive in nature, with students and teachers reporting feeling less safe within

their school community under zero tolerance policies (Huang & Cornell, 2021; Mowen & Freng, 2019).

On the other hand, a few studies have reported positive results of zero tolerance policies. Findings from a study that reviewed the literature on school-based get-tough policies found potential evidence of positive outcomes like increased instructional times and reduced student misconduct but added the caveat that such policies, when implemented poorly, “interfere with educational activities, contribute to greater student strain, and adversely affect behavior or academic performance” (Mears et al., 2019). Another study with one school district that eased its zero tolerance policies exhibited a drop in academic achievement, a rise in truancy, and no overall change in the total number of suspensions (Lacoe & Steinberg, 2018).

Surveillance practices of students in schools have also been steadily adopted as a form of school safety. While the surveillance of students can take on many forms, i.e., metal detectors, security cameras, ID scanners, and even more recently, biometrics, the business of surveillance in the name of school safety has seeded a \$2.7 billion industry (Ma, 2018; Musu-Gillette et al., 2018). Surveillance practices aim to maintain a secure environment and raise alarm at signs of intrusion or danger through constant observation and monitoring. Oftentimes, surveillance measures are obvious to outsiders, such as camera systems, metal detectors, and ID scanners, which serve to deter or disincentivize threats or acts of violence. Other times, surveillance measures may be less visible and serve as a layer of protection that is often utilized in times of emergency or crisis, such as communication systems like panic buttons, text alerts, and biometrics like face recognition or even geolocation tracking.

Like other punitive approaches to school safety, surveillance measures have been found to be most concentrated in urban schools with large populations of minoritized students and raise concerns with equitable application and consequences. The hyper-presence of surveillance practices in these schools already signals a disproportionate approach to school discipline (Madhukar, 2019; McFarland et al., 2018). The research on surveillance practices has shown that such practices have negative effects on student perceptions of school safety (Johnson et al., 2018; Mowen & Freng, 2019), and students who experience racialized surveillance practices report higher rates of anxiety, stress, and depression (Brondolo et al., 2011; Williams & Mohammed, 2009). Moreover, the increased use of surveillance measures in conjunction with student data gathering has raised issues of student data privacy and rights (LoSardo, 2020; Tucker & Vance, 2016).

Policing in Schools

A common response to school violence has been to increase the presence and practice of policing within school communities. Heightened attention to School Resource Officers (SROs) has also gained traction in the current debates on policing and public safety. SROs are described as sworn police officers tasked with overseeing the safety and crime prevention within a school community, but they can also be tasked with various roles to fulfill depending on a school's needs. While current debates on school safety point to both the benefits and dangers of the use of SROs, the presence of police in U.S. K-12 schools has a long, complicated history.

Since the 1950s, the presence of SROs has exponentially expanded, with the first documented instance of formal policing within schools taking place in Los Angeles in

1948 (American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], 2017). Shortly thereafter, in 1958, the Police-School Liaison Program was launched in Flint, Michigan, incentivizing schools to enter into a contract with local police departments for an officer to be present and conduct patrols of the school campus (Coon & Travis, 2012). Arizona's first adoption of an SRO program in partnership with school communities occurred in 1962 (Noble, 2017). By the 1970s, it became commonplace for school communities to partner with local law enforcement on school safety initiatives.

In 1974, the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act was launched and provided school communities with \$380 million dollars for school safety policies and programs to reduce and address youth delinquency and violence. Hinton (2016) describes this legislation as having framed “common markers of poverty with perspective criminality,” thereby positioning students from low-income backgrounds as “potentially delinquent” (p. 237). The marked investment in SROs and other punitive and exclusionary discipline practices has since spiraled into other school safety measures such as metal detectors, surveillance cameras, padlocked gates, and fencing, with an overt presence within urban public schools serving minoritized students and families and students and families from low-income backgrounds.

The war on crime and poverty era ushered in a new rationale for the role of law enforcement within school communities. The Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities Act of 1994 secured additional funding for policing programs both in schools and the wider community, as well as school-based programs focused on drug abuse education (i.e., D.A.R.E.). Within a year, the Office of Community-Oriented Policing Services was created, further positioning the role of officers as integral to

ensuring school communities would be safe and drug-free. During this time, the role of police on school campuses rapidly expanded, as did their abilities to influence and participate in school discipline and lay the groundwork for bridging the criminal justice system and educational institutions.

By 1999, over half of the K-12 students in the U.S. attended a school with a police presence (American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], 2017; Stinson & Watkins, 2013). Throughout the following decades, this number rapidly rose as increased fears of terrorism and acts of school violence, particularly school shootings, became more mainstream. This was followed by continued increases in investments in SROs, and since the turn of the 21st century, there has been nearly \$2 billion dollars allocated to SROs and supporting programs via both federal and state-level dollars (Thurau & Or, 2019; U.S. Department of Education & National Center for Education Statistics, 2016; Lindsay et al., 2018). Between 2009 and 2013 alone, the number of SROs expanded from 9,000 to over 17,000 (National Association of School Resource Officers [NASRO], 2012; James & McCallion, 2013, American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], 2017). By 2015, over 83,000 schools had at least one SRO (U.S. Department of Education & National Center for Education Statistics, 2016). Recent federal data from the 2017-2018 school year reported that almost half of schools in the U.S. have an SRO on their campus at least once a week (Sawchuck, 2021). However, the reported number of SROs on campuses may not be wholly accurate, considering schools also hire private security guards, off-duty police officers, and neighborhood patrol officers without formal agreements or formalized training on handling student discipline and crises (Henning, 2021).

Following the increase in dialogue around policing and racial injustices, and in particular the murder of George Floyd in May of 2020 and the subsequent protests across cities worldwide, many schools and districts opted to reduce the number of police on campuses or discontinue contracts with police altogether (Eder et al., 2021; Riser-Kositsky et al., 2022), including schools in Los Angeles, Portland, Minneapolis, Oakland, Seattle, Denver, and Phoenix. These decisions were also partly due to ongoing student and community-based demonstrations demanding accountability for law enforcement and greater efforts for racial justice (Fetsko, 2020). At this time, many schools and districts began to revisit their discipline plans and school safety approaches in an attempt to apply a more equitable lens and reduce the emphasis or overall use of exclusionary discipline practices. However, with public fears over the prevalence of school shootings and other violent acts on campuses, along with the continuing criminalization of youth, the inclusion of SROs in school safety plans has begun to be reconsidered, and many of the schools and districts who had initially ended contracts with police departments for SROs have since brought back SROs to some degree (Belsha, 2023; Riser-Kositsky et al., 2022).

Roles and Typologies of School Resource Officers (SROs)

SROs are often tasked with fulfilling various roles within a school community and, as such, can be described through several typologies. The most common of these include the emergency responder, the school discipline and law enforcer, the law-related educator, and the positive role model. While the literature describes specific tenets for each of these SRO typologies, the everyday practices and usage of SROs in schools are

not always starkly delineated, nor are the descriptions of roles prescriptively followed (Rhodes, 2019). Indeed, some school communities use SROs to fulfill more than one role, and the overlap of roles can create confusion and allow for ad hoc involvement of SROs in issues broader than the role intended. Moreover, many school communities do not always enter into formal contractual agreements or memorandums of understanding (MOUs) with local law enforcement agencies, further muddying and problematizing the role of SROs (Cray and Weiler 2011; Javdani, 2019).

As emergency responders, SROs can be tasked with acting as the lead or first responder when emergency situations occur on or near a school campus (National Association of School Resource Officers [NASRO], 2012). This role could include taking up preventative measures for emergencies like developing comprehensive safety plans and responding to situations such as active shooters, fires, natural disasters, and health emergencies. Because of the broad proclivity of incidences, however, SROs are often underequipped and undertrained to take on the vast responsibilities of this role within a school setting. The responses from nearly 400 SROs in a survey conducted by the Education Week Research Center (Blad, 2018) suggest that much of the effectiveness in emergency preparedness and response lies in school-wide training, such as how well the staff has been trained in safety protocols, whether students know what to do during lockdown drills and emergencies, and if there are other safety features like cameras in place.

Among the various roles SROs may be tasked with, the school discipline and law enforcer role is the most common. In this role, SROs focus on upholding school policies, assisting with student discipline, and ensuring the school environment is drug and

violence-free. However, this role allows for SROs to traverse the line between school discipline and law enforcement, often bridging school policy and criminal codes and leading to higher rates of exclusionary discipline and a disregard for student rights (Beger, 2002; Fisher & Hennessy, 2016). In schools with an SRO in this role, student behaviors and offenses are often not wholly handled by school personnel but rather with the SRO, setting up students to be penalized under criminal codes, versus school-based disciplinary procedures and consequences, and at times entailing detainment, arrest, and reference to the juvenile justice system (Sorenson et al., 2023). Research has shown the school discipline and law enforcer role to be more present in schools that serve students from low-income backgrounds and minoritized students, with an inequitable application of the criminalization of students from such populations and an overreliance on exclusionary discipline practices (Curran et al., 2019).

In the role of law-related educator, SROs are tasked with teaching lessons to students on their rights and responsibilities once they turn 18 years old, bullying, drug and alcohol abuse, and digital safety (Canady et al., 2012; National Association of School Resource Officers [NASRO], 2012). Schools that serve more affluent and advantaged student populations often have an SRO who fulfills the law-related educator role (Lynch et al., 2016). While the materials and training for SROs to teach such lessons vary widely, and many organizations offer SRO-taught law-related education programs, there has been little research done on the effectiveness of having an SRO teach the content versus K12 educators or administrators. Additionally, there does not exist a universal requirement for SROs to undergo training related to teaching or student rights, such as culturally responsive pedagogies, adolescent development, de-escalation strategies, or

even how to navigate the individualized education plans (IEP) or 504 plans of students with disabilities (Blad, 2018; Theriot & Cuellar, 2016). Furthermore, while a tangential intention of this approach is to build relationships between students and police and promote an overall positive perception of police within the school community, mixed evidence has shown this approach to be effective, particularly when comparing student and school personnel opinions (Crichlow-Ball et al., 2022; Theriot, 2016; Wood & Hampton, 2021). In some instances, school communities have pointed out that SROs often use this role to advance their personal viewpoints and agendas among student or staff populations (Heitzeg, 2014).

The positive role model role posits SROs as friendly adults on school campuses who can assist with mentoring students to navigate social pressures and personal and educational challenges while representing police as positive role models within the school community and beyond. In this role, police also serve as a community liaison, aiming to develop and foster positive relationships with students' families and other school community members (California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training, 2001; National Association of School Resource Officers [NASRO], 2012). While SROs in this role tend to act as informal counselors at times, many are not licensed social workers or have counseling backgrounds and cannot wholly fulfill the social and emotional support students may need, especially those with special needs (Keierleber, 2015; May et al., 2012). Additionally, many SROs are not required to undergo anti-bias or culturally relevant pedagogies training, raising questions on how they can best serve the increasingly diverse public school student populations in this role.

Overall, three themes are apparent concerning these four roles of SROs. One, the role of an SRO within a school highly depends on the demographic makeup of the school community. More “benign” uses of SROs were common in highly resourced schools serving affluent, less racially diverse populations, and the perception of roles among SROs themselves differed based on the demographics of the school community (Fisher et al., 2020). Two, many SROs seem to lack training in working with youth of varying demographics and from diverse backgrounds. Less than a third of U.S. states have a universal requirement of training required for SROs, and that training is often heavily based on the emergency responder role and the school discipline and law enforcer role, with an emphasis on emergency response and active shooter trainings (American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], 2017; James & McCallion, 2013). Three, the perceptions of SROs vary widely across school community stakeholders, with a clear divide between student and adult populations (Theriot & Orme, 2016; Wood & Hampton, 2021).

Effects of Policing in School Communities

While the literature on the effects of SROs reveals some disagreement, most of the empirical research reported that SROs do not improve school safety or school climate. Some studies have shown that K-12 students’ experiences with SROs mirror many of the same policing patterns documented with public-serving police officers: more instances of lethal force, increased militarization and surveillance, and discriminatory disciplinary practices exacerbating the school-to-prison nexus (Cruz et al., 2021; Fisher & Hennessy, 2016; Horner & Fisher, 2020; Pentek & Eisenberg, 2018; Sorenson et al., 2023). Other studies have shown that increased exposure to SROs, criminalization enforcement, and

exclusionary discipline practices has negative impacts on parental engagement and student academic achievement, feelings of connectedness and support, extracurricular participation, and overall mental health and well-being (Gonzalez et al., 2016; Gregory et al., 2010; Theriot, 2016; Theriot & Orme, 2016). Additionally, prior studies have not found strong evidence that the presence of SROs prevents mass shootings, bullying, disorder, and disrespect (Devlin & Fisher, 2021; Peterson et al., 2021; Sorenson, 2023), but rather that students who experience more frequent interactions with SROs suffer increased disparate discipline outcomes (Brady et al., 2007; Fisher & Hennessy, 2016; Gonzalez et al., 2016; Javdani, 2019; Marchbanks et al., 2018; Na & Gottfredson, 2013; Ryan et al., 2018; Weisburst, 2019).

Importantly, the use of SROs for discipline enforcement has been shown to impact certain student groups more negatively, such as students with disabilities, LGBTQ+ students, racially- and ethnically-minoritized students, and students of a low socio-economic background (Crosse et al., 2021; Davison et al., 2022; Dunning-Lozano, 2018; Fisher & Hennessey, 2016; Losen & Martinez, 2020; Mallet, 2014; Palmer et al., 2016; Skiba et al., 2011; Sorenson et al., 2023; Zhang, 2018) Moreover, there are long-term implications for the students subjected to exclusionary practices within their schooling experience, such as the increased likelihood of being charged and convicted of a crime and incarcerated, earning below the federal poverty line and receiving SNAP benefits, and not pursuing higher education opportunities or graduate from college (Davison et al., 2022; Weisburst, 2019).

A few studies on SROs have shown either a positive or minimal impact on students or the broader school community. A study conducted by Stinson and Watkins

(2013) in Alabama showed the presence of an SRO over the course of two years to have decreased violent behaviors among students. Other studies have shown that the presence of SROs decreased students' violent behaviors yet increased out-of-school suspensions, expulsions, and police referrals (Malasky et al., 2011; Sorenson et al., 2021). While these latter studies exist, there are many factors that must be considered when realizing the effects of SROs, including the school communities' demographic make-up, geolocation, history with policing, existing school safety and discipline policies, and the relationships forged and maintained within and across the entire school community.

In tandem with the amplified attention policing in schools has received, broader school communities have experienced documented evidence of police conflict, misconduct, and violence that have conversely affected the experiences and perceptions of SROs. Indeed, the murder of George Floyd may be viewed as a catalyst for demands for increased accountability and reform of policing, but events like these are not isolated nor new. Not only has police violence escalated over the past few decades, but the disproportionate impact of lethal force on specific racial subgroups has been increasingly documented (Edwards et al., 2019; GBD 2019 Police Violence US Subnational Collaborators, 2021; Nix et al., 2017; Peeples, 2020). Discriminatory policing practices have also manifested themselves in various forms, with Black, Latino, and other historically minoritized populations experiencing higher rates of traffic stops, vehicle searches, and street encounters with law enforcement, with many of these interactions leading to incarceration or acts of police violence (Pierson, 2020; Subramanian & Arzy, 2021).

Moreover, public police budgets and the number of police officers have also multiplied exponentially over the last 30 years. In 2017, U.S. state and local government police budgets topped \$123 billion, an increase of 179 percent since 1977 (Urban Institute, 2017). Pointedly, police budgets swelled following the September 11 terror attacks and, since then, have led to a rise in the militarization of police (Ray, 2021). The overall number of police officers across the U.S. has followed a similar trajectory, growing by over 36% since 1990 (Pearl, 2020). As such, the research has demonstrated a consequential relationship between the rise in the militarization of police, the acceleration of police violence, and a decline in public trust in police and law enforcement institutions (Desmond et al., 2016; Lawson, 2019; Mummolo, 2018; O'Brien et al., 2020).

These rising trends of lethal force, discriminatory policing tactics and incarceration rates, and overt militarization, alongside outwardly decreasing public trust in police and law enforcement institutions, are not separate from the experiences of students and families within school communities. Research has shown that experiencing aggressive policing tactics within the community adversely affects students' mental and emotional well-being (Toro et al., 2022; Turney et al., 2022) and academic performance (Legewie & Fagan, 2018) and increases the risk of arrest, particularly for Black youth (McGlynn-Wright et al., 2022). These experiences can also extend from family members and friends who have experienced harm from police within the community or from the psychological trauma of video footage showing police brutality (Kim, 2023). Furthermore, it must be noted that the SROs who serve school communities are employees of the municipal police departments whose reputations may be shaped by high-profile cases of excessive force, corruption, or the like.

The wicked problem of school safety has received increased attention due to the multitude of internal and external challenges in creating a comprehensive school safety plan with effective solutions. On one hand, school communities are bound by the needs of the demographics they serve, available and fluctuating funding sources, and the school community's values when designing a school safety plan. On the other hand, schools are faced with the need to collectively consider all aspects of safety and the implications of various options when developing and enacting a school community safety plan.

The complex challenges of school safety have prompted schools, researchers, and community and governmental organizations to consider a multi-faceted approach to school safety that involves balancing data, community input, and capacity and resources to address various aspects of school safety, including the physicality of the school environment, the overall school climate, and student social-emotional health and well-being (Muhlhausen, 2020). These challenges are currently heightened, given the frequency and fear of school violence incidences, such as school shootings, and the research and rhetoric around punitive approaches to discipline and school safety, such as SROs. To this end, the wicked problem of school safety may require the school community's collective intelligence, opportunities for community engagement in participatory processes, and multiple solutions to address the various complexities. The following section of the literature review explores participatory governance approaches and school community-based decision-making models used to address wicked problems within school communities.

Participatory Governance and K-12 Schools

Currently, democratic institutions around the globe are facing challenges of public dissatisfaction with governance, increasing ideological differences and partisan apathy, demands for the advancement of equity and social justice, and a wanting for collective decision-making through participatory governance opportunities (Wike & Fetterolf, 2021). The roots of what has been labeled as a democratic degeneration or crisis can be likened to Habermas' legitimation crisis (1973/1975), as we have seen individuals withdraw from organized political parties, views of political systems and institutions are at historic lows, and many people are feeling a loss of agency in decisions that directly impact their lives (Nadeem, 2023). Communities have also exhibited a decrease in a sense of belonging, empathy, and trust among others, including those in power and governmental institutions (Dawson & Krakoff, 2022; Kannan & Veazie, 2022; Newall et al., 2022; Weymouth & Hartz-Karp, 2015). Furthermore, political efficacy and participation rates reveal disparate fault lines along socioeconomic status and social positions of power (Abas et al., 2023; Parvin, 2017).

These trends have been even more prevalent with youth populations. When compared to older generations, youth satisfaction with democracy is in decline (Foa et al., 2020). One study by the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement ([CIRCLE], 2018) showed that nearly 3 in 5 youth are losing faith in American democracy, and only 2 in 5 youth feel confident about the future of democracy within the U.S. A global study focused on youth's feelings concerning climate change showed respondents felt betrayed by their government leaders and had experienced feelings of powerlessness, helplessness, and anger (Hickman et al., 2021). Other signs of

dissatisfaction include the generational disconnect between youth and politicians (Zhang, 2022) and the democratic deficit, wherein youth recognize that they are lacking proportional representation in government (Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, 2023). Additionally, while youth voter turnout rates have increased since 2014, there still do exist some caveats: Black and Latino youth voter turnout declined from 2018 to 2022, voter turnout rates between college graduates and those with no college experience revealed a 30-point difference, and youth who did not vote cited a lack of information on the candidates and issues or did not know where to vote (Medina et al., 2022; Medina, 2023).

Despite these disillusionments with democracy, youth have still exhibited a wanton desire to engage in political action, with trends revealing that youth are engaged in organizing and leading efforts for collective action. However, these behaviors may not necessarily be in line with mainstream democratic traditions due to the youth-held belief that more traditional forms of engagement are exclusionary and inaccessible and do not consider their concerns and needs (Cammaerts et al., 2014). Instead, youth political participation has taken on new forms of activism and engagement and has been dubbed as alter-activism (Juris & Pleyers, 2009), big P versus little p politics (Kahne et al., 2013), and a “youthquake” (Sloam & Henn, 2019). For example, there has been a rise in the creation and consumption of new media by youth (Zhang, 2022), in effect positioning youth as co-curators in shaping understandings of the world and politics, as well as youth exhibiting stronger involvement and support for political action through nonprofit and community organizations instead of political parties (Pontes et al., 2018). Additionally, youth have shown to be more engaged in online spaces and pursue avenues for self-

expression, including the arts and protests (Renström et al., 2021; Samuels, 2020; Stornaiuolo & Thomas, 2017).

Participatory Governance Theories and Models

Ideas and debates around increased public participation in democratic processes catalyzed during the 20th century, with political scientists stressing the necessity for and benefits of public participation within democratic decision-making opportunities and local-level politics. Harry Eckstein (1961) outlined how traditional government structures and institutions, alongside civil society organizations outside of the government, can be reconfigured to serve as conduits of participation, thus providing opportunities for co-design and collaborative decision-making while creating a more just system of congruency between the governmental and non-governmental structures. Carole Pateman (1970) championed that participatory processes would maximize political and electoral equality, increase leaders' responsiveness to the non-elites, and create avenues of access to leaders and decision-making opportunities. For John Rawls (1971), there were two underlying necessary ingredients for a just, democratic society: equal basic rights and equal opportunity to participate, both of which he believed must be extended to all members of a society in an egalitarian manner, with the intent to benefit most greatly the least advantaged. Additionally, the virtuous circle of education, participation, and decision-making became popular in writings by various democratic philosophers and education theorists (Rousseau & Scott, 2012; Dewey, 1966; Mill et al., 1963).

Participatory governance became a popular political theory that stemmed from these ideas and debates, purporting that active democratic participation should include the

greater public and relevant stakeholders in decision-making processes traditionally held by those in public administration, policymaking, and government-designated power. Just as the term participation has come to be used to “refer to a wide variety of different situations by different people” (Pateman, 1970, p. 1), participatory governance has come to include a range of behaviors and processes depending on the aim, context, process format, stakeholders, and other factors (Fung 2003, 2006). Simply put, however, participatory governance stems from a belief that those affected by the decisions or policies being made should have the opportunity to shape said decision or policy.

In practice, participatory governance is a malleable approach to embedding the active participation of the public in decision-making. It can include a wide range of stakeholders who are representative of diverse experiences and interests and can be implemented within various levels of government and spaces within the community. Processes are deeply contextual, rooted in the decision or policy’s scope and goals, reliant on community capacity and available resources, and impacted by the community’s lived experiences and values. Examples of participatory governance processes (also known as democratic innovations) include citizen assemblies, citizen juries, advisory boards, participatory budgeting, participatory policymaking, legislative theater, community development projects, and social movements paired with actionable policy outcomes. Proponents of participatory governance point to the beneficial impacts of including public participation in policy, planning, and budgetary decisions as overwhelmingly positive, with outcomes including increased civic and political participation (Altschuler & Corrales, 2012; Tolbert et al., 2003), better and more diverse solutions to complex problems (Escobar & Roberts, 2015; Gutmann & Thompson, 2004;

Landemore, 2012), increased trust in governmental leaders and institutions (Ardanaz et al., 2023; Boulianne, 2018; Campbell, 2023), greater social well-being and cohesion among diverse groups (Michels & De Graaf, 2010; Touchton & Wampler, 2014; Touchton et al., 2017), and increased perceptions of justice and accountability to the community (Russell & Jovanovic, 2020; Wampler, 2012).

The notion of participatory governance is not without skepticism or pushback. Challenges to enacting opportunities for the public to engage in deliberations and decision-making processes stem from beliefs that the public does not possess the competence nor desire to participate fully in society (Berelson et al., 1954) and that government officials and policymakers should instead listen to experts, not the greater public (Lippman, 1922). Schumpeter's (1943) questioning of whether the electorate possesses morality and a sense of justice, two characteristics he positions as necessary to political and electoral participation, has also been used to resist ideas of participatory governance. Other challenges stem from within the design and implementation of the process, ranging from power imbalances, tokenistic exercises, exclusion of specific populations, bureaucratic barriers, lack of information, and resource constraints (Abas et al., 2023; Fung, 2015).

Collectively, these arguments negate how the public's lived experiences could better inform political and economic decisions traditionally reserved for those in government positions or positions of power. Moreover, it is recognized that politicians and those in positions with decision-making powers are not experts in every aspect of policy nor are able to understand the implications of policies as experienced by the greater public. Garcia (2022, p. 47) describes politicians as "novices" in specific policy

content areas, and Kingdon (2003, p. 37) describes policymakers as “generalists [who] learn enough about a subject matter to help other generalists, their colleagues.” Dewey (1927/2012, p. 154) even goes so far as to say that “no government by experts in which the masses do have the chance to inform the experts as to their needs can be anything but an oligarchy managed in the interests of the few.” In sum, while generalized concerns about including the public in decision-making processes have been cited, the literature on participatory governance has come to recognize the value of the public’s everyday experiences and knowledge in policy and decision-making processes and has shown positive tangential effects among communities and in relation to government institutions and those in power.

Participatory governance has been shaped by the theories and practical experiences of participatory and deliberative democracy. The roots of participatory governance extend from the practice and theories of participatory democracy (Fuchs, 2012; Hilmer, 2010; Pateman, 1970) and deliberative democracy (Baiocchi, 2001; Fung & Wright, 2001; Pin, 2022). Both theories share an orientation toward the redistribution of power and resources as well as the development of advocacy and empowerment for collective action alongside a critical awareness of community and social dynamics (Arnstein, 1969; Freire, 1972; Touchton & Wampler, 2014). At their core, participatory and deliberative democracy are designed to involve the public in choices and decisions that affect their lives, but these forms of democracy differ in degrees of doing so.

Participatory democracy is a broad term that encompasses all forms of participation in democratic decision-making. Theories of participatory democracy emphasize inclusiveness in decision-making opportunities, authentic participation that is

distinct from tokenistic exercises, and a virtuous cycle between citizenship learning and participation in democratic processes (Hess & Torney, 1967; Mill et al., 1963; Pateman, 1970). Hilmer's (2010) definition of participatory democracy is "the maximum participation of citizens in their self-governance, especially in sectors of society beyond those that are traditionally understood to be political" and can, in turn, empower participants to engage and advocate more fruitfully over the constructs of their lives. Different forms of participatory democracy can span from the public sharing their opinion or providing advisory input on a public issue through public control of decision-making power.

Introduced as a normative discourse theory by Habermas (1996), deliberative democracy brings together deliberation and consensus, forefronting the need for reason and competing viewpoints to drive decision-making. Fishkin (2011) defines deliberative democracy as a balanced exchange of reasons and arguments to capture the people's collective will, and Mansbridge (1998) asserts that it is through deliberation the mindset can transform into one of collective empathy and will. Within deliberative democracy experiences, the public engages in processes of garnering and shaping collective intelligence, followed by shared decision-making to result in more equitable, representative outcomes and solutions.

According to Parkinson and Mansbridge (2012), deliberative democracy functions as a codependent system, thriving when couched within epistemic, ethical, and democratic elements. Participants within a deliberative democracy system are encouraged to share their beliefs, opinions, and preferences to shape decisions that are informed through facts and logic and through meaningful consideration of the decision's effect(s)

on others. Ethically, the deliberative democracy system is meant to promote mutual respect among all participants by fostering non-dominating communication that aids the process of effective decision-making. The democratic function of the system is the “inclusion of multiple and plural voices, interests, concerns, and claims on the basis of feasible equality” since “who gets to be at the table affects the scope and content of the deliberation” (Parkinson and Mansbridge, 2012, p. 12). Through these elements, deliberative democracy systems can ensure sound and effective decision-making that is inclusive of experience, beliefs, and choice.

We see the range of participatory and deliberative democracy possibilities as outlined in Arnstein’s Ladder of Participation (1969) and the International Association for Public Participation Spectrum ([IAP2], 2018). The Ladder of Participation outlines eight rungs of varying public engagement and power gradations in decision-making processes. The bottom two rungs, Manipulation and Therapy, are labeled as nonparticipative, while the next three rungs are labeled as tokenism: Informing, Consultation, and Placation. Informing simply garners information from or provides information to the greater public, but the information flow is only one way, and the public does not have the opportunity for dialogue. Consultation draws from the public’s opinions and experiences to inform decisions but without any necessary follow-up or adherence to the public’s input. Placation places individuals from the greater public into a shared decision-making space to advise or provide insight into a public policy or decision being made, although the power to include and act upon the public’s advice is still placed with those in government or positions of power. The final three rungs symbolize the notion of public engagement and control. The Partnership rung represents a shared

decision-making structure based on negotiations between the public and those holding power. Delegation provides decision-making positions to the greater public with authentic, delegated decision-making powers. The final rung, Citizen Control, outlines the public's role in planning, policy creation and adoption, and management of funds and partnerships. The IAP2 Spectrum encompasses a condensed version of the ladder, outlining five increasing public participation goals and descriptions: Inform, Consult, Involve, Collaborate, and Empower. What sets the IAP2 Spectrum apart is the "promise to the public" row wherein each cell begins with "We will..." and is meant to serve as an accountability guideline to the public for those in power. While Hart's Ladder of Participation and the IAP2 Spectrum outline varying degrees of participation, the latter rungs and cells focus on opportunities for dialogical exchange to influence and lead community-based decision-making processes, which lies at the core of deliberative democracy.

Participatory Governance for Wicked Problems

Wicked problems are described as complex, open-ended, constantly shifting, and reliant on various factors in which deliberative opportunities and inclusive community solutions could thrive (Rittel & Webber, 1973). Models of participatory governance have been discussed as methods to combat wicked problems by leveraging a collective intelligence, or "wisdom of the crowds" (Surowiecki, 2005). Through this "practical wisdom" (Booth, 2006), the general public's "unique knowledge, experience, and pragmatism" (Weymouth & Hartz-Karp, 2020, p. 7) provides an opportunity for decision- and policymakers to access and better disseminate information and create and foster

spaces for participation and deliberation. However, for government officials and policymakers, conditions of wicked problems pose challenges in engaging the diverse interests and values of the public, the cooperation among various bureaucratic levels, and the mainstreaming of timely and accurate communication, information, and knowledge dissemination (Head & Alford, 2015).

Central to solving wicked problems are opportunities for inclusive and accessible participation, expert opinion, and deliberation. Innes and Booher (2016) assert wicked problems need a “collaborative rationality” strategy that is “built on collaborative dialogue and multifaceted information” (p. 8) and similar to Habermas’ communicative rationality through which individuals engage in deliberative discourse with the goal of arriving at a consensus (Dews, 2016). Head and Xiang (2016) offer an Adaptive, Participatory, and Transdisciplinary (APT) framework to use in efforts to solve wicked problems as such issues “require extended deliberations among the many stakeholders whose diverse knowledge and perspectives are crucial for both the understanding and management of socio-ecological systems” (p. 5). This includes the need for contributions from experts to provide data and informed opinions for participants to include in the deliberation. Elia & Margherita (2018) outline a process-driven approach to ideate and assess solutions to wicked problems. This approach includes an initial phase of identifying and analyzing the problem, followed by a synthesis of the problem in tandem with community members’ lived experiences and opinions of the problem. Community members then propose solutions, prototyping possible solutions for implementation, assessment, and maintenance. This approach is similar to what Innes and Booher (2016)

posit as the need for reframing the wicked problem into manageable portions through a multi-phase process that outlines realistic goals, purposes, and solutions.

While the research on utilizing models of participatory governance to address wicked problems is still nascent, some studies have shown that the inclusion of public participation in processes to address wicked problems fosters a greater sense of ownership over a community's wicked problems; in effect, the public is less likely to hold unrealistic expectations for government officials to address the problems, the public's willingness and engagement in creating effective solutions increases, and the gap in trust between the public and government decreases (Hodgkinson et al., 2022; Lundström et al., 2016; Weymouth & Hartz-Karp, 2020).

Examples of Participatory Governance in K-12 Schools

K-12 school communities represent and serve diverse populations of students, families, staff, and leadership. Models for shared decision-making in district or school-wide processes hold promise in responding to school communities' many and diverse needs. In line with the theories of participatory and deliberative democracy, Dewey (1916) posited schools as spaces for practicing democratic ideals and providing opportunities for socialization that can influence democratic values, purposes, and habits. While schools broadly have become more undemocratic, opportunities for students and families to participate in deliberations and democratic decision-making processes exist and have resulted in heightened institutional accountability and enacted change, greater student and family engagement, and increased avenues of communication and trust.

Research on authentic participation in school community decision-making processes has resulted in positive effects and outcomes for various stakeholders. Equitable partnerships among all stakeholders have been shown to transform power dynamics, foster trust and reciprocity, and produce sustainable and inclusive changes, that better serve the school community (Ishimaru, 2019). Likewise, opportunities to engage youth in dialogue and mutual learning have positively affected student teamwork, leadership, and internal political efficacy (Bennett & Hays, 2022). Moreover, opportunities for youth to democratically engage within their school and local community can foster advocacy capacities to promote positive change and further the propensity that youth will engage as civic changemakers in adulthood (Hahn, 1998; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Lerner, 2004; Mager & Nowak, 2012; Westheimer, 2015).

Beyond these positive effects and outside of a few exceptions, however, many models of participatory governance in K-12 schools are entrenched in bureaucracy and traditional forms of governance that cater to the usual suspects (those predisposed to leadership opportunities), such as school governing boards and student councils. These K-12 governance processes and roles still follow traditional power structures, deliberation within and across hierarchal structures is limited, and outcomes often benefit the status quo or are solely focused on managerial upkeep. I will discuss three of the most common models of K-12 participatory governance: student council/government, youth advisory structures, and governing boards. I selected these three models based on their prevalence within the literature and the mainstream K-12 context, but I do recognize that there are specialty schools that institutionalize more robust, ongoing practices of democracy and civic engagement.

Student Council/Government

The presence of a student government or student council has become commonplace in K-12 schools as a platform for student representatives to contribute to their school communities. Some of these responsibilities may include contributing to policy discussions through shared or lateral decision-making responsibilities, dialing up student-raised issues to school and district administrators, and organizing and facilitating school community events and initiatives, including fundraisers and volunteering opportunities. The structure of a student government or council varies, but roles are typically the same, with the core positions entailing president, vice president, treasurer, and secretary along with student representatives.

Participation in student government or council consistently results in positive outcomes. Studies have shown participation in student government or council to foster broader civic participation within the school community (Kahne & Sporte, 2008), while others have traced involvement in student government or council to participants exhibiting long-term civic engagement behaviors (McFarland & Thomas, 2006; Verba et al., 1995). Some studies have shown a positive connection between student government or council participation and academic attitudes and performance (Alderson, 2000; Wekesa & Mbogo, 2021).

When compared to the prevalence of student government or councils in K-12 schools, the research on student government or councils is sparse, with studies that have been conducted spatially separated and other literature focused more on programmatic aspects than effects (Griebler & Nowak, 2012; Mcfarland & Starmanns, 2009). These latter studies have pointed out that the understood purpose and structure of student

governments and councils differ along lines of race, socioeconomic status, and school size and type. Additionally, the focus of student governments and councils seems to lean more towards the facilitation of student activities such as hosting events, organizing community drives, or planning dances and other school-wide social events. Moreover, student council election outcomes often do not represent the student body demographics or desired changes, which can affect the makeup and quality of decisions made on behalf of the entire school community. Additionally, while the intentions and scope of powers of student government or councils vary across schools, many of them use rigid protocols such as Rogers Rules to run their meetings, enact and uphold constitutions, and engage with more traditional practices of democracy, such as voting and campaigning during the elections.

Youth Advisory Structures

Youth Advisory Structures (YAS) encompass youth advisory boards, groups, and councils and straddle an in- and out-of-school presence. Within the school context, YAS can be likened to student councils or student government but are often narrower in scope or foci. Outside the school context, YAS supplant a similar framework or role within the community at a municipal level, sometimes with crossover and collaboration with the local school systems. The structure and format of YAS vary widely, but many serve a role alongside a community organization, governing body, or planning committee to provide advice and feedback concerning initiatives, direction of work, and priorities (Haddad et al., 2022). YAS are also prevalent in health and well-being-related participatory work (Forenza & Happonen, 2016; Haddad et al., 2020).

While the roles and tasks of YAS vary between localities, research has found that participants, engaged at both the policy and community levels, have experienced positive outcomes for civic engagement, youth development, and social justice (Augsberger et al., 2018; Bennett & Hays, 2022). Checkoway, Allison, and Montoya (2005) found that the San Francisco Youth Commission's youth commissioners advocated for specific policy positions, proposed their own policies to the city, and engaged in community-level organizing focused on political action. In Virginia's Youth Planner Initiative, youth worked with adults in local government to develop a comprehensive plan for the city (Carlson, 2005). The Sariling Gawa Youth Council in Hawai'i created a youth-led nonprofit that worked alongside the local school and government officials to foster greater cultural awareness and leadership training for other youth (Luluquisen et al., 2006).

Still, other instances of YAS experience limited inclusion in decisions and initiatives, often due to the need for greater awareness and know-how in engaging youth participation in local-level politics (Richards-Schuster & Checkoway, 2009), inequitable representation of all youth present within the community (Nairn et al., 2006), and the power differentials between the youth and adults involved in local governance (Matthews & Limb, 2003). While the research on YAS has slowly gained traction, limited findings exist, and there is an overall lack of strong comparative analyses among the different structures, formats, and foci.

Governing Boards

School and district governing boards are elected bodies tasked with guiding a school or district's policy landscape and ensuring initiatives uphold the school

community's mission, values, and aspirations. Historically, youth and students have not held a voting seat on governing boards (Sawchuck, 2019), rather, they have served as advisory members of the board. As of 2022, 24 state-level boards of education have student representatives, while, as of 2020, over 30 states have students serving on school or district-level governing boards (Hendrie, 2023). Yet, the actualization of duties, authority, and voting rights allocated to student representatives on these boards varies widely.

Within the past few election cycles, however, there has been a rise in youth and students running in school board elections and winning competitive races to secure a voting position (Fischer, 2023; Mitchell, 2017). While the rise of student presence in these spaces has slowly begun to expand, due to the recency of youth voting members on school governing boards, there is a significant gap in the research on whether youth governing board members affect the subsequent outcomes of a board's policies and decision-making processes. Nonetheless, in an early study with youth school board members (trustees) in Canada, findings revealed the experience to be transformative, and their involvement in the political processes "provide[d] opportunities for critical reflection and a developing sense of community that creates the conditions for social transformation and future action" (Koller & Schugurensky, 2011).

Participatory Budgeting (PB) and Citizens' Assemblies

Participatory budgeting and citizen assemblies are two emergent shared decision-making models that have been taken up within K-12 school communities. While both models have a record of use in other contexts, namely the municipal or state level, these

two models have recently gained traction within K-12 school communities as methods for inclusive decision-making processes and power shifts that result in tangible outcomes. I will discuss the backgrounds of each of these models, their use and subsequent findings within K-12 spaces, and their application to address the topic of school safety and policing.

Participatory Budgeting

Participatory Budgeting (PB) is a community-led, democratic decision-making process, driven by participatory and deliberative practices, that is used to decide how to allocate a public budget. Since its inception in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 1989, PB has become a globally-scaled tool used to support equitable and healthy local development and social control over public resources (Baiocchi, 2001; Cabannes, 2004a). Beyond its origins in the Global South, PB is now present in over 11,000 cities around the world (Dias et al., 2019). PB has been adopted and adapted for use in a variety of contexts, including all levels of government, nonprofits, schools, and community organizations. Central to the PB process design is the inclusion of the most marginalized voices within a community or those “who have not traditionally had access to political power” to exercise decision-making power over a public budget (Wampler, 2012, p. 3). With roots in participatory, direct, and deliberative democracy and transformational learning for social change, PB holds promise in combating traditional exclusionary decision-making processes and ineffective representation, increasing community and political engagement, and developing more equitable distributions of community resources.

Studies on PB as both a policy tool and an intermediary-guided model of public participation have shown a positive effect on communities and local systems of

government, with findings demonstrating an increase in government transparency and accountability (Cabannes, 2004a; Holdo, 2016), prioritization of social well-being and issues of justice (Russell & Jovanovic, 2020; Sakala & Vigne, 2019; Touchton et al., 2017; Touchton & Wampler, 2014) and more equitable allocation and redistribution of public resources (Baiocchi, 2001; Wu & Wang, 2012). Further research has shown participants of a PB process to have increased levels of political efficacy, civic capacities, social networks, and community engagement (Cabannes, 2004a, 2004b; Johnson et al., 2021; Lerner & Schugurensky, 2007; Lerner & Secondo, 2012; Nylen, 2002; Schugurensky, 2006). Against the backdrop of declining trust and participation in public institutions, PB has also been shown to be an effective tool for fostering trust and community engagement (Apostolou et al., 2022; Badia et al., 2022; Castillo, 2015; Wilkinson et al., 2019). Moreover, because the PB process is highly malleable and opportune for community contextualization, opportunities for democratic innovation and meaningful inclusion are possible (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2020; Su, 2017).

School Participatory Budgeting (PB) is an adaptation of the municipal PB model that has been designed within the context of formal educational institutions. Within the K-12 school setting, the School PB process is typically student-driven, with opportunities for the school community to decide how to allocate a portion of the school or district budget. School community members create the School PB process guidelines, collect ideas for school community improvement projects, develop project proposals for viable ideas, deliberate on the strengths of the different proposals, campaign for the proposal(s) they would like to see funded, and vote for which project(s) to implement.

In the United States, the first School PB process was implemented in 2013 at BioScience High School in Phoenix, Arizona. In the last decade, School PB was adopted by over 60 schools in Arizona and hundreds of schools in other states. Internationally, School PB can be found in a few schools in a handful of countries (Argentina, Canada, Czech Republic, France, Mexico, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Serbia, South Korea and Spain). In Arizona, School PB is conceived as a tool that simultaneously promotes citizenship education, civic engagement, and school democracy. School PB processes have related to municipal PB processes in some jurisdictions.

While the research on the effects and outcomes of participating in School PB is still emerging and evolving, studies have shown that participation in the process increases student knowledge, attitudes, skills, and practices concerning citizenship education and empowerment and shows a positive impact on school climate, specifically with improved trust and communication between students, teachers, and staff, and school and district leaders (Albornoz-Manyoma et al., 2020; Bartlett & Schugurensky, 2023; Cohen et al., 2015; Duncikaite, 2019; Gibbs, et al., 2021). For a broader description and discussion on School PB's expansion, progression, and implications, see Bartlett and Schugurensky, 2021.

The use of the PB model to address community safety concerns and reform municipal police organizations began in the 1990s in Santo André, Brazil, when community members voiced concerns over the increasing urban violence and corruption plaguing local law enforcement (Wampler, 2000). In the early 2000s, the Santo André community prioritized public safety reform with proposals for neighborhood societies, municipal security councils, and better police training (Acioly, Jr. et al., 2003). Also,

during a conceptual analysis of PB processes in seven Brazilian cities, five Latin American cities, and two European cities, Cabannes (2004b) noted the presence of public safety among proposed solutions. Ideas included increasing the size of the police force, improving the quality of police service within the community, and formulating community watch committees to improve public safety. In these early intersections of PB and public safety, a common recommendation was further to study the role of community processes like PB to address policing and safety reforms.

In the United States, local governments only recently began to use PB to address concerns of public safety. In 2015, the city of Seattle, Washington first launched a youth PB process called Youth Voice, Youth Choice. After observed success, Seattle opened the PB process up to the entire city in 2017, and by 2020, the city had shifted nearly \$69 million dollars from policing budgets into community safety initiatives like victims' advocates and updated 911 call systems (Doyle & Sakala, 2021). More recently, Seattle allocated the entire year's \$30 million budget for the PB process to its Community Alternatives to Incarceration and Policing initiative (Dubb, 2021).

In Fall 2021, Portland State University in Oregon adopted the PB process to “understand the array of safety needs of the campus community and to reimagine an approach to meeting those needs that reflects our commitment to racial justice and human dignity” (Portland State University Office of the President, 2021). The university has recruited faculty, students, staff, and other community stakeholders to serve on the Reimagine Campus Safety Committee. Additionally, while still a proposal campaign, various municipal-level People's Budgets across the U.S., including Los Angeles, Nashville, and Minneapolis, have demanded local leaders to divest from law enforcement

institutions and instead invest in community-proposed projects through a PB process (Re-Imagine Los Angeles County Coalition, 2021). Similarly, many K-12 school districts have chosen to divest from SROs, but very few, if any, have reinvested those monies using a PB process. The school district central to this case study is the only one I know that has used district-level funds in a school community PB process to redesign school safety.

Citizens' Assemblies

Citizens' Assemblies (CA) are structured public groups composed of a representative sample of the community brought together to learn about and deliberate on an issue and to provide meta consensus on a policy, recommendations, or collective decision to the governing body for codification or adoption. The first modern CA was established in British Columbia, Canada, in 2004 as an inclusive, public-drive method to reform the electoral system, and after much success, has been repeated, expanded, and adopted throughout the globe (Carty et al., 2008). CA have existed in various forms since the dawn of Athenian assemblies and share recognition and similarities with terms such as (deliberative) mini-publics, citizen juries, citizen initiative review, and even jury duty for public policy (Chwalisz, 2023; Reuchamps et al., 2023). Since the British Columbia experiment, CA have been taken up in various geopolitical spaces and levels of society, including Ontario, the U.K., Scotland, Germany, Washington state, the Netherlands, Australia, France, and Ireland -which has used CA for national policy reforms on abortion and gay marriage.

Central to the CA process are three core principles: inclusion, deliberation, and influence (Reuchamps et al., 2023). The participants of a CA are meant to represent the

population affected by the issue and the post-CA outcome. Participant selection and recruitment processes vary, but common methods include lottery, sortition, and self-elect. Each of these methods brings pros and cons, and other innovative methods such as rotations, accordion models, and hybrid delivery have been infused in CA to combat civic privilege or the perpetuation of only the usual suspects participating. Throughout a CA, participants engage in deliberative rounds to further shape their individual and collective knowledge of the issue at hand. These deliberations are grounded in storytelling, personal and mutual reasoning, and reciprocity (Dryzek, 2003; Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). Also essential to the deliberation aspect is a “shared pool of evidence” that balances experience and opinion with facts and reality (Boswell, 2021, p. 3). Additionally, these deliberations are impacted by learning from experts on the issue so that deliberations and outcomes balance both personal experiences and empirical evidence. This learning can come in the form of presentations, panels, site visits, information packets, etc. Lastly, the aim of CA is to influence 1) a policy or traditionally government-only held decision by producing a community-reflected policy, recommendations, or collective decision and 2) the participants’ and public’s knowledge of the issue, the broader implications of the community, and processes of government. This sphere of influence stems directly from the diversity of participation and the quality and extent of deliberation that shapes participants’ learning (Curato et al., 2017).

Research on CA has shown positive effects on both individuals and communities. Community members who have participated in a CA have reported the desire to be more engaged in policy and government processes, including the ability to participate again in CA (Cain & Moore, 2019; Christensen et al., 2017; Flinders et al., 2016; Grönlund et al.,

2010). Some have even positioned CA as a virtuous cycle that holds promise in priming new forms of leadership and new leaders themselves (Chwalisz, 2023). One critique of CA is that of access: given the number of participants in a CA (typically around 50 people) and the population size of communities or states, all community members' ability to engage is minimal (Boswell, 2021).

There is a dearth of research on CA in K-12 schools, especially with the inclusion of students and youth. Most of the literature on CA in educational institutions is situated within higher education, with universities, colleges, and community colleges using the model to deliberate on and address institutional policy changes like the rewriting of a student constitution (Geyiktepe, 2022), climate action and sustainability practices (Goldmark, 2021), and electoral systems (Gershtenson et al., 2010). Studies on processes that use the term CA or participatory governance within K-12 schools and with school-aged children omit the students and youth in the decision-making processes, instead centering the adults of the school community in the process and, at best, consulting with the students and youth on the issues attempting to be solved (Arvind, 2009). One study that used the term “assembly” alongside the term “inclusive public forum” did so to describe one aspect of a Pupil Council that was more in line with student government and council activities (Cross et al., 2014). However, there are a handful of guidebooks and toolkits for schools and practitioners to use that cite the term CA or use similar terms but follow a CA process (School Citizen Assemblies, n.d.), including one that is catered towards higher education institutions (Rainey & Rainey, 2013).

Likewise, there has not been much use of CA to address community safety and policing, let alone safety and SROs in K-12 schools. Rather, there has been a

concentrated effort to use the CA model in addressing the climate crisis and solutions for action (Boswell et al., 2022; Smith, 2023; Willis et al., 2022). A related publication, a U.S. National Department of Justice Report (Finn, 2001) titled *Citizen Review of Police*, shared findings from citizen representatives of police oversight boards from nine different jurisdictions throughout the U.S. (Tucson, AZ included) who participated in interviews about details of the police department, including policy, mediation, conflict, funding, and staffing. Although this study did not use a true CA model nor engage with the broader public from these different communities through any kind of deliberation. In mid-October 2023, however, the London borough of Waltham Forest announced they would be launching a CA in early 2024 to address concerns with the local police and produce community-derived recommendations on how policing services will be delivered alongside the community (France, 2023).

Indeed, democracies across the globe are experiencing a rise in complex social issues that traverse boundaries and identities. Many democracy and political science researchers have pointed to the need for renewal in how individuals participate in and interact with government institutions, specifically, among youth and those historically excluded (Ercan et al., 2022; Walker et al., 2015). A Pew Research Center survey also found widespread support for more active voice opportunities in policies and effective decision-making among those polled (Wike & Fetterolf, 2022). Furthermore, the increase in participatory processes, albeit many pilots, from both the grassroots and grassroots levels has signaled we may be on the verge of experiencing a participatory revolution (Theocharis & van Deth, 2018). These challenges and promising shifts have prompted a

need to re-examine and redesign public institutions, policies, and access to democratic processes.

Examples of participatory governance have been taken up in various forms and to various degrees within government, community, and K-12 school spaces. As the literature has shown, its effectiveness in practice lies within the constructs of process design, the extent of inclusive participation, and opportunities for deep deliberation. The research on various process designs and initiatives shows that participatory governance is effective when institutionalized, habitual, and embedded in partnership with civil society organizations and through informal practices, not just in elite spaces (Abas et al., 2023; Bussu et al., 2022; Fung & Wright, 2001). Furthermore, inclusive and representative participant groups can offer more diverse ideas through lived experiences and realities, and direct participation has been shown to drive accountability (Pateman, 1970; Rawls, 1971, Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). Likewise, opportunities for deliberation and learning can be transformational for the participants, the greater public, and the quality of governance and decision-making processes (Altschuler, & Corrales, 2012; Touchton & Wampler, 2014). These defining features of participatory governance processes are in line with what is needed to address wicked problems.

Student Voice

For the past two decades, the term *student voice* has traversed trends in education and has been used within various contexts and for different purposes. Thus, the definition of student voice has fluctuated under different understandings or, at times, has been operationalized within educational settings differently (Charteris & Smardon, 2019;

Cook-Sather, 2006; Gentile, 2014). According to The Glossary of Education Reform (Voice definition, 2014), student voice refers to “the values, opinions, beliefs, perspectives, and cultural backgrounds of the students in a district, school, or school community, as well as the degree to which those values, opinions, beliefs, and perspectives are considered, included, listened to, and acted upon when important decisions are being made in a district or school.” Conceptually, student voice can be described as “the many ways in which youth might have the opportunity to actively participate in school decisions that will shape their lives and the lives of their peers” (Mitra, 2004, p. 651). Simply put, student voice describes the active, mindful involvement of students in sharing opinions, identifying problems, and formulating ideas for potential solutions to problems or challenges within the structures and habits of their school community.

Similar terms that have been used to refer to student voice include “student/youth empowerment” (Johnson, 1991; McQuillan, 2005; Mitra, 2008), “student/youth leadership” (Brasof, 2015; Holquist et al., 2023), “student/youth civic engagement or action” (Burke & Greene, 2015; Marsh et al., 2020), and “student/youth active participation” (Cheng et al., 2019; Clark et al., 2022; Holquist, 2019; Müller-Kuhn et al., 2021) among others. The use of the term “youth” in lieu of or alongside “student” has come to encompass spaces and initiatives beyond the formal school environment, such as municipal youth councils or youth leadership within intergenerational, community-wide projects and initiatives (Augsberger et al., 2018; Collins et al., 2018). For the purpose of this section, I concentrate on the application and practice of including the student voice within the decision-making processes of K-12 schools in the United States. However, it is

important to note that not every K-12 school community may use the same definition to describe student voice, nor may they operationalize it to the same extent or manner.

The literature on student voice focuses on its application across specific areas, including democratic education, children’s rights, student well-being, socio-cultural and socio-political learning contexts, and school practices of participation (Hipolito-Delgado, 2022; Müller-Kuhn et al., 2021; Simmons et al., 2015). The practice of student voice in school and district decision-making opportunities aims to democratize such spaces and provide students with applicable experiences to foster engagement, empowerment, agency, and democratic or civic-related behaviors (Carl et al., 2018). Student voice has been used to position students as meaningful, valued contributors in these decision-making spaces and recognize students as experts with the rights, responsibilities, and capacities to shape their educational experiences and environments (Halfon & Romi, 2021; Mitra, 2009; Oldfather, 1995). While the idea of including student voice in decision-making processes is meant to center student perspectives and recognize that students are the “authentic chroniclers of their own experience” (Delpit, 1988, p. 297), the practice of student voice can look very different depending on the educational context, school community power relations, and perceived stakeholder agency. The operationalization of student voice can range from students participating in discussions regarding a school community issue, to being consulted for input regarding issues and potential solutions, to students themselves leading the charge in addressing student-identified issues. These variances in the practice of student voice and their implications are discussed in further detail later in this chapter.

History and Epistemologies of Student Voice

Student voice in K-12 education spaces within the U.S. has had a complex, convoluted history. Calls for the inclusion of student voice in K-12 education decision-making spaces and leadership positions have steadily risen over the past three decades. Likewise, research on student voice in K-12 schools began to advance in the late 1990s and early 2000s, with an accelerated increase ever since then. Earlier in U.S. history, the idea of student voice (without using that term) was championed by John Dewey (1916) and other educational philosophers who believed that the contributions of students in decision-making processes were necessary to shape their ideal educational experiences. Indeed, while there exist historical instances that have not been previously documented as “student voice,” students have been using their voice to influence change within their school communities and beyond. For example, in 1894, in Freeville, New York, the first student government club was formed within George Junior Republic School (Johnson, 1991). From this example onward, instances of student voice have appeared within K12 schools in various forms, thereby producing a wide-ranging spectrum of innovative applications with varying effects.

The power of student voice and its function as a pedagogical tool surfaced during the children’s rights movement, which sought to enshrine personhood status for children. These attempts to reconceptualize childhood and grant self-determination rights to children can be traced to the White House Conference Children’s Charter in 1930, the United Nations (UN) Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959, and the White House Conference on Children in 1970 (Hart, 1991). Until the UN General Assembly Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations, 1989), however, the notion that

children could function as their own social and political actors with rights independent of family units and other adults was deemed too progressive and was scapegoated as having begun “to undermine the traditional familial relationship” (Winter & Connolly, 1996, p. 36).

The UN’s Convention on the Rights of the Child championed child-centered approaches to ensuring well-being, safety, and participation, stating the need for any “child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child,” meaning children should have a say in policies and processes that directly affect them. Proponents saw this as significant progress towards “recogni[zing] the child as a full human being with integrity and personality and ability to participate freely in society” (Freeman, 1996, p. 37), while critics disagreed that this progress was not enough, emphasizing the outlined rights to be myopically focused on the delivery and quality of social services and other intervention programs that would still be overseen and ultimately decided upon by adults (Winter & Connolly, 1996). Similarly, others cited doubt in the decision-making capacity of children and voiced concern over the implications of elevating children’s voices over that of adults (Franklin, 1995; Nussbaum & Dixon, 2012). To this end, the General Assembly resolution did not specifically delineate educational spaces as necessary sites to recognize the rights of children or even emphasize the need for student-led decision-making opportunities within schools (Hart, 1991; Lansdown, 1994).

The latter of the children’s rights movement shared overlap with coalition building among student and youth groups and the student power movements within educational spaces that began to take shape during the 1960s and 1970s. Many of these

movements took place on college campuses and within communities broadly, but there were several significant instances of student voice, advocacy, and codified rights taking place within K-12 school communities that were monumental in instrumenting changes and empowering young people.

Notably, the 1969 landmark Supreme Court case of *Tinker v. Des Moines* codified First Amendment rights for students on school campuses when, as a junior high student, Mary Beth Tinker wore a black armband to school to protest the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War (*Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District*, 393 U.S. 503, 1969). In a 7-2 decision, Justice Forta's majority opinion emphasized, "It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate." The outcome of the *Tinker v. Des Moines* case secured students' First Amendment rights on school campuses so long as they do not "disrupt the learning environment." Shortly thereafter, the National Education Association (NEA) publicly called for K12 schools to infuse more opportunities for student voice in their campuses, alongside the caution that the inclusion of student voice is only possible so long as "students are guaranteed certain basic rights" (Johnson, 1991, p. 7) on school campuses.

Also, at this time, there was an uptick in instances of students forming advisory councils with student representatives weighing in on various topics such as curricular materials, discipline policies, and school schedules or providing feedback concerning an issue (Martin et al., 2007). Similarly, as the recognition and student-led demands for student voices to be present in spaces of decision-making began to accelerate, students began lobbying and campaigning for positions on school boards (Students on School

Boards in Maryland, 2023). Other means that infused student voice within a school's campus included student-led newspapers, blogs, and forums such as clubs or special interest groups.

Following these decades of student voice advocacy and proliferation, however, educational spaces and student voice shifted alongside a magnified belief in the criminalization of youth and the effects of punitive discipline practices and zero tolerance policies, the need for curriculum standardization and assessment to compete globally, and an increased authoritarian approach in schooling infrastructure and instruction.

Specifically, the Nation at Risk report of the late 1980s contributed to these criticisms. The findings of this report lacked contextualization and did not outline methods for schools to create opportunities for shared decision-making or policymaking processes, nor how schools could involve students and families in reform efforts (Kamenetz, 2018). These factors nursed an ecosystem of students feeling disconnected from and disenfranchised by their school communities, with students reporting not feeling heard or valued or feeling powerless, students exhibiting less active engagement within their school community, and students not pursuing postsecondary education opportunities, and to some extent, students dropping out of school completely (Black, 2016; Bridgeland et al., 2006; Kuh et al., 2006).

During the 1990s and early 2000s, desires to infuse student voice within school community decision-making resurfaced again. This time, however, the rationale for student voice shifted from its purpose as a tool for youth empowerment to one of necessity to address ailments plaguing the school system. Research during this era focused on how schools could include student voices in broader discussions of school

improvement, attainment, and motivations and how, in doing so, the engagement, efficacy, and empowerment of students tangentially could combat or prevent the conditions being addressed (Delpit, 1988; Johnson, 1991; Kozol, 1992; Lee & Zimmerman, 1999; Oldfather, 1995). Thus, student voice in K-12 schools returned as an effective approach to aiding school reform efforts, improving the conditions of learning, and teaching citizenship education (Rudduck & Flutter, 2000).

Only recently have conceptualizations of student voice begun exploring varied reasons and benefits beyond school reform to include students as key stakeholders and decision-makers in processes and spaces of power within school communities. Student voice has been explored as an avenue to affect school climate positively (Simmons et al., 2015; Voight, 2015), an approach to improve student engagement and academic outcomes (Conner et al., 2022; Kahne et al., 2022), as well as a tool for school democracy by equipping students with experiences to develop civic capacities that can foster advocacy for positive change and further the propensity for youth to engage as changemakers in adulthood (Brasof, 2015; Hess & McAvoy, 2015; Levinson, 2012; Mager & Nowak, 2012; Mitra & Gross, 2009; Sherrod, 2002). The intersection of student voice and children's rights has also been revisited with the recognition that schools can serve as a space of institutionalized opportunities for students to engage with policies and practices that affect their daily lives (Mateos-Blanco et al., 2022).

Additionally, increased attention and resourcing of school-based student voice curricular support and the teaching of civics and law-related education have also spurred promise for agentic youth change (Healy, 2022; Smith, 2023). Some U.S. states have adopted standards or are using curricula that support the teaching of the history of protest

and activism (Schulten, 2018), and schools and student clubs have formed partnerships with organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to teach students tactics and methods of public speeches, walkouts, and social media activism, and that students have protected rights on school campuses (Schulten, 2018).

Similarly, the development of understanding and expansion in the framing of student voice has grown alongside an increase in youth actualizing their rights and agency to counter broader social issues such as climate change, police and school violence, immigration, and access to reproductive healthcare (Prothero, 2023; Stanford, 2023). While many of these youth-led movements have occurred outside of schools and within the wider community, there have been examples of students creating school-based clubs and national organizations and coalitions to ensure the amplification of their voices on issues that transcend state and school district borders and affect a large populace of school-age youth. One such example is the March for Our Lives movement that coalesced in 2018 following the mass shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida. Survivors of this school shooting staged walkouts, delivered public speeches, and launched social media awareness and advocacy efforts as a call for the U.S. to enact policies and practices to end gun violence. Another example is The National Student Board Member Association ([NSBMA], 2023), founded by students who serve on boards of education and similar governing entities throughout the United States. NSBA provides training for student school board candidates and electeds and champions the belief that “Students are the primary recipients of the educational process and [...] their input plays a critical role in building better school systems across the country” (National Student Board Member Association [NSBMA], 2023).

Another recent development in student voice has been students addressing school-based issues through legal avenues. One example is *A. Cook v. Raimondo/McKee* (2017), wherein students and parents filed a federal lawsuit against the state of Rhode Island, citing that less affluent schools in the Rhode Island public school system have failed to prepare students to “function productively as civic participants” and the state is therefore in violation of educational rights secured by the U.S. Constitution (Goldstein, 2018). Lawyers for the students and their families focused on a majority-cited loophole within the 1973 case of *San Antonio v. Rodriguez*. The loophole, originally written in the dissent of Justice Thurgood Marshall but agreed upon by majority representative Justice Lewis F. Powell, provides the argument that educational inequality must rise to the level of a student’s inability to exercise their First Amendment rights and rights to participate in the political process (Ogletree, 2014). While a federal judge ruled last year that the U.S. Constitution does not guarantee a right to civic education, the state of Rhode Island made efforts to create a civic education task force and provide equity-based funding for civic learning programs across the state (Borg, 2022). Another recent example of students elevating school issues to the court system is *Franz et al. v. Oxford Community School District et al.* (2022), a case in which students sued their school district and school leaders for not protecting their rights to safety and education after experiencing a school shooting that left four of their peers dead and seven wounded.

Despite the increased attention and investment in researching and adopting student voice as a best practice in K-12 schools, the growing prevalence and increased demands for student voice in K-12 educational spaces have not been wholly received with positive interest. The term student voice has become recognized as a tenet of action

civics and youth activism, terms which many right-wing organizations and think tanks have warned parents and school leaders about, urging them to avoid this praxis on the basis it leads to “school-sponsored indoctrination and political action in support of progressive policy positions” (Kurtz, 2021). These partisan, dissenting attitudes on student voice are not new, as they share some of the same sentiments that were voiced during the children’s rights era (Rudduck & Flutter, 2000). Other arguments against student voice in K12 education spaces cite concerns about the surveillance of teachers, the undermining of educational authority, and the ostracization of dissenting opinions within school communities (Lundy, 2007; Page, 2017; Skerrit, 2022).

The epistemologies of student voice are grounded in sociocultural constructivist theories of education that posit “learning does not happen in a vacuum” and encourage us to “think of educational spaces as multiple overlapping ‘activity systems’” (Ishimaru, 2019, p. 41). Student voice can be explored as a practice of pedagogical partnership and co-creation of learning, through frameworks of school democracy and tenets of Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) (Camarota & Fine, 2008; Carl et al., 2018; Rodríguez & Brown, 2009), Youth-Adult Partnerships (Y-AP) (Camino, 2000; Mitra, 2009), and Ecological Systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). There are also challenges and implications of power that accompany the practice of student voice, as is exemplified in Hart’s Ladder of Participation (1992) and Foucault’s framing and reframing of power (1988). While there are other theories and frameworks, I chose these few to discuss since they share an orientation toward the development of democratic capacities, address the paradigm of the redistribution of power, and explore different facets of student voice. Taken together, these frameworks couch the promises and tensions of student voice

within democratic learning contexts and relationships of power within K-12 school communities.

While the practice of student voice within K-12 schools has been historically confined to traditional, dedicated spaces such as student governments or councils, more recently, the concept and its practice have expanded to the ability to democratize schools beyond bureaucratic constraints and include a broader demographic of student beyond the “usual suspects,” i.e., students who are afforded more leadership opportunities or hail from more affluent backgrounds (Mcfarland & Starmanns, 2009; Morojele & Muthukrishna, 2011). Through this lens, student voice shares many of the same tenets with models of school democracy that aim to include students in the power dynamic structure of the school, transform and foster youth-adult relationships, and embed democratic processes and procedures within decision-making models (Dewey, 1916; Fischman & Gandin, 2016; Korkmaz & Erden, 2014; Trafford, 2012). Additionally, much of the literature on student voice aligns with efforts to democratize educational spaces via pedagogies and practices where youth are present and impacted (Carl et al., 2018; Gavrilova & Schugurensky, 2021; Kirshner & Jefferson, 2015; Marsh et al., 2020). These efforts entail the use of democratic pedagogies and practices like dialogue, disruption, action, and reflection to develop the agentic change capacities of students and continually reconceptualize notions of schooling and educational spaces (Cook-Sather, 2020; Fielding & McGregor, 2005; Gutiérrez, 2016). Practices also include treating students as equals in shared leadership and decision-making processes to combat oppressive constructs within a school community’s social, cultural, and political structures and equip students with the tools to navigate relations with power (Brasof,

2015; Giroux, 2010; Holquist et al., 2023). Therefore, efforts to democratize schools can manifest via student voice by positioning students as key actors within a school's policy and practice decisions.

Both Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) (Cammarota & Fine, 2008; Carl et al., 2018; Rodríguez & Brown, 2009) and Youth-Adult Partnerships (Y-AP) (Camino, 2000; Mitra, 2009; Petrokubi & Janssen, 2017) are student-centered approaches that are interwoven with the practice of student voice in schools. YPAR and Y-AP derive from beliefs and practices of power-sharing (Mitra, 2008) and focus on ways that youth and adults can equally contribute and learn from one another while engaging in a collaborative process to implement change. In practice through YPAR, adults and students in the school community engage in dialogical exchanges to identify and research areas for school improvement, collectively ideate solutions, and create a plan to implement solutions to address identified issues (Clark et al., 2022). Through a YPAR lens, students are positioned as co-researchers, or “experts on their own perceptions and experiences” (Oldfather, 1995), and are seen as the best equipped to critically examine and construct their own learning environments.

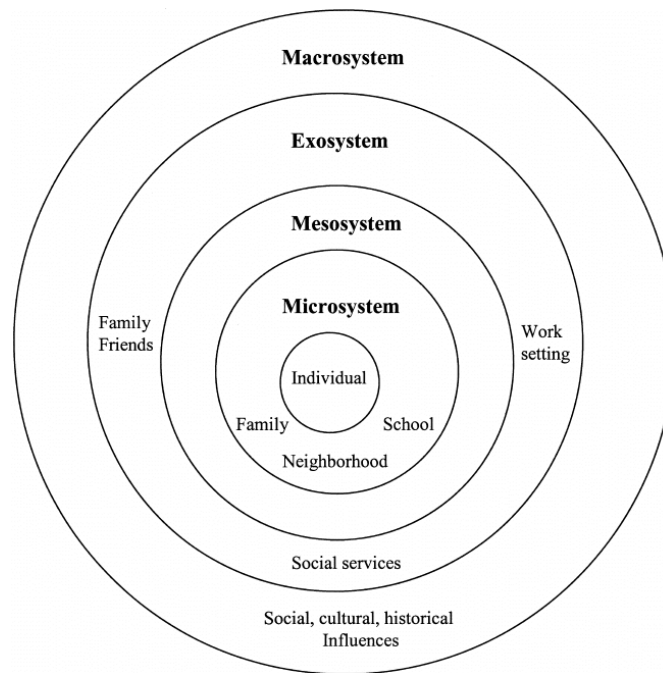
Y-AP complements YPAR as a set of principles used to frame the relationships between students and adults within a school's shared decision-making spaces. Zeldin et al. (2018) sum these principles in three beliefs: 1) students thrive when they feel ownership over their own learning, 2) learning is about engagement and proficiency, not compliance, and 3) students need the time, space, and resources to experiment and foster their engagement. An additional important factor in Y-AP exchanges is recognizing and honoring students' knowledge and lived experiences (Rodríguez & Brown, 2009).

Together, these approaches aim to address power dynamics and instill student voice as a democratizing tool within spaces of decision-making, researching, and gathering data to improve the learning environment.

Likewise, the school's ethos and systems strongly influence how student voice is actualized in schools. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) Ecological Systems theory (Figure 2) outlines how democratic pedagogies and practices of student voice can be operationalized within a school community's different environments. At the micro or individual level of the system, students' democratic knowledge, attitudes, and skills are constructed alongside peers in the classroom. Within the classroom, educators can center student voice when co-creating classroom social contracts, selecting and negotiating curricular materials, facilitating class meetings, utilizing project and inquiry-based learning approaches, and even garnering feedback on classroom instruction (Barker, 2018; McIntyre et al., 2005; Rudduck & Flutter, 2000). The meso level further engages students in broad school-based activities and democratic processes that develop democratic attitudes and practices for students to be civic changemakers within their school communities. This could entail school-wide initiatives such as service-learning projects, school participatory budgeting processes, assemblies, and efforts to engage students for feedback to "help schools to become communities, rather than knowledge factories" (Busher, 2012, p. 113). Importantly, these initiatives center the students' lived experiences when exploring and implementing solution-oriented ideas.

Figure 2

Ecological Systems Theory



While both the exo and macro levels transcend the school community, these levels provide opportunities to include students' family, family friends, and other school community members in shared decision-making opportunities. Ishimaru (2019) details how including parents and families, alongside community-based partners and organizations, can build institutional trust and cultivate collaborations but, at the same time, cautions how inclusive engagement and decision-making processes must include sharing power and responsibility. Moreover, students' democratic knowledge, attitudes, skills, and practices can be shaped and influenced by their experiences and engagement within the greater community, especially through action civics projects that center student voice in community problem-solving (Alegría et al., 2021; Blevins et al., 2016; Gustafson et al., 2021). Research has shown that when school communities function as a democratic

ecosystem and embed opportunities for student voice in multi-level policy and practice decisions, this direct experience of learning and participation is effective in developing students' democratic and civic capacities and can positively impact the school climate and broader community (Vinnakota, 2019).

However, underlying challenges exist between the theories of student voice and school democracy and practice. Much of the disjointed discourse and praxis stems from incomplete understandings of the complexities of student voice in practice and the wide range of options schools have to embed student voice, beginning from the classroom outward to spaces and partnerships within the wider community (Charteris & Smardon, 2019). When interviewing middle school principals on student voice practices, Gentile (2014) found their perceptions of student voice were often not in alignment with practice, and the effectiveness of practice suffered from both internal and external factors, including a need for teaching training on student voice, accountability in student voice initiatives, and a need to reimagine roles and structures of power and influence within the school community.

Similarly, within the literature on student voice, the power differentials between students and adults is discussed at length. Student participation in school decision-making has historically been obfuscated by those in power (i.e. adults, administrators) who will often make unilateral decisions about which topics or issues merit opportunities for student participation or set parameters on how students can participate in decision-making models and decide to what extent, if any, ideas or solutions that students conjure up will be considered or enacted (Bertrand et al., 2020; Johnson, 1991). These disparate

levels of access to power can greatly vary and impact the outcomes of student voice participation and the fidelity of school community relationships, engagement, and trust.

Furthermore, the practice of student voice faces several additional challenges in relation to the power differentials within school communities. One is that student voice has often been framed as giving students a voice (Strauss, 2021) or as a method for students to be heard (Fielding, 2004). This framing minimizes the agency, ideas, and abilities that students already inherently have outside of spaces where adults set the rules on when and how students are to exercise their voice. Another challenge is that student voice has sometimes been convoluted with tokenistic exercises or are often steeped in adultism (Bell, 2003; Bertrand et al., 2020). Some researchers have acknowledged “there are no spaces, physical or metaphorical, where staff and students meet one another as equals, as genuine partners in the shared undertaking of making meaning of their work together” (Fielding, 2004, p. 309), that spaces which champion student voice are also the same spaces that exist and function within a bureaucratic, top-down governance structure.

Indeed, the challenge of embedding opportunities for student voice and democratic participation within a school's ecosystem requires a pedagogical shift in the epistemologies of adults and others who hold power (Morojele & Muthukrishna, 2011; Weiss, 2018). Adults in these spaces and who engage in partnerships must be open to sharing their power and authority while ensuring the contributions of youth are valued and acted upon. It is important for school leaders and teachers to value and understand the role of schools as microcosms of the larger society and, therefore, believe that students are integral political actors who should play a role in the functions, decisions, and innovations of the school community (McQuillan, 2005). Likewise, for student voice

practices to be effective and enacted, the relationships between students and other school community stakeholders must be based on trust, shared power, and true partnership (Bryk & Schneider, 2002). In sum, the implementation of student voice initiatives within any school community is highly dependent on the politics and power relations among adults and students.

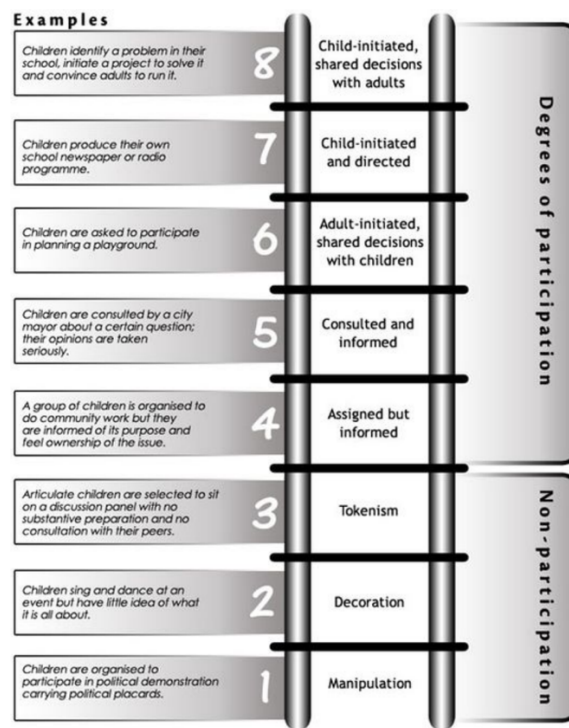
Hart's Ladder of Participation (1992), derived from Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1969), outlines tiered situations and the challenges of the power relations that impact student voice practices. Using the graphic representation of a ladder's rungs to depict different levels of participation, power, and relationships in decision-making processes, Hart's Ladder of Participation (Figure 3) illustrates the ways in which adults can work alongside students to foster and enact change or how adults may impress their power over the students, thus negating the potential possibility for shared and trusted decision-making.

The first three rungs of the ladder are wholly non-participatory and range from manipulation (i.e. students serving as pawns for the will of adults) to the tokenism (i.e. students are honorarily included in decision-making spaces with no intent of follow-through) that Bertrand et al. (2020) describes. The remaining five rungs represent a range of student-inclusive participatory decision-making within schools, with each rung still varying in terms of agency and power. Rung four positions students as present within the decision-making space, but, in this context, students are selected to participate rather than having voluntarily expressed self-motivation or the initiative to take ownership over the issue. In practice, this can perpetuate the "usual suspects," meaning those students predispositioned to leadership experiences are further provided this opportunity.

Ultimately, while the students who participate may be informed and passionate about the issue at hand, adults still assign the students a specific task or role and provide parameters for student participation and engagement, often emphasizing the “right way” of participating.

Figure 3

Hart’s Ladder of Participation



Next on the ladder, rung five includes consultation and information sharing with the students on a particular issue. Indeed, students are included in discussions, but the students nor their ideas are not necessarily included in the final decision-making process or outcomes. Rung six does posit students as co-planners in the solution or outcomes of a decision-making process, but the overall focus or issue is still adult-chosen, and the

process itself is planned by the adults. Not until rungs seven and eight are students positioned as leaders in decision-making, with agentic autonomy to select and direct problem-solving efforts and initiatives. Within these two final rungs, student voice capacities and impact are depicted as having the greatest agency, autonomy, and impact opportunities. Hart's Ladder of Participation may be useful for schools as they consider their own democratic ecosystem and how their pedagogies and practices foster a "participatory readiness" (Allen, 2014) for students to use their voice and be able to engage civically, electorally, and politically within their communities.

In the same vein, we must recognize that the power paradigm of student voice is twofold. On the one hand, the outcomes and fidelity of processes that encompass student voice may be compromised due to hierarchical power relations and challenges that dilute the potential of democratic pedagogies and practices. On the other hand, the practice of student voice holds promise as an emancipatory form of power that can truly transform educational spaces to be more equitable and function in ways that best serve students' needs. Foucault explores the emancipatory potential of power in *Technologies of the Self* (1988), acknowledging that while his earlier works may have overly focused on the detriments of technologies of power and domination, agency and self-constitution can exist within these notions of power. Put simply, individuals inherently hold the power to self-regulate and design their own ecological systems while holding institutions accountable to enact change. In the context of student voice in K-12 educational spaces, school leaders have the opportunity to reevaluate historically disenfranchising models and practices by redistributing power and creating spaces and methods for students to transform their schooling environment to positively influence their "way of being" (p.

18). Moreover, as an experiential, student-centered approach to democratize schools and learning, student voice can combat the transmissive banking model of education and utilize students' lived experiences and funds of knowledge to actualize their needs and lead the construction of their own learning environments (Oldfather, 1995).

Foucault also describes how shifts of power redistribution can be accomplished through dialogical exchanges and pedagogical experiences that foster political action. Likewise, the practice of student voice through deliberation can lead to a redistribution of power by providing more equitable opportunities for student participation within school communities. Through deliberation and engagement in participatory pedagogies and practices, the participation of students holds promise in harnessing harmful intentions and byproducts of power, ultimately improving the school community, culture, and climate to serve their needs better. Moreover, student voice has the potential to “help schools to become communities, rather than knowledge factories” (Busher, 2012, p. 113) and can reframe students from being viewed as a “political utility” for the “strength of the state” (Foucault, 1998, pg. 152) or as “merely as units of output by which to measure school performance” (Busher, 2012, p. 1881). Instead, schools can look to students as “agents and instruments of their own change processes” (Lincoln, 1993, p. 43) with the agency and capacity as co-owners and users of the educational space, equipped with decision-making rights to create more equitable spaces of learning.

Overall, while the practice of student voice in K12 schools has been challenged by the effects of adultism and oppressive power, it still holds significant power for students to reimagine and redesign traditional models of schooling and engage in solution-oriented decision-making opportunities. Moreover, practices of student voice

can be manifested within school campuses and across school communities in myriad ways. Through the practice of student voice, schools can simultaneously foster student engagement and empowerment, create opportunities for students to develop the skills needed for democratic participation and collective action, and foster a critical awareness to actualize the needs and desires of their school community -through the voices of the students themselves.

Effects of Student Voice in School Communities

Overall, the research on student voice in K12 schools has consistently shown the practice to yield positive outcomes across various fronts, including student-level outcomes, democratizing schools and tangential effects on civic learning, engagement within the broader community, and relations of power. Several studies on student voice cited the practice's positive effects on student psychological empowerment (Albornoz-Manyoma, 2020; Augsberger et al., 2019). Simmons (2015) explored connections between student voice, the overall well-being of students, and the school climate through over 600 focus groups with students ranging in age from 6 to 17 years old. The results confirmed other studies' outcomes in that students who feel their voice contributes to the decision-making processes of their school community have been shown to have higher levels of engagement and academic achievement (Conner et al., 2022; Kahne et al., 2022). One study that surveyed over 48,000 students in grades 6 through 12 found that when students believe their voice mattered, they were seven times more likely to be academically motivated (Quaglia Institute for School Voice and Aspirations, 2016), while other studies have even explored student voice as a mitigating effect in preventing

students from dropping out of school (Dary et al., 2016; Smyth, 2007). Similarly, Weiss (2018) found the use of youth-driven spaces to have a similar effect: students' academic outcomes improved, dropout rates decreased, and students reported a more positive school climate.

Research on student voice has shown the practice to be beneficial in democratizing learning spaces and for students to acquire leadership skills and foster commitments to future political and community participation (Brasof, 2015; Carl et al., 2018; Gavrilova & Schugurensky, 2021; Hipolito-Delgado et al., 2022; Kudrnáč et al., 2022; Lenzi et al., 2014). When students feel heard, valued, and validated within their learning environment, they exhibit stronger civic capacities and higher self-esteem and self-efficacy, and the school's overall democratic ethos is positively affected (Albornoz-Manyoma, 2020; Mager & Nowak, 2012; McGinnis & Mitra, 2022; Mitra, 2004; Sussman, 2015). In a study involving over 5,000 students in Dutch secondary schools, Rinnooy Kan et al. (2023) found that the practice of student voice positively impacts democratic dialogue, notably listening, and Evagorou et al. (2023) found that efforts to embed dialogic, deliberative opportunities for students heightened their public speaking and critical thinking skills, as well as increased empathy across varying student groups. Other studies have demonstrated student participation in school decision-making to have had a comprehensive impact across a myriad of social justice indicators of the school community (Mansfield et al., 2018; Torres-Harding et al., 2018).

Likewise, studies on the operationalization of student voice have revealed tangential effects on teachers, administrators, and other historically influential actors within the school community, even impacting asymmetrical relations and structures of

power. Student voice has been found to have a positive, reflective impact on organizational and pedagogical practices and instruction (Busher, 2012; Friend et al. 2015; Gentile, 2014), specifically social-emotional learning approaches used in classrooms (Fernandez et al., 2021). Both Barker (2018) and McIntyre et al. (2005) found that teachers responded to student needs more positively when schools implemented opportunities for students to provide feedback on classroom teaching and learning. Additionally, through the practice of student voice, relationships between students and adults, particularly teachers, are strengthened, and hierarchical power structures are often softened (Bragg, 2007). Other initiatives that have championed student voice have sought to address power dynamics, and, after initial consultation with the adults in the school community, students have taken ownership of facilitation and decision-making over the initiative.

Student voice has also been shown to improve engagement within the broader school community. The inclusion of students in researching, deliberating, and being involved in decisions on issues that affect the broader community has been shown to foster their agency, confidence, empowerment, and social cohesion (Burke & Greene, 2015). Likewise, other studies have shown that when schools foster student voice, the students' agency, self-confidence, and engagement can often diffuse into the broader community (Ice et al., 2015; Lee & Zimmerman, 1999; Zeldin et al., 2018).

In conclusion, student voice has a long and complex history within U.S. K-12 schools, with ebbs and flows in understanding the how, why, and outcomes behind the practice. Despite steady gains in presence and research, studies on the comprehensive effects of student voice are still nascent, especially research on student voice in

schoolwide decision-making processes that result in authentic change, such as policy adoption, budgetary decisions, or specific social justice initiatives. Most research on student voice has focused on the traditional spaces of student-led or student-involved decision-making (i.e., student governments or councils, advisory groups, or clubs) and specific practices and pedagogies that educators have chosen to employ in classrooms to foster student voice within such spaces. Therefore, there is a need for more empirical research on student voice in other K-12 spaces and an expansion in methodologies that capture the outcomes of student voice practices.

While the pendulum of student voice has swung between beliefs of utility and democratic value-add, student voice has come to be recognized as a multi-faceted strategy to enact student-led change on school campuses, aid in school reform efforts, and prepare students to be civic change agents. The systematizing of opportunities and practice of student voice in schools can certainly serve as a catalyst for adults in the school community to treat students as equal stakeholders when identifying and contextualizing problems and ideating innovative solutions. Tapping students' expertise provides access to information and innovative ideas beyond the lived experiences of adults within the school community. In essence, when students are asked, "What can be done to make your learning experience and school environment better?" their authentic engagement in democratic decision-making can effectively inform and influence decisions being made and enhance their participatory, civic behaviors for the long term.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) Framework

Fung and Wright (2001) connect participatory and deliberative democracy through the Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) framework, which is comprised of three guiding principles and three institutional design features. The three principles of the EDD framework are 1) a focus on addressing a specific public problem through practical orientation, 2) a bottom-up approach to garnering participation in the problem-solving process with an intentional inclusion of those most affected by the problem, and 3) opportunities for engagement in a deliberative dialogue around real solutions that includes expert contribution. Complementary to the guiding principles, the three institutional design features of the EDD framework center 1) devolution of power to involve the greater public in authentic decision-making processes, 2) horizontal and vertical connections between the public and decision- and policy-makers fostering a shared responsibility, equitable resource distribution, and diffused opportunities for cross-sector communication, and 3) the role of state-centered institutions in developing, fostering, and guiding opportunities for continued participation and decentralized decision-making.

The EDD framework outlines other factors that are inherent to processes of shared decision-making, such as effective problem-solving through the inclusion of different knowledge and experiences, equitable practices in providing spaces for deliberation centered on reason and justice, and broad, deep participation through accessible channels

to affect and lead state powers and decisions. Central to the EDD framework is the participation of community members in deliberative opportunities concerning issues and policies that affect them with the goal of producing actionable outcomes and increasing community capacity building and empowerment. According to Fung and Wright, a participatory governance process aligns with the EDD framework when it supports the guiding principles, institutional design features, and factors of democratic values.

Also key to the EDD framework is its use with large-scale reforms within communities, wherein superordinate actors grant authorization and provide support to subordinate actors to make recommendations, draft policies, and co-create and implement community-derived solutions and initiatives. Notably, the EDD framework has been used to analyze outcomes of community PB processes in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and Local School Councils and community policing reforms in Chicago in the 1990s. In the case of early PB experiments in Porto Alegre, Brazil, Fung and Wright used the EDD framework to assess PB processes against “six critical dimensions of fit” (p. 26). The first dimension asserts the decision-making process of the PB experiment to be genuinely deliberative in that the process relies on community delegates and stakeholders to provide information framing the problem and shape the solution-oriented proposals. Second, the budget is meant to reflect decisions and tangible actions that address the community’s highlighted needs. For the third dimension, the budget decisions and allocations are monitored each year in the community plenary meeting, alongside the effectiveness of solutions in addressing the problems. Fourth, the benefits of a centralized coordination of shared power within the PB process stem from the ability of individuals or historically underrepresented groups within the community to coordinate information sharing and

proposal development to solve problems that have otherwise been ignored. The fifth dimension positions the PB process as a school of democracy and supports the participatory, transformational learning of individuals involved in the deliberation, planning, and evaluation of problems and ideas as reflected in the budget. And six, an outcome of the PB process is the transformation of institutions as documented by the deliberative process, axes of participation, increased knowledge and learning capacities, and heightened accountability. Fung and Wright used these six dimensions of fit to assess PB processes, but these dimensions are easily translatable for the measurement of other participatory processes, such as CA.

While the EDD framework has not exclusively been used to explore K-12 decision-making spaces and processes, I used the EDD framework in my analysis of the PXU case study to reimagine school safety. This meant supplanting the three guiding principles and three institutional design features into the PXU school setting and assessing to what extent the two participatory processes, School PB and the Safety Committee, aligned with the framework. The focus on school safety aligned with the EDD framework's first design principle of practical orientation since school safety is a specific problem that can be linked to broader social and political movements and implications and was embedded within a process grounded in a focus on tangible solutions. The second principle of the EDD framework, bottom-up participation, was actualized through the involvement of various PXU school community members within the two processes, wherein they had the opportunity to "apply their knowledge, intelligence, and interest to the formulation of solutions" to address the problem of school safety (p. 18). In support of deliberative solution generation, the third principle of the

EDD framework, the PXU school community members who participated in the two processes engaged in deliberation, planning, and drafting of recommendations for school safety. To note, part of this principle includes the role of experts in assisting with generating collective solutions and recommendations, although Fung and Wright do state that experts do not enjoy exclusive power, nor do they preempt community input. In the PXU reimagining school safety initiative, experts consisted of researchers from Arizona universities and consulting groups that facilitated the two processes.

The first institutional design feature of the EDD framework focuses on the devolution of decision-making, essentially shifting that power to community members for devising solutions and was present within both processes. Likewise, the second design feature of the EDD framework links centralized supervision and broader community coordination, as was apparent between the PXU district leaders, the Governing Board, participants in the two processes, and the greater PXU school community. These links elevate the efforts of PXU to reimagine school safety through the two participatory processes by addressing resource distribution, collective problem-solving, downfalls of unilateral decision-making, and diffusement of innovations and learning, with a reliance and emphasis on the coordinated aspect to foster opportunities for information pooling, data sharing, and solution monitoring. The EDD framework's third and final design feature, state-centered, not voluntaristic, positions institutions like PXU to embed opportunities for ongoing participation and more permanently mobilize the community in deliberations to address problems like school safety.

Enabling Conditions: Inclusion, Representation, and Power

Certain conditions surrounding a democratic process can either positively or adversely affect the quality and validity of the process and may or may not produce desired effects. Alongside the EDD framework, I applied the concepts of inclusion, representation, and power as enabling conditions in my analysis of the two processes used during PXU's reimagining school safety initiative. These three concepts are derived from the literature on participatory governance and student voice and serve as enabling conditions for democratic processes and hallmark indicators for the quality of deliberation, access to decision-making spaces, and shifts in power structures to yield pedagogical experiences and political efficacies.

For the inclusion condition, I assessed to what extent the two participatory processes were accessible to the greater PXU school community and how and to what extent school community participation was encouraged. The representation condition focused on the key stakeholders and ideas represented, who was present within the deliberative and decision-making processes, and whether those most affected by the policies, programs, and budgetary decisions participated in the deliberative and decision-making processes. With the power condition, I analyzed the PXU school safety initiative for shifts of power within decision-making and how the redistribution of resources was accomplished through dialogical exchanges and pedagogical experiences present within the two processes.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Study Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore two democratic innovation processes, School PB and the Safety Committee, that were used as vehicles to engage school community members to reimagine school safety within the Phoenix Union High School district (PXU), a large, urban high school-only district located in Phoenix, Arizona. Using a qualitative case study design, I examined how different school community actors participated in and shaped these two processes while navigating power dynamics, external shocks, and varied belief systems by leveraging their lived experiences and shared beliefs within and across different coalitions. In this section, I begin by explaining my choice of research design and the bounded system used to define this particular case study. Next, I present the research questions that guided this study, followed by an in-depth description of the context in which this study was conducted. I then describe the data sources and methods used in data collection and analysis. I finish this section by discussing my positionality within the case study.

Research Design

Case study research focuses on events within a real-life context or specific setting (Yin, 2014) bounded by systems of time and place (Stake, 2005). Encompassing a qualitative approach, I position the reimaging school safety efforts within PXU as an instrumental, single case study (Stake, 2005) due to its prevalence, authentic specificity, and bounded systems of the two democratic innovation processes that took place within

PXU from Summer 2020 through Summer 2023. Additionally, my comprehensive data collection utilized multiple sources of information, and I present and discuss my findings in the form of themes or assertions (Stake, 1995).

While case study research has become increasingly recognized across multiple disciplines and used to examine varied cases, some core procedures exist in conducting case study research. Once selecting the case to research, Creswell & Poth (2018) encourage the use of purposeful sampling, and more specifically, maximal sampling (Creswell, 2012), wherein “different perspectives on the problem, process, or event” are described (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Further, multiple data sources should be used for in-depth analysis, resulting in thick descriptions of the case. According to Yin (2014), six key types of data should be collected in case study research: participant observations, direct observations, interviews, documents, physical artifacts, and archival records. Holistic data analysis consists of reviewing detailed descriptions of events and relationships across an entire case, resulting in emergent themes that transcend from within the multiple data sources. These themes are often presented as lessons learned (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), with the intent to “familiarize the reader with the central features” of the case and “an extensive narrative description [...] for understanding the case” (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 102).

Moreover, the nature of this case study can be described as qualitative based on the locality of the research, the types of data collected, and the methods used to analyze the data. Qualitative research relies on the “study [of] things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p. 3). In researching the School PB and the

Safety Committee I collected data through observations, public documents pertaining to each process, meeting agendas, deliberations among Safety Committee and Governing Board members, public comments at the meetings, and newspaper articles. All data collected originated from online spaces with members of the PXU school community, in-person spaces with members of the PXU school community, and public entities and websites. I used the methods of document analysis (including content and thematic analysis) (Bowen, 2009), thematic discourse analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006), and process tracing (Collier, 2011) to analyze the different data sources. Through triangulation of these different data sources and results, I discuss the findings of this case study. Findings include the voices of PXU school community members and a complex, comprehensive description of the problem of school safety and the two democratic innovation processes. I hope that this case study can contribute to the literature on using democratic innovations to solve wicked problems within K-12 school communities.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided this case study:

- What are the main debates on school safety, and how did the case study reflect those debates?
- What were the main features of the reimagining school safety initiative?
 - To what extent did the reimagining school safety initiative align with the Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) (Fung & Wright, 2001) framework's guiding principles and design properties?

- What challenges and accomplishments were experienced during the reimagining school safety initiative through the enabling conditions of
 - inclusion?
 - representation?
 - power?
- What lessons can be learned from this case study for using participatory processes to address wicked problems in school communities?

The first research question focuses specifically on the different ideas and recommendations provided during the School PB process and Safety Committee meetings. The research questions exploring the main features of the PXU reimagining school safety initiative focus on the extent to which the two participatory processes aligned with the EDD framework and navigated the enabling conditions of inclusion, representation, and power. The final question is meant to provide transferable lessons and insights for other K-12 school communities to implement inclusive community processes to solve wicked problems.

School Community Context

This case study is situated within Phoenix Union High School District (PXU), a large, urban high school-only district spanning 220 square miles of land in Phoenix, Arizona, in the southwestern United States (U.S.). The median household income of the PXU school district community is \$56,884, and nearly a third of families utilize SNAP benefits (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2021). Half of PXU families identify as having renter-occupied housing status, while the other half identify as owner-

occupied. Additionally, one in five PXU parents has a bachelor's degree or higher education level.

PXU employs 132 administrators, over 1400 teachers, 280 certified non-teachers, and over 1300 support or classified staff. 80% of PXU's teachers have a Master's degree or above, 93% are appropriately certified, and two-thirds of teachers have ten or more years of teaching experience (Arizona Department of Education, 2022). According to PXU's District Profile (2022a), over 25,000 students in grades 9 through 12 are enrolled in PXU's 24 schools and 11 magnet programs. Of these students, 81% identify as Hispanic or Latino/a/x, 9% identify as Black or African American, 4% as white, 2% as Native American, 2% as Asian or Pacific Islander, and 2% identify as another race or ethnicity. Nearly 20% are English Language Learners (ELLs). Collectively, there are over 100 different languages spoken by PXU students, with 45% of students speaking Spanish as their primary home language. Just over 10% of PXU students are enrolled in a special education program, and 86% of the school district qualifies for free and reduced lunch (FARL). The four-year graduation rate of PXU is 82%, with an annual dropout rate of approximately 3%.

The U.S. Office of Civil Rights (2018) reports that while the PXU district enrollment of Black students is nearly 9%, Black students make up nearly 16% of In-School Suspensions (ISS), 17% of Out-of-School Suspensions (OSS), and 25% of Expulsions. Likewise, 2% of PXU's student population identifies as Native American, yet Native American students account for 3.2% of ISS and 2.7% of OSS. Conversely, while 81% of PXU students identify as Hispanic or Latino/a/x, 72% of ISS and OSS and 75% of Expulsions are Hispanic or Latino/a/x students.

Data Collection and Analysis

Beginning in Fall 2020, my initial role in the case study research was process-oriented since I focused on how the School PB process could be implemented online due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The online-only delivery of a district-wide School PB process was unprecedented, as was the focus to reimagine school safety without the use of SROs and the large-scale investment of \$1.2 million to fund project outcomes. As part of a larger research and facilitation team composed of the Participatory Budgeting Project (PBP), Arizona State University's Participatory Governance Initiative (PGI), Arizona State University's Southwest Interdisciplinary Research Center (SIRC), and some PXU personnel, my initial tasks were to attend the parent stakeholder group meetings (the student and staff stakeholder group meetings were attended by other team members) during the Needs Assessment and Idea Collection phases and take notes on the content delivery, engagement, and overall feedback and outcomes. These notes were then shared with the broader team and debriefed, along with notes from the other stakeholder group meetings, during our weekly meetings. Of the three stakeholder groups, the parent group had the least amount of engagement.

The data collected from each stakeholder group (students, parents and families, and staff) during the School PB process's Needs Assessment and Idea Collection phases was shared internally among the team. After each session with stakeholder groups, we would transfer all notes and participant responses and ideas to separate spreadsheets organized by stakeholder group. We began first by deductively coding the responses and ideas by stakeholder groups using the PXU school safety categories:

1. communication systems and protocols
2. physical spaces and physical safety
3. emergency management response and safety protocols
4. mental, physical, and social-emotional health
5. skill-building and professional development

We followed this initial coding by inductively coding the combined responses of each stakeholder group to identify common subthemes within each of the five categories of school safety. Additional subthemes were created and iteratively organized as more concrete issues and ideas surfaced across all three stakeholder groups during the Idea Collection phase (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006).

As the School PB process progressed, the PBP team asked PGI and SIRC to conduct a participant evaluation of the School PB process. Our teams constructed a survey and semi-structured focus group protocols to ask the participants of the different stakeholder groups about their experience engaging with the School PB process to address school safety. We planned to administer the survey and focus group questions after the Voting phase of the School PB process. I also planned on using some of these findings as part of my dissertation. Ultimately, the School PB process did not follow the usual process phases, and the participant evaluation did not happen. However, the issues raised during the Needs Assessment phase, the participant-proposed project ideas from the Idea Collection phase, and our team's collective notes from the stakeholder group meetings during these early phases of the School PB process are included in this case study.

As the School PB process progress ebbed and flowed, team members from PGI and SIRC would still meet with the PBP team and key PXU personnel to discuss any updates that held promise in moving the School PB process forward or outline our internal needs as phases of the School PB process would intermittently progress. Information from some of these meetings helped shape my understanding of the overall reimagining school safety initiative, including the influence of PXU Governing Board on the School PB process. Data collected from these meetings and the meetings with key stakeholder groups engaging in the School PB process were used to contextualize my interpretations and descriptions of PXU school community members' engagement in the School PB process to reimagine school safety.

In Fall 2021, the School PB process came to a standstill, so I began to attend the PXU Governing Board meetings to monitor support for the School PB process and gauge whether the process would progress. At this time, I began collecting data to use any relevant findings for a comprehensive case study of the initiative to reimagine school safety. From December 2021 through June 2023, I attended eleven Governing Board in-person and online meetings. The data I collected from these meetings was based on the Governing Board meeting agenda and supplemental documents, the Governing Board's discussions on school safety, and public comment during these meetings. I utilized document analysis (including content and thematic analysis) (Bowen, 2009) procedures to analyze meeting agendas and supplemental documents presented and discussed at the meeting. The document analysis process entailed reviewing any public documents made available before the meetings as a cueing method for what to listen and look for and a careful review of my notes taken during the meetings alongside these documents. I also

employed thematic discourse analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to analyze the dialogue between and among Governing Board members, PXU leadership, and the PXU school community in relation to school safety. The thematic discourse analysis focused on the discussion between different actor groups at the Safety Committee and Governing Board meetings. In my observations and data collection for thematic discourse analysis, I used Word's dictate feature or handwritten notes and memos. Both methods underwent an accuracy check by reviewing the archived meetings online as needed.

When the Safety Committee began to meet, I followed the same protocol as I had for the Governing Board meetings. From September 2022 through March 2023, I attended twelve Safety Committee in-person and online meetings. Similarly, I drew upon document analysis (including content and thematic analysis) (Bowen, 2009) procedures to review the meeting agenda and supplemental documents and thematic discourse analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to analyze the committee's discussions on school safety plans and the public comment during these meetings.

Additionally, I engaged in process tracing (Collier, 2011), which relies heavily on observation and note-taking, wherein I chronicled descriptions and interpretations of the School PB process, the Safety Committee, and Governing Board meetings. This entailed me noting detailed observations of the interplay and discourse between and among the various actor groups and the causal mechanisms taking place within the structures of these processes. Observational notes of these meetings were either typed or handwritten, both during the actual meeting and afterward, alongside memos written to continually assess emergent and iterative themes. After each meeting, I revisited the notes, paying particular attention to recorded phrases or comments in relation to the meeting agenda

items and accompanying documents focused on the school safety initiative. Next, I utilized an inclusion/exclusion scan of these notes, only including details that aligned with the EDD framework, supported emerging themes, or described any part of the two democratic innovation practices. I triangulated these findings to identify the major themes that arose throughout each democratic process and in response to each of the research questions.

Because my data collection ended up being mostly public documents and comments, I did not need to seek IRB approval. All the data I collected originated from online spaces with members of the PXU school community, in-person spaces with members of the PXU school community, and various public sites. While the data collected took place in public spaces, I have chosen not to attribute specific quotes with the names of individual Safety Committee members and members of the PXU school community who commented publicly during the Governing Board and Safety Committee meetings. Exceptions to this are employees of the two consulting groups hired to facilitate the Safety Committee meetings, the Safety Committee chair (elected by popular vote by all other committee members), PXU personnel, and the Governing Board members.

Positionality

Dwyer & Buckle (2009) assert that the positionality of a researcher within qualitative research is hardly neutral, instead occupying a space between “the experience under study” and “our role as researchers.” Further, while the researcher’s positionality is revealed through “their views, values, and beliefs about the research design, conduct, and

output(s)” (Holmes, 2020), the researcher’s immersive role, especially over an extended period, is shaped by the words, experiences, and stories of participants, thereby affecting the reporting of the research in a deeply intimate way. My positionality within this case study certainly resides within this duality.

My involvement in the PXU efforts to reimagine school safety began in Fall 2020 after Superintendent Gestson had announced the district would not renew its intergovernmental agreement with the Phoenix Police Department (PD). As a Ph.D. student and research assistant at the time, my research focus was on youth civic engagement within K-12 schools, and specifically School Participatory Budgeting processes. My Ph.D. Committee Chair Dr. Daniel Schugurensky, Director of the Participatory Governance Initiative (PGI) at Arizona State University (ASU), has had decades of experience with different theories and models of democracy and has been integral to the adoption and expansion of Participatory Budgeting processes in several institutions worldwide, including PXU. As part of the research team under the direction of Dr. Schugurensky, I was privy to several of the early planning meetings between him, the Southwest Interdisciplinary Research Center (SIRC) at ASU, several representatives from the national organization Participatory Budgeting Project (PBP), and district leaders within PXU. By December 2020, I had been given my initial tasks: 1) conduct a scoping literature review on alternative programs, practices, and policies that foster school safety but did not involve police or punitive discipline measures and 2) attend the different stakeholder meetings for the School PB process, specifically the Needs Assessment and Idea Collection phases, to take evaluative notes for the PBP team and support the PBP team with any technical assistance needs.

The scoping literature review was a multi-team member undertaking between myself, two other Ph.D. students, the Director of Evaluation and Partner Contracts at SIRC, and Dr. Schugurensky. Through our review, we identified 17 promising alternatives to school safety that did not involve the police (Bartlett et al., 2023). Two other graduate students conducted a parallel review of the history of policing in schools (Nuñez-Eddy et al., 2021). We formatted the literature reviews into reports, made them publicly available online on the PGI and SIRC websites, and shared them with PBP and our PXU leadership contacts leading the School PB process. with the understanding that these reports would be shared with other PXU leadership, including the PXU Governing Board, to aid the School PB process and generate school community awareness and additional ideas on SRO-free school safety.

By the time our report was released in the Fall of 2021, the School PB process had come to a standstill. The process had seen the Needs Assessment and Idea Collection phases through, but the Proposal Development phase was never fully executed in Spring 2021. This occurred for many reasons, but I believe this was in part due to several external shocks and the COVID-19 pandemic's lasting effect on the PXU school community. The Fall of 2021 was the first time PXU returned to in-person learning since the pandemic's onset, and up until this point, all aspects of the School PB process had been taking place online. While the PBP team used various creative methods to spur excitement and involvement, the overall engagement of PXU school community stakeholders in the School PB process had slowly decreased. There were efforts to re-engage the PXU school community in the School PB process throughout that Fall semester, some even with the support of Superintendent Gestson, but many people

became frustrated with what was perceived as a slow-moving process that had not delivered in time for in-person learning.

In the Spring of 2022, the PXU Governing Board decided to start spending a portion of the budget that had been set aside to reimagine school safety. A Safety Division team was hired for the district, as well as raises given to campus security personnel and upgrades to existing camera systems. The Governing Board commissioned the Grand Canyon Institute (GCI) to write a report exploring the debate around SROs and alternatives to school safety, in effect letting our research team know that they had not received our report from September 2021. The Governing Board also voted to create a Safety Committee to study the GCI report and gather data from community listening sessions around the topic of school safety and SROs. The culminating task was to provide recommendations for PXU's school safety plan to the Governing Board.

In the Summer of 2022, I personally reached out to each of the PXU Governing Board members via email to share our team's report on school safety alternatives, as well as an internal program evaluation document we had completed for the Needs Assessment and Idea Collection phases of the School PB process. That Fall, three Governing Board members met with me (two in-person, one via Zoom) to discuss the report and evaluation document, as well as try to understand how the School PB process worked and how it was being used to foster and develop ideas for school safety that did not include SROs. Because I had also been attending both the Governing Board and Safety Committee meetings in person, over time, I had connected with leaders from one of the community organizations and the Chair of the Safety Committee; we even exchanged text messages from time to time. One of the Governing Board members reached out several times to let

me know of the upcoming meetings, and I also spoke during public comment twice at these meetings about the report our team put together and the initial ideas that the PXU school community stakeholder groups had proposed during the Idea Collection phase of the School PB process. One of the Governing Board members also shared with me a version of the PXU safety plan they planned to propose during one of the board meetings, asking for my feedback and thoughts.

Part of me became emotionally invested in the overall efforts of the PXU school safety initiative. Because of my research interests, I was deeply interested in hearing from the participants in the two processes. I thoroughly enjoyed hearing the stories and ideas shared by students, youth, and families during the School PB process's Needs Assessment and Idea Collection phases and during public comment in the Safety Committee meetings and the PXU Governing Board meetings. I also found myself (silently) agreeing with people who openly asked for more opportunities for the students and youth to participate in dialogue and decision-making.

Indeed, as time passed, my role as a researcher became what Dwyer & Buckle (2009) describe as the "insider-outsider" perspective. While I do live within the PXU school district boundaries, I am still an outsider to the PXU school community proper, as I have not worked for PXU nor have family that has attended a PXU school. It was my presence during the entire case study and influence as a researcher that positioned me to play a direct and intimate role, especially when collecting data and analyzing the data for thematic findings. Overall, I do not believe that my positionality influenced this study's outcomes nor significantly impacted any of the school safety initiatives within the PXU school community. At best, the scoping review my colleagues and I wrote to describe

school safety alternatives in lieu of SROs may have facilitated an increased awareness of programs, practices, and policies that foster school safety but do not involve police or punitive discipline measures. However, I have attempted to balance my insider-outsider perspective throughout this case study by sharing a bit of my insider perspective in this section and throughout the Discussion section, while my outsider perspective is presented in the Case Study reporting section and the literature review.

CHAPTER 5

THE CASE STUDY

Introduction

Following the racially charged civil unrest that took place in the summer of 2020, stemming from the murder of George Floyd and other majority-Black individuals at the hands of police, Chad Gestson, the then-Superintendent of PXU, announced on July 7th, 2020, that the district would not be renewing its \$1.2 million inter-governmental agreement with the Phoenix Police Department (PD, Phoenix PD hereafter) for School Resource Officers (SROs). Instead, PXU would reallocate those monies to school safety initiatives, including salaries, programs, learning resources, training, and professional development, through a democratic process that would include students, parents and families, and staff. Part of this decision drew from the Superintendent and PXU district leadership “hav[ing] heard clearly from our community that our parents and our staff and our students want a say in the future of school safety” (Phoenix Union High School District, 2020a). Some of these efforts were in part from local community organizations (detailed later in this section) who had concerns with SROs stemming from police involvement with immigration policies and exclusionary discipline practices. Several members of these community organizations explained that the nature of contracts with Phoenix PD for SROs had become less relationship-based, unlike before, with one member explaining that before “they were able to build relationships with the specific officer, now you can get any random officer and worry how they will respond to their students.”

Indeed, the release of the announcement to not renew the contract with the Phoenix Police Department for SROs was not the first time members of the PXU community had discussed the removal of SROs from school campuses. Well before the Summer of 2020 and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic shutting down schools, local organizations with ties to the communities served by PXU requested the removal of SROs from the district's schools (Flaherty, 2018). These organizations, including Promise Arizona, One Arizona, Arizona Center for Empowerment, Puente, Mi Familia Vota, Poder in Action, and LUCHA (Living United for Change in Arizona), began their coalition building following the passage of Arizona SB1070, the infamous "show me your papers" law.

Since 2017, members of these organizations, including present and past students of PXU, had been facilitating community events with public speakers on the topic and attending governing board meetings to speak about the harms of SROs and request their removal (Frank, 2017). One group, Puente Youth, began a #CopsOuttaCampus campaign that specifically called for not only no SROs on school campuses but also no guns on campus and for the increased investment in and implementation of restorative justice practices, ethnic studies courses, and mental health and wellness models (Puente Human Rights, n.d.). Likewise, much of the cited rationale against SROs shared during public events and in public comment at the PXU governing board meetings from representatives and supporters of these organizations revolved around the safety and well-being of undocumented/DACA students and their families -namely due to the overarching fear of harassment and deportation. Other reasons that were cited included the feeling of schools being likened to prisons, the need to fund more teachers and learning resources in lieu of

SROs, and the disparate trends in school discipline when SROs are present on school campuses.

An additional factor in the decision not to renew the contract for SROs was an economic one. PXU anticipated most of the 2020-2021 school year would be spent in remote learning spaces due to the continued health threat posed by COVID-19, thus negating the need to pay for on-campus SROs (Phoenix Union High School District, 2020a). Therefore, this time of remote learning would allow for the PXU community and leadership to reassess and reimagine school safety broadly so that when in-person learning would resume, there would be expanded services and programs available to serve students, families, and staff to foster a safe school environment that aligned with PXU's newly adopted holistic definition of school safety: *An environment that has practices in place to ensure the physical, emotional and developmental well-being of its entire school community, and promotes a sense of belonging and self-worth.*

The response and follow-up actions stemming from the decision to remove SROs from PXU campuses involved two parallel participatory processes with different actors and a different focus within the PXU school safety initiative. The School Participatory Budgeting (PB) process included open participation from student, parent and family, and staff stakeholder groups, and their task was to ideate school safety projects that did not include the presence of SROs and would be funded through the \$1.2 million reallocated from SROs contracts. In line with Arizona state statute and governing board policies on advisory committees, the Safety Committee members were appointed by the Governing Board with the intent to represent different key stakeholder groups within the PXU school community. Their task was to explore different models and uses of SROs among

other school communities and garner feedback from the PXU school community on the use of SROs. Indeed, there was overlap and integration between these processes and two additional actor groups, the PXU Governing Board and the community organizations. Both of these actor groups will be described and detailed as needed according to their involvement and impact on the two processes and the overall case study.

The following sections explore the School PB process and the Safety Committee. These two participatory processes will be described through relevant findings shaping the following Discussion section. I will describe both processes and the involved actor groups, including the background and history, key actors, details on the implementation, and results of each democratic process within this case study. Detailed findings and effects of these parallel participatory processes, the different actor groups, and the outcomes of each process are further explored in the Discussion section.

School Participatory Budgeting (PB) Process

Background

In the same announcement of not renewing the contract for SROs, Superintendent Gestson committed to reallocating the money that would have funded SROs by “reinvest[ing] that money back into our people” in the form of a School Participatory Budgeting (PB) process focused solely on reimagining school safety (Phoenix Union High School District, 2020a). It is important to note that at that time, PXU had nearly seven years of experience implementing School PB, but, in this instance, there were four distinct shifts to the process. One, this was the first time that School PB scaled up from individual school-level processes to an entire district-level-wide process. Two, the

projects shifted from small infrastructure projects at each school campus to district-wide policies, programs, and services focused on school safety. Three, this was the first time PXU would run the School PB process entirely online due to the pandemic. And four, the process would now include multiple stakeholders instead of solely students.

The goal of the School PB process as part of the PXU school safety initiative was to equip the school community with “real money [...] real power around decision making” to ideate and decide on school safety projects that would holistically address school safety across the entire PXU school community (Phoenix Union High School District, 2020a). PXU would allocate a total of \$1.2 million dollars to the School PB process to reimagine school safety: \$500,000 for a student-led School PB process, another \$500,000 for a staff-led School PB process, and a final \$200,000 for a parent-led School PB process. However, the Superintendent conceded that there would still be some district-driven decision-making in how an additional portion of the funds would be used, such as spending a part of the available funds on the bolstering of district and school campus safety teams and the improvement of school campus safety features like security camera systems. Additionally, Superintendent Gestson explained that some instances would still require the presence of law enforcement, and when it would be necessary to have law enforcement present (i.e., extracurricular activities, events), PXU would hire off-duty officers who are “trusted officers that we know align with our values that we can trust to come in and support us as and when needed,” but officers would no longer be housed on school campuses during the school day (Phoenix Union High School District, 2020a).

Following the Superintendent’s announcement, when the PXU Governing Board met on July 17, 2020, the public comment had nearly 80 requests from folks registered to speak, with the overwhelming majority of speakers, who included students, parents and families, community members, and PXU employees, asking the board to reconsider the decision to partner with the Phoenix PD for SROs and requesting there not be SROs in PXU schools at all (Phoenix Union High School District, 2020b). Participants mentioned several reasons, including the disproportionate disciplining of Black and Hispanic students and students with disabilities, concerns with police in schools among undocumented students and mixed-status families, and the overall increase of police violence in communities, including those within the PXU district. One speaker said, “At this point, SROs are obsolete. There are no roles that SROs fill on our campuses that cannot be filled with better-qualified social workers, with educators, and folks that have specific training on how to engage students in proactive, positive ways that don’t increase punishment, that don’t funnel kids, kids who are just challenged with living life as a teenager right now, that don’t funnel them into the school to prison pipeline.” Instead, speakers urged for greater investment in the school communities through teacher quality, student wellness, ethnic studies classes, and staff training to address implicit biases.

PXU employees who spoke about the need to continue not having SROs on school campuses cited issues of power and privilege (with some mentioning racialized differences, not listening to or believing student experiences, and adults (specifically PXU employees in favor of SROs) positioning their own lived experiences with police as everyone’s experience. One PXU employee put it, “Just because many teachers have

good anecdotal experiences with SROs does not mean that SROs are good for the students in the school or are valuable and effective for the students themselves.”

Some speakers also alluded to the fact that the Phoenix PD was under investigation by the U.S. Department of Justice for disparate use of force against the public and has been shown to be “one of the most violent police departments in the country.” Speakers described the Phoenix PD policing culture as violent and that these behaviors are often protected by police unions. Others called out PXU for being performative in their Black Lives Matter and racial justice sentiments. Further, one speaker also pointed out the inaccessibility of the governing board meetings regarding the time of day the meetings were being held and time constraints to public comment, citing that working families are not considered when discussing these matters.

A few speakers spoke in favor of SROs, including employees from several of the PXU high schools. The employees cited having worked with SROs for several years and having nothing but positive, professional interactions. One employee positioned police officers with the ability to respond most effectively in crisis situations but cautioned against using officers who are not trained to work in schools or with minors.

Following these comments at the governing board meeting, the Superintendent and Governing Board Members assured the public that the School PB process would allow for the PXU community to provide solutions to their concerns and assist the district in creating a school safety plan that would not rely on SROs. Additionally, the governing board decided to rename the School PB process in PXU from simply “Reimagining School Safety” to “Reimagining School Safety without School Resource Officers.”

History

As part of PXU's school safety initiative, this School PB process would not be PXU's first experience with implementing the process. In 2013, then-Principal Dr. Quintin Boyce of BioScience High School in PXU piloted the first School PB process in the U.S. That year, Dr. Boyce allocated \$2,000 of his principal discretionary funds to the students to decide on a school improvement project using the School PB process (Cohen & Schugurensky, 2015). Students led the process of coming up with school improvement ideas with their peers, developing project proposals for viable ideas, and voting for the winning project to improve the Bioscience campus and the overall student experience. When the votes were counted, the top three projects were a display of sustainability practices to be erected in the school's courtyard, color ink for the school's student-built 3-D printer, and camera adapters for the laboratory microscopes used in biology classes. While these three top ideas collectively exceeded the budget Dr. Boyce had allocated, he was so impressed and inspired by the students' creative thoughtfulness and tenacity to improve their school campus and their learning experiences that Dr. Boyce decided to fund all three projects that year.

In 2016, after three years of experimentation and findings showing the impact on students' civic competencies and the overall school climate (Cohen et al., 2015), the PXU Governing Board voted to adopt the School PB process in an incremental district-wide implementation. With local and national organizations' technical and facilitation support, PXU launched the first U.S.-based, district-level School PB pilot, beginning with five schools and 3,500 students. In the following years, PXU expanded the School PB pilot to all its campuses and formed a proven track record of centering student voices in school

and district decision-making processes around funding and capital improvement projects. Examples of past student-proposed and implemented projects within PXU include shade structures, refillable water fountain stations, school gardens, art and science class supplies, and more.

Actors

PXU's Student and Family Services Department was tasked with overseeing the School PB school safety process, as several employees had had experience implementing the previous School PB processes. At the July 17th, 2020, PXU governing board meeting, Alyssa Tarkington, the Executive Director of Student and Family Services, and Cyndi Tercero, the Manager of Family and Community Engagement, presented to the board the plan to implement the School PB process to reimagine school safety without the use of SROs (Phoenix Union High School District, 2020c). All projects that would be ideated and ultimately voted upon would not include the use of police but rather focus on school safety alternative practices, policies, and programs. Additionally, PXU turned to two long-standing partners, the Participatory Budgeting Project (PBP hereafter) and Arizona State University (ASU hereafter), who would be contracted to assist with the organization and implementation of PXU's School PB process to reimagine school safety. Both PBP and ASU had also previously assisted with the seeding and growing of earlier School PB processes within the district.

PBP is a U.S.-based nonprofit organization founded in 2009 and assists local governments, community organizations, and educational institutions with adopting and implementing the participatory budgeting (PB) model (Participatory Budgeting Project, 2014). PBP offers training, technical assistance, and research and evaluation of PB

processes. Following the initial 2013 School PB pilot, PXU partnered with PBP for several years to train school and district staff on the School PB process, support the implementation of processes during PXU's academic year, and research the learning outcomes of PXU's school community after having led and participated in a School PB process (Participatory Budgeting Project, 2017). PBP's role in the current cycle of School PB focused on school safety would be to provide training, technical assistance, and resources for the student, staff, and parent groups on how the process works, as well as partner with each of these stakeholder groups to implement the School PB process and produce viable solutions to school safety to be funded by their budgeted allocations. Several members of PBP assisted with the PXU School PB school safety process, including Co-Executive Director Shari Davis, Senior Project Manager Melissa Appleton, Director of Research and Design Antonnet Johnson, and Program Assistant Isabel Luciano.

ASU is the local state university with a campus located within PXU's district boundaries and has a long-standing relationship with PXU and shared community partnerships that serve PXU school communities. ASU's involvement with the School PB process through PXU's school safety initiative included two departments, the Participatory Governance Initiative (PGI hereafter) and the Southwest Interdisciplinary Research Center (SIRC hereafter). PGI is situated within ASU's School of Public Affairs and the Watts College of Public Service and Community Solutions. The focus of PGI's work is "devoted to undertaking teaching, capacity building, research and dissemination activities aimed at the study and promotion of participatory democracy initiatives, particularly in local governments and educational institutions" (Participatory Governance

Initiative, n.d.). PGI has led both the adoption and expansion of School PB processes throughout the state of Arizona. The Director of PGI, Dr. Daniel Schugurensky, can also be credited with having taught university-level courses that explored the PB process and sparked students to see the potential and capacity of the PB model to transform communities. One of these students is Dr. Boyce, who had implemented the 2013 pilot of School PB in PXU (the first School PB process in the U.S.), while another student, Josh Lerner, formulated what is now PBP. PGI's role in the PXU School PB process was to provide background research on SROs and school safety alternatives, support the public education aspect of the School PB process and school safety initiative, and assist with data collection and analysis throughout the process with an expectation for publications and reports. Dr. Schugurensky and I represented PGI in the PXU School PB process.

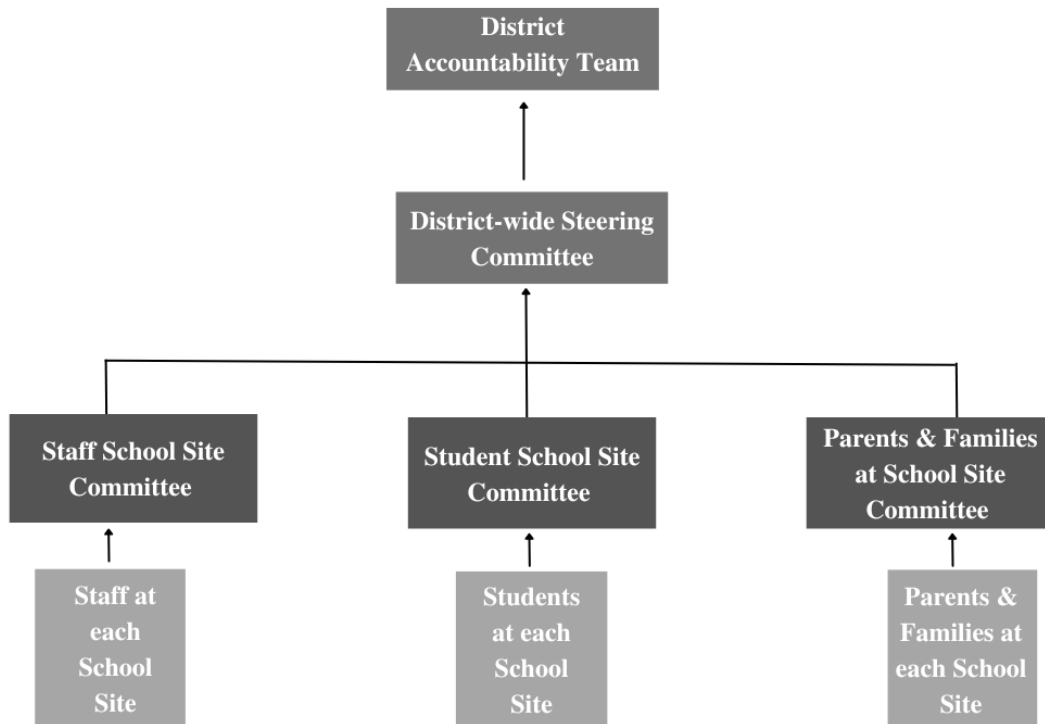
SIRC is situated within ASU's School of Social Work and is focused on championing health equity through community partnerships. SIRC's work in the community centers on five commitments that drive professional practice and interactions: collaboration, excellence, diversity, trust, and justice (Southwest Interdisciplinary Research Center, n.d.). SIRC's experience in conducting community-based research and evaluations, bolstered by the five commitments, supported an alignment with the PXU School PB for school safety process and alternatives to SROs for school safety. The role of both ASU PGI and SIRC in the PXU school safety School PB process was to provide support in working with the PXU school community stakeholder groups, collect and analyze data on school safety alternatives to SROs, and conduct an evaluation of the School PB process on school safety and the ideas proposed by the different stakeholder groups. Three members of SIRC assisted with these efforts during the PXU School PB

process: Director of Evaluation and Contracts Wendy Wolfersteig, Senior Research Analyst Marisol Diaz, and Graduate Research Assistant Lara Law.

The PXU School PB process was organized at the individual school site and district levels (Figure 4). Each campus had three School Site Committees (SSCs hereafter), one for each stakeholder group: students, staff, and parents and families, that would lead the engagement of the process on their campus. The SSCs ranged from five to twenty members depending on the school site, although many SSCs experienced attritions and the joining of new members throughout the process, so those numbers fluctuated.

Figure 4

PXU School PB Process Organizational Chart



School Participatory Budgeting Implementation and Results

Recruitment for SSCs began in the Fall of 2020, with the goal of establishing these working groups by the end of that academic semester. By December 2020, the first official meetings among PXU staff, PBP, PGI, SIRC, and members of the three different stakeholder group SSCs took place (Participatory Budgeting Project, 2020). During this meeting, all SSC members were given an overview of the SCHOOL PB process, the support that would be provided, and expectations of their role. These first meetings laid the groundwork for each SSC's roles and tasks in the process. Due to the ongoing uncertainties with the COVID-19 pandemic, these meetings and all the activities and resource materials took place virtually and were housed online from December 2020 through Spring 2023.

Using a train-the-trainer model, PBP organized the initial trainings with the members of the SSCs to verse them in the School PB process and model how to use the provided materials for the SSCs to engage their broader school community in the process (See Appendix A). Each of the SSCs was tasked with engaging their specific stakeholder group (students, staff, and parents and families) within their school site during key phases of the School PB process, including defining school safety and conducting a needs assessment, collecting ideas for school safety solutions beyond SROs, deliberating on and prioritizing which of the ideas adhere to the budget and focus of the process while being a viable solution, developing a proposal for each of the viable project ideas, and voting on which of the idea proposals to be funded. It was also communicated that PBP, PGI, and

SIRC members would attend each meeting, co-facilitating or taking observational notes and supporting as needed.

Needs Assessment.

The SSCs began their work by first holding meetings with their stakeholder groups in January 2021 to conduct a needs assessment for their school campus through the lens of school safety. Using an online facilitator's guide and a slide deck provided by PBP, the SSCs led the initial discussions on defining school safety by asking attendees questions in order to create shared responses to, *what do you need to feel safe and welcome at school?* The SSCs asked attendees to reflect on the physical school environment, school and district policies, and programmatic aspects on the campus that either enhanced or negatively impacted the safety of the school community (Appendix A). The SSCs also led their stakeholder groups in a memory work activity to elicit memories of feeling safe and unsafe at school. District-wide responses to this question were analyzed by PBP and PXU staff and collapsed into the following categories (not in order of priority):

1. communication systems and protocols
2. physical spaces and physical safety
3. emergency management response and safety protocols
4. mental, physical, and social-emotional health
5. skill-building and professional development

The *communication systems and protocols* category focused on channels and methods of communication among the PXU school community, as well as expectations, barriers, and policies that affect effective family-school communication and address challenges

like language barriers and access. The *physical spaces and physical safety* category entailed safe, secure, and welcoming learning environments that address safety and compliance challenges and embrace principles and considerations like entry points, secure buildings, areas of refuge, and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED). The *emergency management response and safety protocols* category included programs, operational procedures, and policies on emergency preparedness and response to natural disasters, active shooter events, threats, and external community incidents. The *mental, physical, and socio-emotional health* category focused on programs, partnerships, curriculum, and/or staffing to promote, support, and build resilience, self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, responsible decision-making, and culturally responsive practices through intervention and prevention. Within the *skill-building and professional development* category, strategies for capacity building, de-escalation, restorative practices, and prevention were included.

Idea Collection

Responses from the needs assessments' five categories shaped the next step of the process, the idea collection for potential projects that would support school safety. From late January through March 2021, the SSCs implemented the idea collection phase of the School PB process on their respective campus, starting with arranging virtual meetings for their school sites to become familiar with the PXU School PB school safety process. The School PB process was explained in these SSC meetings, including the budget, policy parameters, and intended outcomes. Next, the SSCs lead their stakeholder groups in navigating and using Polis, an online platform and tool commonly used in participatory planning spaces for both ideation and deliberation, to submit potential project ideas. From

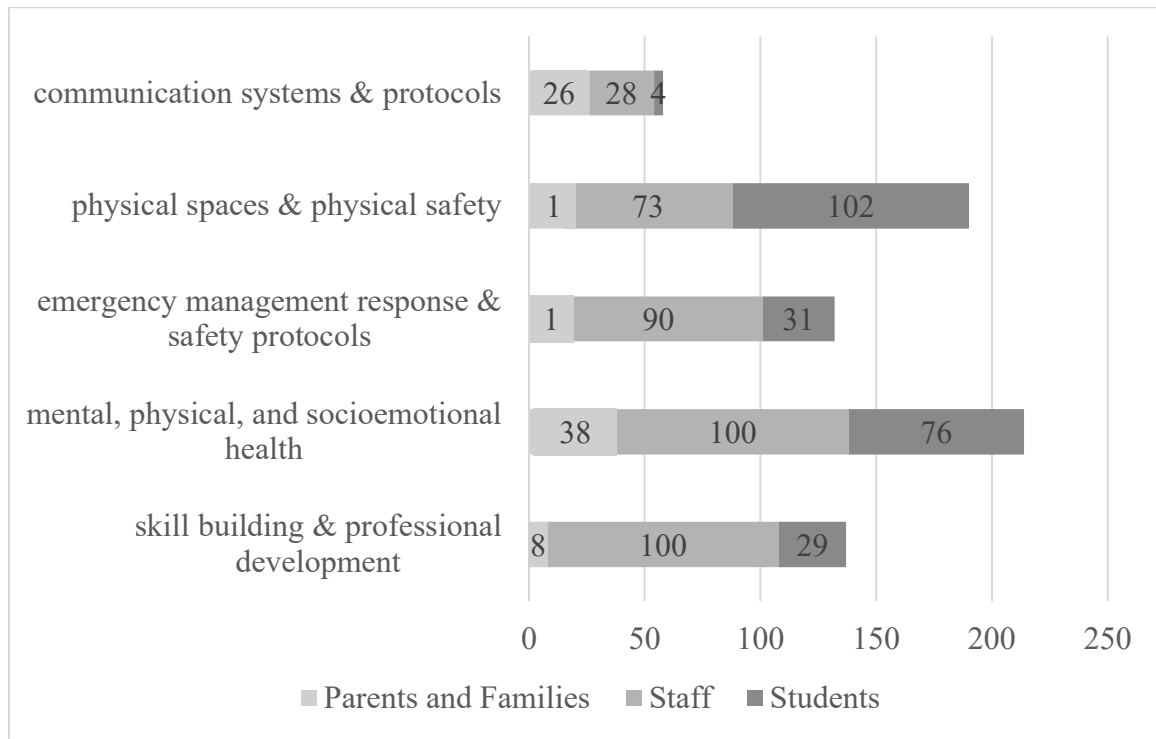
here, the SSCs began to garner ideas for school safety projects from their respective stakeholder groups using a variety of ways, including school newsletters, flyers, social media, and word of mouth. Ideas submitted to the Polis platform needed to address one of the five categories outlined during the needs assessment and again align with the question of, *what do you need to feel safe and welcome at school?*

Ideas were continuously submitted to the Polis platform by various PXU school community members over the course of nearly two and a half months. Each stakeholder group (students, parents and families, and staff) had their own Polis page to submit ideas to, and the deliberative feature of Polis allowed participants to agree or disagree with others' ideas by upvoting or downvoting. There were no limits placed on participation, so anyone within the PXU school community could submit an unlimited number of ideas and likewise upvote (agree) or downvote (disagree) with multiple ideas submitted by others.

In March 2021, the PGI and SIRC teams analyzed the Polis ideas submitted by each stakeholder group, students, parents and families, and staff. Ideas were downloaded as separate spreadsheets for each stakeholder group and deductively coded for adherence to the five categories of school safety established during the needs assessment. A total of 98 ideas were submitted from the parent/guardian stakeholder group, and 2,327 votes were cast in either agreement or disagreement with these responses. In the student stakeholder group, 242 ideas were submitted, and a total of 9,180 votes were cast in either agreement or disagreement with these responses. Within the staff stakeholder group, 391 needs and idea responses were submitted, and a total of 21,355 votes were cast in either agreement or disagreement with these responses.

Figure 5

Idea Collection Results



The breakdown of the ideas submitted using the five categories identified during the needs assessment revealed specific trends and priorities among and between the different stakeholder groups (Figure 5). The first category of *communication systems and protocols* received similar support for ideas from the parents and families (26 ideas) and staff (28 ideas) stakeholder groups but received the least amount of support among the five categories from the student group (4 ideas). *Physical spaces and physical safety* received a median number of votes from the parents and family’s group (15 ideas) and staff group (73 ideas) relative to their outcomes among all categories but overwhelmingly received the greatest number of votes from the students’ group (102 ideas). The *emergency management response and safety protocols* category were highly supported by

the staff group (90 ideas) but less so among the parents and families group (11 ideas) and the students group (31 ideas). The *mental, physical, and socioemotional health* category was highly favored by all the stakeholder groups: students (76 ideas), staff (100), and parents and families (38 ideas). The last category, *skill building and professional development*, was highly favored by staff (100) but less so by parents and families (8 ideas) and students (29 ideas).

After analyzing the Polis data for alignment within one of the five categories, additional inductive analysis for each of the five categories was conducted, and tangible sub-ideas were identified. For the parents and families group, some of the examples within each category were as follows. Many of the ideas cited in the *communication systems and protocols* category focused on more opportunities for parent and family involvement, increased school-to-home communication (with more easily accessible platforms or different modalities), shared data on school safety issues and school climate, and continuous efforts to make sure that parent contact information is up to date. For the *physical spaces and physical safety* category, parents and families focused on ideas like improved campus entry and exit monitoring, ID scanners, and spaces for students to de-stress or spend time studying or with friends after school. The parents and families group listed ideas in the *emergency management response and safety protocols* category that focused on developing uniform safety protocols and ensuring that all staff and students are aware of the protocols. For the *mental, physical, and socioemotional health* category, parents and families had ideas like increased mental health resources, more frequent individual student check-ins, opportunities to build stronger student and staff relationships, more extracurricular activities like clubs, and increased activities in

socioemotional learning. Parents and families wanted ideas like de-escalation, self-defense, and anti-bias training for the staff within the *skill building and professional development* category.

For the staff group, ideas within the *communication systems and protocols* category included an increase in methods to communicate with parents, reformed campus visitor protocols, and families and strategies for in-school communication with administration and office staff that did not disrupt instructional time. For the *physical spaces and physical safety* category, staff cited the need to improve campus entry and exit methods, install ID scanners, reassess and replace (if necessary) fences and gates along the perimeter and doors within the interior, hire more district-employed security guards, and provide more spaces for students to address mental health needs. In the *emergency management response and safety protocols* category, staff had ideas like adopting a uniform emergency plan and protocol along with training and working with local law enforcement and emergency responders to address lengthy response times. Within the *mental, physical, and socioemotional health* category, staff proposed ideas such as increased mental health resources -including more counselors and social workers, opportunities for peer support groups, and more wrap-around services for families in partnership with community organizations. In the *skill building and professional development* category, staff listed a variety of trainings they desired to complete: socioemotional learning (SEL), positive behavioral interventions and supports (PBIS), culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP), character education, de-escalation techniques, restorative justice practices, conflict-resolution, anti-bullying and anti-racism programs, and crisis-informed and trauma-informed education.

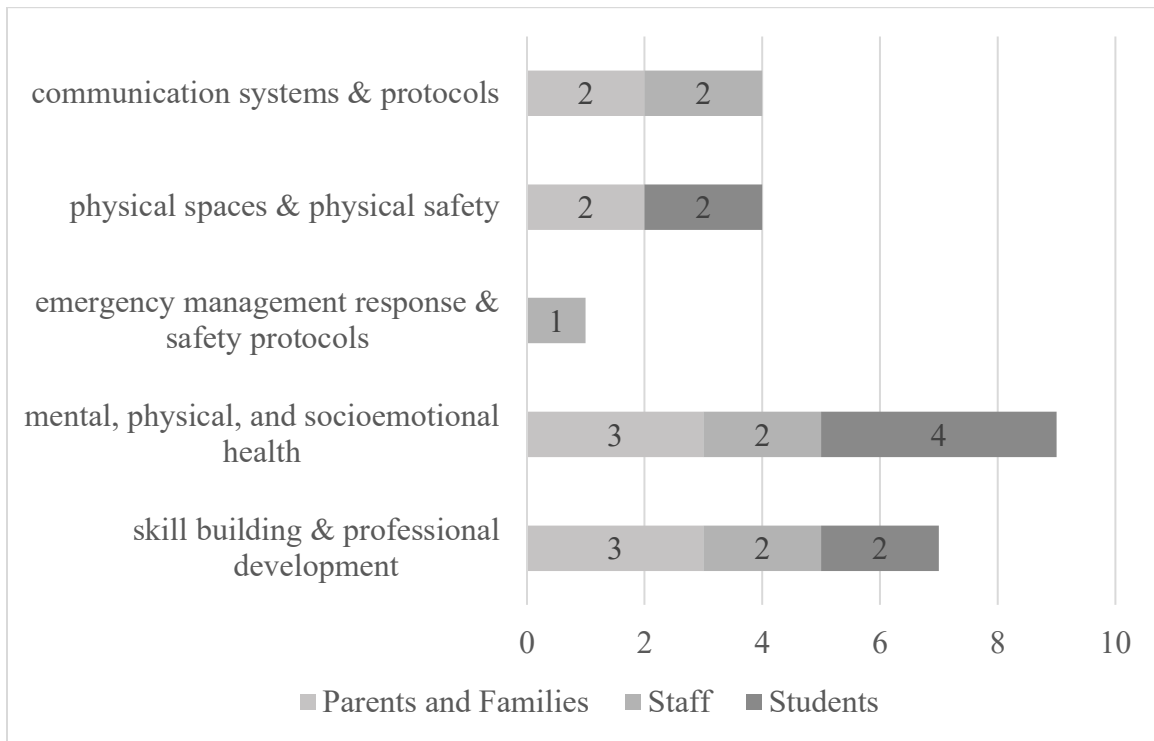
While the student group didn't have many ideas within the *communication systems and protocols* category, the few ideas centered on the need for schools to communicate with students more transparently about expectations, events, etc. In the *physical spaces and physical safety* category, students cited the need for cleaner and safer bathrooms (secure door locks, mirrors, overall upkeep, and cleanliness), more cameras on campuses, metal and smoke detectors that work in every classroom or space on campus, better lighting on campuses -especially after hours, revamped crosswalks surrounding the campuses, and better-monitored entry and exit methods on campuses. Students focused on needing to have better awareness and knowledge of how to act and respond to emergencies within the *emergency management response and safety protocols* category, such as CPR training. Ideas within the *mental, physical, and socioemotional health* category included more mental health resources and spaces on campus, an increase in the number of counselors, opportunities for peer mediation and mentorship, more opportunities for identity-specific collaborative spaces and clubs (LGBTQ+, Black, etc.), increased access to food, and a more inclusive, representative curriculum. For the *skill building and professional development* category, students wanted life skills training, food and nutrition education, and resource and career fairs.

After each SSC had a curated list of these project ideas, stakeholder groups held virtual discussions to consider which of the ideas would move into the proposal development phase of the process. These discussions included participants ranking and (re)organizing the different ideas using parameters like established needs, feasibility, legality, replicability, community impact and equity, and alignment with the five categories of school safety. Notes from these deliberative discussions were recorded in

AirTable, an online collaborative data-organizing tool, and shared across all the SSCs and PXU stakeholders for further review and comment. Ideas that passed this litmus-like test of the parameters were channeled up to the District-wide Steering Committee (DSC hereafter) for feedback and district-wide deliberation in late March 2021. The DSC was composed of at least one representative from each of the SSCs and several district staff, including Cyndi Tercero. The representatives from the SSCs serving on the DSC were tasked with reviewing the different ideas from each school site and combining any duplicative or similar ideas into streamlined proposals. From there, the DSC communicated high-level findings, needs, and questions about any particular ideas to the District Accountability Team, whose task was to ensure that each proposed idea fit within the budget allocation and adhered to existing policy parameters and district leadership expectations. The District Accountability Team provided feedback on the ideas to the DSC, whose role was then to address any issues raised with specific ideas and attempt to rectify the concerns by reconvening with the SSC(s) who put forth the idea(s) in question. By early April, the work of the SSCs and the PXU school communities, the DSC, PXU personnel, and the District Accountability Team resulted in a final list of approved ideas within the five categories of school safety to move to the project proposal development stage (Figure 6, for the detailed list, see Appendix B).

Figure 6

Ideas Approved for Project Proposal Development



Project Proposal Development.

The project proposal development phase began immediately after ideas were approved among the various entities and stakeholders involved in the PXU School PB school safety process. PBP met with the SSCs to provide training on the steps and expectations of this next phase, with the understanding that this phase may need to be extended into the Fall 2021 semester (Participatory Budgeting Project, 2021). The project proposal development phase began with SSC members familiarizing themselves with the data collected from the needs assessment, the various ideas collected, the feedback that streamlined or negated ideas for approval, and which ideas were approved to move forward. The stakeholder groups then divided themselves into smaller groups to create

the proposal for each of the project ideas. Each idea proposal needed to include a description of the project and rationale as to how the project would support the PXU school safety efforts. The proposal also needed to include a cost estimate, and if needed, obtained vendor quotes. SSCs were instructed to conduct additional field research for each of the project ideas, with examples of field research including campus site visits, community mapping, and school community interviews. PBP introduced a few tools to help with creating effective project proposals.

One tool was Idea Ranking, a method used to evaluate the different project ideas based on three main criteria: need, feasibility, and impact. For need criteria, SSCs would examine the proposed idea and ask three questions: *Does this idea meet needs from the Needs Assessment? Was this idea proposed multiple times during Idea Collection? Will this idea be funded outside of the SCHOOL PB process?* For the feasibility criteria, SSCs also asked three questions: *Have similar projects been implemented elsewhere, and what were the results? Does this project meet the funding parameters? Do relevant stakeholders and decision-makers believe this project is feasible?* To address the impact criteria, SSCs asked these questions: *Will the project have a high impact on the PXU community? Will the project serve underrepresented community members? How many people will be impacted by this project?* The SSCs were instructed to rank each idea on a 1-4 Likert scale using these nine questions as a guide.

A second tool SSCs were encouraged to use was a Field Research Guide to evaluate the idea's placement, use, and relevancy. If the project idea would be physically tangible, SSCs would conduct a site visit or observation of their campus to assess the project's location and feasibility, as well as the overall design of the project idea. SSCs

would also conduct a community mapping exercise to explore the project's use among the various campus stakeholders. Lastly, SSCs would conduct short interviews or polls about the different ideas to gauge how their PXU school community would make use of the project idea. Following the use of these two tools, SSCs were instructed to begin filling out the project proposal development form for each of the approved project ideas.

Fall 2021

As was anticipated, the proposal development phase did need to be extended into the Fall 2021 semester, alongside concerted efforts to re-engage existing members and recruit new members for the SSCs. Throughout the Fall semester, the re-engagement efforts ranged from social media campaigns, surveys, and word-of-mouth recruitment. At this same time, PGI and SIRC had completed two scoping literature reviews, one on the history and harms of SROs and the other on school safety alternatives in lieu of SROs. Both reviews were helpful in framing the issue of SROs with members of the SSCs as they joined meetings to assist with proposal development. These reviews were also shared with the PXU governing board, district personnel involved in the School PB process, the team at PBP, and the greater public, as the reviews were posted as open access both on PGI's and SIRC's websites.

Admittedly, enthusiasm and engagement in the PXU School PB school safety process waned during the Fall 2021 semester, with the process coming to a standstill, due to various factors. For one, the new academic year introduced several new administrative leaders, both at the school and district level, who had not yet understood or embraced the School PB process. Two, PXU had transitioned back to in-person school but at the same time was embroiled in a court battle over the district's policy to require masks due to the

continuation of the COVID-19 pandemic and the vulnerability of PXU's school community populations -thus, much of the administrative attention and efforts was focused on that issue. Third, with the transition back to in-person learning, many school administrators and educators focused on ensuring students had the basic resources and tools they needed to thrive academically, socially, and emotionally after enduring remote learning for over a year. In other words, as a key actor within the School PB process put it, "staff are too overwhelmed to move School PB work forward" and "I can't tap from a dry well" (Anonymous, 2021). In effect, during the PXU governing board meetings in the Fall of 2021, little mention was made of school safety in relation to the School PB process.

Other external, yet parallel, issues detracted from attention or concerted efforts on oversight or support of the School PB process. These other issues included the PXU redistricting process and the gearing up for upcoming elections, in which several of the PXU Governing Board member seats would be open, and some of the members were focused on re-election campaigns for positions within the PXU Governing Board, the City of Phoenix, and the Arizona State Legislature. It should also be noted that in August 2021, the U.S. Department of Justice announced a federal investigation into the Phoenix PD for several reasons, including retaliatory behaviors for First Amendment activities, unlawful search and seizure, and discriminatory policing (Office of Public Affairs, 2021).

While internal and external shocks had affected the PXU School PB school safety process, two school shootings occurred at the end of November 2021, with one happening at Cesar Chavez High School within the PXU district. The other school shooting occurred in Michigan, with the student perpetrator murdering four other students

and injuring seven others, including a teacher. The incident at Cesar Chavez involved one 15-year-old and one 16-year-old involved with the sale of a ghost gun, a gun that is bought piecemeal and assembled in one's home, often without the requirement to register the weapon in any way once constructed (Hernandez et al., 2021). Because the 15-year-old used fake money to purchase the gun from the 16-year-old, the 16-year-old returned to confront the 15-year-old, but the 15-year-old used the gun to shoot the 16-year-old. The 16-year-old survived, and both have since been charged.

Immediately after the Cesar Chavez incident, PXU's decision not to renew the contract for SROs came under strict scrutiny from the PXU school community and beyond. The media quickly zeroed in on the district's lack of SROs, posing questions as to whether having a police officer on campus would have prevented the shooting from taking place or been able to respond faster. Superintendent Gestson and two Governing Board members arranged for a community town hall at Cesar Chavez High School to listen to and provide a path forward to addressing the community's concerns about and recommendations for school safety. Cesar Chavez school community feedback centered on both hardening the school campus (use of metal detectors, fences, cameras, and not allowing backpacks) and increased training and staffing, including the staffing of SROs.

December 2021

At the December 2, 2021, Governing Board meeting (Phoenix Union High School District, 2021), the board addressed the shooting incident and Cesar Chavez school community comments, followed by a review of the PXU Next Generation Safety and Security (NGSS hereafter) Plan that was adopted in 2018 and a discussion of ways to broaden awareness of the plan's twelve components and methods to bolster adherence

and investment of resources to the components. During the meeting's public comment, one speaker asked for a greater emphasis on socioemotional learning opportunities across all campuses, and another reinforced the need for school safety protocols to be engrained within the day-to-day routines of the school. Another thanked PXU leadership for their response to the Cesar Chavez shooting and the after-incident support their campus received. When discussing how the Cesar Chavez school community was navigating post-incident, another speaker who was an employee on that campus said that when checking in with the students on their emotional state, the response was, "Gun violence at school is America." This speaker continued to share that the students worried about desensitization to this phenomenon and that adults were not reacting as strongly as they should in that "they are reluctant to set boundaries for those who are doing wrong." Pointedly, the speaker shared that the students spoke of their "fear, lack of hope, and discouragement that the adults in their lives have the will or the means to keep them safe."

At this meeting, the PXU School PB school safety process was finally mentioned. During the discussion of the NGSS plan and PXU school safety broadly, Governing Board Member Prescott inquired how the different components of the plan could be supported through the School PB process "because that is school safety dollars we have tied up into that process that we can allocate to different things based on what the community wants" and advocated for a "reinvest[ment] into the School PB process." Governing Board Member Parra cautioned the board from rushing to make policy decisions following the Cesar Chavez incident and encouraged the involvement of school campus security "as thought partners" in school safety decisions moving forward.

Governing Board Marquez inquired into the district’s threat assessment report, which Alyssa Tarkington, Executive Director of Student and Family Services, cited as being in compliance but would be helpful to review, and the current student-to-counselor ratio, which Superintendent Gestson cited to be 325:1. Governing Board Member Pastor encouraged more study sessions with the board and a possible case study to explore and address root causes of violence and safety concerns happening in homes and within the community. She followed this by seeding the idea for a community dialogue on the NGSS plan, with the community group being composed of diverse voices, including police officers. Additionally, she asked for data on whether an SRO on campus would have prevented or responded faster to the Cesar Chavez incident and for tangible school safety plans to be more readily implemented “and not three years later.”

January 2022

At the January 6, 2022, PXU Governing Board meeting, Superintendent Gestson voiced renewed efforts to recruit interest and support for the School PB process alongside a host of other initiatives related to school safety: a push for a holistic school safety campaign (including COVID-19 response), a re-examination of law enforcement use within the district, the inclusion of multi-tiered systems of supports for students, a review of the district’s safety structures and systems, and an increase in resources for campus safety teams (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022b). He shared that Alyssa Tarkington, Executive Director of Student and Family Services, was working to (re)engage the PXU school communities in the School PB process and asked for an update at the next meeting. Superintendent Gestson also cited having received a report from the district’s Certified Teachers Association (CTA) regarding the absence of SROs

from campuses and shared that there would be a concerted effort to undertake research on school safety practices broadly.

Again, Governing Board Member Prescott raised the School PB process for discussion, asking what the engagement rates had like been in the process so far and, if needed, what other steps could be taken to increase engagement. Superintendent Gestson responded that engagement “has been tough” and that efforts to have individual SSCs for each stakeholder group on every campus were no longer feasible in that “we couldn’t get even enough people in this environment, parents, teachers, and students, to lead a team on a campus,” so each school site had one to two representatives serving on the district-wide steering committee. Executive Director of Student and Family Services Alyssa Tarkington echoed the engagement challenges and offered methods she and her team had taken to overcome some of these challenges. These included direct outreach to the leadership teams on each PXU campus, working with community organizations to serve as intermediaries in contact and recruitment, and calls for recruitment via social media and other communication outlets used by the district. Overall, Alyssa Tarkington did admit that participation was higher last year, but also that the “ideas were created, so we just need to get through that research phase so that we can finalize an opportunity to ballot items and campaign.”

Governing Board Member Prescott continued the discussion and mentioned that the employees and employee groups he had been speaking with “felt that safety was a big issue but that they didn’t have a voice in it.” Governing Board Member Prescott shared that when he would then mention the School PB process with these employees and employee groups, many stated that while the process was taking place on their campuses,

not many people were participating. Governing Board Member Prescott followed this by encouraging continued outreach for engagement with the School PB process and ensuring that “when people have issues with what is happening on their campus, they know there are avenues available where they can speak” with the School PB process as one example. City of Phoenix Vice Mayor and PXU Governing Board Member Pastor (she had recently won her race for the position of Vice Mayor in the municipal election) added an additional inquiry of wondering if the School PB process could be implemented within the elective classes or “where there’s community service” to gather more involvement and interest.

February 2022

At the governing board meeting of February 3, 2022 (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022c), Superintendent Gestson raised for discussion the restructuring of the PXU Student and Family Services Division. The move would effectively transfer some of the existing safety infrastructure and personnel from the Student and Family Services Division to an entirely new division solely focused on safety in terms of hardening campuses (fences, alarms, cameras), managing health and disease and addressing injuries, bolstering discipline policies and protocols (drills, threat management), and organizing a district-wide team (with both campus security teams and district security lead teams) to support this new division. Superintendent Gestson finished the explanation by asking the board to motion for the change if in favor. Governing Board Parra put a motion forward, and Vice Mayor Paster seconded it.

March 2022

During the March 3, 2022, governing board meeting (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022d), Superintendent Gestson reminded the board that they had approved a new Safety Division and an Executive Director position to oversee the Division. Superintendent Gestson gave updates on this transition: PXU was in the midst of final interviews for the Executive Director position, beginning interviews for the Safety Director position were underway, and the job descriptions for the regional support positions would be ready for review next month. Additionally, Superintendent Gestson shared that a new organizational chart of the safety division would be created and ready for the governing board and public review.

April 2022

On April 14, 2022, the governing board reviewed the progress of the Safety Division. Superintendent Gestson shared that Claudio Coria was selected as the new Executive Director and the organizational structure of the Safety Division had been built out, beginning with safety supervisor positions at every campus through district-level safety supervisors who oversee a region of schools and a Campus and Community Safety Director (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022e).

May 2022

During the May 5, 2022, meeting, the PXU governing board focused on the topics of the student code of conduct, discipline data, and law enforcement usage (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022f) with a presentation by Claudio Coria, the new Executive Director of the Safety Division, and Alyssa Tarkington, Executive Director of Student and Family Services. The current code of conduct outlined both interventions and

consequences, with a strong emphasis on restorative practices and mediation, but Alyssa Tarkington shared that they were reviewing the code of conduct alongside input from the PXU community. Student referrals for intervention were also outlined as a collaborative approach to address a myriad of student needs. Counselors, educators, administrators, community liaisons, social workers, and nurses were listed as having a role in referring students for housing and food insecurity, medical concerns, social emotional health, absences and trancies, academic concerns, and emergency assistance.

Alyssa Tarkington then presented data on student discipline to the board. When comparing enrollment percentages with major behavior incidences and in-school and off-campus suspensions, Hispanic Males, Black Females, and Black Males were disproportionately overrepresented in the discipline data. Alyssa Tarkington then discussed two possibilities in moving forward in addressing student discipline more equitably. One, she pointed out that addressing student behavior must be confronted alongside staff's unconscious biases, and two, when assigning consequences to students, they must be fitting of the behavior and equitably assigned and enforced. Alyssa Tarkington also shared that Claudio Coria's team had launched a task force to address the disproportionately specific to Black and African American students.

Governing Board Member Ross reacted with sadness sharing that the data had not improved during her tenure as a board member (four years) and proposed that PXU staff needed opportunities to address their implicit biases when working with children since "at the core of all this are children with unmet needs." Governing Board Member Parra thanked Alyssa Tarkington and Claudio Coria for their work on compiling the data since this data had not been shared or analyzed during her time on the board. She followed by

acknowledging that “the data does demonstrate that we are disproportionately disciplining, in particular, our Black and brown boys” and pushed for equipping PXU school site staff with the support and tools to address the root causes of these behaviors, including the increase in security staffing, parental engagement, and an inclusive school community-wide approach.

Claudio Coria transitioned to speak about updates with fully staffing the Safety Division for the following 2022-2023 school year, current law enforcement support and interactions (including student arrest data), and the work being done on researching safety and policing within school communities. He spoke of a research partnership with the Grand Canyon Institute (GCI hereafter) to explore “similar districts nationwide and how they manage safety to include law enforcement or no school-based police officers” with the goal to “propose either a short-term or long-term solution or solutions to law enforcement usage.” Claudio Coria also shared the next steps in PXU’s school safety plan trajectory and specifically listed *Complete Participatory Budgeting voting beginning in May, prepare to implement winning ideas in 2022-2023*, and said that he “was excited about the work that our Participatory Budgeting is focused on, they are focused on safety, and I’m hearing some really cool proposals.”

During public comment, school safety was one of the top concerns. One speaker who identified as an educator within PXU asked for a more data-driven approach to creating policy on school safety, questioning, “Are you seeking information regarding student and staff safety from all experts? Are you coming to campuses and witnessing the issues firsthand? Are you dictating policies and procedures to teachers and administration, or are you actively collaborating? Are you talking to the parents who are

withdrawing their children from campuses they feel are unsafe?” The speaker passed out letters with collected signatures from other educators and reiterated that “teachers are part of the team for student success.”

Another speaker identified as an educator at one PXU school and a mother of a child attending another PXU school. This speaker painted a stark difference in safety concerns, citing, “As a mom, I have no concerns about my son whatsoever. None. I know my kid goes to Bio[science], and he’s going to be safe. That he’ll be taken care of. He has passionate teachers. [...] I want my students, their moms, to have that same feeling that their children are taken care of.” The speaker listed concerns with school site administration turnover and a lack of support as well. A third speaker shared that they taught for one of the law magnet programs and had a long work history within the justice system but “felt more comfortable sitting next to convicted murderers and cartel drug dealers than walking across the campus.” The speaker cited fights, weapons, and drugs as top concerns, alongside defunct gates and doors making the campus accessible.

June 2022

The June 2, 2022, governing board meeting focused on the district budget and COVID-19 mitigation for back to school in the Fall (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022g), but four speakers during public comment underscored the need for safe storage of firearms in the home and supported the district’s inclusion of the Be Smart campaign resources and a document within the student handbook requiring parent and guardian signatures that firearms are indeed securely stored in the home. This sentiment stemmed from PXU discussing the need for parents and families to practice firearms safety in the home and the recent school shooting that had taken place at Robb Elementary School in

Uvalde, Texas, on May 24, 2022, and 19 elementary school-aged children and two teachers were killed. The officers on the scene did not engage with the shooter until over an hour into the incident.

July 2022

While the PXU Governing Board would not usually meet in July due to the academic calendar, on July 28, 2022, the Governing Board met in a special meeting to discuss school safety (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022h). For public comment, there were nearly 60 registrants. Given the meeting was focused on school safety, the speakers' comments revolved around the district's original commitment to police-free schools, the School PB process, and concerns about the district not having been more transparent and communicative about the decisions having been made regarding school safety and that the district still did not have a complete school safety plan in place with the school year starting just two weeks away. To add, many of the parents and family members who attended to give public comment spoke a language other than English and did not have accessible translation services, posing a challenge in navigating communication.

Several current PXU students and their parents and family members spoke to the need for greater involvement and emphasis on student voice and parent and family engagement in the decision-making processes concerning school safety. Comments included:

- “How are you going to run a school [...] and just make decisions by yourself and not let students have any say or let the parents have say?”
- “Students deserve education and empowerment, not punishment.”
- “As it is, we don't have enough counselors on campus, like what are we doing for the students?”

- “The folks that actually kept me safe were my teachers. That's who we need to invest in.”
- “Our students need to be a part of these processes when you're talking about student safety. They need to be involved. Our parents need to be involved. These are things that matter to us and that we need to be taken into consideration when it comes to creating these processes.”
- “For me, it's like you are making these decisions about our students, about our kids, and you haven't asked us. You haven't put yourself in our position, you haven't put yourself in our shoes, you haven't asked, what is student safety? What is parent safety? What is actually safety for us? You don't walk in my shoes. You haven't asked me about my experiences. You don't know all the difficulties and all the things that I am living and now I am experiencing, and my children are too.”
- “You know, I never knew these meetings existed. I didn't know that we could be here. I didn't know about the school board. I didn't know the decisions about our students' safety were being made in these spaces, and we don't get called, and we're not invited to these spaces.”
- “Don't shut down our voices. They're our schools. To some, they're our second home. We know that we deserve and should have a say in what changes are being made.”
- “I'm asking you or demanding as well, just the way the same way that you seek our vote to get into those positions of power and to sit in those seats that you have to include our students' and our parents' voices and let us vote on these plans, let us vote on these decisions that y'all are making about us.”

- “When we're talking about bringing those same police officers with another name, SROs, they're still the same cops. They're still the same police officers that deported my family. They don't make anyone feel comfortable when they have that type of history, and we're here frustrated that you still don't want to listen to students, to teachers, and to parents.”

Additionally, three incoming PXU Governing Board Members, Jennifer Hernandez, Signa Oliver, and Ceyshe Napa, expressed dissatisfaction with how the district had been handling school safety broadly. Jennifer Hernandez shared the following comment:

“The board directed PXU administrators to talk to the community and directed them to have processes ready to go so that the school principals would be ready this school year to move forward without police. They did not talk to the community, and they did not put together a process as instructed by the board. We have seen the same level of inaccessibility within the participatory budget process where many students and parents who wanted to participate were never contacted, were never notified about meetings, and their messages asking to be involved were continuously ignored. Students deserve to have their voices heard. We deserve to be a part of this decision-making process, and therefore, you cannot continue to fund the most violent police department in the U.S., a police department that has continuously shown that they are racist and hateful towards Black, brown, indigenous, working class, and LGBTQ+ communities.”

Signa Oliver stated:

“As a former U.S. Army JAG Officer, I fully understand the Supreme Court ruling in 1989 DeShaney and reaffirmed in 2005 with Castle Rock that both ruled that police officers have no duty in the U.S. Constitution to protect students’ life, liberty, and property against private actors. With that said, no funding for SROs should be considered as a measure for the safety of students and campuses. Uvalde and Parkland are prime examples of this failure of SROs to protect and serve.”

Ceyshe Napa followed with:

“Our students are in need of more counselors on campus to meet their academic needs. Police do not ensure safety on our campuses; rather, having police on campuses increases the likelihood of our indigenous, Black, brown, and differently-abled scholars being criminalized for age-appropriate behavior. Schools should not be in the business of criminalizing their students for age-appropriate behavior, bringing them into contact with Phoenix PD who are under investigation by the Department of Justice.”

Other speakers included recent graduates of PXU high schools. One shared frustration about the PXU school community not knowing the School PB SSC meetings had been taking place, “I wasn't aware that these meetings happen, and I think that just shows the lack of transparency that happens between students, parents of students, and the leadership because we aren't encouraged to attend these meetings, we aren't really shown that these meetings happen, and it shouldn't be that way. Students should be able to have a say in what's going on in the high schools that they attend, not three years later when they graduate but when they're in school.” Another pointed to the fact that student voice had been heavily omitted from decision-making processes in school safety, “Y'all are making decisions on student safety without the input of the students, so how do you know what's going to make students feel safe when you're not even asking them?” Yet another spoke to the issue of police presence among undocumented and mixed-status students and families, “As a daughter from a mixed-status family, my parents were scared to go on campus to go visit me my piano recitals. To go pick me up from school because they were afraid that you know the cops were going to show up and they might be deported. That's the same situation a lot of these students are going through coming from mixed-status families.” Pointedly, another recent graduate stated, “Why are we wasting funding on an already bloated police budget?”

Representatives from local community organizations also participated in public comment. One spoke to the non-inclusive nature of the School PB process: "If student participation is an issue, then the pathway for students to get involved needs to be revisited. As a community organizer, if people aren't showing up to my events, then I

need to rethink the way that I'm mobilizing them.” Another communicated frustration with the PXU Governing Board moving ahead with a safety plan that had not been fully vetted by the community, and specifically the students of PXU:

“So here we are going to talk about proposals for safety that the community has not seen, that the board has not seen, and y'all are going to vote to move forward on a safety plan that no one in this room has seen. Does that sound acceptable? Does that sound acceptable when we're talking about literally negotiating with the lives of students? The students that are here, the students that are coming to this mic, the parents that are coming to this mic, these are the parents and the students that are most at risk of police violence. Statistically, Maryvale has the most police violence in this state. Police have killed 23 people in that district since 2017. Those students deserve to have a look at what y'all are proposing. They deserve to have input in what processes are being given to administrators on how they're supposed to respond to incidences that happen in their schools and how they're supposed to interact with police.”

Following public comment, the Executive Director of the Safety Division, Claudio Coria, gave a presentation on the build-out of the division and a detailed overview of the accomplishments within the NGSS Plan's focus areas: Infrastructure, Discipline and Restorative Practices, Safety Personnel, and Safety and Wellness. These accomplishments included upgraded locking mechanisms, reviews of the student discipline policies and data and the student handbook, the design and structure of the school safety teams including training, the establishment of resource centers on each campus, staff wellness, and an increase in hiring certified staff for additional support. Claudio Coria also discussed a result of the GCI report being to shift away from school-based police officers to a community or regionally-based model, and turned the mic over to the folks from GCI to share more of their findings.

Amy Pedotto with GCI shared their report's purpose and methodology, followed by findings that spanned both the content and process. Content-wise, the GCI team found school safety plans to be most effective when there was the least amount of contact with

law enforcement, but not necessarily none at all. Instead, there should be safety teams in place. For the process, Amy Pedotto shared that an undertaking like reimagining school safety requires a substantial amount of time and an investment in building the internal capacity within each school alongside a healthy student culture.

For recommendations, the GCI report outlined the following (Rethmann et al., 2022):

- Develop clear policies and procedures to ensure consistency across school campuses.
- Develop a formal agreement with Phoenix PD to define engagement and accountability.
- Adopt a phased approach, starting with developing specific safety protocols.
- Build the internal capacity of schools through resources, training, and support.

Superintendent Gestson continued the meeting by discussing the divestment the district had made concerning the use of law enforcement over the previous two years. He shared that while PXU no longer has the one officer, one school model, the district does still contract with police for mandatory reporting purposes, large school events like sporting games, and having a regional response officer. The current expenditures on police contracts were \$670,000, down from \$1.8 million in 2019. Superintendent Gestson also shared that the district would be exploring the adoption of a 360 Analysis protocol following all major incidents to “further clarify responsibilities and engagement of school personnel and law enforcement.” Part of this plan also included the initiation of developing an Inter-Governmental Agreement (IGA) with the City of Phoenix for a community or regionally-based model of policing, a modification to current policies involving non-violent infractions, the creation of a family and student victim advocate to

assist students and families with the complexities of the legal system, and the formation of a regional crisis response team model existing of wrap-around services.

Governing Board Member Marquez brought up the School PB process, inquiring about the \$1.2 million dollars that had been allocated to the process from the previous years without SRO contracts. Superintendent Gestson explained that some of the funding had been allocated to the following year's budget but that other funding had been spent building out the district's new Safety Division. Alyssa Tarkington jumped in to provide some added context and stated, "We're ready with the launch of school to launch voting. We have completed the process." Governing Board Member Marquez asked, "It sounds like the community doesn't feel like they've been included, so what are we voting on?"

At this point, and probably to counter some of what was shared during public comment, Alyssa Tarkington recapped the process from the School PB previous year, citing involvement efforts with the community organizations Mi Familia Vota, LUCHA, Poder, and Puente to organize and facilitate community meetings. Yet, she admitted that community engagement was low and "we had campuses that could not get the three sponsors" (one for each stakeholder group). She also shared that the timeline had been extended twice to recruit greater engagement until ultimately landing on having a district-wide steering committee for each stakeholder group: students, parents and families, and staff.

Governing Board Member Marquez then returned to his point of the conversation that was focused on the budget and asked how much had been spent on the actual process implementation. Alyssa Tarkington shared that PBP had been paid around \$50,000 and several of the community organizations received \$2500. Governing Board Member

Marquez inquired into who PBP was, and at that point, Governing Board Member Prescott requested a detailed budget report on the School PB process thus far to be ready to review for the next meeting. He requested this budget report include the numbers on proposals submitted, who has been engaged, who submitted feedback on proposals, etc.

Governing Board Member Prescott also acknowledged that:

“There have been community groups who felt like they were shut out of the process, and there were students and parents who wanted to participate, and they weren't able to connect. So really, for me, looking forward is knowing that we have at least a couple more months because we haven't had the final vote yet. How can we really engage those community groups? How can we really engage students and parents knowing that we're a certain process through this participatory budgeting process? How can we really re-reinvigorate the process and make sure that we use the remaining time we have as strongly as possible. Personally, I would love to see re-engagement with those community groups. I'd love to see really focusing on how we can connect any students and parents and opening it back up if there is a budget connection.”

August 2022

At the August 4, 2022, Governing Board Meeting, Superintendent Gestson began by recapping the School PB process, introducing the timeline of process implementation alongside accomplishments (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022i). Superintendent Gestson noted that the final voting stage would be delayed to allow for better participant recruitment and outreach. The new timeline listed voting as happening in late September, with October beginning the winning project implementation that would continue for the rest of the 2022-2023 academic school year. Superintendent Gestson did share some of the approved projects for the ballot, such as “Let’s Restore Restorative Justice,” “Mental Health Matters, Too,” “A Curriculum that Cares,” and “Key Card Access.”

The governing board continued the conversation on the different aspects of school safety that had become a mainstay in their meetings, including using officers for

mandatory reporting purposes, the NGSS, and how to handle nonviolent offenses. There were also several motions made and seconded. For one, Governing Board Member Pastor motioned to authorize off-duty police officers as needed, with monthly expenses not exceeding \$55,000. Two, Governing Board Member Pastor requested additional funding for public participation and engagement on proposed student safety plans within the School PB process. Three, Governing Board Member Pastor requested that a reporting process to address police misconduct be made available to all students and families. Another motion made by Governing Board Member Pastor was the formation of a Safety Committee that would include: “at least one student representative, one parent representative, one representative from the community organization such as for their inaction, one administrative employee, one classified employee, one certified employee, and one additional representative to be appointed by each governing board member to review and develop proposals from today, including the law enforcement roles administrative protocols for mandatory reporting and an IGA with the city of Phoenix PD to address rules of engagement. Those proposals will be presented to the governing board. This committee should do outreach to communities most impacted by policing and students throughout the district to hear their input on how to build safety beyond policing and safety that focuses on the health and wellness of the PXU community.” All these motions were seconded and carried.

The public comment portion of the meeting had 20 registered speakers, many of whom addressed the topic of school safety. One speaker who was an employee in the district shared they had reviewed the NGSS and disagreed with using private security to manage large events on school campuses. This speaker stated, “I feel it won't work;

people just don't see private security as authentic law enforcement personnel, which may lead to some people at these events refusing to comply with safety protocols, creating a climate for volatile and dangerous situations, and that's the last thing we need when you have hundreds of people gathered in one place all at the same time.” The same speaker also shared, “I’m favoring a regional support school support officer to each of our three regions in our district. I believe that having the same officer responding to calls leads to familiarity and consistency,” but voiced concern over the lack of an onsite SRO.

Another employee spoke of the same sentiment and said that an onsite SRO would provide the quickest response time. A social worker within PXU urged the continued partnership with police since it was in the best interest of the child victims she works with, and another employee advocated for the continuation of SROs because they had seen firsthand the relationships the SRO built with students. Several school site administrators and office personnel spoke of wanting SRO presence on school campuses, especially during large events like sports games. A parent advocated for the use of SROs because “Crime is progressive. Students that do not have consequences will continue to make poor choices that have effects on themselves and others.” Additionally, six community organizers, a PXU parent, and a recent PXU high school graduate spoke, voicing opposition to the use of SROs and the adoption of policies, practices, and programs without the voice of students.

September 2022

During the September 1, 2023, PXU Governing Board Meeting (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022j), Dr. Gestson gave an update on the district’s school safety efforts and accomplishments, including the law enforcement expenditures for the month of

August, the launch of the PXU safety email, and use and the formation of the members of the Safety Committee. Law enforcement expenditures for August totaled almost \$27,000 for 48 officers working an average of 2.7 days. Superintendent Gestson shared excerpts from emails received at the PXU safety email account, with most emails either outrightly requesting a return of SROs to each individual campus or speaking about the benefits of having an SRO on school campus.

Superintendent Gestson then transitioned to discussing the formation of the Safety Committee. Members of the Safety Committee can be described as follows:

- Demographically representative of the PXU community
- Regionally representative
- Seven Governing Board appointments
- Six Employee Association appointments
- Two Community organizations selections (Poder in Action, Black Mother's Forum)
- Six student and parent selections (recruited via 1) an outreach and a submission form to indicate interest -received over 200 submissions, 2) campus leaders assisted in identifying students and parents, 3) final decision based on demographics and region of location, with alternates selected)

The first Safety Committee meeting took place later in September, with the intent to onboard members and review the following:

- Open Meeting Law
- GCI Report
- NGSS Plan

- Previous IGAs between PXU and the City of Phoenix/Phoenix PD
- Objectives and Rules of Engagement with IGA between PXU and the City of Phoenix/Phoenix PD

Safety Committee

Background

The PXU Safety Committee was launched on September 17, 2022, as part of a governing board initiative initiated by Vice Mayor and Governing Board Member Pastor. During the August 4, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting, the board agreed to form a Safety Committee tasked with “studying a wide range of safety aspects and how they impact our communities [...] includ[ing] assessing beliefs, attitudes, and experiences with the use of law enforcement in our district.” The rationale for the Safety Committee stemmed from a two-year-long initiative to reimagine school safety that included an on-again and off-again School Participatory Budgeting (SPB) process, countless deliberations among PXU Governing Board Members, and many impassioned PXU school community members who spoke during public comment at those Governing Board Meetings.

Through the review of key documents and engagement with the PXU school community, the committee would create a menu of recommendations on navigating school safety to be presented to the PXU Governing Board. The recommendations would include ways the district could work with the City of Phoenix and the Phoenix PD, possibly through an IGA, to utilize law enforcement to a degree. Key documents used to inform included:

- GCI Report
- NGSS Plan
- Previous IGAs between PXU and the City of Phoenix/Phoenix PD
- Objectives and Rules of Engagement with IGA between PXU and the City of Phoenix/Phoenix PD

Additionally, the Safety Committee was slated to have monthly meetings from September through December 2022, with recommendations for the PXU Governing Board to follow.

While the Safety Committee was never formally called a CA, the initial design of the process and participant group supported the defining features of a CA. For one, the formation of the participant group presented at the September 2022 Governing Board meeting was designed with the intent of having an inclusive representation of the PXU school community. Two, the participants would meet over a predefined period to learn and discuss recommendations concerning school safety and SROs. Third, participant learning would be drawn from existing documents and reports, district-wide data, and some scheduled guest speakers. Also, a large portion of the meetings would be allocated to deliberation. Given these unique design features, the PXU Safety Committee was similar in design to a CA.

Actors

The PXU Safety Committee began as a committee of 21 people meant to demographically and regionally represent the PXU school community. The PXU Governing Board members each appointed one person (seven total), the PXU employee associations -the Classified Employees Association (CEA), the Certified Teachers Association (CTA), and the Administrators Association (AdA)- each selected two

members (total of six), two community organizations had one representative each (one from Poder in Action, the other from the Black Mother's Forum), and three students and three parents were selected from a pool of recommendations and applicants based on their demographics and region. Over the course of the ten Safety Committee meetings, there was some attrition, and the committee ended with 15 members.

During the first Safety Committee meeting, the members introduced themselves, including their name, affiliation, role, pronouns, and what brought them into the space. The following self-descriptions were provided by each of the committee members:

- Vanessa Jimenez (she/her/hers) represented the Classified Employees Association (CEA). She has been an employee of PXU for 27 years who currently serves as an Education Support Professional. She is also a parent and part of her desire to join was she wanted to make sure the support professionals have a voice and safe space to share their concerns on safety.
- Lance Long (he/him/his) represented the Classified Teachers Association (CTA). He is a teacher at Franklin Police and Fire High School who was asked by the CTA president to attend.
- Gladiela Lopez-Felix is a youth organizer who represented Poder in Action. She wanted to join the committee because she believes it is important to include the community, students, and staff in decisions about their safety.
- Ivan Marquez (he/him) is a student who represented South Mountain High School. He shared that he feels his school's area is unsafe, particularly after there has not been an SRO present.

- Shannon Hayes is an advocate who represented the Black Mothers Forum. She was asked to participate based on her previous engagements with PXU and the fact that her work focuses on having safe and supportive learning environments for Black and brown students. She shared that she was interested in joining because she feels it is important to be in the room.
- Joe Sells represented the Classified Employees Association (CEA). He is a PXU District Safety Supervisor who has been in the district for 28 years. He shared that he is participating to protect the students, PXU community, and staff and ensure proper safety coverage.
- Jennifer Hernandez (she/her/ella) was appointed by Governing Board Member Prescott. She is an incoming board member for the PXU Governing Board, yet is also a community member who has been organizing within the Phoenix area for the past five years. She shared that her goal was to create alternatives to safety for PXU students, parents, and the community.
- Marissa Hernandez (she/her and they/them) was appointed by Governing Board Member Gallardo. She is the parent of a child within the PXU district but is also currently the Cartwright School District Board President (a feeder elementary and middle school district to PXU) and the first vice chair for legislative district 24 committee. She shared that she believes everyone deserves to be safe, including students, scholars, staff, and the community, and that safety response times in schools need to be improved.
- John-Martin Rigsby (he/him) represented the Administrators Association (AdA). He is the Assistant Principal for Student Success at Trevor Browne High School

in PXU who previously was a marketing teacher at Trevor Browne and, before that, a student advisor for the Gila Indian Community. He said he joined because he wants to advocate for students, staff, parents, and the community about safety on PXU campuses and ensure that everyone feels welcome and safe coming to PXU campuses.

- Tom Navarro represented the Certified Teachers Association (CTA). He is a Counselor at Cesar Chavez High School in PXU who is now in his 29th year in the PXU district, with twelve of those years teaching and seventeen as a counselor. He shared that he joined because he has been listening to board meetings and decisions being made that don't reflect the actual needs of the campuses, so he wanted to ensure whatever decisions are made within this committee are serving the students, staff, parents, and families of the PXU community and are in the best interest of the PXU campuses.
- Ricardo Palomera (he, him, his) was appointed by Vice Mayor and Governing Board Member Pastor. He is a seventh-year teacher at North High School in PXU and chose to attend to advocate for his students and ensure the committee makes the best decisions moving forward.
- Renee Dominguez is a parent representative of Carl Hayden High School and a community leader in the Homedale neighborhood that feeds into PXU high schools. She currently has a 9th grader in PXU but has had nine other children attend PXU schools. She has been in the community since 1993 and serves on the Estrella Mountain Development Committee that focuses on the areas around Carl Hayden and Cesar Chavez High Schools in PXU. She joined because she feels

that with the rise in violence in schools, PXU must address the needs of the students, staff, community, and surrounding business.

- Yuvixa Dominguez is a student representative in her senior year who attends Maryvale High School in PXU. She wanted to participate so she could advocate for her peers and teachers. She shared that she believes her participation is important as a community member from the west side so she can get others' opinions about safety and get the conversation going about what is going on in schools, especially with safety regarding students.
- Ceyshe Napa (first introduces herself in Diné, a language spoken by the Navajo people of the Southwest, including Arizona and New Mexico) was appointed by Governing Board Member Marquez. She is an incoming PXU board member for Ward 4 who attended North High School in PXU, and she currently serves as the interim Director of Early Outreach at Glendale Community College whose programs offer scholarships to high school students to take community college level classes, including many PXU students. As a community member and parent of an eleven-year-old daughter, she shared that she hopes her daughter will choose to go to a PXU high school because her own experience at North High School was very positive. She also said that she wants to build in a more prominent student perspective in the conversation on school safety to ensure that students feel safe on campus and look to alternatives to police that do not punish typical adolescent behavior. Overall, she said that she believes schools should not criminalize typical youth behaviors.

- Katie Gipson McLean was appointed by Governing Board Member Ross. She is a public defender in Maricopa County, a former educator, and a graduate of Camelback High School. Her grandparents, parents, and brother also attended PXU high schools. She shared that she is an incoming board member for the Creighton Elementary School District and a parent of two young children who will be attending PXU schools within the next decade. She has chosen to participate because she believes in engaging as many voices as possible to come up with solutions for shared issues, and due to the nature of her work and personal experiences, she is committed to not contributing to the school-to-prison pipeline and inflicting more harm on communities.

- Martin Perez, Jr. (he, him, el) represented the Administrators Association (AdA). He has been involved in education for thirteen years, first starting as a middle school teacher in the Alhambra School District, which feeds into PXU. Seven of his years have been spent as an administrator, with five of those administrative years in PXU, beginning as the Assistant Principal of Student Success at Betty Fairfax High School, handling discipline, and now as an Assistant Principal of Instruction at Carl Hayden High School. He described his values to be aligned with community engagement and collective efficacy and said that he believes these values are supported by PXU. He shared that he is also attending out of personal interest due to his brother's experience with the school to prison pipeline and his own experiences with discipline and safety in his administrative roles. Overall, he said that he looks forward to the community engagement aspect of this committee.

Absent committee members included Alvan Gray, a student from Camelback High School; Cruz Apodaca, a parent with a child at Bioscience High School; Mona Saunders, a parent with a child at Cesar Chavez High School; Bahney Dedolph, an appointee of Governing Board Member Alston; and Erika De La Rosa, an appointee of Governing Board Member Parra.

Additionally, the following self-descriptions and roles of support were provided by each of the PXU Leadership individuals who would be involved with the Safety Committee:

- Claudio Coria is Executive Director of Safety for PXU who has been communicating with committee members in organizing the overall committee prior to this first meeting. His role with this process will be to support the overall committee's work materials, resources, and communication.
- Remy Nunez serves as Claudio Cora's assistant and has been supporting the communication and logistics of the committee. She invited the committee members to reach out with questions at any time.
- Thea Andrade also supports the logistical needs of the committee, including meeting set-up and resources, such as providing name tents for these meetings to be able to recognize each other's names.
- Alyssa Tarkington is Executive Director of Student and Family Services, a division that serves the PXU school community in a variety of ways, including athletics, college-going supports, behavioral interventions, and wrap-around services and community connections for students and families. She shared that she would also serve as a resource throughout the committee's process.

- Manual Silvas is Executive Director of Talent and Human Resources. He is the parent of current and future students and would also support the committee as needed.
- John Doherty is Principal of Maryvale High School and planned to attend the meetings just to observe, but he also has family who work in the district, including both daughters and a sister. His wife is a graduate of Camelback High School, and PXU has been very important to his and his family's lives.
- Eileen Fernandez is General Counsel for PXU who would provide trainings for the committee members and legal guidance and feedback during meetings.

There were also two consulting firms hired to facilitate the Safety Committee meetings and serve as evaluators during the PXU school community engagement and feedback sessions. The first consulting firm, Iconico, describes its services as “leadership development, training, facilitation, and capacity building” (Iconico, n.d.), and was represented by Carla Chavarria, the Community Building Director, and Luis Avila, the Founder and President. Catherine Alonzo, CEO and Founding Partner, represented the second consulting firm, Javelina, which offers “powerful marketing and advocacy strategies” (Javelina, 2023).

Safety Committee Implementation

September 17, 2022.

The first PXU Safety Committee meeting occurred on September 17, 2022 (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022k). Claudio Coria, the Executive Director of Safety for PXU, started the meeting with ground-setting information on accessibility, such as the availability of interpreters and the ability to watch the meetings in person, via

live stream, or as recorded videos on the district's YouTube site. Claudio also provided a high-level description of the committee's composition of students, staff, parents, and community members and the safety committee's purpose and timeline in recommending an inter-governmental agreement (IGA) with the Phoenix Police Department (PPD). Claudio then introduced Carla Chavarria and Luis Avila from Iconico and Catherine Alonzo from Javelina, Carla, Luis, and Catherine each introduced themselves, following up with their specific roles and desires for this experience. Next, the Safety Committee members introduced themselves, followed by the district leadership and personnel in attendance.

The committee then transitioned to logistics of the School Safety Committee meetings, including Robert's Rules of Order, quorums, open meeting law, public records law, confidentiality, and mandatory reporting requirements. Eileen Fernandez, General Counsel for the district, led the presentation and discussion on each topic. In speaking to the committee about Robert's Rules of Order, Eileen described this process as "how you will operate during your meetings as it allows there to be an organized way for committee members to speak and ensure that everyone gets to voice their concerns and their points in an uninterrupted fashion. It also allows the whole committee an opportunity to hear various points of view so that you can make the most informed decisions on some of the decision and action items that you're going to have to make."

After outlining some procedural examples of Robert's Rules of Order (e.g., making a motion), Eileen invited questions from the committee about the rules or process. The first question was to clarify the adoption of Robert's Rules of Order and whether there was a need for a motion to be made to adopt Robert's Rules of Order

formally. Eileen responded that as a public committee, they must uphold board policy on using Robert's Rules of Order. In terms of looking ahead, Eileen noted that by the next meeting, there would need to be a Chair, Vice Chair, and alternate voted in as committee leaders. The following questions focused on terms of access to pertinent documents and the ability to add items to the monthly meeting agendas -both of which the committee members would have access to and the ability to do.

One of the committee members asked whether these meetings would have public comment, and Carla, with Iconico, asked if the committee would like to have public comment. Eileen interjected, stating that to make changes to the current agenda for this meeting, there would need to have been a 24-hour notice and posting of the agenda; hence, there would be no allowable public comment in the current meeting, but public comment could be built into future meetings. Another participant asked why the meeting would have been advertised as an "open meeting" if the public could not actually comment or engage.

After the question and logistical discussion session, Carla from Iconico shared that the committee would engage in some level-setting questions and discussion with the hope this would also allow the committee members to get to know one another a bit more. Carla began by posing the questions, "What do you need in order to feel brave and safe when working in groups?" and "Are there any norms we would like to adopt for our committee?" One committee member suggested limiting technology use and being present to "allow for all of us to be actively engaged in the questions and the ideas." Another added the need for "staying on track with our time so we can move through all of our items and actually have action from the committee instead of getting caught up on

items that may not necessarily be on the agenda for that meeting.” Another committee member agreed, adding that the committee should be “respectful of time, that we start on time and end on time, and that we do stay task oriented.”

The tone of discussion and comments was also brought up. One committee member shared the need to “keep a positive tone, making sure that we're discussing ideas and issues and not people,” yet another committee member pushed back on the tone sentiment, stating, “I'd hate for us to get into the practice of policing folks' tone when folks are sharing their own personal experiences and sometimes that manifests emotions [...] folks often will become passionate about many of these issues because these are issues that particularly affect people on this committee and so when you become passionate about things, it's a little hard to always police your own tone and I wouldn't ask that we do that to people who are directly impacted by the actions of the board or the actions of this committee.” A committee member followed this by suggesting that the committee should assume comments come from a place with the best intentions.

When asked what community populations they thought would be important to hear from, several committee members agreed that there should be credence and prioritization of communities most affected by the decisions being made. Pointedly, one committee member said, “I think the most important population to hear from and to consider is that population that frequents our campuses. [...] It's those people that are going to be most affected by the decisions that are made by this committee.” Examples included students, particularly historically minoritized groups, parents and families, and school staff.

One committee member explicitly pointed out the disparate lack of representation of students on the committee, “I kind of want to get a better student representation here because you've got two students, but how many actual students go to Phoenix Union High School?” In the same vein, that same committee member also voiced a desire to have police representation “because you guys [PXU district] are answering for them, but I want to know what they have been experiencing dealing with the campuses on specific incidents [...] so I kind of want to hear their perspective as well.” Another committee member agreed with these needs, both to have greater student scholar involvement and someone from the Phoenix Police Department that has, if possible, actually responded to one of the calls, whether that be a sergeant, a police officer, a lieutenant, someone who actually was on the scene because those are the people that we really want to hear from and that's the way we can make improvements by being able to listen to what they have to say their perspective as people who were actually on the ground at the time.”

An additional point was raised concerning language justice as an access point, in that “parents and students that come from monolingual families want to come and receive the same information as English speakers, and that includes them being able to provide comment but also being able to being able to listen to all the information read, all the information that's provided to English speakers at those meetings [...] I feel like they deserve the same access.” In line with access, another committee member inquired into how information about the committee's work would be communicated to the broader PXU school community beyond social media. Other topics discussed revolved around future meeting logistics and plans, including allowing public comment, selecting meeting dates, meeting frequencies,

The Safety Committee then reviewed the NGSS Plan and GCI report. Claudio Coria walked the committee through each of the components of the NGSS Plan, while the lead authors of the GCI Report, Laura Rethmann and Luis Fernandez, walked the committee through their findings. The GCI Report contained a scoping review of school safety, including the effects of SROs. The report continued with several case studies of schools and districts that had changed their relationship with law enforcement and explored what school safety alternatives these other schools and districts had turned to and how that decision was being met.

The first finding of the GCI Report focused on the process and timeline of reimagining school safety, positioning the planning and design as integral to an initiative's success: "in many ways, the political will to develop a new model might have gotten ahead of the practical ability to do so, which kind of resulted in these unforeseen gaps in their design and additional challenges that they think could have been avoided if they had perhaps taken more time or had done this through a more intentional process." The second finding pointed to the need for more mentors and supportive adults on school campuses especially in the form of "safety personnel teams or other staff to function as mediators with the goal being that safety teams can support students and families and prevent police contact from escalating." Recommendations included the district developing clear policies and procedures across all campuses for consistency, the district developing a formal agreement with the Phoenix PD, the district adopting a phased approach to safety reforms, including the development of safety protocols, the internal capacity of the school being equipped with resources and training supports, and safety personnel trained in culturally responsive practices.

September 29, 2022.

The Safety Committee met again on September 29, 2022, Phoenix Union High School District, 20221). Seventeen of the 21 members were in attendance. Luis Avila from Iconico began the meeting by setting the norms that had been agreed upon during the previous meeting and having committee members review the minutes from the last meeting. One committee member pointed to wanting the meetings to include public discussion, not simply public comment, and made a motion for this addition that was approved. Another motion was made by a different committee member to move public discussion until after several of the agenda items the committee would be discussing, with the rationale that the public could then comment on the committee's dialogue, and it was approved.

The Safety Committee then had to appoint a committee chair, who needed to be one of the members. The committee was given an outline of the roles and responsibilities of the chair and the process for nominating someone for the chair. Luis asked the committee to list qualities they would like to see in a chair. Responses included being able to keep the discussions on track, ensuring there is active listening among committee members, knowing how Roberts Rules of Order work, being fair, having prior facilitation experience, being flexible and open to opposing views, being well-organized, being familiar with de-escalation techniques, and knowing and understanding the history of Phoenix PD and the community.

The committee set forth three nominations: Katie Gibson McLean, Marissa Hernandez, and Vanessa Jimenez. Each of the nominees was given a few minutes to share why they would be a good chair for the committee. Katie shared that in her role as a

public defender, she has a good working knowledge of the criminal and legal code, and in her role as a national board member of her sorority, she has had to use Roberts Rules of Order in those board meetings for over a decade. She also shared her ability to de-escalate situations since she often does so in her current job, but she also used these skills when she worked as an educator prior. Marissa shared that she is a Governing Board Member for Cartwright Elementary School District and serves as a state committee member for legislative district 24. She feels that she is trustworthy and has a passion for children and equity, especially since her own child has autism. Vanessa kindly declined her nomination. After a vote among committee members, Katie was voted in as chair.

The committee then moved to nominating someone to vice chair, following the same process. Nominee Gladiella Lopez Felix shared that as a community organizer, she has many connections with the youth in her community and has experience in meeting facilitation. Marissa expanded upon the information she had shared during the chair nomination, sharing that she will be dedicated to this initiative and that she will continue to embrace open-mindedness. Marissa was voted in as vice chair, and Gladiella was voted in as the alternate.

The meeting continued with reviewing the PXU Governing Board-provided timeline of work and deliverables. The committee shared concerns about finishing the work tasked to the committee in December and to what extent the proposed plan will require police contact. Public comment was begun after this. Of the three speakers, two spoke of the current fentanyl epidemic and one spoke of their experience at the PXU high school where they work. Luis finished the meeting by discussing the various GCI

recommendations and the committee collectively outlining the plan to collect information from the broader PXU school community.

October 20, 2022.

In the October 20, 2022, Safety Committee meeting (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022m), the committee began by reviewing the NGSS Plan alongside the district's current use of off-duty police officers as a regional model of SROs. Response time of the regional model became a concern among several committee members, and some members began to ask about the official protocol PXU used for contacting police in times of emergency. Luis Avila with Iconico redirected the conversation to the different expectations and deliverables the PXU Governing Board laid for this committee. The mission of the Safety Committee was shared, along with the seven objectives the board outlined:

1. Develop a law enforcement role in Phoenix Union High School District.
2. Create internal protocols for law-related issues.
3. Incorporate Phoenix Police Department protocols (rules of engagement) for law-related issues.
4. Determine the role of the Phoenix Police Department in the PXU Regional Crisis Response Team model.
5. Review Grand Canyon Institute's national research as a guiding document.
6. Decide on the public input process.
7. Review and develop safety proposals, including law enforcement usage as presented at the August 4, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting.

With this shift, the committee discussed concerns about delivering on the Governing Board's objectives and requested deliverables by December 2021. Some committee members discussed extending the deadline, and others agreed while citing a need for the language of the original motion that created the Safety Committee and the expected deliverables. Another member shared that this conversation was hard to have without any community engagement having taken place, "we don't know what the work is yet, so we don't know if it needs to go all the way to the end of the third quarter or if we're going to need time. I think a lot of this work really depends on the community engagement that needs to be done. We have close to 30,000 students, and we want to get as many of those voices as possible top on that faculty, staff, and community members and parents. I'm really concerned that we won't allow or we're not allocating ourselves enough time to actually do the work because this work will resonate way beyond anyone here in this room."

One of the committee members, who was a student, pointed out that community engagement was contingent upon outreach and meeting format, explaining,

"It's not about people wanting to be heard or not being heard is that we don't have the adequate outreach to our community to our parents, to the students. Students think these meetings are long, these meetings are boring. The board meetings are even longer, even more boring. Students don't necessarily want to have to participate, but this plan is around their safety, this is around our parents, our staff, our community safety, so these are important meetings even if they're not the most interesting to attend. We have to incentivize our people to be here. We have to do the outreach. We have to do the work. People are not just going to show up because they want to be heard or they don't want to be heard. People need to be aware of what's going on in order to have that option and to say hey, I want to be a part of this process."

A different member pointed out that the PXU Governing Board could potentially have three new members after the November 2022 election and suggested that any

timeline changes be made after those three new Governing Board Members took office in January 2023. After discussing several different ideas, the committee motioned to request to the board an extension of the December 2022 sunset deadline for the Safety Committee until March 31, 2023. Several times during this discussion, however, the district's General Counsel had to caution some members against straying from the agenda item.

The remainder of the meeting focused on the expectations of data collection and community engagement. Luis began this portion of the discussion by sharing that the expected number of community engagement participants would be approximately 10% of the total 46,000 within Phoenix Union Universe, which includes students, staff, and families. This would equate to about 4,600 participants and, when broken down, 2,800 students, 400 staff, and 1,400 families.

The data collection would take place in a myriad of ways. First, Iconino would administer an online survey targeting 3,450 individuals (2,100 students, 300 staff, and 1,050 families). Second, Iconico would hold community meetings with an anticipated total of 250 people. Third, Iconico would administer focus groups with about 70 people in total. Lastly, Iconico anticipated the opportunity for community members to engage via the PXU School Safety website or through public comment at the Safety Committee meetings. Luis then invited the Student Steering Committee members to brainstorm the kind of data to collect from community engagement participants. Some examples included: *What does school safety mean to you?* and *What is working and what is not working?*

The public comment during this meeting had two speakers. One speaker voiced support for the presence of police on campus, particularly during heavily attended

sporting events. The other speaker said that the committee needed to improve the facilitation and organization of the meetings, citing the need for meeting minutes to be taken and made public and not rushing to make motions and force votes.

November 1, 2022.

The November 1, 2022, Safety Committee meeting (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022n), began with a review of the minutes, both as a reminder of what had progressed and for committee approval and for an alignment check with open meeting law parameters. Other logistics were discussed, such as a schedule for future meeting dates. Luis Avila from Iconico shared the different approaches and modalities to collect the data from community members to inform the district's decision on school safety. For the community focus groups, Iconico planned to use the region-based approach they had planned for community engagement. For purposes of outreach and the holding of meetings within PXU school communities, the PXU school district was split into three regions: Central (Camelback, Camelback Montessori, College Prep, Central, North, Phoenix Coding Academy, Bioscience, Franklin Police + Fire, Linda Abril Educational Academy), South (Betty H. Fairfax, Cesar Chavez, ARCH at Chavez, and the Academics at South Mountain), and West (Alhambra, PXU City, PXU Digital Academy, Carl T. Hayden, Maryvale, Maryvale Gifted and Talented Academy, and Trevor Brown). While South had a much smaller list of schools, those schools are some of the PXU district's largest comprehensive high schools and are much further spread out across the district's southern region.

Iconico would hold community meetings within each region during a morning timeframe and an evening timeframe. Meetings would occur on two campuses within that

region and simultaneously be conducted with stakeholder-specific groups: students, parents and families, certified staff, and classified staff. In essence, this plan entailed holding eight meetings daily, one for each stakeholder group in the morning and one for each in the evening. Iconico would conduct this model twice for each of the three regions, resulting in an overall total of 24 community meetings. The data would be collected and reported through both school and region specifics.

Iconico communicated a goal of approximately 4,600 participants (10% of the overall PXU school community population of 46,000). Recruitment methods would entail text, phone calls, emails, communication via the PXU app and social media channels, and media outreach. All communication would be in both English and Spanish. One of the committee members, who was a high school student, also suggested outreach via student clubs on each campus. Another committee member proposed broad outreach to the surrounding neighborhoods, including local business owners, neighbors, and community members. The committee also discussed assisting with recruitment, but the district's legal representative cautioned against sidestepping the recruitment plan Iconico had in place. Rationale stemmed from equitable communication and accessibility to additional information beyond just what the Iconico recruitment methods would include.

Luis also shared information about the online survey that would be administered to stakeholders from across the district. The survey would have two parts, with the first part asking demographic questions and broad-belief questions such as:

Tier 1

- Are you a student, family member, or admin/faculty member?*
- What makes you feel safe on and around campus?*

- How would you describe PXU's current safety environment?*
- Do you believe there is a role for law enforcement in PXU? If so, what? If not, why?*

The second part of the survey explored participants' experiences regarding school safety and law enforcement, including asking:

Tier 2

- Have you ever reported a safety concern or instance on a PXU school campus? If so, what was the outcome?*
- Have you had an experience with law enforcement in and/or around PXU campuses? If so, what was your experience?*
- What is your biggest concern about safety on and/or around PXU campuses?*
- What resources are most critical to ensure the safety of school campus communities?*
- What is the role of the community in shaping safety in/or around PXU campuses?*

When Luis asked for feedback on the questions, one committee member pointed out the question, *Do you believe there is a role for law enforcement in PXU? If so, what? If not, why?* being a closed-ended question, thus, participant responses may not provide as much detail as desired. A proposed example was *What is the role of law enforcement in PXU?* Luis pointed out that the wording of the proposed example possibly provided a suggestive bias that police needed to be included in PXU's school safety plan.

Additionally, a committee member suggested adding examples of resources to the question *What resources are most critical to ensure the safety of school campus*

communities? Another committee member wanted to know the vehicle or platform for administering the survey.

Regarding survey recruitment, a student representative on the committee again shared the idea of working through student groups to garner participation in taking the survey from the students within the PXU school community. The district's legal representative pointed to a newly passed state legislation, HB2161, that now required parent notification, a review of the survey at least seven days before students would take the survey, and the need for parent consent to participate. Another participant wondered if community groups could serve as a conduit for recruitment.

The latter part of the meeting focused on the expected deliverables of the Safety Committee as prescribed by the Governing Board:

1. Develop a law enforcement role in Phoenix Union High School District.
2. Create internal protocols for law-related issues.
3. Incorporate Phoenix Police Department protocols (rules of engagement) for law-related issues.
4. Determine the role of the Phoenix Police Department in the PXU Regional Crisis Response Team model.
5. Review Grand Canyon Institute's national research as a guiding document.
6. Decide on the public input process.
7. Review and develop safety proposals, including law enforcement usage as presented at the August 4, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting.

Luis led the committee in a discussion of these deliverables by first asking the members what they would need for these objectives to be achieved, including being

provided with any additional information or inviting speakers to present on any of the topics. Many committee members shared comments that questioned the GCI report broadly, including why that organization was chosen (with one committee member wondering if there was a conflict of interest in the selection of GCI), whether their research was peer-reviewed, and what other research exists that may debunk the GCI findings. Some of the feedback focused on the relevancy of the GCI report since the report “claim[ed] that the schools researched were similar to Phoenix Union, uh having done research at schools myself, I think there's very little that the schools have in common data that correlates to actual populations of Phoenix Union.” Other suggestions included being provided longitudinal data about discipline and policing within PXU, having greater information about what “research” is, including what peer-reviewed research is, whether the committee could do their own research, and what existing research findings reveal about what works for school safety.

The meeting finished with public comments from three speakers. One speaker began by thanking the facilitators and applauded the opportunities for committee engagement in the different decision-making points. This same speaker also reminded the committee that other opportunities exist beyond the police to create school safety and foster student wellness and empowerment and that there are many community organizations that “can be tapped into that would be more than excited to come into classes and help support with recruiting students to participate in this process.” The next speaker also questioned the GCI report and wondered if there could be more transparency in their findings and encouraged more student and community participation in exploring “how to build safety beyond policing.” The last speaker requested a more concerted effort for student outreach

for participation and input on the committee’s initiatives and ensuring that opportunities are accessible and inclusive.

November 16, 2022

The next Safety Committee on November 16, 2022 (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022o), began with the chair, Katie Gibson McLean, informing the committee that the PXU Governing Board advised them to use the GCI Report to guide their decision-making. The committee was then provided the space to ask questions about the committee's work before beginning to address the agenda items. Given that the November General Election had just occurred and new PXU Governing Board members had been determined, the election resulted in two members of the Safety Committee being the next PXU Governing Board Members. One committee member asked whether this would be “a conflict of interest with elected board members sitting on the committee now and moving into the new year, or is their plan to recuse themselves from the final vote on this plan?” Eileen Fernandez, the General Counsel for PXU, stated that this question was explored when committee members were being appointed, and the answer is no.

Most of this meeting was spent discussing the GCI Report. In response to the concerns raised last week regarding the GCI Report, authors Luis Fernandez and Laura Rethmann were invited to respond to the committee’s questions. In response to questioning the relevancy of the case study schools used in the report, Luis Fernandez stated, “I’m not sure it is up to me to say how relevant or not relevant the work is. I can tell you that the research is based on a very methodical examination of districts in the United States that have found themselves in very similar positions.” Claudio Coria,

Director of PXU's Safety Division, added, "Part of the work that leadership did in District is to examine what other school districts that are similar to us across the country and how they're navigating this transition and so what can we as Phoenix Union to learn from that process [...] examine our current needs here in our district and see what can we learn from that, what learning experiences worked, what didn't work, what considerations we need to take in this transition process." Laura again gave a recap of the selection of case study schools and an overview of findings in terms of their own experiences in navigating police-free schools alongside ensuring safety.

Committee members asked additional questions about the timeline of implementing the recommendations from the GCI report, the capacity needed to do so, and what initial steps need to be taken. Luis Fernandez answered, "What's happening both nationally and here locally is the unfolding, so these processes are being made up, and as they're being made up and figured out, folks are feeling in a variety having run encountering different kinds of issues as they're doing that in terms of the process."

The rest of the meeting was spent further discussing the logistics of the data collection efforts that would be led and undertaken by Iconico and Javelina Consulting. Catherine Alonzo from Javelina presented a plan of outreach to specific target populations, including underrepresented student populations, students with transportation needs, students involved in clubs, DACA and mixed-status families, Spanish-speaking and monolingual families, coaches and bus drivers, campus support staff, and community members with disabilities, who are divergent, or who identify as a member of the LGBTQ+ community. Catherine again covered the different methods and tactics to be used in a multi-layered, repetitive approach to building awareness of how to participate in

the different data collection opportunities. An additional method was added, with an open-source toolkit that would offer community organizations, students, and administrators the ability to do their own outreach.

The committee also reviewed the survey questions, some of which had been altered based on feedback from the previous meeting:

Tier 1

- Are you a student, family member, or admin/faculty member?*
- What makes you feel safe on and around campus?*
- How would you describe PXU's current safety environment?*
- What is the role for law enforcement in PXU? If so, what? If not, why?*

Tier 2

- Have you ever reported a safety concern or instance on a PXU school campus? If so, what was the outcome?*
- Have you had an experience with law enforcement in and/or around PXU campuses? If so, what was your experience?*
- What is your biggest concern about safety on and/or around PXU campuses?*
- What resources are most critical to ensure the safety of school campus communities?*
- What is the role of the community in shaping safety in/or around PXU campuses?*
- Is there anything else you would like to share with us?*

There had also been some additional follow-up questions drafted to take into account the feedback from the committee:

Follow-Up

- *Have you used resources or services that are available at PXU schools? If so, what? If not, who come?*
- *What are your biggest concerns when it comes to school safety?*
- *How would you like to receive information around safety on PXU campuses?*
- *What does access to mental health services look like on PXU campuses? Is it accessible? What other resources are necessary?*
- *What is the process to address concerns around safety?*
- *Are there any additional safety measures that you like on campus? If so, what are they?*

Katie Gibson McLean, the chair, requested that the committee review these questions and be ready to decide which questions will be included in the survey.

Public comment included two speakers. The first speaker questioned that although the committee champions community engagement, “How can you creatively and intentionally amplify student voices because this is not grassroots, this is very institutionalized, and this space is for like an observer is intimidating.” The speaker continued by pointing out the lack of student voice and engagement on the committee since “There are two current students on this committee, and I've hardly seen their voices and ideas amplified.” The other speaker urged a school safety plan not to include police.

November 29, 2022

The November 29, 2022, Safety Committee meeting began with updates on the various projects the committee was involved in (Phoenix Union High School District, 2022p). The committee was invited to review the final version of the survey questions that would be used for the survey. Locations for the community engagement meetings

were also shared: meetings for the Central region at Central High School, the South region at Betty Fairfax High School, and the West region at Carl Hayden High School. Further, the methods used to communicate the opportunities to attend the community engagement meetings on school safety were recapped, with several additions: flyers would be sent home to families via Peach Jar, announcements would be posted on the school's marquees, and flyers would be shared with community liaisons and student government and clubs. Additionally, the parameters on what would be permissible regarding community outreach by the committee were provided: essentially, the committee could encourage public attendance and participation in the community engagement meetings but could not encourage the public to advocate one way or another on school safety plans.

After this information had been shared, one of the committee members questioned how the survey questions were now final. Both Katie Gibson McLean, the chair, and Catherine Alonzo from Javelina Consulting shared that this was the third read of questions and some edits could be made, so long as they were minor, like spelling or syntax. The same committee member also raised the issue of an absence of Phoenix PD officers in the dialogue and decision-making around school safety, especially because they seemed to be part of almost every conversation and “have knowledge and experience of being on our campuses working with our students and families and working with staff members.” Katie also responded that the Phoenix PD is part of the PXU school community and “are certainly welcome to come to these sessions as community members.” Other members agreed that Phoenix PD should have had representation on the committee.

The same committee member then asked, “Katie's been answering my questions and making decisions, so is that the role of the chairperson on a committee?” Katie responded, saying, “I feel like I have good answers to the questions, but if somebody disagrees a lot with what I have to say, get on the speakers list, and let's have a conversation about it.” The committee member continued, “You are directing with your responses, and nothing's being done about what I'm bringing up. I mean, I disagree with a lot of what you said, so is there anybody, a facilitator, a legal counsel, that can address my concerns?” Catherine explained, “The way that we have been handling every other request is taking a request, we note them all, and we communicate with the district and figure out what's doable. We talk about making sure everything fits, and then we come back, and we either have observed the request or explained why it's not possible, and we'll follow the same protocol with this request.” Another committee member added, “I think as we look at the responses to the questions, it's utilizing it for our task at hand and taking out our personal thoughts because one of our norms is respectful of experiences. You know, as a Black woman, Hispanic woman, and a mom of two black sons, those questions can go a lot of different ways for me, but I know I'm taking that out and thinking of the big picture and the task we have at hand.”

Next, a student representative of the committee asked how the anonymity of students would be handled, and if something relating to harm, neglect, or abuse were to be disclosed, would there be mandatory reporting protocols in place. Both Eileen Fernandez, PXU legal counsel, and Catherine said yes. Catherine expanded on this, stating that anonymity could not be guaranteed for the in-person focus groups, but perhaps with the survey, although that would also pose a challenge in ensuring people

filled out the survey only one time. Katie suggested sharing some kind of disclosure before the focus group discussions, and Catherine agreed.

The remaining portion of the meeting was spent with Alyssa Tarkington, Director of Student and Family Service, providing a historical overview of SROs in PXU schools and explaining how the district moved into the space of not renewing the contract for SROs and discussion that continued to be centered on SROs. A committee member asked about the 2018 school safety survey wherein students, staff, and parents overwhelmingly supported SROs on campus, yet district leadership agreed not to renew the SRO contract. Another committee tried to steer the conversation away from being so heavily focused on police by saying, “I do agree that SROs and police have a significant role in our safety. I think that's really important. [...] I think what's important is that our district does not have a safety plan I think a lot of us focus on talking about cops and not enough talking about how we don't have a safety plan.”

Public comment had two speakers. One of the speakers, who identified as an employee within PXU, stated that the GCI Report findings are skewed, not legitimate, and are propaganda of a pre-determined agenda. Another speaker, who identified as a current PXU student, thanked the committee for its efforts with the plan for community engagement but still expressed concern with recruitment. Also, this speaker echoed the issue of ensuring anonymity of participant responses as much as possible.

January 11, 2023

On January 11, 2023, the School Safety Committee reconvened (Phoenix Union High School District, 2023a). After approving the previous meeting minutes, the Chair, Katie Gibson McLean, and Catherine Alonzo with Javelina Consulting recapped some

points concerning the underway community engagement discussions. Catherine shared that there had been 110 registrants for the community engagement school safety discussions thus far, and about 48 people showed up. For the survey, they had received 175 responses to date. Catherine shared the ongoing recruitment methods and communication strategies, with several new methods having been added. These included a video from Superintendent Gestson, ParentVue and StudentVue alerts, and morning announcements on school campuses. When committee attendance was brought up, committee members were cautioned about attending these meetings for two reasons. One, to avoid a quorum if several committee members attend, and two, to avoid cross-referencing data to participants since the committee would receive the raw data for analysis for the Governing Board recommendations.

Luis Avila with Iconico shared several high-level findings from the sessions as well. One was the need for clear communication about the Safety Committee, the use of data from the community engagement sessions, and the long-term effects of these items on PXU school safety. Other takeaways included being cognizant of group and power dynamics, some of which could have been tampered with norms having been set at the start. Luis also admitted to not having made their goals for the number of community participants in these sessions, so Iconico and Javelina would add an additional morning and evening session at Central High School.

One committee member asked to review the survey goals and then shared that they had attended one of the morning community engagement sessions and wanted to offer feedback. The committee member shared that the turnout was extremely low, and, in effect, all the different stakeholder groups were then put in one space together to

answer the focus group questions. The member stated that there were maybe only two to three students in attendance, but “My concern is we did not get genuine feedback from them. During that session, my second concern with that is how safe they felt to really open up and to give us feedback about how they felt about safety.” The committee member further suggested having participants in those sessions introduce themselves, wear name tags (the member mentioned this as a factor to foster trust), and display the questions being asked on a whiteboard or slide deck presentation because “the questions are very in-depth.” Luis responded by agreeing that the need for printed questions and name tags would be beneficial.

Another committee member stated that three students attended one of the community engagement sessions. After debriefing with the students, the committee member shared that one of the students had said they enjoyed sharing their opinion but that the room was mainly filled with adults. Another student voiced a desire “that they would have taken more consideration of the student's perspective, mainly because teenagers have witnessed a lot in the last few years.” This committee member agreed with the stance shared earlier of not attending these meetings since it may actually inhibit people they know from fully participating.

The committee then transitioned into discussing possible components of a school safety plan. Claudio Coria, Director of the PXU Safety Division, added that a new document, the ASU School Safety Alternatives report published in 2021, was added to the committee’s toolbox for exploring and constructing a school safety plan. Claudio explained that they would discuss this report in further detail during the next meeting but that it was made available for committee review in the meantime. Katie summarized the

different data collection sources and how they would be triangulated, “We're taking into account the GCI report, we're taking into account our community input, and we're now taking into account the ASU report, all of that together to make recommendations on a safety model within an IGA and potential Rules of Engagement for the Phoenix Police Department.”

Claudio then presented four detailed options of the district safety plan that the PXU Governing Board had used and discussed during their prior meeting. The first option was to continue to the current model of using police as necessary, but with reduced allocated expenditures in that the district would not spend more than \$650,000 on law enforcement usage. The second option was to transition to the region-based model of SROs, which would also entail having a crisis response team. The overall projected cost for this recommendation was \$500,000. The third option detailed a bridge to a larger vision of school safety, and it was suggested to work with local government and have an IGA in place. The fourth and final option focused on using 911/Crime Stop, which did not include the use of police officers, even those that are off-duty, and instead focused on working with the surrounding city for support and implementation.

Four people spoke during public comment. The first thanked the committee for their work and the opportunities being provided for community engagement, especially with the inclusion of youth, but cautioned against the use of police in the PXU school safety plan. This speaker pointed out that in Uvalde, Texas, the budget portion for police in schools was nearly 50% of the total overall budget, yet they did not protect the school community. The next speaker spoke of the GCI Report, specifically stating that the report labeled all police as racist, yet as a PXU employee, the speaker never witnessed that

behavior with the SROs. The speaker added that the school-to-prison pipeline has not been due to discriminatory discipline; rather, it's due to the lack of consequences. The following speaker shared about a program called Teen Court that has been shown to be effective in addressing school discipline issues and in “empower[ing] young people to take an active role in the decisions and the things that are going on within the school.” The final speaker identified as a parent of a child who attends Central High School and a staff member of PXU. The speaker stated that they would like an opportunity to participate in or support the work of the Safety Committee because “we are no longer in a proactive setting other than what we're doing here now; we're more as a reactive state.”

January 25, 2023

The January 25, 2023, Safety Committee meeting (Phoenix Union High School District, 2023b) began with Chair Katie Gibson McLean level setting the need to focus on ideating the recommendations for the Governing Board, since the agreed upon deadline was to be the end of the third quarter of the academic year in March. Luis Avila with Iconico then provided an overview on the major tasks for this meeting, including discussing the ASU School Safety Alternatives report, reviewing the progress of the community engagement efforts, and moving into the first stages of crafting the recommendations for the board. Luis also reminded the members of the original intent of the Safety Committee by revisiting the motion made by the previous Governing Board Member Pastor on August 4th, 2022, in formulating the committee.

Before diving into the agenda items, Luis invited members of the committee to openly comment on how the committee was moving along, any preliminary thoughts on school safety recommendations, and what, if anything, had resonated with them,

particularly from any public comments that had been shared at past Safety Committee meetings. Comments from members included:

- advocating for the use of teen courts, citing having heard of their effectiveness prior to reading the ASU report.
- (one of the student representative members) that public comment from the PXU teachers advocating for police has disappointed her because “a lot of Phoenix Union students are of color, and a lot of the students in these Phoenix Union schools are the most impacted with police, so having teachers want police on campus when they teach students of color, it’s so impacting and sucks because we are the ones that are affected the most [...] it’s disappointing and I feel really unsafe.”
- (one of the student representative members) questioning what safety means to these teachers and why they are choosing not to listen to students.
- the need for greater awareness and training in harm reduction, including knowing how to administer Narcan in case any students experience an overdose on school campuses.
- while both the GCI and ASU reports offered impactful recommendations and solutions, some of the ones outlined in these reports would directly violate certain legislative policies or put PXU in a precarious political position if adopted.
- encouraged the committee to spend more time listening, particularly to feedback from the community, and more specifically, from students, on the different recommendation options.

- pointed out that the school safety recommendation might be more of a balanced approach, considering the district's liability responsibilities and the different lived experiences of the groups that comprise the PXU community.

Luis transitioned to providing updates on the community listening sessions, citing that his team planned to have a first draft of community-reported findings available on March 8th. This draft of findings would be reviewed during the March 22nd Safety Committee meeting, with the goal of having a recommendation for the Governing Board by the of March. He also cited that the next couple of committee meetings would be dedicated to reviewing example intergovernmental agreements (IGA) and drafting the “rules of engagement” between Phoenix PD and PXU. A committee member suggested that with these topics, it may be beneficial to have a representative from the Phoenix PD present to be able “to pose questions about the plan and ask what they think of it.” Claudio Coria, Director of the PXU Safety Department, agreed with this suggestion.

Another committee member also suggested inviting community organizations and local businesses that could play a partnership role in the school safety plan, especially the organizations and businesses that “students would like to partner with, we place a lot of emphasis on what adults want and what adults think of in a school but often times you know students are really at the mercy of a lot of these decision-making choices.” One of the student committee members agreed with this idea and explained that the Safety Committee has struggled to get students involved because “it seems really grown-up, this seems really adult, this is too teacher-y, too professional.” This same student suggested having similar conversations and meetings like the Safety Committee on school sites,

open and available for anyone to attend, which would see more attendance and engagement.

Luis then posed the question of what the different committee members would need to enact a school safety plan they are proud of and agree with. Compromise, funding, flexibility, options for revision, using a “what’s best for kids” mindset, respect for others lived experiences, and open-mindedness were some of the common answers.

The members of the committee were then invited to debrief their takeaways from the ASU School Safety Alternatives report, including language and frameworks that could be helpful in shaping a comprehensive understanding of school safety. One member shared that the report seemed unbiased in that it simply presented findings from seventeen school safety programs and left the decision open for others, like the Safety Committee, to decide what to adopt. Another member agreed with the unbiased nature of the report and added that the report shared different tools for school safety already being done in some places in Arizona. A different member said that the “report took a whole different approach” (from the GCI report) by providing trauma-informed and whole-community approaches and agreed that some of the programs in the report are being done in Arizona schools. Several committee members commented positively on the definition of school safety described in the report. Three members voiced appreciation for the mention of social and emotional well-being, in addition to physical well-being, for all members of the PXU school community.

The conversation then turned to discussing which of the alternatives could be adopted or better implemented with PXU. One member advocated for more parental engagement, another member said they agreed with the community schools approach, while another

member voiced support for teen courts, democratic schools, peace education and conflict resolution, and restorative justice. A different member stated they liked the idea of adopting a trauma-informed lens and inclusive policies and practices. An additional practice that a committee member wanted to be expanded was substance abuse education, and another member wanted to assess which of the seventeen programs had already been implemented in PXU schools and what the outcomes have been.

Some final comments concerning the discussion of the ASU report centered on the perceived success in deliberating on the report's content, with one member citing that "this is one of the most successful discussions we have had [...] where we are not arguing, we are listening to how everyone feels and their thoughts on the article." Another member agreed the conversation was very productive. A final member suggested that to prepare the school safety recommendation for the Governing Board, the committee should re-read the ASU report and note which alternatives would be most beneficial for the PXU school community.

For the public comment section of the meeting, there were three speakers. The first speaker was myself; I thanked the committee for having taken the time to review and discuss the ASU School Safety Alternatives report and then provided some additional context on specific portions of the report that were brought up during the committee's discussion, as well as a background on our research team and involvement in the PXU reimagining school safety initiative and SPB process. The second speaker was a PXU employee and parent of a PXU student with a long history of family involvement in the PXU school community who spoke in support of SROs because they do not feel safe on their school's campus and they recognize the significance and impact of SROs. The third

speaker requested 1) a revision of the code of conduct because the consequences do not change student behaviors and 2) the restoration of SROs because educators are struggling to control their classes because students are fighting and being disrespectful.

The meeting wrapped up with Luis and Catherine Alonzo with Javelina Consulting providing an update on the community engagement process and strategies. Overall, they shared they were struggling with community engagement listening sessions and that traditional communication channels to share the listening sessions details were not working, thus positioning the community engagement goals not on track to be achieved. The level of engagement with the survey, however, was on track.

Luis proposed lowering the goal for the listening sessions turnout while adding additional listening sessions events *plus* targeted focus groups with principal-organized groups, student organization groups, and community organizations groups. When asking for feedback on this approach, several committee members provided ideas. One was using the AI tool Hustle to replace phone banking, and another idea was to partner with neighborhood organizations to garner participation for the focus groups. Other suggestions included using flyers, morning announcements, social media outlets, and the Remind app.

February 22, 2023

The Safety Committee meeting on February 22, 2023 (Phoenix Union High School District, 2023c), began with Luis Avila with Iconico providing an overview of the final three meetings and the different agenda items for this meeting, including an overview of the SPB process and different examples of IGAs to inform the PXU and Phoenix PD IGA. Alyssa Tarkington, the Executive Director of Student and Family Services, and

Cyndi Tercero, the Manager of Family and Community Engagement, were present to provide the overview of the SPB process and a mapping of current PXU school safety programs and practices that coincided with the ASU School Safety Alternatives report. Alyssa first provided a background on the Student and Family Services Department, which included the resources for the various wrap-around services that the department provides students and families. Several of the committee members added comments about the need for more social workers and more funding for education in order to be able to provide more of these needed services.

Cyndi then began the presentation on SPB, defining and explaining the process and providing details on the expansion of SPB within PXU. She also shared some of the outcomes that students exhibit after participating in the process, including voter registration rates, financial literacy knowledge, and civic engagement on campuses and within communities. Specific to the reimagining school safety initiative, Cyndi shared the timeline and milestones of the SPB process that had occurred thus far in PXU, along with the necessary pivots and upcoming district-wide vote. One key point that Cyndi shared was the PXU school community's engagement on Polis which resulted in hundreds of ideas and feedback points.

During the discussion with the Safety Committee members, one member requested that the Polis data be shared more publicly, including with the committee and even within the Iconico final report. This same committee member also asked for further clarification on the monies allocated to the SPB process and raised the question that given the vote had not yet taken place on which projects to fund, and PXU had not expended any money for SROs, where had the monies gone? Alyssa responded that the current SPB process to

reimagine school safety still had the initial \$1.2 million allocated for the projects that would be voted upon. There was also back-and-forth clarification on whether this iteration of SPB included capital projects like it had in the past (Alyssa said no) and whether there would be an additional SPB process outside of the school safety process (Alyssa said she was unsure).

Public comment had two speakers. One speaker shared they have been working with community organizations for over six years to address the heightened police violence of Phoenix PD on local communities. This speaker spoke to the IGA that the Safety Committee would be beginning to design, noting that anything that hints at accountability for Phoenix PD will be removed or not agreed to and that Phoenix PD has the strong backing and support of the local police unions. The second speaker built off the first speaker's arguments, citing statistics of Phoenix police officers engaging in disparate policing and the fact that Phoenix PD is under investigation by the Department of Justice.

As the committee began transitioning to the discussion on the IGA with the Phoenix PD, Claudio Coria, Director of the Safety Department, provided the committee with an overview of the mandatory reporting parameters requiring contact with law enforcement. Claudio also discussed how the district maintains a list of officers they trust to handle specific incidents, like child abuse or neglect, and how the district ensures that students are protected while at school from an arrest warrant that stems from a non-school related incident or the lack of parent consent to interrogation. Claudio assured the committee that PXU does not allow officers on school campuses to conduct those actions for these final two examples.

Luis then asked the committee members to share their guiding principle to be included in the drafting of the IGA. One member elevated the need for student well-being, another member said community engagement, a different member said the centering of student voice, and a final committee member voiced support for an increased understanding of rights. Luis and Claudio then walked the committee through a sample IGA, what they called the Charlottesville document, explaining each section and the intention behind including specific language or mandates. The committee members then posed questions and highlighted areas of agreement from the example IGA.

The meeting wrapped up with an update from Iconico on the community engagement efforts. The focus groups were working well, with three of six having already been conducted with high turnout, and the survey responses numbered over 1500, with just over half of those responses from current PXU students.

March 1, 2023

The March 1, 2023, Safety Committee meeting (Phoenix Union High School District, 2023d) began with Chair Katie Gibson McLean providing an outlook for that evening's meeting and the final two remaining meetings. Katie also shared that this meeting would be the last meeting where there could possibly be any new information presented, and she recapped the various informational resources the committee has been privy to and has used in leading up to drafting their recommendation. These information resources included the GCI report, the ASU report, the Charlottesville document, the crisis response models, presentations on wrap-around services, and the proposed projects from the SPB process. She also shared that the community engagement report from

Iconico would be shared before the next meeting, as well as a presentation from a guest speaker from the Phoenix PD.

Luis Avila with Iconico transitioned to sharing some high-level, preliminary findings from the community engagement data. These findings were shared as themes that had been appearing in participant responses from the survey, listening sessions, and focus groups. The themes included:

- Communication
- Wrap-Around Resources
- Safety Infrastructure/Systems (physical elements on school campuses)
- Relationships between Staff and Students
- Community Involvement
- Training and Capacity Building
- Crisis Response
- Consequences and Code of Conduct
- Law Enforcement

Several of the committee members stated that these nine themes resonated with what the committee had discussed as important to school safety and were possible additions to the committee's recommendation to the PXU Governing Board. Luis also shared that the final data report would include further details surrounding these themes.

The committee then began the discussion of moving forward to drafting their school safety recommendation. Luis posed the question to the committee of how they would like to proceed with the decision-making process in deciding on the final recommendation and presented the following options:

- No structure
- Majority rules (Robert's Rules)
- Unanimity (everyone in agreement)
- Hierarchy (an elected group within a group)
- Consensus (negotiation for a majority)

One member advocated for the use of Robert's Rules because of the use of a formal structure. Another member wanted to use consensus with a specific threshold of agreement that would be more than "slightly over 50% agreement," as could often be the case with Robert's Rules, and in addition, allow for there to be something similar to a minority report or dissent outlet for those who did not wholly agree with the final recommendation. At this moment, the PXU legal advisor interrupted to caution the facilitation team that the Safety Committee was bound by Roberts Rules due to open meeting law requirements that the PXU Governing Board and subsequent committees were legally required to abide by.

From here, a committee member suggested pivoting and instead looking at the survey results and weighing the different school safety options that each member preferred rather than discussing how the committee would vote since that would be "a more beneficial use of our time." Another member agreed, stating, "I always thought the committee and the time we would spend here is to be going back and forth, debating, so that we can identify the optimal recommendation we will be providing. [...] and isn't it a little late in the game to be changing the rules?" Luis responded that these meetings had been using dialogue and that the current meeting and next meeting would be spent looking at the data and discussing the options.

The committee then transitioned to their work on drafting the school safety recommendation. They began by discussing the different recommendations for a crisis response model alongside a presentation given by Claudio Coria, Director of the PXU Safety Division. Claudio explained that there are certain situations that require a wrap-around approach to crisis support services, and a crisis response model was proposed by the PXU Governing Board as a regional model wherein the PXU district is split into three regions (South, Northcentral, and West), with each region having its own crisis support team. Crisis support services would be made available via these teams composed of a district safety supervisor, a social worker, a psychologist, a leadership coach, a staff wellness specialist, a student and family victim advocate, and a support officer. Claudio then presented three examples of how the crisis support personnel would assist with different situations needing these supports: death of a student, social media threat of violence at a specific school, and an active shooter or other imminent threat of physical harm. Alyssa Tarkington, Director of Family and Student Services, added that the term crisis broadly means an immediate response, and she also gave examples of a gas leak or a water shut-off taking place on a PXU campus that would merit such a response as well. Claudio stated that the majority of PXU staff are generally trained in emergency situations and response, and while they will continue working to get all staff trained, these crisis support teams would provide the overall direction and guidance of response in crisis situations.

At this point, a committee member spoke up, raising points of transparency in decision-making and the power that the PXU Governing Board held in making suggestions to shape the school safety plan recommendation:

I have no issues with the safety team themselves, the teachers, the staff, anyone who's here in this meeting today, I don't have any issues with anyone here or what you're doing because I do feel like you are doing your absolute best to keep our scholars safe. I do have issues however with your board and administration. [...] Why do we keep pretending like we're doing something that's really beneficial as a whole here when we're completely disregarding the members of the community except for some of them. [...] I do feel like we're ignoring the constituents the stakeholders. I'm one of them. I'm a parent in Phoenix Union. [...] So my issue here, [...] it's really about who's making these ultimate decisions and we all know who makes the decisions, it's the board. I sit on the board myself I totally understand it all of you were just sent here to do your absolute best to make us feel comfortable and I don't feel uncomfortable with any of you or and I don't doubt that you have 100% in you every day to keep our scholars safe and to do whatever you can but the people at the top they're the ones that are making the mistakes.

The committee members then engaged in a discussion about if not SROs, then what other options for school safety and security exist, and some members advocated for increased PXU security staff. Claudio responded to the conversation by saying, “We are recommending to have an IGA with law enforcement because it does outline the rules of engagement or the expectations that we have as a district for law enforcement and what law enforcement has for us. For example, selection criteria and potentially training for officers that could be articulated very clearly in an IGA. [...] So, the IGA would be extremely helpful in articulating these expectations.”

The committee then began to examine the different possible components that could be included in the PXU/Phoenix PD IGA. Some of the components the Charlottesville IGA guiding document included were:

- Purpose and guiding principles
- Roles and responsibilities
- Communication and requirements expectations
- Communication and requirements procedures
- Investigations and searches

- Safety audits
- Review and evaluation of IGA and services rendered

The crisis response model document shared by Claudio included:

- Officer selection
- Training
- Protection for special needs students
- Decriminalization alternatives
- Promoting alternatives to police

As the meeting began to run short on time, Luis asked the committee to think of any other possible components that could be included in the PXU/Phoenix PD IGA for the next meeting's discussion. The committee finished the meeting by spending time generating questions for the Phoenix PD representatives who would be attending the next meeting.

During public comment, the first speaker was a parent of two PXU students at Cesar Chavez High School who was concerned about the development of a hotel near the high school. The second speaker presented themselves as someone who works with community groups to address the violence enacted by Phoenix police in the community. The speaker asked the committee to keep some things in mind as they move forward in considering a potential partnership with Phoenix PD for SROs: one, the Phoenix police had killed six people to date that year, and two, the Phoenix PD was named in a lawsuit violating the city's charter due to a lack of transparency in contracts with the police union. The next speaker was a parent of two PXU students at Carl Hayden High School and was concerned about safety issues in this high school that require police on campus, particularly students' psychological problems, the current security staff cannot handle the

student fights and drugs like fentanyl, and students are taking weapons like guns into schools. The last speaker began by speaking about the GCI report, stating the report is “not factual” and omits specifics about PXU; the information in the report is about policing issues in schools and communities elsewhere, and that real issues in PXU like absences, tardies, drug sales and use, and PXU security staff retention are ignored. The speaker urged the committee to remove the report from the PXU Safety Committee website and collect data on PXU to address instead.

March 22, 2023

The Safety Committee meeting on March 22, 2023 (Phoenix Union High School District, 2023e) began with Chair Katie Gibson McLean providing an update for the next and last Safety Committee meeting on March 29th. Katie shared that the last meeting would be starting earlier to allocate an approximately five-hour-long window for the committee to deliberate and finish the school safety plan recommendations. Katie stated there would be food catered and that the PXU school community was encouraged to attend, provide feedback during public comment, and witness the process.

In this meeting, Katie started with public comment.

- The first speaker shared that although numerous PXU school community members have asked for the restoration of SROs, the PXU Governing Board has ignored such requests and instead created the Safety Committee to discuss ways to reintegrate SROs on school campuses -which the speaker claimed was quite the opposite since the committee was instead looking at ways to keep SROs off campuses.

- The next speaker said they would be speaking to the root causes that have spurred the different discussions on school safety and SROs, citing those causes as active shooters and gun violence. The speaker continued, stating that these challenges could not be solved through an introduction of further violence, and that is what the police are, “state-sponsored, legalized violence.” The speaker shared that the Phoenix PD had already killed ten people thus far this year and urged the committee not to entertain an IGA with Phoenix PD.
- The following speaker who spoke was a student in a PXU school who cited how they have experienced Phoenix PD brutality, sharing a situation of when they were in middle school and the Phoenix PD SRO pepper-sprayed fighting students and bystanders without warning. They urged the committee to reconsider partnering with SRO.
- A youth organizer with Puente Youth AZ shared disappointment with the committee’s decision to move forward with an IGA with police instead of recommending other school safety options such as mental health and social-emotional supports.
- The next speaker was a PXU alumni who shared some facts on Phoenix PD, so the committee could be mindful of entering into an IGA with them. They cited that over the past ten years, Phoenix PD had shot over 400 and killed over 150 community members; on average, Phoenix PD points their guns at youth 18 years and younger at least once a day; Phoenix PD has been cited as one of the deadliest police departments in the nation; and Phoenix PD is currently under investigation with the U.S. Department of Justice.

- The following speaker stated that the youth's frontal lobe is not yet quite developed. Having Phoenix PD on school campuses to handle discipline matters was dangerous for PXU students. This speaker asked what role the Phoenix PD would really be playing in school safety.
- The last speaker brought up the school-to-prison pipeline being used as part of a broader ideology when the real issue is that students are not learning the consequences of their choices while in high school.

The committee then proceeded to move into the meeting agenda items, the first being a debrief and discussion of the findings from the different community engagement sessions Iconico had held through the PXU school community. Luis with Iconico introduced colleague Edward Jacob Acuña with Iconico to present the findings from the report (Acuña, 2023). Edward began by providing a high-level overview of the report's different sections, the measures used to collect data, and the rates of engagement. The report was organized by first providing an introduction, followed by the themes and findings, then the methodology was explained, and the report finished by describing the different data collection strategies and outcomes. Iconico and Javelina collected 2,892 survey responses, held six focus groups of 15-20 attendees each, and conducted 603 phone banking conversations.

Committee member feedback began with one member asking if the data was available broken down by region or school site. Luis said the data would be available to view in that manner. Another committee member questioned why a land acknowledgment was present in the final report document and its connection to school safety and the community engagement data. This same committee member pointed out

the cited sources in the introductory narrative, stating that the Wall Street Journal is a “left-wing, anti-gun newspaper,” the Gun Violence Archive is nothing more than “an anti-gun propagandist organization,” and “Everytown for Gun Safety -what a joke they are.” This member then stated that these sources were biased, one-sided, and inappropriate -especially because these were the only sources cited. Luis responded by saying that as a practice, Iconico always includes a land acknowledgment in their work and that the report was written by Iconico staff and does not represent the views of the committee or the PXU district. Luis did apologize if the introductory information came across as a political statement as it was intended to capture current events concerns of K12 school safety with police.

In response to the Iconico findings, committee members were invited to share their reactions, some of those included:

- Concerns with SROs having contact with exceptional, special needs students without proper training
- Using schools as community hubs for services like vaccinations and health and wellness checks
- Ensuring methods for entry and exit points are monitored and secured, possibly with scanned badges or IDs
- SRO and security staff training in de-escalation techniques and trauma-informed practices
- Protection of students’ rights in schools, i.e. unreasonable search and seizures
- Doubt in whether SROs are most knowledgeable in law to teach civics classes

While not specific to any one finding in the Iconico report, one of the student members of the committee spoke up to share:

What I've heard from people that want police is police being discipline. Meeting after meeting, that's all I've heard no concerns about safety [...] that what they want for students is basically having like a police force, which can be really concerning as a student, since police don't discipline. They are the reactors to the action that was caused. [...] I'm really disappointed in the adults who do want SROs on campus. I do really like the idea that having well-trained people deescalate the situations with students, like the security team at my school. They're really good at protecting people. [...] Even having more counselors [...] maybe we can have more with the money that we're gonna spend on SROs. [...] It's kind of disappointing coming on here as a student and having people who come here to public comment just come to comment but they don't really stay to listen to other experiences, especially experiences like mine. So, as a student voice, please just listen to the students that are on here because yes, there should be involved in whatever is going on, but there shouldn't be disciplinary actions for students that have to include police.

The meeting then transitioned to having three representatives from the Phoenix PD present to answer questions about SROs and IGAs. This segment of the meeting began with Catherine Alonzo with Javelina Consulting facilitating the Q&A, posing the questions that the committee members had drafted at the last meeting and having the Phoenix PD respond to them. Some of the specifics discussed included the degree and scope of collaboration between the school, SROs, and the broader police department. The example of Uvalde was used to describe the necessity of leveled communication and collaboration. Another point that was shared was the scope of the SRO role in schools not to blend into disciplinarians or behavior modifiers. The representatives touched on the training involved for SROs and how it differentiated from patrol officers. One representative described how the training was often in partnership with the Arizona Department of Education, and topics included classes like child development and trauma-informed practices. This dovetailed into a conversation on how SROs are often required

to teach classroom lessons on topics spanning from legal rights once youth turn 18, the fentanyl crisis, and court procedures, to name a few. Other topics that rounded out the conversation were documentation requirements, alignment of policies and expectations between PXU and Phoenix PD, and accountability protocols for SROs. Claudio Coria, Director of Safety at PXU, rounded the conversation by adding some PXU context and guardrails that the district would need to build into the IGA with Phoenix PD.

In conclusion, Chair Katie made an announcement concerning the next and final meeting. The committee was going to be tasked with filling out a survey on their preferred recommendations for the school safety plan, with Iconico collating those results and sharing them out with the members before the next meeting, but PXU legal counsel had to step in and remind them of open meeting laws and that this would be a form of discussion outside of formal meetings. Legal counsel advised every member to take the survey independently and share their own results with everyone at the next meeting.

March 29, 2023

The final PXU Safety Committee meeting took place on March 29, 2023 (Phoenix Union High School District, 2023f). Chair Katie McLean Gibson stated that the meeting agenda was very full, so they were going to start with public comment. There were a total of six speakers.

The first speaker identified themselves as a youth organizer with Puente. They expressed their disappointment with the committee's decision to move forward with an IGA with Phoenix PD as part of the school safety model, and because they had done so, the speaker asked the committee not to make a recommendation but instead allow the PXU Governing Board to create their own safety plan. The second speaker was a PXU

employee and parent of a PXU student who asked the committee to put people before politics and make a recommendation that aligns with the needs of all stakeholders. The following speaker identified as a youth organizer and former PXU student who shared their disappointment with the lack of actually reimagining school safety since the committee was taking up yet again an IGA with police. The next speaker identified as a PXU employee and parent who believed that the PXU safety teams needed help, even if that included police, and that school safety also included the safety of employees. Another speaker identified as a youth organizer and former PXU student who was concerned with PXU entering into an IGA with Phoenix PD due to its violent practices and requested that the committee instead ask the board to adopt a school safety model that includes some of the recommendations the committee had previously discussed such as restorative justice practices, training for staff and teachers, CPR training, first aid kits in classrooms, campus entry and exit monitoring, more school safety team support, and more. The final speaker wanted to address a comment at the last meeting where one of the committee members “dared” anyone to bring data showing SROs misconduct on PXU campuses. While the speaker admitted to the data being hard to find since it was not tracked by PXU nor Phoenix PD, they were able to locate over 60 examples from across the country, with one example being with a Phoenix PD SRO who handcuffed and injured an autistic, non-English speaking student for nonviolent misbehaviors. The speaker finished by asking the committee to not engage with Phoenix PD in an IGA.

Luis Avila with Iconico transitioned into the meeting agenda and outlined the three tasks of the evening’s meeting:

1. Determine whether PXU should enter into an IGA with Phoenix PD and what the components of an IGA with the Phoenix PD would address in terms of rules of agreement.
2. Review and develop school safety proposals, including law enforcement roles and administrative protocols for mandatory reporting.
3. Develop and adopt a crisis response team model.

At this point, the committee broke into small groups with chart paper and markers to ideate responses to each of the tasks. The committee members spent over an hour in small groups formulating responses. Responses were then collated for a whole group discussion.

The whole group discussion was focused on creating recommendations to address the three tasks, using the Roberts Rules of Order and committee member motions. This discussion took approximately 2.5 hours and was composed of the members making motions, amending motions, and voting on motions. Motion results that passed by a majority vote of members on the Safety Committee were as follows:

1. PXU to enter an agreement with the Phoenix PD (9 Ayes, 5 Nays).
2. PXU to choose a Law Enforcement usage model to include a School Resource Officer at each PXU campus to assist with legally required infractions (mandatory reporting, mandatory law enforcement notifications), emergencies, and threats as well as Campus and Community Engagement. As needed and when available, use of off-duty school safety trained officers for school-day and large event support (9 Ayes, 5 Nays).

3. Adopt the Charlottesville IGA Guiding Principles plus two additions (accountability and consistency across campus) (14 Ayes, 0 Nays):
 - a. PXU and Phoenix PD should collaborate to reduce and prevent crime, violence, and victimization.
 - b. Students and adults require different support and any intervention with students should be developmentally appropriate.
 - c. A shared goal is to minimize student involvement with the juvenile and criminal justice systems.
 - d. A clear understanding of PXU and Phoenix PD responsibilities is imperative in all collaborations and coordinated responses.
 - e. Effective, timely community and coordination of efforts when necessary are essential for both parties in fulfilling their missions to serve the community.
 - f. Respect for the rights of all individuals is fundamental.
 - g. PXU and Phoenix PD will work together to uphold and promote rights and responsibilities for all community members at all times.

4. Adopt the officer selection and roles and responsibilities list as follows (14 Ayes, 0 Nays):
 - a. Officers should not participate in school discipline.
 - b. Officers with zero infractions and not on the Brady List.
 - c. Officers should have knowledge, experience, and/or training with special needs students and mental health.
 - d. Officers should have a relevant degree to be on school campuses.

- e. Officers should have prior experience working with youth or training that qualifies them to do so.
 - f. Officers should also submit a resume for PXU review.
 - g. PXU should have a committee of students, families, and administrative personnel to select and assess law enforcement selection.
 - h. PXU should have a disciplinary record of Phoenix PD personnel.
 - i. PXU should hire bilingual officers (multilingual desired).
 - j. PXU should have access to officer resumes prior to employment.
5. Adopt the training list as follows (14 Ayes, 0 Nays):
- a. Officers should use nonviolent tactics and de-escalation, including restorative justice practices.
 - b. All safety staff should be trained in their specific roles.
 - c. PXU should provide training as required by grants.
 - d. PXU should provide training that is district and campus-specific.
 - e. PXU should have district-mandated trainings.
 - f. PXU should have quarterly trainings.
 - g. PXU trainings should also include specific information concerning special needs students.
 - h. PXU trainings should be culturally sensitive and responsive.
 - i. PXU should include SEL (Social Emotional Learning) training.
6. Protection for students, remove the qualified immunity, and any officer guns or tasers being locked away as follows (9 Ayes, 2 Nays, 3 Abstentions)

- a. PXU should not assist in any non-school-related police investigation unless ordered by a judge.
- b. PXU should never allow warrantless arrests of students, outside of the bounds of mandatory reporting.
- c. PXU should make legal liaisons available to students in instances where students are interacting with officers.
- d. PXU should not allow Phoenix PD to be involved in student discipline.
- e. In the case that a student needs to be arrested, PXU should conduct it in a way that minimizes embarrassment to the student(s).
- f. PXU should make information about individual rights more accessible to students - students should know their rights when it comes to liaising with law enforcement.
- g. PXU should have FAQs available for students in the student handbook, which are updated at the start of each academic year.
- h. PXU should prohibit law enforcement from approaching, interrogating, questioning, fining, ticketing, responding to warrants, or arresting students on school grounds for non-school-related incidents.
- i. PXU should eliminate the ability of law enforcement (including probation and parole officers) to listen to the questioning or interrogation of students by others (such as school officials) or access documents pertaining to the student.

- j. PXU should ensure that students are made aware of their rights and have an opportunity for consultation with counsel and/or another trusted adult selected by the student prior to any interrogation by the police.
 - k. PXU should have an established complaint process for students.
 - l. SROs should not be left alone with or around students and must be supervised by school staff; family members must be present before interrogation takes place.
 - m. SROs should never use hand strikes or choke holds.
7. Move forward with non-anonymous complaints along with accountability and relationships per the list as follows (9 Ayes, 2 Nays, 3 Abstentions):
- a. PXU should record, report, and track every and any interaction an officer has with a student.
 - b. PXU should involve the community in the evaluation protocol.
 - c. PXU should have processes and mechanisms in place for the district to request reassignments.
 - d. PXU should conduct quarterly evaluations of officers.
 - e. PXU should implement a system for all parties to share any complaints and concerns with school officials.
 - f. PXU should have a complaint process available to the public, while protecting students, and shared with the relevant City of Phoenix departments (i.e., Office of Accountability & Transparency).
 - g. PXU should reserve the right to request the removal of SROs; request in writing after other attempts to address the complaint have been explored.

- h. PXU should establish a relationship with Phoenix PD with the priority of providing a safe, caring, and inclusive environment at school campuses.
 - i. PXU should establish a relationship with Phoenix PD with the continued development of positive behavior.
 - j. PXU should establish a relationship with Phoenix PD where the actions of all parties promote a safe and positive environment, reducing violence, crime, and criminalization.
- 8. The committee accepts the wrap-around service recommendations as provided and reviewed (14 Ayes, 0 Nays):
 - a. PXU should adopt an audited and documented communications process, with clear expectations about how the district communicates about safety to staff and families; it should be consistent across the district.
 - b. PXU should provide proactive information to parents and families to make it clear how they can get involved, equipping them with resources and knowledge, including:
 - i. Educational videos and other materials related to the safety models and practices.
 - ii. Using multiple forms of communication, including mail.
 - c. PXU students should have regional student and family advocates, including more community liaisons.
 - d. PXU's safety team audit should be completed to ensure equipment is fully functional and operational.

- e. PXU should implement a program that involves parents, such as parent education nights, parent academies, etc.
- f. PXU should serve as a connector to resources offering information on how to access them.
- g. PXU should allow the community to offer opportunities for students to bridge after graduation.
- h. PXU should have a proactive crisis response, adopting a threat assessment protocol that mitigates harm, respects civil rights, and acknowledges racial and disability disparities in discipline.
- i. PXU should expect support staff to serve as substitutes for law enforcement.
- j. PXU should have a clear disciplinary policy that outlines district actions in response to specific student actions.
- k. PXU should have larger safety teams in schools.
- l. PXU should update physical school infrastructure, including transportation inside schools and fencing.
- m. PXU should provide training for all safety staff.
- n. PXU should provide de-escalation training across all school staff.
- o. PXU should provide restorative justice practice training and nonviolent techniques; this should be completed before staff are placed on campus.
- p. PXU should offer optional courses for students, including CPR, de-escalation techniques, etc.

- q. PXU should train other staff members like bus drivers, including them in professional agreements.
- r. PXU should offer harm reduction education related to drug use that is conducted by harm reduction organizations.
- s. PXU should provide proper, appropriate redirection and clear expectations for what is expected from students and staff.
- t. PXU should provide know-your-rights training for students.
- u. PXU should have full staffing of wrap-around services, including counselors, social workers, therapists, and mental health workers.
 - i. These social workers should be culturally competent backgrounds and trained in trauma-informed care.
 - ii. PXU should provide 1 social worker for every 250 students on school campuses.
- v. PXU should ensure the safety of underrepresented groups, disadvantaged groups, and students with special needs.
- w. PXU should continuously build a culture of safety.

This final meeting of the Safety Committee closed out with Chair Katie first thanking the committee members and recapping the work they had done for the past seven months. Katie also shared that she would be sharing feedback with the PXU Governing Board on future recommendations and support suggestions for committees like this, especially if they choose to do something similar in the future. Individual committee members thanked one another, and Claudio Coria, Director of Safety with PXU, also thanked everyone on behalf of PXU.

Final Recommendations Adopted by the Governing Board

On June 23, 2023, the PXU Governing Board voted to adopt the following recommendations. These recommendations were submitted by the members of the Safety Committee, members of the PXU school community during the SPB process, and two of the PXU Governing Board members through their own drafts of school safety plans. The following additions were added to PXU's NGSS plan, with parenthetical notations to demonstrate which recommendations were specifically derived from the two participatory processes:

1. PXU shall enter into an IGA with the Phoenix PD that will establish the governing guidelines for the working relationship between PXU, Phoenix PD, and any Phoenix PD officers hired or contracted by the district. Additionally, the board shall approve the final version of the IGA before any Phoenix PD officers are hired or contracted (Safety Committee recommendation).
2. The PXU Safety Division will create role, position, or contract descriptions for all law enforcement hired or contracted by the district. This includes the SROs and any officers contracted for events (Safety Committee recommendation).
3. PXU, guided by the current PXU Training and professional development staff, shall develop and implement a plan to train current PXU staff and educators to work with the Campus Safety teams at events (Safety Committee and SPB process recommendation).
4. PXU shall create a comprehensive, uniform, accessible, recurrent training plan that assures that every PXU employee and educator is in alignment on their roles

- in keeping our schools safe (Safety Committee and SPB process recommendation).
5. PXU shall create a Mandatory Notification and Reporting Process that is clear, accessible, included in all staff training, and is regularly communicated to the PXU community (Safety Committee recommendation).
 6. PXU shall develop an RFP for an independent comprehensive review of the Safety Division and the Student & Family Services Division. The goal of the comprehensive review will be to identify where the divisions are succeeding, where there are challenges, and ways to prepare each division for success in creating wellness and safety among the PXU communities starting in the 2024-2025 school year (similar to a project idea from the SPB process, just narrowed in scope).
 7. PXU shall identify a list of immediate safety infrastructure needs, not covered by the bond, for each campus and will identify options, including additional staff needs or hiring vendors, for completing the list as soon as possible (Safety Committee and SPB process recommendation).
 8. PXU shall create a voluntary, student-led, student working group to draft a Student Bill of Rights. The student working group shall begin meeting during Fall Semester 2023-2024 with the goal of full ratification of the Student Bill of Rights for the 2024-2025 school year. The student working group shall identify what rights students already have, additional student rights not currently provided by the district, and how to improve communication about student rights to the student body (Safety Committee recommendation).

9. PXU shall create a confidential safety complaint process for students, staff, families, and educators to report incidents of violence, harassment, intimidation, or other inappropriate behavior related to the safety teams, private security, or law enforcement on PXU campuses (Safety Committee and SPB process recommendation).
10. PXU shall create a board ad hoc committee composed of students, family members, representatives from community organizations, and representation from each employee group to monitor and support the district's implementation of the recommendations approved by the Board for the 2023-2024 school year (not necessarily a recommendation but a continuation of PXU school community voice stemming from the outcomes of the two participatory processes).

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Overview

In this section, I present and discuss the thematic findings of the case study in relation to the research questions. The following themes emerged from the triangulation of the data collected from the School PB process, the Safety Committee, and PXU Governing Board meetings alongside relevant findings from the three literature review topics. Some themes may share some overlap, especially in relation to the research question. Findings are organized by each research question and are further contextualized through quotes shared by members of the PXU school community or from my observation notes I took during the two processes and Governing Board meetings.

Research Question 1 Findings

What are the main debates on school safety, and how did the case study reflect those debates?

The PXU case study on reimagining school safety reflected three themes that aligned with the main debates on school safety: the tensions of SROs, the recommendation and adoption of school safety practices from the literature, and fears of school violence, specifically school shootings. Perhaps because the initial announcement about reimagining school safety made by then-Superintendent Gestson was anchored by the nonrenewal of the Phoenix PD contract for SROs, the theme of SROs was prominent throughout the PXU case study. Some members of the Safety Committee and the broader PXU school community expressed concern about having SROs return to campuses, yet

others expressed frustration about not having SROs back on campuses. There was noticeable divide of opinion among students and youth and adults concerning the presence of SROs on campuses. One recent PXU graduate summarized these feelings: "When we're talking about bringing those same police officers with another name, SROs, they're still the same cops. They're still the same police officers that deported my family. They don't make anyone feel comfortable when they have that type of history, and we're here frustrated that you still don't want to listen to students, to teachers, and to parents." Another student agreed, further delineating the separation of viewpoints between students and youth and adults within the PXU school community, sharing "Just because many teachers have good anecdotal experiences with SROs does not mean that SROs are good for the students in the school or are valuable and effective for the students themselves."

Other concerns centered on the role that SROs would play if they made a return to PXU school campuses. One current PXU student shared a story about a fight in middle school where the SRO blanketly pepper sprayed everyone in the area, while a PXU employee shared concerns about the familiarity Phoenix PD has with working with youth since "Now you can get any random officer and worry how they will respond to the students." One of the Governing Board members (before being elected) agreed that "Police do not ensure safety on our campuses; rather, having police on campuses increases the likelihood of our indigenous, Black, brown, and differently-abled scholars being criminalized for age-appropriate behavior." Additional debates about the presence of SROs focused on the revitalization of funding, with one PXU school community member drawing from national examples of SROs and stating, "No funding for SROs

should be considered as a measure for the safety of students and campuses. Uvalde and Parkland are prime examples of this failure of SROs to protect and serve.”

The two participatory processes of the PXU reimagining school safety initiative reflected themes of policies, programs, and practices present within the literature on school safety. Many of the ideas championed by both the School PB and Safety Committee entailed student health and wellbeing (particularly mental health); representations of the student population in curriculum, ethnic studies courses, and extracurricular clubs; staff trainings to address implicit biases and become better versed in restorative justice practices and teen courts; and other safety logistics such as first aid kits in classrooms, improved communication platforms between families and schools, and alternative modalities for entry and exit methods on campuses, such as an ID badge scanner.

The final theme reflected during the case study was the prevalence of fears concerning school violence and school shootings. Members of the school community expressed fears of the normalization of gun violence, with one educator sharing that a student said, “Gun violence at school is America” after one of the incidences in which a PXU student brought a gun to school. PXU school community members also expressed a lack of trust with the district and school leaders in being able to keep students and staff safe. One PXU educator shared that students are experiencing “fear, a lack of hope, and discouragement that the adults in their lives have the will or the means to keep them safe.” For some school community members, this lack of trust stemmed from the absence of SROs and their own fears of not being able to address acts of violence, with a number of PXU personnel sharing during public comment in meetings that police presence on

school campuses needed to be restored because “educators are struggling to control their classes because students are fighting and being disrespectful.” Some PXU personnel framed the desire for a return of SROs within the criminalization of youth in schools, with one educator stating they “felt more comfortable sitting next to convicted murderers and cartel drug dealers than walking across the campus.”

Research Question 2a Findings

What were the main features of the reimagining school safety initiative? To what extent did the reimagining school safety initiative align with the Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) (Fung & Wright, 2001) framework’s guiding principles and design properties?

In analyzing the PXU reimagining school safety initiative alongside the EDD framework, each guiding principle and design feature yielded different outcomes. For the first guiding principal, the Practical Orientation of the problem, the PXU case study focus of school safety is indeed timely and relevant and is a topic broadly experienced by the PXU school community. However, the communication of purpose concerning the two participatory processes used to reimagine school safety was at times unclear among members of the PXU school community. This perceived lack of clarity began when Superintendent Gestson first announced a nonrenewal of contract with the Phoenix PD for SROs, with those monies to be used in the SPB process, but he added one caveat near the end of his video message: that PXU would still hire off-duty police as needed. This mixed messaging was not well-received by the PXU community, as was first evidenced ten days later during public comment in the July 17th Governing Board meeting.

Then, once the Safety Committee was introduced, with the task of examining different methods of using SROs on school campuses, the PXU school community again voiced their frustration with the mixed messaging on whether PXU would return to having SROs. This was evidenced by public comment from individuals from both sides of the issue, including members of the committee, staff and teachers, students, parents and families, and members of community organizations, who spoke at the Safety Committee meetings and the PXU Governing Board meetings. Some members of the PXU school community implored for the district not to renew the contract for SROs, while others cited the need for SROs to be returned to schools. Both sides of the debate shared their personal interactions and experiences with SROs and questioned what other school safety alternatives existed beyond SROs.

For the second guiding principle of the EDD framework, Bottom-up Participation, the PXU case study certainly showed an increase in school community engagement in two ways. For one, the School PB process collected over 700 ideas from the PXU school community to reimagine school safety. These ideas, once submitted on Polis an online deliberative platform, in turn garnered over 33,000 reactions, such as up votes (agree), down votes (disagree), or questions asking for further clarification about the proposed idea. Granted, there was probably more than one idea and reaction submitted per person, but the initial engagement of the PXU school community in the process signals the desire to participate in decision-making processes and enact their voice.

Also, the attendance of the PXU school community at both Safety Committee and Governing Board meetings increased, along with the number of school community members who signed up to provide public comments. Some of the Governing Board

meetings had over 60 public comments. Parent and family attendees who had not attended a board meeting before (or were even aware of the meetings) began to attend the meetings and sign up to speak during public comment. PXU students (both present and former) were also increasingly present at the Safety Committee meetings and PXU Governing Board meetings, even coordinating signs and shirts to wear. Although, many of the public comments demanded more opportunities for participation in the two processes and decision-making opportunities at large. These requests were particularly prevalent concerning the Safety Committee since the final number of participating committee members was 15, which many cited as problematic that 15 people would be making recommendations on behalf of nearly 30,000 PXU students, personnel, parents and families, and community members.

Next, the Deliberative Solution Generation principle (number three) appeared to be a slight achievement during the PXU case study. Overall, some of the end results of this case study align with and validate the needs and ideas of the PXU school community as they appeared in the School PB process, Safety Committee meetings, and public comments. These validations include installing improved outdoor lighting on campuses for PXU school community members who may be on campus after dark, adding additional security cameras across different campuses, repairing fencing surrounding a school campus's perimeter where the fence had become broken or nonexistent, and the purchasing of first aid kits for every classroom. On the other hand, the final decision concerning the topic of SROs was more of a compromised solution in that not every PXU school site would have an SRO housed on campus, but instead the district would

implement a regional SRO model wherein one officer would serve several school communities and shift their presence as needed.

For the first design feature, Devolution, the two processes initially began as distinct models with participatory methods to center PXU's school community decision-making powers and provide opportunities for elevating authentic and tangible recommendations. As the two processes unfolded, however, both experienced a shift to simply ideating solutions to then share with the Governing Board for final approval and adoption. This final result of participation was more in line with the consultation rungs of Arnstein's and Hart's ladders, without any direct decision-making power allocated to the members of the PXU school community.

The PXU case study to reimagine school safety was least reflective of the second design feature, Centralized Supervision and Coordination. As was seen with the School PB process, the centralized supervisors (district leaders and the Governing Board) were very hands-off and, at times, minimally supportive in helping move the process forward. The two participatory processes may have benefitted from greater process alignment, the sharing of key actors and roles, and more effective use of resources allocated to each process. This was particularly apparent once the Safety Committee was provided information about the different ideas proposed during the School PB process and its members agreed with pursuing some of those ideas within their own recommendations and during the sharing of expert contributions, such as the ASU School Safety Alternative report, since both processes would have benefitted from receiving the same foundational knowledge to inform their decision-making.

For the final design feature, State Centered, not Voluntaristic, the PXU school safety initiative resulted in several tangible outcomes that supported opportunities for ongoing participation on decision-making and program, policy, and practice monitoring and evaluation. Three of the recommendations that the PXU Governing Board voted to adopt center the PXU school community voice and participation. One is a Student's Bill of Rights Committee, another is an anonymous safety hotline that PXU school community members can use to report feelings and experiences of being unsafe, and the final one is a task force to monitor the implementation of these new 2023-2024 school safety. The PXU school safety initiative also produced a task force to investigate the notably disparate discipline practices of Black and African American students, created the PXU School Safety Division, and institutionalized the practice of sharing data on various aspects of school safety at each Governing Board meeting. Additionally, the Governing Board requested that the PXU Safety Division and the Family and Community Services Division provide the district and PXU school community with data updates on discipline, safety, and expenditures more frequently, and as part of the adopted recommendations, the PXU Governing Board will require an independent review of these two departments will be conducted for continued improvement.

Research Question 2b Findings

What challenges and accomplishments were experienced during the reimagining school safety initiative thorough the enabling conditions of inclusion, representation, and power?

In terms of the enabling condition of inclusion, challenges included the format, structure, communication, and time of the School PB, Safety Committee, and Governing Board meetings. Both the SPB process and the Safety Committee struggled with aspects of time and structure. The SPB process began in December 2020, with the initial goal of a final vote by May 2021. When that timeline was unattainable, PBP proposed conducting the final vote in Fall 2021. The earmarked time for voting was then moved to Spring 2022 and then again to Fall 2022. By that time, the Safety Committee was already being formulated, and a final vote for the School PB process in Spring 2023 morphed into more of an acknowledgment of the proposed ideas and PXU school community preferences without any commitment to implementation follow-through. The Safety Committee experienced a similar struggle with the timeline since their initial plan was to wrap up in December 2022, but they instead had to extend until the end of March 2023.

Furthermore, the School PB process was conducted entirely online due to its launch during the COVID-19 pandemic and its district-wide approach that later in the process entailed holding meetings with stakeholder groups from across the district. The online format posed a myriad of challenges with access to devices, reliable wifi, and pertinent information for participating such as meeting agendas and participant expectations. One PXU school community shared, “There have been community groups who felt like they were shut out of the process, and there were students and parents who wanted to participate, and they weren't able to connect.” Additionally, PXU school community members voiced concerns that the meeting times were not inclusive for everyone to attend, especially working families and students.

Additional challenges existed with the communication of participation opportunities, with one parent sharing during their translated public comment, “You know, I never knew these meetings existed. I didn't know that we could be here. I didn't know about the school board. I didn't know the decisions about our students' safety were being made in these spaces, and we don't get called, and we're not invited to these spaces.” A Governing Board member even pointed out the lack of inclusive communication with the community when the board was about to vote on adopting recommendations for the district school safety plan, stating, “It sounds like the community doesn't feel like they've been included, so what are we voting on?”

Also, the format in which information was being shared was often one-sided, without opportunities for dialogue (the Roberts Rules format prevents this unless an item that is raised during public comment is listed on the meeting agenda). Additionally, the Safety Committee design did not initially include public comment and was only added after the members requested for it to be included.

An accomplishment of the inclusion enabling condition was for PXU to provide language translation for public meetings and public comments. At the onset of the reimagining school safety initiative, there was not language translation provided at any of the meetings, yet many PXU school community members, including parents and family members of students, who did not speak English sat through entire public meetings without access to translation services. During public comment, they would either speak in their native language without translation for other meeting attendees or have an English-speaking friend or family member translate their public comment. The latter of the two was unfair since the time for translation was initially not considered, so the individual

giving public comment was essentially receiving less time than those who gave their public comment in English. After several meetings of this occurring, other PXU school community members spoke up, with one community member saying, “Parents and students that come from monolingual families want to come and receive the same information as English speakers, and that includes them being able to provide comment but also to be able to listen to all the information read, all the information that's provided to English speakers at those meetings [...] I feel like they deserve the same access.” PXU then began to provide translation services via headsets and extend the public comment time to twice the amount to accommodate the ability to properly provide and translate the public comments of non-English speaking school community members. While this accomplishment includes the language translation for Spanish speakers, members of the PXU school community speak many other languages, so there still exists a need to ensure equitable participation in community engagement opportunities for all within the PXU school community.

In analyzing the enabling condition of representation, the make-up and opportunities of participation in two processes produced several challenges. While the School PB process was meant to include all PXU school community members throughout the process, participation waned after the initial idea collection phase. This was due to several factors, including access to meetings (as was described in the inclusion section), shifting of district priorities, the return to in-person learning, etc. Ultimately, engagement in the School PB process attracted the “usual suspects,” or those school community members already predisposed to leadership and participation opportunities, and the process was not completed as a proper School PB process. Rather the School PB process

resulted in a simple consultation exercise of ideating alternatives to reimagine school safety. Similarly, the Safety Committee, albeit meant to represent the entire PXU school community, was not proportionately balanced since only three student representatives were initially serving on the committee (by the time the committee concluded, there was only one).

Overall, the representation within the two processes was problematic and did not go unnoticed by the broader PXU school community. Several community members, including Governing Board members, pointed out the lack of representation of the entire school community, and pointedly, the lack of student representation, with some community members saying, “Y'all are making decisions on student safety without the input of the students, so how do you know what's going to make students feel safe when you're not even asking them?” and “I kind of want to get a better student representation here because you've got two students, but how many actual students go to Phoenix Union High School?” The ask for greater student representation was a common theme in public comments during meetings, and even among participants in the School PB process and members of the Safety Committee. This ask was also likened to not feeling heard, with one PXU employee questioning, “Are you seeking information regarding student and staff safety from all experts? Are you coming to campuses and witnessing the issues firsthand? Are you dictating policies and procedures to teachers and administration, or are you actively collaborating? Are you talking to the parents who are withdrawing their children from campuses they feel are unsafe?” One student on the Safety Committee lamented, “It's kind of disappointing coming on here as a student and having people who come here to public comment just come to comment but they don't really stay to listen to

other experiences, especially experiences like mine. So, as a student voice, please just listen to the students that are on here.”

A minor accomplishment in the representation enabling condition entailed the facilitators of the Safety Committee and district leadership listening to and fulfilling committee members’ requests to invite the Phoenix PD to a meeting to answer any questions committee members may have. Given that police and SROs were common topics of conversation within this setting, the committee members wanted the ability to hear directly from the Phoenix PD about concerns they may have. A committee member spoke up, saying, “Those are the people that we really want to hear from since that's the way we can make improvements by being able to listen to what they have to say about their perspective as people who are actually on the ground at the time.”

The power enabling condition was similar to the challenges with the devolution design principle in that decision-making power was ultimately held by the PXU Governing Board. While the School PB is meant to culminate in a school community-wide vote to decide which projects to fund and implement, the school community-wide vote never happened. The Safety Committee members were all able to vote on which recommendations to elevate to the PXU Governing Board, but as one member of the Safety Committee reiterated, “So my issue here, [...] it's really about who's making these ultimate decisions and we all know who makes the decisions, it's the board.” Some of the PXU school community members did recognize the potential of the reimagining school safety initiative for enhancing greater community impacts, with one of the Safety Committee members sharing, “This work will resonate way beyond anyone here in this room.”

Research Question 3 Findings

What lessons can be learned from this case study for using participatory processes to address wicked problems in school communities?

The findings for research question three are very much rooted in my own observations of the two processes and the holistic or big-picture framing of school safety and participatory governance. While I do provide some very detailed recommendations in the conclusion for practitioners within school communities wanting to implement democratic processes to solve complex, wicked problems, I will outline three broad lessons that can be learned from this case study: external shocks, process consideration, and partnerships.

First, participatory processes within K-12 spaces are not immune to external shocks that can affect the efficacy of the process. One external shock stemmed from news of school shootings taking place across the country, and discussion during several of the processes' meetings centered on these events and the corresponding fears. From January 2021 through October 2023 across the U.S., there were 119 school shootings that resulted in 73 deaths (57 students and 16 school staff or other adults) and 143 injuries (Maxwell et al., 2021, 2022, 2023). PXU had one of these incidences occur on one of their own campuses (Hernandez et al., 2021) and another outside of a football game (Obert, 2022), as well as a false alarm on a different campus (Bradley, 2022) and two occasions in which the school campus personnel intercepted a possible school shooting on two other campuses (12 News, 2023; Williams, 2023). These occurrences of school shootings, gun violence, and ongoing media coverage were persistent reminders of the importance of school safety and fostered uncertainties around methods to combat such threats.

Alongside the conversations of policing and disparate outcomes in school discipline, the topic of school shootings was consistently present throughout the two processes, either among the participants of these processes or the during public comments made by PXU school community members.

A second external shock that was ever-present in the background of these two processes was Arizona's 2022 State Superintendent race which was ultimately won by Tom Horne. Since taking office, Superintendent Horne has adamantly championed an increased presence of SROs in Arizona's K12 schools. He has provided grants to schools for SROs, prioritizing funding for SROs over that for counselors and social workers (Dowd, 2023), and has even partnered with a third-party organization to employ off-duty police officers as School Safety Officers (SSOs) on Arizona's K-12 school campuses (Riley, 2023). SSOs are different from SROs since SROs must complete at least 40 hours of training to work within a school setting, while SSOs need only to complete eight hours of training within the first two months of employment. This added emphasis via such a public figure pitted the PXU reimagining school safety initiative against politicized policies and public school funding streams.

Another external shock was the near-constant presence of PXU in the news due to its COVID-19 masking policy that garnered a lawsuit and had to be heard at a Maricopa County Court (Duda et al., 2021). While PXU did win the lawsuit that defied an executive order by enacting a mask mandate on school campuses, the politically divisive rhetoric around masking positioned PXU in receiving a barrage of messages and commentary, along with media coverage, concerning their decision. From there, the public scrutiny expanded beyond mask policies, with PXU receiving heightened local and

national media attention for the decision to not renew contracts with SROs External shocks like these can greatly affect an already complex process and topic, further complicating the process's implementation and outcomes and adding to the various factors that already comprise the wicked problem.

There were several process considerations that provided a learning opportunity for schools that want to use participatory processes to address wicked problems. Many of these lessons are discussed in previous research findings, such as inclusive access, meeting formats and times, and representation. An additional lesson that is related to the process is transparency. Transparency was a challenge in terms of the school safety budget, particularly with the SPB process. When Superintendent Gestson first announced that PXU would not renew its contract with Phoenix PD for SROs, the amount cited was \$1.2 million a year that was being spent on SROs. This dollar amount was then to be allocated to the different stakeholder groups in the SPB process to ideate school safety ideas that did not include SROs. The student group would decide on projects totaling \$500,000, the staff group would decide on projects totaling \$500,00, and the parent and family group would decide on projects totaling \$200,000. Because the timeline of the SPB process extended over the course of several budget cycles, PXU leadership and the PXU Governing Board approved the spending of some of those monies on other school initiatives without public input, such as the formation of the PXU Safety Department. To date, the allocation of what would have been the SRO contract monies has not been publicly shared, even after requests made by two PXU Governing Board members and several members of the PXU school community.

The implementation and facilitation of the two processes involved leveraging partnerships with content experts (PBP), researchers (PGI, SIRC, GCI), consultants (Iconico, Javelina), and community organizations (Mi Familia Vota, LUCHA, Poder, and Puente). These partnerships spanned from the local to national levels and provided different structures of support to PXU and the processes. Notably, these partnerships were forged through existing professional relationships and projects worked on with PXU Governing Board members or district leadership.

While the involvement of the partnership organizations stemmed from relationships built with specific members of the PXU Governing Board and district personnel, some of the organizations were seen as outsiders or not knowledgeable of the greater PXU school community. This was evidenced with the pushback against GCI and their report in the Safety Committee meetings and the questioning of who PBP was when some of the PXU Governing Board members were inquiring into the SPB process. Also, the three reports published over the course of PXU's reimagining school safety initiative (the GCI report and the two PGI/SIRC reports) included some overlap and redundancies in the literature review and findings. The delineation of content for reports could have been better streamlined to decrease the burden on participants in the two processes and members of the PXU Governing Board of having to read all three of these reports.

Some partnering organizations were either not used to their full potential or for their core competency, while others lacked situational awareness and know-how with particular tasks. One example is that while the PGI and SIRC teams have extensive experience in research, their only true research outputs were the two literature reviews (which they conducted *motu proprio*). Their knowledge and expertise could have been

used in a host of other ways, including conducting process and impact evaluations after each democratic process ended. Moreover, the two consulting groups tasked with facilitating the Safety Committee displayed moments of not being familiar with Arizona's open meeting law requirements nor Roberts Rules of Order, both of which the Safety Committee had to abide by according to the PXU legal representation, and the facilitators had to be stopped and informed of protocols on several occasions.

Discussion

Overall, PXU implemented a unique approach to school community decision-making through two parallel participatory processes. Both of these processes were formulated as a means to infuse school community voice in the decisions concerning school safety and showed promising potential as a model for the intentional involvement of the school community in deliberative opportunities and participatory decision-making. The PXU Governing Board did adopt several recommendations and project ideas provided by the School PB process and Safety Committee, yet many others were tabled or not considered at all. Given the findings of this case study, there are several factors that may have impeded the quality and effectiveness of the two participatory processes and sidelined some of the outcomes desired by the PXU school community.

Both the School PB process and Safety Committee provided opportunities for deliberation, although, there could have been other methods used to garner deeper and more inclusive participation from members within the PXU school community who had the desire to participate but were unable to join in the online School PB meetings or were not selected to as a member of the Safety Committee. One issue was that communication

about the two participatory processes was intermittent and not always timely or regular. Due to the lack of community education around the two processes and the complex problem of school safety, there existed a gap in understanding the research on SROs and punitive measures, the PXU data depicting disparate discipline practices by race and gender, and the role the two processes were meant to play in involving the community in reimagining school safety. A lack of early messaging and communication on PXU's intent with these decisions and processes, including the effects of policing in K-12 schools, other school safety alternatives, and expectations and desired outcomes of the two participatory processes, might have assisted the PXU school community with understanding and fostered greater buy-in. However, the mixed messaging from the onset and throughout PXU's reimagining school safety initiative did seem to create confusion, foster distrust and skepticism, and affect the potential impacts and validity of the two processes.

One of the oft-noted challenges of the two participatory processes, and even during PXU Governing Board meetings, was the lack of representation in decision-making. There were multiple incidences in which PXU school community members cited not feeling heard by district leadership or not having the opportunity to engage in efforts to reimagine school safety meaningfully. Participation was indeed a challenge during the SPB process due to the online nature and the competing effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. The Safety Committee only included three students total (one of whom did not regularly attend the meetings), even though the committee was originally named the *Student Safety Committee*. This challenge was raised on several occasions during public comment and even noted during discussion between the Safety Committee members.

Additionally, during public comment, several committee members and PXU school community members pointed out the omission of any representation from the Phoenix PD, specifically on the Safety Committee since the police were at the center of almost every committee discussion.

Additionally, the length of these processes affected levels of participation and retention. Over time, some of the SPB stakeholder group meetings were sparsely attended, and the retention of individuals engaged in the online process had begun to slowly decline. The Safety Committee, albeit a shorter timeline, still stretched into the Spring 2023 semester after having planned to complete this committee's goals by December 2022. After starting with 21 members the Safety Committee ended with 15 members. Moreover, two of the Safety Committee meetings had to be postponed when there was no quorum present, thus pushing back the timeline for the committee to decide on school safety recommendations to share with the PXU Governing Board. The challenges with time were inextricably linked to the overall participation from the PXU school community.

While the SPB process had not been operationalized in a traditional manner (i.e. timeline, campaign phase, final vote), several of the projects that were ideated by students, parents and families, and staff during the Idea Collection phase of the process were taken up by the PXU Governing Board and district leadership to install or enact. Likewise, recommendations from the Safety Committee, such as increased training for PXU staff and especially the security staff, were included in the school safety plan that the PXU Governing Board voted to adopt. Greater alignment and interplay between the two participatory processes may have provided stronger support and a more thorough

plan for specific recommendations. Having the participants from both processes engage in shared learning and project ideation could have potentially resulted in better-informed decision-making and more detailed project ideas. This overlap of processes could have also provided the opportunity for a better alignment of work between the different partner organizations who supported each process.

Lastly, while both processes combined lasted nearly three years, over this time period, there has been no effort to capture participant satisfaction, experiences, or feedback on the two processes and their outcomes. Since both processes were derived from models of participatory governance, an evaluation of some kind at the end of each process would close the feedback loop. If PXU were to use participatory processes for future decision-making opportunities, the participants' feedback from these two processes would be valuable.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Summary

This dissertation brought together three distinct areas of research under the auspice of participatory processes to address wicked problems: school safety and policing, participatory governance in K-12 schools, and student voice. While each of these areas of research has been individually developed and has ongoing research agendas, very little, if any, research has yet to simultaneously explore all three of these areas in one study. Using the Empowered Deliberative Democracy (EDD) framework and the enabling conditions of inclusion, representation, and power, I employed a case study research design to explore two parallel participatory processes used in Phoenix Union High School District (PXU) to reimagine school safety. While some findings aligned with current research on school safety and some of the guiding principles and design features of the EDD framework, the enabling conditions and data collected from school community deliberations and public comments revealed challenges inherent to the process design and the culminating decision was still designated to the PXU Governing Board. However, the school safety recommendations adopted by the Governing Board encompass some of the school community-derived ideas and the centering of student voice. This case study serves as a catalyst for exploring how democratic innovations can be used in K-12 schools to address school safety.

Limitations and Strengths

Several limitations were identified during this case study, but from these limitations, there are strengths as well. For one, the literature on student-centered participatory processes within K-12 schools that result in a policy or programmatic outcome is woefully lacking, and even more so with CA. Outside of a handful of studies on SPB and the more traditional forms of participatory processes, there are little to no studies on CA in K12 spaces. Therefore, much of the literature on this topic was derived from municipal or broad community-based processes, which greatly differ from K-12 educational institutions. However, this gap in the research literature also provides the opportunity for further research on similar processes.

Additionally, the context of this study was unique in that a diverse, large, urban high school-only district undertook two parallel processes to address school safety with an overt focus on addressing the use of SROs. While the two parallel processes certainly had their own focus, both were still working towards the final goal of reimagining school safety for the PXU school district. I had hoped to compare findings or assess alignment in experiences and lessons learned, but I found no similar initiatives in the literature or through web searches, specifically with comparable schools or districts.

On the other hand, this case study had many data options to tell a detailed story of the two processes and the entire initiative. I hope what I presented in this case study does justice in providing a thorough description of PXU's initiative to reimagine school safety, especially because I chose which data to collect, and the data was reported through my lens. While undertaking these two pioneering processes was messy and complicated, the experience positions the PXU case study on reimagining the wicked problem of school

safety through participatory processes as a first, with opportunities for other schools and districts to innovate and build upon what was learned here.

Also, my role in this case study was sometimes a challenge to traverse. I first began my process-oriented research focused on the SPB process, but once that process came to a standstill and the Student Steering Committee began to take shape, I saw the value in sharing the work of our PGI and SIRC teams. My outreach and communication with PXU Governing Board Members, community organizations, PXU personnel, and members of the PXU school community fostered the inside-outside positionality I spoke of. At times, in conversation with PXU school community members, I understood the need to remain impartial, while at other times, I felt the need to speak more openly or candidly. Throughout the study, I forged connections that were built on trust and reciprocity, and in presenting the data, I aimed to preserve the nature of those connections.

However, I wish that after the PXU Governing Board made their final decision on which plan to adopt, I would have had the opportunity to interview key decision-makers and participants from each process. Due to the delayed decision from the PXU Governing Board and the timeline for finishing my dissertation, these additional interviews would not have been feasible. I think that having participants debrief on their experience and provide feedback concerning their participation would not only further round out the findings of this case study but also provide reflective lessons learned for future participatory processes. This may have allowed me to better confirm some of my speculations about the data I collected and is something I will consider for further research.

Recommendations and Implications

Drawing on the lessons emanating from this case study, K-12 schools may consider the following five recommendations when implementing a participatory process to address a complex or wicked problem. These recommendations are based on the findings from this case study that exemplified the significance of process design and how inclusive and representative participation greatly affects the quality of the process and subsequent outcomes. They are also reflective of what was shared through participant experiences and quotes during PXU's two participatory processes to reimagine school safety. Additionally, when writing these recommendations, I drew from other literature that provides guidance in implementing participatory processes (Bobbio, 2019; Fung, 2015) and addressing wicked problems (NeMoyer et al., 2020).

1. Plan the process with a well-designed timeline, structure, ample opportunities for inclusive participation of all school community members, and a clear, transparent purpose, expectations, and goal(s) to be communicated among all stakeholders and school community members from the onset.
2. Prepare for ample time to be spent in a space conducive to both small-group deliberation and large-group debriefing, with equitable opportunities for participants to discuss the topic with different and diverse school community groups throughout the process.
3. Provide balanced, accessible resources and information about the topic, taking steps to ensure that no participants feel disenfranchised (i.e., language translation, simple language, plain fonts, text size, visuals), and allow for participants enough time to process the resources and information.

4. Ensure that facilitators and community partner organizations who assist with moderating groups or process design and logistics are neutral and fair and are familiar with the school community's context and values, as well as the format, structure, and protocols of the process.
5. Once the process is complete and a final recommendation or policy has been proposed, continue to provide transparent communication and feedback on the culminating result and engage stakeholders and participants in an evaluative process to provide feedback, share satisfaction with the experience, and inform possible future iterations of participatory processes.

While these recommendations are written with schools in mind, they are worded to be generalizable enough for broader community organizations and institutions to adopt for the implementation of participatory processes. Additionally, I hope these recommendations are translatable for use in a variety of school settings, including those outside of the U.S. Gun and police violence, especially in schools, may be thought as a U.S.-centric problem, yet many schools across the world are having to navigate wicked problems, including the use of police in schools. For example, just as PXU and other schools across the U.S. chose not to renew contracts for police in K-12 schools, a few other localities outside the U.S. did so as well, including Toronto, Canada, and the U.K. (Belsha, 2020). Many of these places have since reversed course and are now requesting an increase in police presence on campus as a marker of school safety (Belsha, 2023; Morton, 2022), with the U.K. experiencing a 43% year-on-year rise in the amount of police based in the U.K.'s schools (Campbell, 2023). Therefore, this case study may provide school communities both within and outside of the U.S. with insights into the

various recommendations the PXU Governing Board adopted as part of the district's reimagining school safety initiative and an overview of participatory governance models that aim to include the school community in a shared decision-making process.

The adoption and implementation of participatory processes, like School PB and CA, in K-12 schools is not widespread but is slowly growing. Both models, especially if designed to be more connected with one another, have the potential to elevate and adopt ideas from the school community, positively impact a school's climate and equip students with the skills and experiences to be civic changemakers within their own school communities and beyond. As was seen in the two processes, many of the ideas that surfaced during the School PB process focused on adopting new or providing changes to existing programs, policies, or practices, while many of the recommendations put forth by members of the Safety Committee would also require a budget and a dedicated funding stream. Together, these two processes may have been more inclusive and powerful, especially without any preconceived requirements of community-derived ideas and solutions.

On one hand, wicked problems in K-12 educational spaces require diverse perspectives for creative solutions, while on the other hand, inclusive and representative democratic processes that center student and school community voice hold promise. School communities can embed inclusive engagement opportunities for all stakeholders, particularly students, to address school community issues by pioneering processes like these within the school community. Considering the need and potential value-add of implementing more inclusive democratic engagement opportunities in schools and with youth, K-12 schools are well-positioned to provide such opportunities. Future research

will provide valuable insight and results of using participatory processes that center young people's voices to address wicked problems.

REFERENCES

- 12 News. (2023, August 4). Gun, BB gun seized Thursday morning at Cesar Chavez HS. *12 News*. <https://www.12news.com/article/news/local/valley/gun-bb-gun-found-cesar-chavez-high-school-2-separate-incidents/75-df2ef0a6-59dc-462a-8f6e-cc9c4c012632>
- Abas, A., Arifin, K., Ali, M. A. M., & Khairil, M. (2023). A systematic literature review on public participation in decision-making for local authority planning: A decade of progress and challenges. *Environmental Development*, 46, 100853. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.envdev.2023.100853>
- A.C. v. Raimondo. (494 F. Supp. 3d 170, 2017). <https://casetext.com/case/ac-v-raimondo>
- Acioly Jr., C., Herzog, A., Sandino, E., & Andrade, V. H. (2003). *Participatory Budgeting in the Municipality of Santo André, Brazil*. Institute of Housing and Urban Studies. https://claudioacioly.com/sites/default/files/2020-02/72%202003_Acioly_Participatory%20Budgeting%20%26%20Planning%20Santo%20Andre%20Brazil.pdf
- Acuña, E. J. (2023). *Safety Reflected: A public engagement report for the Phoenix Union High School District Safety Committee* (pp. 1–65). Iconico. https://www.pxu.org/site/handlers/filedownload.ashx?moduleinstanceid=45843&dataid=65206&FileName=PXU_SafetyReflected_ICONICO.pdf
- Adelman, H., & Taylor, L. (2022). *We won't Argue Against Adding More Counselors, BUT ... Addressing Student Mental Health Concerns Involves Much More Than Increasing the Number of Mental Health Providers*. Center for Mental Health in Schools & Student/Learning Supports. <http://smhp.psych.ucla.edu/pdfdocs/morethan.pdf>
- Adler, J. S. (2015). Less crime, more punishment: Violence, race, and criminal justice in early twentieth-century America. *Journal of American History*, 102(1), 34-46.
- Afkinich, J. L., & Klumpner, S. (2018). Violence Prevention Strategies and School Safety. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, 9(4), 637–650. <https://doi.org/10.1086/700656>
- Albornoz-Manyoma, N. G., García-Leiva, P., & Palacios-Gálvez, M. S. (2020). Participation as a mechanism to favour psychological empowerment and positive interaction: The “Ágora Infantil” participatory democracy programme. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 48(5), 1347–1364. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22328>
- Albornoz-Manyoma, N. G., García-Leiva, P., & Palacios-Gálvez, M. S. (2021). Longitudinal Study of the Psychosocial Effects of Political Participation by Children: The ‘Ágora Infantil’ Programme. *Child Indicators Research*, 14(5), 2083–2096. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12187-021-09837-w>

- Alderson, P. (2000). School students' views on school councils and daily life at school. *Children and Society*, 14(2), Article 2. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1099-0860.2000.tb00160.x>
- Alegria, M., Alvarez, K., NeMoyer, A., Zhen-Duan, J., Marsico, C., O'Malley, I. S., Mukthineni, R., Porteny, T., Herrera, C.-N., Najarro Cermeño, J., Kingston, K., Sisay, E., & Trickett, E. (2021). Development of a Youth Civic Engagement Program: Process and Pilot Testing with a Youth-Partnered Research Team. *American Journal of Community Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12548>
- Allen, D. (2014). *Education and Equality: The Tanner Lectures on Human Values*. <https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/resources/documents/a-to-z/a/Allen%20manuscript.pdf>
- Altschuler, D., & Corrales, J. (2012). The Spillover Effects of Participatory Governance: Evidence From Community-Managed Schools in Honduras and Guatemala. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(5), 636–666. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414011427133>
- American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU]. (2017). *Bullies in blue: The origins and consequences of school policing*. ACLU Press.
- Apostolou, J., & Eckardt, M. (2022). Participatory Budgeting in Germany: Increasing Transparency in Times of Fiscal Stress. In M. S. De Vries, J. Nemec, & D. Špaček (Eds.), *International Trends in Participatory Budgeting: Between Trivial Pursuits and Best Practices* (pp. 27–45). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-79930-4_2
- Ardanaz, M., Otálvaro-Ramírez, S., & Scartascini, C. (2023). Does information about citizen participation initiatives increase political trust? *World Development*, 162, 106132. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2022.106132>
- Arizona Department of Education. (2022). *Phoenix Union High School District 2021-2022*. AZ School Report Cards | District Information. <https://azreportcards.azed.gov/Districts/detail/4286>
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35(4), 216-224.
- Arvind, G. R. (2009). Local Democracy, Rural Community, and Participatory School Governance. *Journal of Research in Rural Education*, 24(2). <https://jrre.psu.edu/sites/default/files/2019-08/24-2.pdf>
- Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation. (2023, January 17). *Youth without representation* [Harvard Kennedy School]. <https://ash.harvard.edu/youth-without-representation>

- Astor, R. A., Guerra, N., & Van Acker, R. (2010). How Can We Improve School Safety Research? *Educational Researcher*, 39(1), 69–78. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X09357619>
- Augsberger, A., Collins, M. E., & Gecker, W. (2018). Engaging Youth in Municipal Government: Moving Toward a Youth-Centric Practice. *Journal of Community Practice*, 26(1), 41–62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10705422.2017.1413023>
- Augsberger, A., Gecker, W., & Collins, M. E. (2019). “We make a direct impact on people’s lives”: Youth empowerment in the context of a youth-led participatory budgeting project. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 47(3), 462–476. <https://doi.org/10.1002/jcop.22131>
- Baiocchi, G. (2001). Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory. *Politics & Society*, 29(1), 43–72. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329201029001003>
- Badia, F. (2022). Participatory Budgeting in Italy: A Phoenix Rising from the Ashes. In M. S. De Vries, J. Nemeč, & D. Špaček (Eds.), *International Trends in Participatory Budgeting: Between Trivial Pursuits and Best Practices* (pp. 47–62). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-79930-4_3
- Barker, S. K. (2018). *Student Voice to Improve Instruction: Leading Transformation of a School System* [Abilene Christian University]. <https://digitalcommons.acu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1114&context=etd>
- Bartlett, T., Law, L. E., Schugurensky, D., Díaz, M. J., & Wolfersteig, W. (2023). 17 Programs and Practices to Promote a Safe Campus: Alternatives to School Policing and Punitive Practices. *The Urban Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-023-00669-2>
- Bartlett, T., & Schugurensky, D. (2021). Reinventing Freire in the 21st Century: Citizenship education, Student Voice and School Participatory Budgeting. *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, 23, 55–79. <https://doi.org/10.52214/cice.v23i2.8571>
- Bartlett, T., & Schugurensky, D. (2023). Inclusive civic education and school democracy through participatory budgeting. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 17461979231160701. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17461979231160701>
- Beger, R. R. (2002). Expansion of Police Power In Public Schools and the Vanishing Rights of Students. *Social Justice*, 29(1/2), 87-88), 119–130. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29768123>
- Belsha, K. (2020, June 19). Canada’s largest school district ended its police program. Now Toronto may be an example for U.S. districts considering the same. *Chalkbeat*. <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2020/6/19/21297248/toronto-canada-ended-school-police-program-example-for-united-states-school-districts>

- Belsha, K. (2023, March 23). After gun violence, Denver schools are bringing back police. Other places already have. *Chalkbeat*.
<https://www.chalkbeat.org/2023/3/23/23653973/school-police-reversal-denver-shooting-gun-violence-safety>
- Bell, J. (2003). *Understanding Adulthood: A key to developing positive youth-adult relationships*. The Freechild Project.
https://nuatc.org/articles/pdf/understanding_adulthood.pdf
- Bennett, K. M., & Hays, S. P. (2022). Engaging youth for positive change: A quantitative analysis of participant outcomes. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 17461979221103779. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17461979221103779>
- Berelson, B. R., Lazarsfeld, P. F., & McPhee, W. N. (1954). *Voting*. University of Chicago Press.
- Bertrand, M., Brooks, M. D., & Domínguez, A. D. (2020). Challenging Adulthood: Centering Youth as Educational Decision Makers. *Urban Education*, 0042085920959135.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085920959135>
- Bishop, M., Ioverno, S., James, I., Saba, V. C., & Russell, S. T. (2021). *Promoting School Safety for LGBTQ and All Students*. The Stories and Numbers Project.
https://storiesandnumbers.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/StoriesandNumbersReport_English.pdf
- Black, D. W. (2016). *Ending Zero Tolerance: The Crisis of Absolute School Discipline*. NYU Press.
- Blad, E. (2018, June 5). Ready for a Shooter? 1 in 5 School Police Say No. *Education Week*.
<https://www.edweek.org/leadership/ready-for-a-shooter-1-in-5-school-police-say-no/2018/06>
- Blad, E., & Harwin, A. (2017). Black students more likely to be arrested at school. *Education Weekly*, 36(19), 10-12. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/black-students-more-likely-to-be-arrested-at-school/2017/01>
- Blevins, B., LeCompte, K., & Wells, S. (2016). Innovations in Civic Education: Developing Civic Agency Through Action Civics. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 44(3), 344–384. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00933104.2016.1203853>
- Bobbio, L. (2003). Building social capital through democratic deliberation: The rise of deliberative arenas. *Social Epistemology*, 17(4), 343–357.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/0269172032000151803>

- Bohnenkamp, J. H., Schaeffer, C. M., Siegal, R., Beason, T., Smith-Millman, M., & Hoover, S. (2021). Impact of a school-based, multi-tiered emotional and behavioral health crisis intervention on school safety and discipline. *Prevention Science*, 22, 492–503. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s1121-020-01195-3>
- Booth, M. (2006). Public engagement and practical wisdom. In S. Paulin (Ed.), *Communities Voices: Creating Sustainable Spaces* (pp. 12–26). University of Western Australia Press.
- Borg, L. (2022). RI civics education lawsuit: Details of settlement announced. *The Providence Journal*. <https://www.providencejournal.com/story/news/education/2022/06/15/ri-civics-education-civil-lawsuit-students-education-commissioner-reach-agreement/7634485001/>
- Boswell, J. (2021). Seeing Like a Citizen: How Being a Participant in a Citizens’ Assembly Changed Everything I Thought I Knew about Deliberative Minipublics. *Journal of Deliberative Democracy*, 17(2), Article 2. <https://doi.org/10.16997/jdd.975>
- Boswell, J., Dean, R., & Smith, G. (2022). Integrating Citizen Deliberation into Climate Governance: Lessons on Robust Design from Six Climate Assemblies. *Public Administration*, 101(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padm.12883>
- Boulianne, S. (2019). Building Faith in Democracy: Deliberative Events, Political Trust and Efficacy. *Political Studies*, 67(1), 4–30. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321718761466>
- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9(2), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027>
- Bradley, B., & AZFamily Digital News Staff. (2022, September 9). Shooting scare puts Central High School in Phoenix on lockdown, 3 students detained. *AZFamily*. <https://www.azfamily.com/2022/09/09/phoenix-police-firefighters-respond-emergency-situation-central-high-school/>
- Bradshaw, C. P. (2013). Preventing bullying through Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS): A multitiered approach to prevention and integration. *Theory into Practice*, 52(4), 288–295. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2013.829732>
- Brady, K. (2002). Zero Tolerance or (In)Tolerance Policies? Weaponless School Violence, Due Process, and the Law of Student Suspensions and Expulsions: An Examination of Fuller v. Decatur Public School Board of Education School District. *Brigham Young University Education and Law Journal*, 2002(1), 159–209. <https://digitalcommons.law.byu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1141&context=elj>
- Brady, K. P., Balmer, S., & Phenix, D. (2007). School—Police Partnership Effectiveness in Urban Schools: An Analysis of New York City’s Impact Schools Initiative. *Education and Urban Society*, 39(4), 455–478. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013124507302396>

- Bragg, S. (2007). “It’s Not About Systems, It’s About Relationships”: Building A Listening Culture In A Primary School. In D. Thiessen & A. Cook-Sather (Eds.), *International Handbook of Student Experience in Elementary and Secondary School* (pp. 659–680). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-3367-2_26
- Brasof, M. (2015). *Student Voice and School Governance: Distributing Leadership to Youth and Adults*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315724041>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Bridgeland, J. M., Dilulio, Jr., J. J., & Morison, K. B. (2006). *The Silent Epidemic: Perspectives of High School Dropouts*. Civic Enterprises. <https://docs.gatesfoundation.org/documents/thesilentepidemic3-06final.pdf>
- Brondolo, E., Love, E. E., Pencille, M., Schoenthaler, A., & Ogedegbe, G. (2011). Racism and hypertension: A review of the empirical evidence and implications for clinical practice. *American Journal of Hypertension*, 24(5), 518–529. <https://doi.org/10.1038/ajh.2011.9>
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1992). *Ecological systems theory*. Jessica Kingsley Publishers.
- Bryk, A. S., & Schneider, B. (2002). *Trust in schools: A core resource for improvement*. Russell Sage Foundation.
- Burke, K., & Greene, S. (2015). Participatory Action Research, Youth Voices, and Civic Engagement. *Language Arts*, 92(6). <https://www.proquest.com/openview/d275e46cd7c77771cca205b45aa64e51/1/advanced>
- Busher, H. (2012). Students as expert witnesses of teaching and learning. *Management in Education*, 26, 113–119. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0892020612445679>
- Bussu, S., Bua, A., Dean, R., & Smith, G. (2022). Introduction: Embedding participatory governance. *Critical Policy Studies*, 16(2), 133–145. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2022.2053179>
- Byrd, C. M. (2016). Does Culturally Relevant Teaching Work? An Examination From Student Perspectives. *SAGE Open*, 6(3), 2158244016660744. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244016660744>
- Cabannes, Y. (2004a). Participatory Budgeting: A significant contribution to participatory democracy. *Environment and Urbanization*, 16(1), 27–46.
- Cabannes, Y. (2004b). *Participatory Budgeting: Conceptual Framework and Analysis of its Contribution to Urban Governance and the Millennium Development Goals* (pp. 1–61).

Urban Management Programme Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean.
<https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/10660/1/10660.pdf>

Caffrey, M. (2022, July 26). *Spending on School Security Tops \$3 Billion, With Focus on New Surveillance and Tech*. Market Brief. <https://marketbrief.edweek.org/marketplace-k-12/spending-school-security-tops-3-billion-focus-new-surveillance-tech/>

Cain, L., & Moore, D. G. (2019). *Evaluation of Camden Council's Citizens' Assembly on the Climate Crisis*. UCL.
<https://www.camden.gov.uk/documents/20142/0/FINAL+UCL+Evaluation+of+Camden+Council%27s+Citizens%27+Assembly+on+the+Climate+Crisis.pdf/e3f39960-76ce-111d-656b-6154465fc095?t=1579799081501>

California Commission on Peace Officer Standards and Training. (2001). *Commission Policy Manual*.
https://post.ca.gov/Portals/0/post_docs/publications/Commission_Policy_Manual.pdf

Camino, L. A. (2000). Youth-Adult Partnerships: Entering New Territory in Community Work and Research. *Applied Developmental Science*, 4(sup1), 11–20.
https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532480XADS04Suppl_2

Cammaerts, B., Bruter, M., Banaji, S., Harrison, S., & Anstead, N. (2014). The Myth of Youth Apathy: Young Europeans' Critical Attitudes Toward Democratic Life. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 58(5), 645–664. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764213515992>

Cammarota, J., & Fine, M. (Eds.). (2008). *Revolutionizing Education: Youth Participatory Action Research in Motion*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203932100>

Campbell, A. (2023, January 16). Police defend big jump in officers in UK schools. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/education-64258085>

Campbell, D., Trzesniewski, K., Nathaniel, K., Enfield, R., & Erbstein, N. (2013). Positive youth development merits state investment. *California Agriculture*, 67(1), 38–46.
<http://calag.ucanr.edu/Archive/?article=ca.v067n01p38>

Campbell, J. W. (2023). Public Participation and Trust in Government: Results From a Vignette Experiment. *Journal of Policy Studies*, 38(2), 23–31.
<https://doi.org/10.52372/jps38203>

Canady, M., James, B., & Nease, J. (2012). *To protect and educate: The school resource officer and the prevention of violence in schools*. National Association of School Resource Officers. <https://www.nasro.org/clientuploads/resources/NASRO-Protect-and-Educate.pdf>

- Carl, N. M., Kuriloff, P., Ravitch, S. M., & Reichert, M. (2018). Democratizing Schools for Improvement Through Youth Participatory Action Research. *Journal of Ethical Educational Leadership*, 1. https://www.academia.edu/36304398/Special_Issue_1_Student_Voice_and_School_Leadership_JEEL_JOURNAL_OF_ETHICAL_EDUCATIONAL_LEADERSHIP
- Carlson, C. (2005). Youth with influence: The youth planner initiatives in Hampton, Virginia. *Children, Youth and Environments*, 15(2), 211–226.
- Carty, R. K., Blais, A., & Fournier, P. (2008). 5 When Citizens Choose to Reform SMP: The British Columbia Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform. In A. Blais (Ed.), *To Keep or To Change First Past The Post?: The Politics of Electoral Reform* (p. 0). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199539390.003.0006>
- Castillo, M. (2015). Reflections on Participatory Budgeting in New York City. *The Public Sector Innovation Journal*, 20(2). https://innovation.cc/scholarly-style/2015_20_2_7_castillo_participatory-budget-usa.pdf
- Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement [CIRCLE]. (2018). *Understanding Youth Attitudes and Beliefs*. <https://circle.tufts.edu/our-research/understanding-youth-attitudes-and-beliefs#political-preferences-and-views-of-democracy>
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention [CDC]. (2017). *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) School Assessment (CSA)*. National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and Carter and Carter Associates. https://rems.ed.gov/docs/CDC_CPTEDSchoolAssessment.pdf
- Charteris, J., & Smardon, D. (2019). The politics of student voice: Unravelling the multiple discourses articulated in schools. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 49(1), 93–110. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2018.1444144>
- Checkoway, B., Allison, T., & Montoya, C. (2005). Youth participation in public policy at the municipal level. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 27(10), 1149–1162. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2005.01.001>
- Cheng, E. C. K., Leung, Y. W., Yuen, W. W., & Tang, H. H. H. (2019). A model for promoting student participation in school governance. *International Journal of Educational Management*, 34(4), 737–749. <https://doi.org/10.1108/IJEM-06-2019-0186>
- Christensen, H. S., Himmelroos, S., & Grönlund, K. (2017). Does Deliberation Breed an Appetite for Discursive Participation? Assessing the Impact of First-Hand Experience. *Political Studies*, 65(1_suppl), 64–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321715617771>
- Christle, C. A., Jolivet, K., & Nelson, C. (2005). Breaking the school to prison pipeline:

- Identifying school risk and protective factors for youth delinquency. *Exceptionality*, 13(2), 69–88. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327035ex1302_2
- Chwalisz, C. (2023). Assembly Required. *RSA Journal*, (2). https://www.thersa.org/globalassets/_foundation/new-site-blocks-and-images/journal/2023/02/rsa_issue_2_2023.pdf
- Clark, A. T., Ahmed, I., Metzger, S., Walker, E., & Wylie, R. (2022). Moving From Co-Design to Co-Research: Engaging Youth Participation in Guided Qualitative Inquiry. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 21, 16094069221084792. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069221084793>
- Cohen, M., & Schugurensky, D. (2015, March). How Would Students Spend the Principal’s Money? *Time*. <https://time.com/3740510/phoenix-budgeting-experiment/>
- Cohen, M., Schugurensky, D., & Weik, A. (2015). Citizenship Education through Participatory Budgeting: The Case of Bioscience High School in Phoenix, Arizona. *Curriculum and Teaching*, 30(2), 5–26. <https://doi.org/10.7459/ct/30.2.02>
- Collier, D. (2011). Understanding Process Tracing. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 44(4), 823–830. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1049096511001429>
- Collins, M. E., Augsberger, A., & Gecker, W. (2018). Identifying Practice Components of Youth Councils: Contributions of Theory. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 35(6), 599–610. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-018-0551-7>
- Conner, J., Posner, M., & Nsowaa, B. (2022). The Relationship Between Student Voice and Student Engagement in Urban High Schools. *The Urban Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-022-00637-2>
- Cook-Sather, A. (2006). Sound, Presence, and Power: “Student Voice” in Educational Research and Reform. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 36. https://repository.brynmawr.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1011&context=edu_pubs
- Cook-Sather, A. (2020). Student Voice and Pedagogical Partnership Through and as Disruption, Revealing, and Challenging Inequity. In M. A. Peters (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Teacher Education* (pp. 1–5). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-1179-6_436-1
- Coon, J. K., & Travis, L. F. (2012). The role of police in public schools: A comparison of principal and police reports of activities in schools. *Police Practice and Research*, 13(1), 15–30. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15614263.2011.589570>
- Cowan, K. C., Vaillancourt, K., Rossen, E., & Pollitt, K. (2013). *A framework for safe and successful schools*. National Association of School Psychologists.

https://www.naesp.org/sites/default/files/Framework%20for%20Safe%20and%20Successful%20School%20Environments_FINAL_0.pdf

Cray, M., & Weiler, S. (2011) Policy to practice: A look at national and state implementation of school resource officer programs, *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas*, 84(4), 164-170.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/00098655.2011.564987>

Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research*, 4th ed. Pearson.

Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*. SAGE Publications, Inc. <https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/qualitative-inquiry-and-research-design/book246896>

Crichlow-Ball, C., Cornell, D., & Huang, F. (2022). Student Perceptions of School Resource Officers and Threat Reporting. *Journal of School Violence*, 0(0), 1–15.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2022.2054423>

Crosse, S., Gottfredson, D. C., Bauer, E. L., Tang, Z., Harmon, M. A., Hagen, C. A., & Greene, A. D. (2022). Are Effects of School Resource Officers Moderated by Student Race and Ethnicity? *Crime & Delinquency*, 68(3), 381–408.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128721999346>

Cross, B., Hulme, M., & McKinney, S. (2014). The last place to look: The place of pupil councils within citizen participation in Scottish schools. *Oxford Review of Education*, 40(5), 628–648. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03054985.2014.963039>

Cruz, R. A., Firestone, A. R., & Rodl, J. E. (2021). Disproportionality Reduction in Exclusionary School Discipline: A Best-Evidence Synthesis. *Review of Educational Research*, 91(3), 397–431. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654321995255>

Cuellar, M. J. (2018). School Safety Strategies and Their Effects on the Occurrence of School-Based Violence in U.S. High Schools: An Exploratory Study. *Journal of School Violence*, 17(1), 28–45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2016.1193742>

Curato, N., Dryzek, J. S., Ercan, S. A., Hendriks, C. M., & Niemeyer, S. (2017). Twelve Key Findings in Deliberative Democracy Research. *Daedalus Journal of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, Summer 2017*. <https://www.amacad.org/publication/twelve-key-findings-deliberative-democracy-research>

Curran, F. C., Fisher, B. W., Viano, S., & Kupchik, A. (2019). Why and When Do School Resource Officers Engage in School Discipline? The Role of Context in Shaping Disciplinary Involvement. *American Journal of Education*, 126(1), 33–63.

<https://doi.org/10.1086/705499>

- Curran, F. C., Viano, S., Kupchik, A., & Fisher, B. W. (2021). Do Interactions With School Resource Officers Predict Students' Likelihood of Being Disciplined and Feelings of Safety? Mixed-Methods Evidence From Two School Districts. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 43(2), 200–232. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373720985904>
- Dary, T., Pickeral, T., Shumer, R., & Williams, A. (2016). *Weaving Student Engagement into the Core Practices of Schools*. National Dropout Prevention Center/Network at Clemson University. <https://dropoutprevention.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/student-engagement-2016-09.pdf>
- Davison, M., Penner, A. M., Penner, E. K., Pharris-Ciurej, N., Porter, S. R., Rose, E. K., Shem-Tov, Y., & Yoo, P. (2022). School Discipline and Racial Disparities in Early Adulthood. *Educational Researcher*, 51(3), 231–234. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X211061732>
- Dawson, A., & Krakoff, I. (2022). *Political Trust and Democracy: The Critical Citizens Thesis Re-Examined* (SSRN Scholarly Paper 4307936). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4307936>
- Delpit, L. D. (1988). The Silenced Dialogue: Power and Pedagogy in Education Other People's Children. *Harvard Educational Review*, 58(3). <http://lmcreadinglist.pbworks.com/f/Delpit+%25281988%2529.pdf>
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2011). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage.
- DePaoli, J. L., Hernández, L. E., Furger, R. C., & Darling-Hammond, L. (2021). *A Restorative Approach for Equitable Education: Research Brief*. Learning Policy Institute. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED614437>
- Desmond, M., Papachristos, A. V., & Kirk, D. S. (2016). Police Violence and Citizen Crime Reporting in the Black Community. *American Sociological Review*, 81(5), 857–876. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122416663494>
- Devlin, D. N., & Fisher, B. W. (2021). An Examination of School Resource Officers as an Approach to Reduce Social Disturbances in Schools: Evidence from a National Longitudinal Study. *Journal of School Violence*, 20(2), 228–240. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2021.1875843>
- Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and education*. Macmillan.
- Dewey, J. (2012/[1927]). *The Public and Its Problems: An Essay in Political Inquiry* (M. L. Rogers, Ed.). Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1966). *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*. The Free Press.

- Dews, P. (2016). Communicative rationality. In *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780415249126-N007-1>
- Dias, N., Enríquez, S., & Júlio, S. (Eds.). (2019). *Participatory Budgeting World Atlas 2019*. Epopeia and Oficina.
- Díaz-Vicario, A., & Gairín Sallán, J. (2017). A comprehensive approach to managing school safety: Case studies in Catalonia, Spain. *Educational Research*, 59(1), 89–106. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131881.2016.1272430>
- Dowd, B. (2023, April 12). Horne says he'll accept late school safety grant applications, pushes for armed officers. *Fronteras*. <https://fronterasdesk.org/content/1844012/horne-says-hell-accept-late-school-safety-grant-applications-pushes-armed-officers>
- Doyle, L., & Sakala, L. (2021). *Shifting Police Budgets: Lessons Learned from Three Communities*. <https://www.urban.org/research/publication/shifting-police-budgets-lessons-learned-three-communities>
- Dryzek, J. S. (2000). *Deliberative democracy and beyond: Liberals, critics, contestations*. Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Dubb, S. (2021, February 5). *Seattle Launches \$30 Million Participatory Budgeting Process*. Non Profit News | Nonprofit Quarterly. <https://nonprofitquarterly.org/seattle-launches-30-million-participatory-budgeting-process/>
- Duchesneau, N. (2022, October 3). *The Case for Increasing School Safety by Investing in Student Mental Health*. The Education Trust. <https://edtrust.org/the-equity-line/the-case-for-increasing-school-safety-by-investing-in-student-mental-health/>
- Duda, J., August 16, A. M., & 2021. (n.d.). Judge says law doesn't yet block Phoenix Union mask mandate. *Arizona Mirror*. <https://www.azmirror.com/blog/judge-says-law-doesnt-yet-block-phoenix-union-mask-mandate/>
- Duncikaite, I. (2019, September 12). Participatory budgeting initiatives lead to greater transparency: Example of two Lithuanian schools. *IIEP Unesco - Etico | Platform on Ethics and Corruption in Education*. <https://etico.iiep.unesco.org/en/participatory-budgeting-initiatives-lead-greater-transparency-example-two-lithuanian-schools>
- Dunning-Lozano, J. L. (2018). Secondary Discipline: The Unintended Consequences of Zero Tolerance School Discipline for Low-Income Black and Latina Mothers. *Urban Education*, 0042085918817343. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085918817343>
- Dwyer, S. C., & Buckle, J. L. (2009). The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1), 54–63. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690900800105>

- Eckstein, H. (1961). *A theory of stable democracy*. Princeton University.
- Eder, S., Keller, M. H., & Migliozi, B. (2021, April 18). *As new police reform laws sweep across the U.S., some ask: Are they enough?* New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/04/18/us/police-reform-bills.html>
- Edwards, F., Lee, H., & Esposito, M. (2019). Risk of being killed by police use of force in the United States by age, race–ethnicity, and sex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 116(34), 16793–16798. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1821204116>
- Elia, G., & Margherita, A. (2018). Can we solve wicked problems? A conceptual framework and a collective intelligence system to support problem analysis and solution design for complex social issues. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 133, 279–286. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.techfore.2018.03.010>
- Ercan, S. A., Asenbaum, H., Curato, N., & Mendonca, R. F. (2022). *Research Methods in Deliberative Democracy*. Oxford University Press.
- Escobar, O., & Roberts, J. (2015). *Involving communities in deliberation: A study of three citizens' juries on onshore wind farms in Scotland*. <https://www.research.ed.ac.uk/en/publications/involving-communities-in-deliberation-a-study-of-three-citizens-j>
- Evagorou, M., Vrikki, M., & Papanastasiou, E. (2023). Students' and teachers' voice on the outcomes of a citizenship education curriculum. *Citizenship, Social and Economics Education*, 22(2), 100–117. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14788047231193917>
- Fabelo, T., Thompson, M., Plotkin, M., Carmichael, D., Marchbanks, M., & Booth, E. (2011). *Breaking schools' rules: A statewide study of how school discipline relates to students' success and juvenile justice involvement*. Council of State Governments Justice Center. https://csgjusticecenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Breaking_Schools_Rules_Report_Final.pdf
- Fein, R. A., Vossekuil, B., Pollack, W. S., Borum, R., Modzeleski, W., & Reddy, M. (2004). *Threat Assessment in Schools: A Guide to Managing Threatening Situations and to Creating Safe School Climates*. United States Secret Service and United States Department of Education. <https://www2.ed.gov/admins/lead/safety/threatassessmentguide.pdf>
- Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating Rigor Using Thematic Analysis: A Hybrid Approach of Inductive and Deductive Coding and Theme Development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1), 80–92. <https://doi.org/10.1177/160940690600500107>

- Fernandez, M.-P., Doan, S., & Steiner, E. D. (2021). *Use, Capture, and Value of Student Voice in Schools: Findings from the 2021 Learn Together Surveys*. RAND Corporation. https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA827-4.html
- Fetsko, B. (2020, June 17). The Role of K-12 Students in Protests Against Racism and Police Brutality. *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/the-role-of-k-12-students-in-protests-against-racism-and-police-brutality/2020/06>
- Fielding, M. (2004). Transformative approaches to student voice: Theoretical underpinnings, recalcitrant realities. *British Educational Research Journal*, 30(2), 295–311. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0141192042000195236>
- Fielding, M., & McGregor, J. (2005, April). Deconstructing student voice: New spaces for dialogue or new opportunities for surveillance? *Speaking up and Speaking out: International Perspectives On the Democratic Possibilities of Student Voice*. American Educational Research Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. https://www.academia.edu/27005452/Deconstructing_student_voice_new_spaces_for_dialogue_or_new_opportunities_for_surveillance
- Finn, P. (2001). *Citizen Review of Police: Approaches and Implementation* (pp. 1–181). National Institute of Justice. <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/184430.pdf>
- Fisher, B. W., & Hennessy, E. A. (2016). School Resource Officers and Exclusionary Discipline in U.S. High Schools: A Systematic Review and Meta-analysis. *Adolescent Research Review*, 1(3), 217–233. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40894-015-0006-8>
- Fisher, B. W., Higgins, E. M., & Homer, E. M. (2019). School crime and punishment and the implementation of security cameras: Findings from a national longitudinal study. *Justice Quarterly*, 1,1–2. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2018.1518476>
- Fisher, B. W., Higgins, E. M., Kupchik, A., Viano, S., Curran, F. C., Overstreet, S., Plumlee, B., & Coffey, B. (2020). Protecting the Flock or Policing the Sheep? Differences in School Resource Officers' Perceptions of Threats by School Racial Composition. *Social Problems*, spaa062. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spaa062>
- Fischer, F. (1993). Citizen participation and the democratization of policy expertise. *Policy Sciences*, 26(3),165–187.
- Fischer, M. (2023, September 28). “Whip-smart”: This 22-year-old helps lead one of the largest school districts in Arizona. *USA TODAY*.
- Fischman, G. E., & Gandin, L. A. (2016). The pedagogical and ethical legacy of a “successful” educational reform: The Citizen School Project. *International Review of Education*, 62(1), 63–89. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11159-016-9542-0>

- Fishkin, J. S. (2011). Deliberative Democracy and Constitutions. *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 28(1), 242–260. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0265052510000129>
- Fishkin, J. (2016). Deliberative Democracy. In *Emerging Trends in the Social and Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 1–16). John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118900772.etrds0405>
- Flaherty, J. (2018, February 24). After Florida Shooting, Phoenix Students Say More School Cops Isn't the Answer. *Phoenix New Times*. <https://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/news/after-florida-shooting-phoenix-students-say-more-school-officers-isnt-the-answer-10170607>
- Flinders, M., Ghose, K., Jennings, W., Molloy, E., Prosser, B., Renwick, A., Smith, G., & Spada, P. (2016). *Democracy Matters: Lessons from the 2015 Citizens' Assemblies on English Devolution*. The Democracy Matters Project. <https://citizensassembly.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Democracy-Matters-2015-Citizens-Assemblies-Report.pdf>
- Foa, R. S., Klassen, A., Wenger, D., Rand, A., & Slade, M. (2020). *Youth and Satisfaction with Democracy: Reversing the Democratic Disconnect?* (pp. 1–60). Centre for the Future of Democracy. https://www.bennettinstitute.cam.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Youth_and_Satisfaction_with_Democracy-lite.pdf
- Forenza, B., & Happonen, R. G. (2016). A Critical Analysis of Foster Youth Advisory Boards in the United States. *Child & Youth Care Forum*, 45(1), 107–121. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10566-015-9321-2>
- Foucault, M. (1988). *Technologies of the Self* (L. H. Martin, H. Gutman, & P. H. Hutton, Eds.). The University of Massachusetts Press. https://monoskop.org/images/0/03/Technologies_of_the_Self_A_Seminar_with_Michel_Foucault.pdf
- France, A. (2023, October 12). First citizens' assembly set up in east London to help scrutinise Met Police. *The Standard*. <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/met-police-waltham-forest-citizens-assembly-sarah-everard-way-couzens-casey-london-b1113126.html>
- Frank, B. J. (2017, May 5). Students launch #CopsOuttaCampus campaign at Phoenix Union High School District schools. *The Arizona Republic*. <https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/2017/05/05/cops-outta-campus-campaign-launches-phoenix-union-high-schools/311279001/>
- Franklin, B. (1995). *The Handbook of Children's Rights Comparative Policy and Practice*. Routledge.

- Franz et al. v. Oxford Community School District, 21-cv-12871 (E.D. Michigan Mar. 24, 2022). <https://dockets.justia.com/docket/michigan/miedce/2:2021cv12871/358628>
- Freeman, M. (1996). Children's Education: A Test Case for Best Interests and Autonomy. In *Listening to Children in Education*. Routledge.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Penguin.
- Friend, J., & Caruthers, L. (2015). Transforming the School Reform Agenda: A Framework for Including Student Voice in Urban School Renewal. *Journal of Urban Learning, Teaching, and Research*, 11, 14–25. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1071419>
- Fuchs, D. (2012). Participatory Democracy. In A. Delwiche & J. Jacobs Henderson (Eds.), *The Participatory Cultures Handbook* (pp. 163–170). Taylor & Francis.
- Fung, A. (2003). Recipes for public spheres: Eight institutional design choices and their consequences. *The Journal of Political Philosophy*, 11(3), 338–367.
DOI: <http://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9760.00181>
- Fung, A. (2006). Varieties of participation in complex governance. *Public Administration Review*, Special Issue, 66–75. DOI: <http://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6210.2006.00667.x>
- Fung, A. (2015). Putting the Public Back into Governance: The Challenges of Citizen Participation and Its Future. *Public Administration Review*, 75(4), 513–522.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/24757808>
- Fung, A., & Wright, E. O. (2001). Deepening Democracy: Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance. *Politics & Society*, 29(1), 5–41.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0032329201029001002>
- Gaffney, H., Ttofi, M. M., & Farrington, D. P. (2019). Evaluating the effectiveness of school-bullying prevention programs: An updated meta-analytical review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 45, 111–133. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.avb.2018.07.001>
- Ganuza, E., & Baiocchi, G. (2020). The Power of Ambiguity: How Participatory Budgeting Travels the Globe. *Journal of Deliberative Democracy*, 8(2), Article 2.
<https://doi.org/10.16997/jdd.142>
- Garcia, D. R. (2022). *Teach Truth to Power: How to Engage in Education Policy*. MIT Press.
- Garrard, W. M., & Lipsey, M. W. (2007). Conflict resolution education and antisocial behavior in U.S. schools: A meta-analysis. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*, 25(1), 9–38.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/crq.188>
- Gastil, J. (2008). *Political communication and deliberation*. Sage.

- Gavrilova, N. V., & Schugurensky, D. (2021). Democratisation of educational systems through participatory approaches in US schools and universities. *The Education and science journal*, 23(7), Article 7. <https://doi.org/10.17853/1994-5639-2021-7-99-121>
- GBD 2019 Police Violence US Subnational Collaborators. (2021). Fatal police violence by race and state in the USA, 1980–2019: A network meta-regression. *The Lancet*, 398(10307), 1239–1255. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(21\)01609-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(21)01609-3)
- Gecker, J. (2022, June 23). After year of violence, US schools try to tame tensions. *AP News*. <https://apnews.com/article/covid-health-san-francisco-mental-459a57d7c8f69d25f0c36780d41a65a7>
- Gentile, S. K. (2014). *From Listening to Empowering: A Study of High School Principals' Perceptions of Student Voice in Classroom Instruction* [University of Pittsburg]. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/33561734.pdf>
- Gershtenson, J., Rainey, G. W., & Rainey, J. G. (2010). Creating Better Citizens? Effects of a Model Citizens' Assembly on Student Political Attitudes and Behavior. *Journal of Political Science Education*, 6(2), 95–116. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15512161003708129>
- Geyiktepe, M. (2022, February 24). Body Tasked with Rewriting Student Government Constitution Faces Questions Over Structure. *The Harvard Crimson*. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2022/2/24/citizens-assembly-faces-questions/>
- Gibbs, N. P., Bartlett, T., & Schugurensky, D. (2021). Does School Participatory Budgeting Increase Students' Political Efficacy? Bandura's 'Sources', Civic Pedagogy, and Education for Democracy. *Curriculum and Teaching*, 36(1), 5–27. <https://doi.org/10.7459/ct/36.1.02>
- Giroux, H. (2010). *Rethinking Education as the Practice of Freedom: Paulo Freire and the Promise of Critical Pedagogy*. Truthout Archives. <http://www.truthout.org/archive/item/87456:rethinking-education-as-the-practice-of-freedom-paulo-freire-and-the-promise-of-critical-pedagogy>
- Goldmark, S. (2021, February 3). Citizens' Assembly Offers Next Steps for Climate Action and Sustainability. *Barnard College*. <https://barnard.edu/news/citizens-assembly-offers-next-steps-climate-action-and-sustainability>
- Goldstein, D. (2018, November 28). *Are Civics Lessons a Constitutional Right? This Student Is Suing for Them*. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/28/us/civics-rhode-island-schools.html>
- Gonzalez, J. M. R., Jetelina, K. K., & Jennings, W. G. (2016). Structural school safety measures, SROs, and school-related delinquent behavior and perceptions of safety: A state-of-the-art review. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies &*

Management, 39(3). <https://www-emerald-com.ezproxy1.lib.asu.edu/insight/content/doi/10.1108/PIJPSM-05-2016-0065/full/pdf?title=structural-school-safety-measures-sros-and-school-related-delinquent-behavior-and-perceptions-of-safety-a-state-of-the-art-review>

Government Accountability Office of the United States [GAO]. (2020). *Characteristics of School Shootings*. <https://www.gao.gov/assets/710/707717.pdf>

Green, E. (2020). *Programs and Practices to Prevent School Violence and Improve School Safety*. Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority. <https://icjia.illinois.gov/researchhub/articles/programs-and-practices-to-prevent-school-violence-and-improve-school-safety>

Gregory, A., & Evans, K. R. (2020). The Starts and Stumbles of Restorative Justice in Education: Where Do We Go from Here? <https://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/restorative-justice>

Gregory, A., Skiba, R. J., & Noguera, P. A. (2010). The Achievement Gap and the Discipline Gap: Two Sides of the Same Coin? *Educational Researcher*, 39(1), 59–68. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X09357621>

Griebler, U., & Nowak, P. (2012). Student councils: A tool for health promoting schools? Characteristics and effects. *Health Education*, 112(2), 105–132. <https://doi.org/10.1108/09654281211203402>

Grönlund, K., Setälä, M., & Herne, K. (2010). Deliberation and civic virtue: Lessons from a citizen deliberation experiment. *European Political Science Review*, 2(1), 95–117. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773909990245>

Gustafson, E., Cohen, A. K., & Andes, S. (2021). Youth Civic Action Across the United States: Projects, Priorities, and Approaches. *Youth & Society*, 53(4), 654–675. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X19883737>

Gutiérrez, L. A. (2016). “¡Ya basta con la ciudadanía restrictiva!”: Undocumented Latina/o Young People and Their Families’ Participatory Citizenship. *International Journal of Multicultural Education*, 18(1), 107–125.

Gutmann, A., & Thompson, D. F. (2004). *Why Deliberative Democracy?* Princeton University Press.

Habermas, J. (1996). *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. (W. Rehg, Trans.). The MIT Press. (Original work published in 1992)

Habermas, J. (1975). *Legitimation Crisis*. (T. McCarthy, Trans.). Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd. (Original work published in 1973)

- Haddad, K., Jacquez, F., & Vaughn, L. (2022). A scoping review of youth advisory structures in the United States: Applications, outcomes, and best practices. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 70(3–4), 493–508. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12597>
- Hahn, C. (1998). *Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizen Education*. State University of New York Press.
- Halfon, E., & Romi, S. (2021). High-school student councils: A typological approach. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 16(2), 114–134. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197919886880>
- Hart, R. (1992). *Children's Participation: From tokenism to citizenship*. UNICEF. <https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/100-childrens-participation-from-tokenism-to-citizenship.html>
- Hart, S. N. (1991). From property to person status: Historical perspective on children's rights. *American Psychologist*, 46(1), 53–59. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.46.1.53>
- Head, B. W. (2008). *Wicked problems in public policy: Understanding and Responding to Complex Challenges*. Palgrave MacMillan. <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/53360/1/978-3-030-94580-0.pdf>
- Head, B. W., & Alford, J. (2015). Wicked Problems: Implications for Public Policy and Management. *Administration & Society*, 47(6), 711–739. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0095399713481601>
- Head, B. W., & Xiang, W.-N. (2016). Why is an APT approach to wicked problems important? *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 154, 4–7. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2016.03.018>
- Healy, S. (2022). Momentum Grows for Stronger Civic Education Across States. *Human Rights Magazine*, 47(2). https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/the-state-of-civic-education-in-america/momentum-grows-for-stronger-civic-education-across-states/
- Heers, M., Van Klaveren, C., Groot, W., & Maassen van den Brink, H. (2016). Community Schools: What We Know and What We Need to Know. *Review of Educational Research*, 86(4), 1016–1051. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654315627365>
- Heitzeg, N. (2009). Education or incarceration: Zero tolerance policies and the school to prison pipeline. (EJ870076). ERIC. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ870076>
- Heitzeg, N. (2014). Criminalizing education: Zero tolerance policies, police in the hallways, and the school to prison pipeline. *Counterpoints*, 453, 11–36.

https://www.hamline.edu/uploadedFiles/Hamline_WWW/HSE/Documents/criminalizing-education-zero-tolerance-police.pdf

- Hendrie, C. (2023). Districts and States Give Students a Seat at the Boardroom Table. *Education Next*, 23(3), 8–14. <https://www.educationnext.org/districts-states-give-students-seat-boardroom-table-authority-voting-rights-differ/>
- Henning, K. (2021, July 19). Cops at the schoolyard gate. Vox. <https://www.vox.com/the-highlight/22580659/police-in-school-resource-officers-sro>
- Hernandez, S., Sepulveda, L. D., & Brower, M. (2021, November 30). Sale of “ghost gun” with fake money led to Cesar Chavez High School student shooting. *The Arizona Republic*. <https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/phoenix/2021/11/30/cesar-chavez-high-school-increases-safety-measures-after-student-shot/8809221002/>
- Hess, D. E., & McAvoy, P. (2015). *The Political Classroom: Evidence and Ethics in Democratic Education*. Routledge.
- Hess, R., & Torney, J. (1967). *The Development of Political Attitudes in Children*. Aldine Publishing Company.
- Hilmer, J. D. (2010). The State of Participatory Democratic Theory. *New Political Science*, 32(1), 43–63. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393140903492118>
- Hinton, E. (2016). From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America. In *Racism in America* (pp. 98-106). Harvard University Press.
- Hipolito-Delgado, C. P., Stickney, D., Zion, S., & Kirshner, B. (2022). Transformative Student Voice for Sociopolitical Development: Developing Youth of Color as Political Actors. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 32(3), 1098–1108. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jora.12753>
- Hirschfield, P. J. (2008). Preparing for prison?: The criminalization of school discipline in the USA. *Theoretical Criminology*, 12(1), 79–101. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480607085795>
- Hodgkinson, I. R., Mousavi, S., & Hughes, P. (2022). New development: Citizen science—discovering (new) solutions to wicked problems. *Public Money & Management*, 42(2), 133–136. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540962.2021.1967630>
- Holdo, M. (2016). Reasons of Power: Explaining Non-cooptation in Participatory Budgeting. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 40(2), 378–394. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12378>

- Holmes, A. G. D. (2020). Researcher Positionality—A Consideration of Its Influence and Place in Qualitative Research—A New Researcher Guide. *Shanlax International Journal of Education*, 8(4), 1–10. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1268044.pdf>
- Holquist, S. (2019). *Student Voice in Education Policy: Understanding student participation in state-level K-12 education policy making* [University of Minnesota]. <http://conservancy.umn.edu/handle/11299/206658>
- Holquist, S. E., Mitra, D. L., Conner, J., & Wright, N. L. (2023). What Is Student Voice Anyway? The Intersection of Student Voice Practices and Shared Leadership. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 0013161X231178023. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X231178023>
- Homer, E. M., & Fisher, B. W. (2020). Police in schools and student arrest rates across the United States: Examining differences by race, ethnicity, and gender. *Journal of School Violence*, 19(2), 192–204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2019.1604377>
- Huang, F. L., & Cornell, D. G. (2021). Teacher Support for Zero Tolerance Is Associated With Higher Suspension Rates and Lower Feelings of Safety. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 388–405. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1832865>
- Ice, M., Thapa, A., & Cohen, J. (2015). Recognizing Community Voice and a Youth-Led School-Community Partnership in the School Climate Improvement Process. *School Community Journal*, 25(1), 9–28. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1066254>
- Iconico. (n.d.). Iconico. <https://www.iconico.io>
- Innes, J. E., & Booher, D. E. (2016). Collaborative rationality as a strategy for working with wicked problems. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 154, 8–10. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2016.03.016>
- Institute of Education Sciences. (2023). *School Pulse Panel*. Tableau Software. https://public.tableau.com/views/2022_SPP_Behavior_LearnReco_Summer_Reflections/StudentBehavior?:embed=y&:showAppBanner=false&:toolbar=no&:display_count=n&:showVizHome=n&:origin=viz_share_link&:tabs=no&:device=desktop
- International Association for Public Participation [IAP2]. (2018). *IAP2 Spectrum of Public Participation*. https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.iap2.org/resource/resmgr/pillars/Spectrum_8.5x11_Print.pdf
- Ishimaru, A. M. (2019). *Just Schools*. Teachers College Press. <https://www.tcpress.com/just-schools-9780807763193>

- James, N., & McCallion, G. (2013). *School resource officers: law enforcement officers in schools*. Congressional Research Service. <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/R43126.pdf>
- Javdani, S. (2019). Policing Education: An Empirical Review of the Challenges and Impact of the Work of School Police Officers. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 63(3–4), 253–269. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12306>
- Javelina. (2023). Javelina. <https://javelina.co/>
- Johnson, C., Carlson, H. J., & Reynolds, S. (2021). Testing the Participation Hypothesis: Evidence from Participatory Budgeting. *Political Behavior*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-021-09679-w>
- Johnson, J. H. (1991). Student Voice Motivating Students through Empowerment. Oregon School Study Council Bulletin, 35(2). <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED337875>
- Johnson, S. L., Bottiani, J., Waasdorp, T. E., & Bradshaw, C. P. (2018). Surveillance or safekeeping? How school security officer and camera presence influence students' perceptions of safety, equity, and support. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 63(6), 732–738. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2018.06.008>
- Jones, W., Berg, J., & Osher, D. (2018). *Trauma and learning policy initiative (TLPI): Trauma-sensitive schools*. American Institutes for Research. https://d2jb59s61v13vs.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/TLPI-Final-Report_Full-Report-002-2-1.pdf
- Juris, J. S., & Pleyers, G. H. (2009). Alter-activism: Emerging cultures of participation among young global justice activists. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 12(1), 57–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676260802345765>
- Kahne, J., Bowyer, B., Marshall, J., & Hodgin, E. (2022). Is Responsiveness to Student Voice Related to Academic Outcomes? Strengthening the Rationale for Student Voice in School Reform. *American Journal of Education*, 128(3), 389–415. <https://doi.org/10.1086/719121>
- Kahne, J., Crow, D., & Lee, N.-J. (2013). Different Pedagogy, Different Politics: High School Learning Opportunities and Youth Political Engagement. *Political Psychology*, 34(3), 419–441. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00936.x>
- Kahne, J. E., & Sporte, S. E. (2008). Developing Citizens: The Impact of Civic Learning Opportunities on Students' Commitment to Civic Participation. *American Educational Research Journal*, 45(3), 738–766. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831208316951>

- Kamenetz, A. (2018, April 29). What “A Nation At Risk” Got Wrong, And Right, About U.S. Schools. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2018/04/29/604986823/what-a-nation-at-risk-got-wrong-and-right-about-u-s-schools>
- Kannan, V. D., & Veazie, P. J. (2022). US trends in social isolation, social engagement, and companionship – nationally and by age, sex, race/ethnicity, family income, and work hours, 2003–2020. *SSM - Population Health*, 21, 101331. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmph.2022.101331>
- Kautz, T., Feeney, K., Chiang, H., Lauffer, S., Bartlett, M. & Tilley, C. (2021). *Using a survey of social and emotional learning and school climate to inform decisionmaking*. Institute of Education Sciences, Regional Educational Laboratory Program. https://ies.ed.gov/ncee/edlabs/regions/midatlantic/pdf/REL_2021114.pdf
- Katic, B., Alba, L. A., & Johnson, A. H. (2020). A Systematic Evaluation of Restorative Justice Practices: School Violence Prevention and Response. *Journal of School Violence*, 19(4), 579–593. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2020.1783670>
- Keierleber, M. (2015). Why so few school cops are trained to work with kids. *Atlantic Media Company*. <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2015/11/why-do-most-school-cops-have-no-student-training-requirements/414286/>
- Kim, J. (2023, January 27). Videos like the Tyre Nichols footage can be traumatic. An expert shares ways to cope. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/2023/01/27/1152028575/tyre-nichols-video-watching-traumatic>
- Kingdon, J.W. (2003/[1984]). *Agendas, alternatives and public policies*. Second edition. Longman.
- Kirshner, B., & Jefferson, A. (2015). Participatory Democracy and Struggling Schools: Making Space for Youth in School Turnarounds. *Teachers College Record*, 117(6). https://www.colorado.edu/education/sites/default/files/attached-files/Kirshner%20and%20Jefferson_Participatory%20Democracy.pdf
- Kolko, J. (2012). Wicked problems: Problems worth solving. Austin Center for Design. https://www.andrehabermacher.ch/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/WickedProblemsJonKolko_lowres_spreads.pdf
- Koller, D., & Schugurensky, D. (2011). Examining the Developmental Impact of Youth Participation in Education Governance: The Case of Student Trustees. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 21(2), 350–360. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00673.x>

- Korkmaz, H. E., & Erden, M. (2014). A Delphi Study: The Characteristics of Democratic Schools. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 107(5), 365–373. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.2013.823365>
- Kowalski, R. M., Leary, M., Hendley, T., Rubley, K., Chapman, C., Chitty, H., Carroll, H., Cook, A., Richardson, E., Robbins, C., Wells, S., Bourque, L., Oakley, R., Bednar, H., Jones, R., Tolleson, K., Fisher, K., Graham, R., Scarborough, M., ... Longacre, M. (2021). K-12, college/university, and mass shootings: Similarities and differences. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 161(6), 753–778. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224545.2021.1900047>
- Kozol, J. (1992). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools* (1st Harper Perennial ed). Harper Perennial.
- Krein, M. (2021, February 18). Is mindfulness the missing piece in education? *Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College News and People*. Arizona State University. <https://education.asu.edu/news/mindfulness-missing-piece-education>
- Kudrnáč, A., Vejchodská, E., & Slavíková, L. (2022). Effects of school forums on political development in early adolescence. A field experiment. *Local Government Studies*, 0(0), 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2022.2052855>
- Kuh, G. D., Kinzie, J., Buckley, J. A., Bridges, B. K., & Hayek, J. C. (2006). *What Matters to Student Success: A Review of the Literature*. National Postsecondary Education Cooperative. https://nces.ed.gov/npec/pdf/kuh_team_report.pdf
- Kurtz, S. (2021). "Action Civics" Replaces Citizenship with Partisanship. The American Mind. <https://americanmind.org/memo/action-civics-replaces-citizenship-with-partisanship/>
- Kutsyruba, B., Klinger, D. A., & Hussain, A. (2015). Relationships among school climate, school safety, and student achievement and well-being: A review of the literature. *Review of Education*, 3(2), 103–135. <https://doi.org/10.1002/rev3.3043>
- LaBelle, B. (2019). Positive outcomes of a social-emotional learning program to promote student resiliency and address mental health. *Contemporary School Psychology*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40688-019-00263-y>
- Lacoe, J., & Steinberg, M. P. (2018). Rolling Back Zero Tolerance: The Effect of Discipline Policy Reform on Suspension Usage and Student Outcomes. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 93(2), 207–227. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2018.1435047>
- Landemore, H. E. (2012). Why the Many Are Smarter than the Few and Why It Matters. *Journal of Deliberative Democracy*, 8(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.16997/jdd.129>

- Lansdown, G. (1994). *Children's Childhoods Observed and Experienced* (B. Mayall, Ed.). The Falmer Press. <https://www.scribd.com/document/354210797/berry-mayall-children-s-childhoods-observed-and-experienced>
- Larson, K. E., Pas, E. T., Bradshaw, C. P., Rosenberg, M. S., & Day-Vines, N. L. (2018). Examining How Proactive Management and Culturally Responsive Teaching Relate to Student Behavior: Implications for Measurement and Practice. *School Psychology Review*, 47(2), 153–166. <https://doi.org/10.17105/SPR-2017-0070.V47-2>
- Lawson, E. (2019). TRENDS: Police Militarization and the Use of Lethal Force. *Political Research Quarterly*, 72(1), 177–189. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912918784209>
- Lee, A., & Gage, N. A. (2020). Updating and expanding systematic reviews and meta-analyses on the effects of school-wide positive behavior interventions and supports. *Psychology in the Schools*, 57, 783–804. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.22336>
- Lee, L. E., & Zimmerman, M. (1999). A New Vision for Student Voice. *Education Canada*, 39(2), 34–35.
- Legewie, J., & Fagan, J. (2018). Aggressive Policing and the Educational Performance of Minority Youth. *American Sociological Review*, 84. https://scholarship.law.columbia.edu/faculty_scholarship/2315
- Lenzi, M., Vieno, A., Sharkey, J., Mayworm, A., Scacchi, L., Pastore, M., & Santinello, M. (2014). How School can Teach Civic Engagement Besides Civic Education: The Role of Democratic School Climate. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 54(3), 251–261. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-014-9669-8>
- Lerner, R. M. (2004). *Liberty: Thriving and civic engagement among America's youth*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Lerner, J., & Schugurensky, D. (2007). Who learns what in participatory democracy?: participatory budgeting in Rosario, Argentina. In van der Veen, R., Wildermeersch, D., Youngblood, J., & Marsick, V (Eds). *Democratic practices as learning opportunities* (pp. 85-100). Brill Sense. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789087903398_009
- Lerner, J., & Secondo, D. (2012). By the people, for the people: Participatory budgeting from the bottom up in North America. *Journal of Deliberative Democracy*, 8(2), 2. <https://doi.org/10.16997/jdd.148>
- Levinson, M. (2014). *No Citizen Left Behind*: Harvard University Press.
- Lincoln, Y. (1993). I and thou: method, voice, and roles in research with the silenced, in D. McLaughlin & W. G. Tierney (Eds.) *Naming silenced lives: personal narratives and processes of educational change*. (Routledge), 29–47.

- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Lindsay, C., Lee, V., & Lloyd, T. (2018). *The prevalence of police officers in US schools*. The Urban Institute. <https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/prevalence-police-officers-us-schools>
- Lippmann W. (1922). *Public opinion*. McMillan.
- LoSardo, A. (2020). Faceoff: The Fight for Privacy in American Public Schools in the Wake of Facial Recognition Technology. *Seton Hall Legislative Journal*, 44(2). <https://scholarship.shu.edu/shlj/vol44/iss2/6>
- Losen, D. J., & Martinez, P. (2020). *Lost Opportunities: How Disparate School Discipline Continues to Drive Differences in the Opportunity to Learn*. The Civil Rights Project. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7hm2456z>
- Loukas, A. (2007). High-quality school climate is advantageous for all students and may be particularly beneficial for at-risk students. *National Association of Elementary School Principals [NASEP]*, 5(1). https://www.naesp.org/sites/default/files/resources/2/Leadership_Compass/2007/LC2007v5n1a4.pdf
- Luluquisen, E. M., Trinidad, A. M. O., & Ghosh, D. (2006). Sariling Gawa Youth Council as a Case Study of Youth Leadership Development in Hawai'i. *Journal of Community Practice*, 14(1–2), 57–70. https://doi.org/10.1300/J125v14n01_04
- Lundström, N., Raisio, H., Vartiainen, P., & Lindell, J. (2016). Wicked games changing the storyline of urban planning. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 154, 20–28. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landurbplan.2016.01.010>
- Lundy, L. (2007). “Voice” Is Not Enough: Conceptualising Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. *British Educational Research Journal*, 33(6), 927–942.
- Lynch, C. G., Gainey, R. R., & Chappell, A. T. (2016). The effects of social and educational disadvantage on the roles and functions of school resource officers. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 39(3), 521–535. <https://doi.org/10.1108/PIJPSM-02-2016-0021>
- Ma, A. (2018, May 8). Anxiety over shootings bolsters \$2.7 billion school security industry. *Marketplace*. <https://www.marketplace.org/2018/05/08/anxiety-over-shootings-bolsters-27-billion-school-security-industry/>

- Madhukar, P. (2019, October 17). *The Hidden Costs of High-Tech Surveillance in Schools*. Brennan Center for Justice. <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/hidden-costs-high-tech-surveillance-schools>
- Mager, U., & Nowak, P. (2012). Effects of student participation in decision making at school. A systematic review and synthesis of empirical research. *Educational Research Review*, 7(1), 38–61. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.edurev.2011.11.001>
- Mahoney, J. L., Durlak, J. A., & Weissberg, R. P. (2018). An update on social and emotional learning outcome research. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 100(4), 18–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0031721718815668>
- Mallett, C. A. (2014). The “Learning Disabilities to Juvenile Detention” Pipeline: A Case Study. *Children & Schools*, 36(3), 147–154. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cs/cdu010>
- Mansbridge, J. (1998). Feminism and Democracy. In Phillips, A. (Ed). *Feminism and Politics* (pp.142-159). Oxford University Press.
- Mansfield, K. C., Welton, A., & Halx, M. (2018). Listening to Student Voice: Toward a More Holistic Approach to School Leadership. *Journal of Ethical Educational Leadership*, 1.
- Marchbanks, M. P. T., Peguero, A. A., Varela, K. S., Blake, J. J., & Eason, J. M. (2018). School Strictness and Disproportionate Minority Contact: Investigating Racial and Ethnic Disparities With the “School-to-Prison Pipeline.” *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 16(2), 241–259. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204016680403>
- Marsh, M., Kenyon, E., Cardy, T., & West, E. (2020). That’s My Voice! Participation and Democratic Citizenship in the Early Childhood Classroom. *Democracy and Education*, 28(2). <https://democracyeducationjournal.org/home/vol28/iss2/1>
- Martin, S., Pittman, K., Ferber, T., & McMahon, A. (2007). *Building Effective Youth Councils: A Practical Guide to Engaging Youth in Policy Making*. The Forum for Youth Investment. https://www.ca-ilg.org/sites/main/files/file-attachments/building_effective_youth_councils.pdf
- Maskaly, J., Donner, C. M., Lanterman, J., & Jennings, W. G. (2011). On the Association Between SROs, Private Security Guards, Use-of-Force Capabilities, and Violent Crime in Schools. *Journal of Police Crisis Negotiations*, 11(2), 159–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15332586.2011.587381>
- Mateos-Blanco, T., Sánchez-Lissen, E., Gil-Jaurena, I., & Romero-Pérez, C. (2022). Child-Led Participation: A Scoping Review of Empirical Studies. *Social Inclusion*, 10(2), Article 2. <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/socialinclusion/article/view/4921>

- Matthews, H., & Limb, M. (2003). Another white elephant? Youth councils as democratic structures. *Space and Polity*, 7(2), 173–192.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1356257032000133928>
- Maxwell, L., Peele, H., Decker, S., & Kim, H.-Y. (2022, January 5). School Shootings in 2022: How Many and Where. *Education Week*.
<https://www.edweek.org/leadership/school-shootings-this-year-how-many-and-where/2022/01>
- Maxwell, L., Peele, H., Decker, S., & Kim, H.-Y. (2023, January 6). School Shootings This Year: How Many and Where. *Education Week*.
<https://www.edweek.org/leadership/school-shootings-this-year-how-many-and-where/2023/01>
- Maxwell, L., Peele, H., & Superville, D. (2021, March 1). School Shootings in 2021: How Many and Where. *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/school-shootings-this-year-how-many-and-where/2021/03>
- May, D. C., Rice, C., & Minor, K. I. (2012). An Examination of School Resource Officers' Attitudes Regarding Behavioral Issues among Students Receiving Special Education Services. *Current Issues in Education*, 15(3), Article 3.
<https://cie.asu.edu/ojs/index.php/cieatasu/article/view/863>
- McFarland, D. A., & Starmanns, C. (2009). Inside Student Government: The Variable Quality of High School Student Councils. *Teachers College Record*, 111(1), 27–54.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/016146810911100106>
- McFarland, D. A., & Thomas, R. J. (2006). Bowling young: How youth voluntary associations influence adult political participation. *American Sociological Review*, 71, 401–425. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240607100303>
- McFarland, J., Hussar, B., Wang, X., Zhang, J., Wang, K., Rathbun, A., Barmer, A., Forrest Cataldi, E., & Bullock Mann, F. (2018). *The Condition of Education 2018 (NCES 2018-144)*. U.S. Department of Education.
<https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2018144>
- McGinnis, E., & Mitra, D. (2022). Civic action and student voice. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 17(3), 268–281. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17461979221098014>
- McIntyre, D., Pedder, D., & Rudduck, J. (2005). Pupil voice: Comfortable and uncomfortable learnings for teachers. *Research Papers in Education*, 20, 149–168.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02671520500077970>

- McQuillan, P. J. (2005). Possibilities and Pitfalls: A Comparative Analysis of Student Empowerment. *American Educational Research Journal*, 42(4), 639–670.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/3699475>
- Mears, D. P., Montes, A. N., Collier, N. L., Siennick, S. E., Pesta, G. B., Brown, S. J., & Blomberg, T. G. (2019). The Benefits, Risks, and Challenges of Get-Tough and Support-Oriented Approaches to Improving School Safety. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 30(9), 1342–1367. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0887403418786553>
- Medina, A. (2023, August 7). *Gen Z Voted at a Higher Rate in 2022 than Previous Generations in their First Midterm Election*. Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE). <https://circle.tufts.edu/index.php/latest-research/gen-z-voted-higher-rate-2022-previous-generations-their-first-midterm-election>
- Medina, A., de Guzman, P., Siegel-Stechler, K., & Beadle, K. (2022, December 19). Youth in 2022: Concerned about Issues but Neglected by Campaigns [Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE)]. *Latest Research*. <https://circle.tufts.edu/latest-research/youth-2022-concerned-about-issues-neglected-campaigns>
- Meiners, E. R. (2007). *Right to Be Hostile: Schools, Prisons, and the Making of Public Enemies*. Routledge.
- Michels, A., & De Graaf, L. (2010). Examining Citizen Participation: Local Participatory Policy Making and Democracy. *Local Government Studies*, 36(4), 477–491.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2010.494101>
- Mill, J. S., Mineka, F. E., Robson, J. M., & Robson, J. M. (1963). *Collected works of John Stuart Mill*. University of Toronto Press.
- Mitchell, C. (2017, May 19). How a Teenager Won a School Board Election in His Texas Town. *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/how-a-teenager-won-a-school-board-election-in-his-texas-town/2017/05>
- Mitra, D. L. (2004). The Significance of Students: Can Increasing “Student Voice” in Schools Lead to Gains in Youth Development? *Teachers College Record*, 106(4), 651–688.
http://curriculumstudies.pbworks.com/w/file/52018177/Mitra2004TheSignificanceofChildrensVoice_TCRecord.pdf
- Mitra, D. L. (2008). *Student Voice in School Reform: Building Youth-Adult Partnerships That Strengthen Schools and Empower Youth*. State University of New Press.

- Mitra, D. L. (2009). Collaborating with Students: Building Youth-Adult Partnerships in Schools. *American Journal of Education*, 115(3), 407–436. <https://doi.org/10.1086/597488>
- Mitra, D. L., & Gross, S. J. (2009). Increasing Student Voice in High School Reform: Building Partnerships, Improving Outcomes. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, 37(4), 522–543. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1741143209334577>
- Morojele, P., & Muthukrishna, N. (2011). Child participation in school governance: The case of prefects at a primary school in Lesotho. *Perspectives in Education*, 29(4), 49–57. <https://doi.org/10.10520/EJC87649>
- Morton, N. (2022, October 19). *Some districts that removed police from schools have brought them back*. The Hechinger Report. <https://hechingerreport.org/student-protests-prompted-schools-to-remove-police-now-some-districts-are-bringing-them-back/>
- Mowen, T. J., & Freng, A. (2019). Is more necessarily better? School security and perceptions of safety among students and parents in the United States. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 44(3), 376–394. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-018-9461-7>
- Mulhausen, D. B. (2020). *A Comprehensive School Safety Framework: Report to the Committees on Appropriations (pp. 1–33)*. National Institute of Justice. <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/255078.pdf>
- Müller-Kuhn, D., Zala-Mezö, E., Häbig, J., Strauss, N.-C., & Herzig, P. (2021). Five Contexts and Three Characteristics of Student Participation and Student Voice – A Literature Review. *International Journal of Student Voice*, 9. <https://ijsv.psu.edu/files/2023/03/Muller-Kuhn-et-al.pdf>
- Mummolo, J. (2018). Militarization fails to enhance police safety or reduce crime but may harm police reputation. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 115(37), 9181–9186. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1805161115>
- Musu-Gillette, L., Zhang, A., Wang, K., Zhang, J., Kemp, J., Diliberti, M., & Oudekerk, B. (2018). *Indicators of school crime and safety: 2017*. US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics and US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2018/2018036.pdf>
- Na, C., & Gottfredson, D. C. (2013). Police Officers in Schools: Effects on School Crime and the Processing of Offending Behaviors. *Justice Quarterly*, 30(4), 619–650. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2011.615754>
- Nadeem, R. (2023, September 19). Americans’ Dismal Views of the Nation’s Politics. *Pew Research Center - U.S. Politics & Policy*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2023/09/19/americans-dismal-views-of-the-nations-politics/>

- Nairn, K., Sligo, J., & Freeman, C. (2006). Polarizing participation in local government: Which young people are included and excluded? *Children, Youth, and Environments*, 16(2), 248–273.
- Nakamoto, J., Cerna, R., & Stern, A. (2018). *High School Students' Perceptions of Police Vary by Student Race and Ethnicity: Findings from an Analysis of the California Healthy Kids Survey*. West Ed. <https://www.wested.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/resource-high-school-students-perceptions-of-police.pdf>
- National Association of School Resource Officers [NASRO]. (2012). *To protect and educate: The school resource officer and the prevention of violence in schools*. <https://www.nasro.org/clientuploads/resources/NASRO-Protect-and-Educate.pdf>
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP]. (2018). *Dismantling the school to prison pipeline*. NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. https://www.naacpldf.org/wp-content/uploads/Dismantling_the_School_to_Prison_Pipeline_Criminal-Justice_.pdf
- National Center for Education Statistics [NCES]. (2021). *Phoenix Union High School District Profile 2017-21*. <https://nces.ed.gov/Programs/Edge/ACSDashboard/0406330>
- National Institute of Justice (August 2022). *Five Facts About Mass Shootings in K12 Schools*. <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/305045.pdf>
- National School Climate Council [NSCC]. (2007). *The school climate challenge: Narrowing the gap between school climate research and school climate policy, practice guidelines and teacher education policy*. National School Climate Center, Center for Social and Emotional Education, and Education Commission of the States. <http://issuu.com/csee/docs/school-climate-challenge/14?e=1140135/2840339>
- National Student Board Member Association [NSBMA]. (2023). <https://www.nsbma.net/about>
- Nelson, A. C. (2008). The Impact of Zero Tolerance School Discipline Policies: Issues of Exclusionary Discipline. *NASP Communiqué*, 37(4). https://racism.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1787:the-impact-of-zero-tolerance-school-discipline-policies-issues-of-exclusionary-discipline&catid=197&Itemid=155
- NeMoyer, A., Nakash, O., Fukuda, M., Rosenthal, J., Mention, N., Chambers, V. A., Delman, D., Perez, G., Green, J. G., Trickett, E., & Alegría, M. (2020). Gathering Diverse Perspectives to Tackle “Wicked Problems”: Disproportionality in Educational Placement.

American Journal of Community Psychology, 65(1–2), 44–62.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12349>

- Newall, M., Jackson, C., & Diamond, J. (2022). *Seven in ten Americans say the country is in crisis, at risk of failing*. Ipsos. <https://www.ipsos.com/en-us/seven-ten-americans-say-country-crisis-risk-failing>
- Nix, J., Campbell, B. A., Byers, E. H., & Alpert, G. P. (2017). A Bird's Eye View of Civilians Killed by Police in 2015. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 16(1), 309–340. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12269>
- Noble, K. (2017). Policing the Hallways: The Origins of School-Police Partnerships in Twentieth Century American Urban Public Schools. [Doctoral Dissertation, Florida State University]. https://ufdcimages.uflib.ufl.edu/UF/E0/05/14/39/00001/NOBLE_K.pdf
- Novak, A. (2019). The School-To-Prison Pipeline: An Examination of the Association Between Suspension and Justice System Involvement. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 46(8), 1165–1180. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0093854819846917>
- Núñez-Eddy, E., Tackett, L., & Schugurensky, D. (2021). *Revisiting police presence on campus in post-covid times: The impact of school resource officers on student safety and school climate*. Arizona State University. https://sirc.asu.edu/sites/default/files/school_safety_sros.pdf
- Nussbaum, M. C., & Dixon Rosalind. (2012). Children's Rights and a Capabilities Approach: A Question of Special Priority. *University of Chicago Public Law & Legal Theory, Working Paper No. 384*. https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1056&context=public_law_and_legal_theory
- Nylen, W. R. (2002). Testing the Empowerment Thesis: The Participatory Budget in Belo Horizonte and Betim, Brazil. *Comparative Politics*, 34(2), 127–145. <https://doi.org/10.2307/4146934>
- Obert, R. (2022, October 8). Phoenix Carl Hayden High School football game stopped due to gunfire outside stadium. *The Arizona Republic*. <https://www.azcentral.com/story/sports/high-school/2022/10/08/carl-hayden-high-school-football-game-stopped-due-gun-fire-outside-stadium/8221011001/>
- O'Brien, T. C., Meares, T. L., & Tyler, T. R. (2020). Reconciling Police and Communities with Apologies, Acknowledgements, or Both: A Controlled Experiment. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 687(1), 202–215. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716220904659>

- Office of Public Affairs. (2021). *Justice Department Announces Investigation of the City of Phoenix and the Phoenix Police Department*. United States Department of Justice. <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-announces-investigation-city-phoenix-and-phoenix-police-department>
- Ogletree, Charles J., Jr. (2014). The legacy and implications of San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez. *Richmond Journal of Law and the Public Interest*, 17(2), 548.
- Oldfather, P. (1995). Songs “Come Back Most to Them”: Students’ Experiences as Researchers. *Theory Into Practice*, 34(2), 131–137.
- Osher, D., Bear, G. G., Sprague, J. R., & Doyle, W. (2010). How Can We Improve School Discipline? *Educational Researcher*, 39(1), 48–58. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X09357618>
- Page, D. (2017). Conceptualising the surveillance of teachers. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 38(7), 991–1006. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425692.2016.1218752>
- Palmer, N. A., Greytak, E. A., & Kosciw, J. G. (2016). *Educational Exclusion: Drop out, Push out, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline among LGBTQ Youth*. GLSEN. https://www.glsen.org/sites/default/files/2019-11/Educational_Exclusion_2013.pdf
- Parkinson, J., & Mansbridge, J. (2012). *Deliberative Systems: Deliberative Democracy at the Large Scale*. Cambridge University Press.
- Participatory Budgeting Project. (2014). *Real Money, Real Power: A Report on the First Five Years of the Participatory Budgeting Project*. Participatory Budgeting Project. <https://www.participatorybudgeting.org/5-year-report/>
- Participatory Budgeting Project. (2017, June 2). *Participatory Budgeting in Schools*. <https://vimeo.com/220012828>
- Participatory Budgeting Project. (2020, December 4). *PXU Staff & Student Steering Committee PB Kick-Off*. <https://vimeo.com/487371302/2667260615>
- Participatory Budgeting Project. (2021, April 9). *PXU Proposal Development Workshop*. <https://vimeo.com/534971258/bac0247573>
- Participatory Governance Initiative. (n.d.). *About PGI*. ASU School of Public Affairs. <https://spa.asu.edu/content/about-pgi>
- Partner Alliance for Safer Schools [PASS]. (2023). *Safety and Security Guidelines for K-12*

Schools. https://passk12.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/PASS_SAFETY_AND_SECURITY_GUIDELINES_6th_Ed.pdf

Parvin, P. (2018). Democracy Without Participation: A New Politics for a Disengaged Era. *Res Publica*, 24(1), 31–52. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11158-017-9382-1>

Pateman, C. (1970). *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge University Press.

Payne, A. A. (2008). A Multilevel Analysis of the Relationships among Communal School Organization, Student Bonding, and Delinquency. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 45(4), 429–455. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427808322621>

Pearl, B. (2020, October 15). Beyond Policing: Investing in Offices of Neighborhood Safety. *Center for American Progress*. <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/beyond-policing-investing-offices-neighborhood-safety/>

Pentek, C., & Eisenberg, M. (2018). School resource officers, safety, and discipline: Perceptions and experiences across racial/ethnic groups in Minnesota secondary schools. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 88, 141-148. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.03.008>

Perry, B. L., & Morris, E. W. (2014). Suspending progress: Collateral consequences of exclusionary punishment in public schools. *American Sociological Review*, 79, 1067–1087. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122414556308>

Peterson, J., Densley, J., & Erickson, G. (2021). Presence of Armed School Officials and Fatal and Nonfatal Gunshot Injuries During Mass School Shootings, United States, 1980-2019. *JAMA Network Open*, 4(2), e2037394. <https://doi.org/10.1001/jamanetworkopen.2020.37394>

Petrokubi, J., & Janssen, C. (2017). *Creating inclusive and effective environments for young people: Exploring youth voice and youth-adult partnership*. Education Northwest, Institute for Youth Success. <https://educationnorthwest.org/sites/default/files/resources/youth-voice-youth-adult-partnerships-508.pdf>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2020a). *July 7, 2020, PXU Superintendent Address: School Safety Announcement*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A186QVMPt8>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2020b). *July 17, 2020, PXU Governing Board Meeting*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e7z2RTdwjBQ>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2020c). *July 17, 2020, Special Governing Board Meeting Agenda, Item 3A: Discussions/Presentations.*
<https://go.boarddocs.com/az/phxhs/Board.nsf/Public>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2021). *December 2, 2021, PXU Governing Board Meeting.* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vOV2XG_nQ7c

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022a). *Phoenix Union High School District Profile.*
<https://www.pxu.org/Page/http%3A%2F%2Fwww.pxu.org%2Fsite%2Fdefault.aspx%3FPageID%3D106>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022b). *January 6, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting.* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BA61BpkbjMc>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022c). *February 3, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting.* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AKEPyGgm7Qg>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022d). *March 3, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting.* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PW3JFdFAJKE>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022e). *April 14, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting.* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qpa1KJed1Ds>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022f). *May 5, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting.*
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7SdeB7LR_Fo

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022g). *June 2, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting.*
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zloFfr52i98>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022h). *July 28, 2022, PXU Special Governing Board Meeting.* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s1NAT2K-4Wc>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022i). *August 4, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting.* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=syVjn57_5nw

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022j). *September 1, 2022, PXU Governing Board Meeting.* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gX6sKdH7--E>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022k). *September 17, 2022, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee Meeting.* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YHT2oXkpTfY>

Phoenix Union High School District. (2022l). *September 29, 2022, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee Meeting.* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=24GJHwBLEYg>

- Phoenix Union High School District. (2022m). *October 20, 2022, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qKrs5pI3N-E>
- Phoenix Union High School District. (2022n). *November 1, 2022, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=frcksvh3tAg>
- Phoenix Union High School District (2022o). *November 16, 2022, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RDt0HpW7ty8>
- Phoenix Union High School District. (2022p). *November 29, 2022, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eqNRTKF9NnY>
- Phoenix Union High School District. (2023a). *January 11, 2023, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee Meeting*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fiiN8MVpL-I>
- Phoenix Union High School District. (2023b). *January 25, 2023, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee Meeting*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KvHn0n15QFY>
- Phoenix Union High School District. (2023c). *February 22, 2023, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee Meeting*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hZjnKfz8OKc>
- Phoenix Union High School District. (2023d). *March 1, 2023, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee Meeting*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rhwqQ4abYwE>
- Phoenix Union High School District. (2023e). *March 22, 2023, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee Meeting*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WhNL7u9SEiU>
- Phoenix Union High School District (2023f). *March 29, 2023, PXU Governing Board Safety Committee Meeting*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yQxBpv8lqko>
- Pierson, E., Simoiu, C., Overgoor, J., Corbett-Davies, S., Jenson, D., Shoemaker, A., Ramachandran, V., Barghouty, P., Phillips, C., Shroff, R., & Goel, S. (2020). A large-scale analysis of racial disparities in police stops across the United States. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 4(7), Article 7. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41562-020-0858-1>
- Pontes, A., Henn, M., & Griffiths, M. D. (2018). Towards a Conceptualization of Young People's Political Engagement: A Qualitative Focus Group Study. *Societies*, 8(1), Article 1. <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc8010017>
- Portland State University Office of the President. (2021). *Framework for PSU Initiative to Reimagine Campus Safety*. Portland State University. <https://www.pdx.edu/president/reimagining-campus-public-safety>

- Prothero, A. (2023, March 29). Student Activists Push Congress for Action on Climate Change Education. *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/policy-politics/student-activists-push-congress-for-action-on-climate-change-education/2023/03>
- Quaglia Institute for School Voice and Aspirations. (2016). *Student Voice Report*. Quaglia Institute for School Voice and Aspirations. quagliainstitute.org/dmsView/School_Voice_Report_2016
- Rainey, J., & Rainey, G. (2013). *CACTUS: Engaging Students Through a Campus Citizens' Assembly* (SSRN Scholarly Paper 2207198). <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2207198>
- Rawls, J. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Harvard University Press.
- Ray, R. (2021, September 9). How 9/11 helped to militarize American law enforcement. *Brookings*. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/how-we-rise/2021/09/09/how-9-11-helped-to-militarize-american-law-enforcement/>
- Raffaele-Mendez, L. M. (2003). Predictors of suspension and negative school outcomes: A longitudinal investigation. In J. Wald & D. J. Losen (Eds.), *New Directions for Youth Development*. Wiley Periodicals.
- Rausch, M. K., Skiba, R. J., & Simmons, A. B. (2004). *The academic cost of discipline: The relationship between suspension/expulsion and school achievement*. Indiana University.
- Re-Imagine Los Angeles County Coalition. (2021). *Care First Budget 2021-2022: A budget that centers the needs of the system-impacted communities*. Google Docs. https://drive.google.com/file/d/16rQNLNI9Fc2rnbz6HsRH6DlpeQI7Hdoc/view?usp=embed_facebook
- Renström, E. A., Aspernäs, J., & Bäck, H. (2021). The young protester: The impact of belongingness needs on political engagement. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 24(6), 781–798. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2020.1768229>
- Reuchamps, M., Vrydagh, J., & Welp, Y. (Eds.). (2023). *De Gruyter Handbook of Citizens' Assemblies*. In *De Gruyter Handbook of Citizens' Assemblies*. De Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110758269>
- Rhodes, T. (2019). School Resource Officer Perceptions and Correlates of Work Roles. *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice*, 13(4), 498–516. <https://doi.org/10.1093/police/pax078>
- Richards-Schuster, K., & Checkoway, B. (2009). Youth participation in public policy at the local level: New lessons from Michigan municipalities. *National Civic Review*, 98(4), 26–30. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ncr.273>

- Riley, K. (2023, October 19). New program will place armed, uniformed off-duty police officers on campuses with SROs. *Arizona Capitol Times*.
<https://azcapitoltimes.com/news/2023/10/18/new-program-will-place-armed-uniformed-off-duty-police-officers-on-campus-with-sros/>
- Rinnooy Kan, W. F., Munniksma, A., Volman, M., & Dijkstra, A. B. (2023). Practicing voice: Student voice experiences, democratic school culture and students' attitudes towards voice. *Research Papers in Education*, 0(0), 1–21.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02671522.2023.2178496>
- Riser-Kositsky, M., Sawchuk, S., & Peele, H. (2022, June 29). School Police: Which Districts Cut Them? Which Brought Them Back? *Education Week*.
<https://www.edweek.org/leadership/which-districts-have-cut-school-policing-programs/2021/06>
- Rittel, H. & Webber, M. (1973). Dilemmas in a general theory of planning. *Policy Sciences*, 4, 155-169.
- Rodríguez, L. F., & Brown, T. M. (2009). From voice to agency: Guiding principles for participatory action research with youth. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2009(123), 19–34. <https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.312>
- Rousseau, J., & Scott, J. T. (2012). *The major political writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau: The two Discourses and the Social contract*. The University of Chicago Press.
- Rudduck, J., & Flutter, J. (2000). Pupil Participation and Pupil Perspective: “carving a new order of experience.” *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 30(1), 75–89.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03057640050005780>
- Russell, V., & Jovanovic, S. (2020). Public deliberation and social justice sensibilities in Greensboro Participatory Budgeting. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 17(2), 111–128. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14791420.2020.1746371>
- Ryan, J. B., Katsiyannis, A., Counts, J. M., & Shelnut, J. C. (2018). The Growing Concerns Regarding School Resource Officers. *Intervention in School and Clinic*, 53(3), 188–192.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1053451217702108>
- Sadowski, M. (2017). More than a Safe Space: How Schools Can Enable LGBTQ Students to Thrive. *American Educator*, 40(4), 4. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ1123878>
- Sakala, L., & Vigne, N. L. (2019). Community-driven models for safety and justice. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 16(1), 253–266.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S1742058X19000146>

- Samuels, J. (2020). Interest-driven sociopolitical youth engagement: Art and gun violence prevention. *Journal of Media Literacy Education*, 12(2), 80–92.
<https://doi.org/10.23860/JMLE-2020-12-2-7>
- Sawchuk, S. (2019, June 12). Few Student Board Members Can Vote. Should That Change? *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/few-student-board-members-can-vote-should-that-change/2019/06>
- Sawchuk, S. (2021, November 1). Violence in Schools Seems to Be Increasing. Why? *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/violence-seems-to-be-increasing-in-schools-why/2021/11>
- Sawchuk, S. (2021, November 16). School Resource Officers (SROs), Explained. *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/school-resource-officer-sro-duties-effectiveness>
- School Citizen Assemblies. (n.d.). *Toolkits/Guides*.
<https://www.schoolcitizenassemblies.org/toolkits.php>
- Schugurensky, D. (2006). “This is our school of citizenship”: Informal learning in local democracy. *Counterpoints*, 249, 163–182. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42979594>
- Schulten, K. (2018, March 7). The Power to Change the World: A Teaching Unit on Student Activism in History and Today. *The New York Times*.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/07/learning/lesson-plans/the-power-to-change-the-world-a-teaching-unit-on-student-activism-in-history-and-today.html>
- Schumpeter, J. (1943). *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy*. Routledge.
- Sherrod, L. R., Flanagan, C. A., & Youniss, J. (Eds.). (2002). *Growing into citizenship: Multiple pathways and diverse influences*. L. Erlbaum Associates.
- Simmons, C., Graham, A., & Thomas, N. (2015). Imagining an ideal school for wellbeing: Locating student voice. *Journal of Educational Change*, 16(2), 129–144.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-014-9239-8>
- Skerritt, C. (2022). A sinister side of student voice: Surveillance, suspicion, and stigma. *Journal of Education Policy*, 0(0), 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2022.2149859>
- Skiba, R. J. (2014). The Failure of Zero Tolerance. *Reclaiming Children and Youth*, 22(4), 27–33. https://reclaimingjournal.com/sites/default/files/journal-article-pdfs/22_4_Skiba.pdf
- Skiba, R. J., Horner, R. H., Chung, C.-G., Rausch, M. K., May, S. L., & Tobin, T. (2011). *Race Is Not Neutral: A National Investigation of African American and Latino*

- Disproportionality in School Discipline. *School Psychology Review*, 40(1), 85–107.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02796015.2011.12087730>
- Skiba, R. J., & Knesting, K. (2001). Zero Tolerance, Zero Evidence: An Analysis of School Disciplinary Practice. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 92, 17-43.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.23320019204>
- Sloam, J., & Henn, M. (2019). *Youthquake 2017: The Rise of Young Cosmopolitans in Britain*. Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-97469-9>
- Smith, C. (2023, March 3). Civic Education Is Having a Moment. This Is What That Means. *Governing*. <https://www.governing.com/now/civic-education-is-having-a-moment-this-is-what-that-means>
- Smith, G. (2023). *Climate Assemblies: Emerging Trends, Challenges and Opportunities* [Project report]. Brussels Knowledge Network on Climate Assemblies.
<https://knoca.eu/news/new-knoca-report-climate-assemblies-emerging-trends-challenges-and-opportunities/>
- Smokowski, P. R., Evans, C. B. R., Rose, R., & Bacallao, M. (2020). A Group Randomized Trial of School-Based Teen Courts to Address the School to Prison Pipeline, Reduce Aggression and Violence, and Enhance School Safety in Middle and High School Students. *Journal of School Violence*, 19(4), 566–578.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2020.1780133>
- Smyth, J. (2007). Toward the Pedagogically Engaged School: Listening to Student Voice as a Positive Response to Disengagement and ‘Dropping Out’? In D. Thiessen & A. Cook-Sather (Eds.), *International Handbook of Student Experience in Elementary and Secondary School* (pp. 635–658). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-3367-2_25
- Snapp, S. D., McGuire, J. K., Sinclair, K. O., Gabrion, K., & Russell, S. T. (2015). LGBTQ-inclusive curricula: Why supportive curricula matter. *Sex Education*, 15(6), 580–596.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14681811.2015.1042573>
- Sorensen, L. C., Avila-Acosta, M., Engberg, J. B., & Bushway, S. D. (2023). The thin blue line in schools: New evidence on school-based policing across the U.S. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 42(4), 941–970. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.22498>
- Sorensen, L. C., Shen, Y., & Bushway, S. D. (2021). Making Schools Safer and/or Escalating Disciplinary Response: A Study of Police Officers in North Carolina Schools. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 43(3), 495–519.
<https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737211006409>

- Sparks, S. D. (2020, November 17). Training Bias Out of Teachers: Research Shows Little Promise So Far. *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/training-bias-out-of-teachers-research-shows-little-promise-so-far/2020/11>
- Stake, R. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. SAGE Publications. <https://us.sagepub.com/en-us/nam/the-art-of-case-study-research/book4954>
- Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research, 3rd ed* (pp. 443–466). Sage Publications Ltd.
- Stanford, L. (2023, January 6). Gen Z Has a Passion for Political Activism. Schools Can Nurture It. *Education Week*. <https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/gen-z-has-a-passion-for-political-activism-schools-can-nurture-it/2023/01>
- Stinson, P., & Watkins, A. (2013). The nature of crime by school resource officers: Implications for SRO programs. *Criminal Justice Faculty Publications, 11*, 1-36. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244014521821>
- Stornaiuolo, A., & Thomas, E. E. (2017). Disrupting Educational Inequalities Through Youth Digital Activism. *Review of Research in Education, 41*(1), 337–357. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X16687973>
- Strauss, V. (2021, November 30). Students don't need a 'voice.' Here's what they really need. *Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2014/04/16/students-dont-need-a-voice-heres-what-they-really-need/>
- Students on School Boards in Maryland. (2023). *SoundOut Education Consulting*. <https://soundout.org/2015/04/07/students-on-school-boards-in-maryland/>
- Su, C. (2017). Beyond Inclusion: Critical Race Theory and Participatory Budgeting. *New Political Science, 39*(1), 126–142. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07393148.2017.1278858>
- Subramanian, R., & Arzy, L. (2021, May 21). *State Policing Reforms Since George Floyd's Murder* | Brennan Center for Justice. <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/state-policing-reforms-george-floyds-murder>
- Surowiecki, J. (2005). *The Wisdom of Crowds*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group.
- Sussman, A. (2015). The Student Voice Collaborative: An Effort to Systematize Student Participation in School and District Improvement. *Teachers College Record, 117*(13), 119–134. <https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811511701312>
- Theocharis, Y., & Deth, J. W. van. (2018). The continuous expansion of citizen participation: A new taxonomy. *European Political Science Review, 10*(1), 139–163. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755773916000230>

- Theriot, M. T. (2016). The Impact of School Resource Officer Interaction on Students' Feelings About School and School Police. *Crime & Delinquency*, 62(4), 446–469. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128713503526>
- Theriot, M. T., & Cuellar, M. J. (2016). School resource officers and students' rights. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 19(3), 363–379. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580.2016.1181978>
- Theriot, M. T., & Orme, J. G. (2016). School Resource Officers and Students' Feelings of Safety at School. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 14(2), 130–146. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204014564472>
- Thurau, L. H., & Or, L.W. (2019). *Two Billion Dollars Later: States Begin to Regulate School Resource Officers in the Nation's Schools*. Strategies for Youth. <https://strategiesforyouth.org/sitefiles/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/SFY-Two-Billion-Dollars-Later-Report-Oct2019.pdf>
- Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District, 393 U.S. 503 (1969). <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/393/503/#tab-opinion-1947775>
- Tobin, T., Sugai, G., & Colvin, G. (1996). Patterns in middle school discipline records. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, 4, 82–94. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106342669600400203>
- Tolbert, C. J., McNeal, R. S., & Smith, D. A. (2003). Enhancing Civic Engagement: The Effect of Direct Democracy on Political Participation and Knowledge. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 3(1), 23–41. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40421477>
- Toro, J. D., Jackson, D. B., & Wang, M.-T. (2022). The Policing Paradox: Police Stops Predict Youth's School Disengagement Via Elevated Psychological Distress. *Developmental Psychology*, 58(7), 1402–1412. <https://doi.org/10.1037/dev0001361>
- Torres-Harding, S., Baber, A., Hilvers, J., Hobbs, N., & Maly, M. (2018). Children as agents of social and community change: Enhancing youth empowerment through participation in a school-based social activism project. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 13(1), 3–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1746197916684643>
- Touchton, M., Sugiyama, N. B., & Wampler, B. (2017). Democracy at Work: Moving Beyond Elections to Improve Well-Being. *American Political Science Review*, 111(1), 68–82. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000305541600068X>
- Touchton, M., & Wampler, B. (2014). Improving social well-being through new democratic institutions. *Comparative Politics Studies*, 47(10), 1442–1469. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414013512601>

- Trafford, B. (2008). Democratic Schools: Towards a Definition. The SAGE Handbook of Education for Citizenship and Democracy. Ed. James Arthur. DOI: 10.4135/978-1-8492-0048-6.n32
- Tucker, J. W., & Vance, A. (2016). School Surveillance: The Consequences for Equity and Privacy. National Association of State Boards of Education: *Education Leaders Report*, 2(4). <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED582102>.
- Turney, K., Geller, A., & Cowan, S. K. (2022). Disclosure among youth stopped by the police: Repercussions for mental health. *SSM - Mental Health*, 2, 100089. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssmmh.2022.100089>
- United Nations. (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child. United Nations. <https://www.unicef.org/child-rights-convention/convention-text>
- Urban Institute. (2017). *Criminal Justice Expenditures: Police, Corrections, and Courts*. Urban Institute. <https://www.urban.org/policy-centers/cross-center-initiatives/state-and-local-finance-initiative/state-and-local-backgrounders/criminal-justice-police-corrections-courts-expenditures>
- U.S. Department of Education & National Center for Education Statistics. (2016). *2015–16 School Survey on Crime and Safety (SSOCS)*. <https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/ssocs/>
- U.S. Office of Civil Rights. (2018). *Phoenix Union High School District*. Civil Rights Data Collection. <https://ocrdata.ed.gov/profile/9/district/29431/disciplinereport>
- Verba, S., Schlozman, K., & Brady, H. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics*. Harvard University Press.
- Vinnakota, R. (2019). *From Civic Education to a Civic Learning Ecosystem: A Landscape Analysis and Case for Collaboration*. Red and Blue Works. https://rbw.civic-learning.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/CE_online.pdf
- Voice Definition. (2014). In *The Glossary of Education Reform*. <https://www.edglossary.org/voice/>
- Voight, A. (2015). Student voice for school-climate improvement: A case study of an urban middle school. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 25(4), 310–326. <https://doi.org/10.1002/casp.2216>
- Walker, E. T., McQuarrie, M., & Lee, W. C. (2015). Rising participation and declining democracy. In W. C. Lee, M. McQuarrie, & E. T. Walker (Eds.), *Democratizing inequalities: Dilemmas of the new public participation* (pp. 3–23). New York University Press.

- Wampler, B. (2000). *A Guide to Participatory Budgeting*.
<https://www.internationalbudget.org/wp-content/uploads/A-Guide-to-Participatory-Budgeting.pdf>
- Wampler, B. (2012). Participation, Representation, and Social Justice: Using Participatory Governance to Transform Representative Democracy. *Polity*, 44(4), 666–682.
<https://doi.org/10.1057/pol.2012.21>
- Webber, M. M. (1983). The myth of rationality: Development planning reconsidered. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 10(1), 89-99.
<https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/978-3-030-94580-0.pdf>
- Weis, L., & Fine, M. (2006). *Beyond Silenced Voices*. SUNY Press.
<https://sunypress.edu/Books/B/Beyond-Silenced-Voices>
- Weisburst, E. K. (2019). Patrolling Public Schools: The Impact of Funding for School Police on Student Discipline and Long-term Education Outcomes. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 38(2), 338–365. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.22116>
- Weiss, J. (2018). Involving the Stakeholders That Matter Most: Student Voice in School Reform. *ASCD Express*, 13(13). <http://www1.ascd.org/ascd-express/vol13/1313-weiss.aspx>
- Wekesa, F. C., & Mbogo, R. W. (2021). Effect of leadership roles on academic performance: A reflection on student council officials in public secondary schools in Kenya. *Journal of Educational Management and Leadership*, 2(1), Article 1.
<https://doi.org/10.51317/ecjeml.v2i1.247>
- Wernick, L. J., Espinoza-Kulick, A., Inglehart, M., Bolgatz, J., & Dessel, A. B. (2021). Influence of multicultural curriculum and role models on high school students' willingness to intervene in anti-LGBTQ harassment. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 129, 106211. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2021.106211>
- Westheimer, J. (2015). *What kind of citizen?: Educating our children for the common good*. Teachers College Press.
- Weymouth, R., & Hart-Karp Janette. (2020). Deliberative collaborative governance as a democratic reform to resolve wicked problems and improve trust. *Journal of Economic and Social Policy*, 17(1), 62–95. <https://empoweringparticipation.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Deliberative-collaborative-governance-as-a-democratic-reform-to-resolve-wicked-problems-and-improve-trust..pdf>
- Wike, R., & Fetterolf, J. (2021, December 7). Global Public Opinion in an Era of Democratic Anxiety. *Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2021/12/07/global-public-opinion-in-an-era-of-democratic-anxiety/>

- Wike, R., & Fetterolf, J. (2022, May 27). Global Public Opinion in an Era of Democratic Anxiety. *Pew Trust Magazine, Spring 2022*. <https://pew.org/3FeDPPH>
- Wilkinson, C., Briggs, J., Salt, K., Vines, J., & Flynn, E. (2019). In participatory budgeting we trust? Fairness, tactics and (in)accessibility in participatory governance. *Local Government Studies, 45*(6), 1001–1020. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03003930.2019.1606798>
- Williams, D., & Mohammed S. (2009). Discrimination and racial disparities in health: Evidence and needed research. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 32*, 20–47. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10865-008-9185-0>
- Willis, R., Curato, N., & Smith, G. (2022). Deliberative democracy and the climate crisis. *WIREs Climate Change, 13*(2), Article 2. <https://doi.org/10.1002/wcc.759>
- Winter, K., & Connolly, P. (1996). ‘Keeping It in the Family’: Thatcherism and the Children Act 1989. In J. Pilcher & S. Wagg (Eds.), *Thatcher’s Children?* (pp. 29–42). Routledge.
- Wood, B. J., & Hampton, E. (2021). The Influence of School Resource Officer Presence on Teacher Perceptions of School Safety and Security. *School Psychology Review, 50*, 360–370. <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1844547>
- Wu, Y., & Wang, W. (2012). Does Participatory Budgeting Improve the Legitimacy of the Local Government?: A Comparative Case Study of Two Cities in China. *Australian Journal of Public Administration, 71*(2), 122–135. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8500.2012.00771.x>
- Yell, M. L., & Rozalski, M. E. (2000). Searching for safe schools: Legal issues in the prevention of school violence. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders, 8*(3), 187–196. <https://doi.org/10.1177/106342660000800306>
- Yin, R. (2014). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 5th ed.* Sage Publications, Inc.
- Zeldin, S., Gauley, J. S., Barringer, A., & Chapa, B. (2018). How High Schools Become Empowering Communities: A Mixed-Method Explanatory Inquiry into Youth-Adult Partnership and School Engagement. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 61*(3–4), 358–371. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajcp.12231>
- Zhang, G. (2019). The Effects of a School Policing Program on Crime, Discipline, and Disorder: A Quasi-Experimental Evaluation. *American Journal of Criminal Justice, 44*, 45–62. <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12103-018-9440-z>

Zhang, W. (2022). Political Disengagement Among Youth: A Comparison Between 2011 and 2020. *Frontiers in Psychology, 13*, 809432.
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2022.809432>

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE SCHOOL-SITE DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

<p>Step 1: Define Safety</p>	<p>Ingredients of a safe school environment</p> <p>Think about the times during the school day/week when you feel most safe.</p> <p>Where are you and what are you doing?</p> <p>What is it about these moments that make you feel safe?</p> <p>Think about the moments where you've felt the least safe on campus?</p> <p>What was it about these moments that made them feel threatening?</p>
<p>Step 2: Identify Needs</p>	<p>What is PXU already doing well to create a safe school environment for students, staff, and parents/guardians?</p> <p>What are the top issues related to safety that tend to be unaddressed in PXU schools?</p> <p>Are there any safety concerns you think are specific to your school?</p> <p>What types of improvements would you prioritize to make PXU safer for students, staff, and parents and families?</p>
<p>Step 3: Submit Ideas</p>	<p>What ideas do you have to make PXU safer?</p> <p>Can include programs, activities, policies, physical improvements, etc.</p>

APPENDIX B

DETAILED LIST OF IDEAS FROM SCHOOL PB PROCESS

Staff Ideas		Project Idea Name	Description
School Safety Category	Project Idea Name	Description	
Communication Systems & Protocols	Safe Space for Concerns and Complaints	Creating a truly safe place for all, this project would provide confidentiality for those seeking help for their problems or concerns, create a confidential reporting system, and provide access to resources via a web resource page with self-guided questions, staff mental health appointment link, road map for complaints, etc.	
Communication Systems & Protocols	PXU Safety Academy	This project would create a two-day safety training/academy. This onboarding program would happen at the beginning of the school year and would be designed for district and campus teams to review and refine protocols. This project would ensure that all PXU staff are familiar with the resources available and can share learnings with campus staff.	
Emergency Management/Response & Safety Protocols	Key Card Access	This project would provide an additional layer of safety by providing staff members and approved volunteers with a key card to access appropriate or approved buildings, classrooms, and/or offices. School/District IDs could be used for keys card access, which could be programed and updated as needed. This would allow for quick and easy access to lock, open and access spaces more seamlessly on campuses.	
Mental, Physical and Social-Emotional Health	Mindfulness Lounge	This project would allow for a designated staff calm room space to allow for staff to quietly and mindfully recharge. The room would be equipped with furniture and accessories to provide a calming state of mind.	
Mental, Physical and Social-Emotional Health	SEL Curriculum and Activities	This project would provide additional SEL training and workshop content (SEL lessons) for students to be facilitated during Advisory, In School Suspension, and After School Detention.	
Skill Building/Professional Development	De-Escalation Training	This proposal would provide all staff with De-Escalation Training as a required professional development opportunity. The training would be required for all certified, classified, and administrative staff and could be part of the annual in-service training sessions.	
Skill Building/Professional Development	Let's Restore Restorative Justice	This project would allow for the hiring of a 1.0 FTE Restorative Justice Coordinator to design and deliver RJ training for campus staff. This would allow for a train the trainer model to empower campus staff to implement restorative practices on their respective campuses with support and guidance. The coordinator would collect and analyze data to monitor fidelity and impact. This project would include a small budget for materials to support the restorative justice coordinator.	

Student Ideas		
Physical Spaces/Physical Safety	Extended Time for Community Time	This project would fund access to secure locations on campus for students to be and study after the school day. It would create designated areas where students could check in while they complete work or prepare for traveling home or to other extracurricular activities.
Physical Spaces/Physical Safety	Brighten Up the Lights	This project would add improved lighting across campuses to ensure that students feel safe traveling on campus after hours and when dark. This project would prioritize campuses that have new lighting support or haven't had lighting investments as recently as other campuses.
Mental, Physical and Social-Emotional Health	Healthy Snack Cabinet	This project would create a healthy snack cabinet in each building maintained by the Community Liaison or other on-site staff for campuses without a Community Liaison. Any student who needs a healthy snack to support them in getting through the school day and fueling a positive day would be able to request a snack. This project addresses the need for healthy food options to keep students engaged and able to participate fully in school.
Mental, Physical and Social-Emotional Health	Free Period Packs	This project would provide pre-filled machines at every school to increase access to free hygiene products in each building for people with periods. Hygiene products are available in the Community Liaison office, but it is sometimes difficult to get to their office for emergency needs. Having free products in the restrooms will make it easier for students to have quick access to get what they need. Our goal is to identify at least one restroom on each campus and increase the purchase of machines over the years.
Mental, Physical and Social-Emotional Health	Mental Health Matters Too	This project would add multiple support centers on campuses where they are most needed. These centers would be spaces to destress (this would fund physical objects such as cool lamps, couches, etc.), provide space and resources for student peer mentorship training, and create a safe space for LGBTQ+ students as well.
Mental, Physical and Social-Emotional Health	Life Affirming Gender-Neutral Restrooms	This project would fund the construction or renovation for more gender-neutral bathrooms on campuses that need them. Having a singular bathroom and creating a more inclusive bathroom environment is life affirming for students who are gender non-conforming and gender expansive.
Skill Building/Professional Development	Safety Speakers Bureau	This project would invest in a variety trainings and experienced guest speakers to address safety solutions and strategies, specifically around student and staff safety regarding topics like LGBTQ+ persons, mental health, coping skills, diversity, life skills, sensitivity training (de-escalation strategies).
Skill Building/Professional Development	Job and Resource Fairs	This project would establish at least two additional job and resource fairs on every campus each year that are open to students from across the district to find

			employment or other resources to support well rounded engagement in communities and skill building.
	Communication Systems & Protocols	Enhance the Parent Experience	This project would focus on developing more parent and family engagement opportunities across the district. This would include additional scheduling and time set aside for parent/family conferences, workshops on academic and social well-being for students and families, and opportunities for sharing information with and among parents and families.
	Communication Systems & Protocols	Let's Talk More	This project would enhance communication methods with parents and families across the district. Beyond the auto-generated voicemails and texts, there will be an opportunity for parents to be able to communicate with campus staff via a two-way communication system, i.e. "Press 1 to speak to attendance, Press 2 to speak to Counselor.... Press 3 to speak to..."
	Physical Spaces/Physical Safety	Substance Support and Prevention	This project would fund the creation of a plan to create safer restrooms free from student substance use. It would provide prevention programs and resource for students who self-identify as those in need of substance abuse support and implement an alternative support for students who are disciplined for substance possession/use in restrooms or on campus to address the concern with students using on campus who may be in need of substance abuse support or treatment.
	Physical Spaces/Physical Safety	What Do the Experts Say?	This project would invest in a 3rd party (a group outside of PXU) to conduct a safety feasibility study. This study would indicate where there are good points on safety and where safety can be improved including security camera placement, monitoring of security, and resources for the school community. This study would also review the current equipment that PXU uses for safety and security and compare it to equipment that is available to the district. Finally, the study would offer recommendations on future investments and improvements to physical safety equipment that are preventative and do not cause harm to members of the PXU community.
	Mental, Physical and Social-Emotional Health	Celebrating Culture	This project would fund and promote more cultural activities to help foster and showcase the diversity on each campus. These activities could include specific cultural learning events, guest speakers, greater community engagement programs, etc. These activities would be available during the school day for students and after school or weekend opportunities to include parents, families, and community members.
	Mental, Physical and Social-Emotional Health	Stop Bullying Initiative	This project will fund a bullying prevention program and on-campus anti-bullying initiatives. There will be additional resources provided to students and families needing assistance with addressing instances and experiences of bullying.
Parent and Family Ideas			

<p>Mental, Physical and Social-Emotional Health</p>	<p>Need Help? Food and Housing Support Campaign</p>	<p>This project would provide additional information and communication methods about the existing opportunities to address housing and food insecurities through the district's Resource Center. These methods would include an increase in resources, an information campaign to increase awareness about these resources, and targeted outreach to parents and families.</p>
<p>Skill Building/Professional Development</p>	<p>We Are in This Together</p>	<p>This project would provide district staff with training in Implicit Bias, De-escalation, and Social Skills Training & Education. Training would include access to high-quality curriculum and ongoing mentorship. Each school would also create a space on campus for students to undergo de-escalation and would include a private area with a timer and activities.</p>
<p>Skill Building/Professional Development</p>	<p>Street Smarts</p>	<p>This project will provide students with the opportunity to attend Street Smarts training to learn how to safely navigate walking to and from school. Examples would include choosing the best route, trusting your gut, what to do scenarios, etc. This training will be offered monthly for interested students on each campus.</p>
<p>Skill Building/Professional Development</p>	<p>Safety, Security, and Sensitivity</p>	<p>This project would provide sensitivity training for the district's Safety Team members (Security) through the Safety and Security Division. This would include a training program focused on relationship building and restorative justice. Safety Team members would be better positioned to work with students on sensitive topics and issues while promoting an environment of mutual respect and understanding.</p>