School Participatory Budgeting and Student Voice

by

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ABSTRACT

One of the ideals underpinning public education in the United has been that of educating young people to become engaged democratic citizens. Civics courses have been the main, and sometimes only, sign of public schools attending to their civic mission. An opportunity to offer citizenship education through the experience of democratic governance manifests itself through the implementation of school participatory budgeting. Though promising, the use of school participatory budgeting in the United States is relatively new. The literature is sparse and issues of process design as well as research methodology remain unexplored.

School participatory budgeting has the potential, at least, to offer students an opportunity to experience deliberative democratic decision-making and thus enhance those capabilities critical for effective citizenship. More ambitiously, school participatory budgeting presents an opportunity to delicately and steadily transform school governance to give real decision-making power to students.

The four stand-alone articles that make up this dissertation are four facets of a single case study on the first large-scale instance of school participatory budgeting in the United States. They began with the question: What were the accomplishments and challenges of school participatory budgeting in a large secondary school district in the Southwestern United States in its initial implementation?

This question was interpreted and answered differently in each article. The first article examines aspects of process design and how participatory budgeting might contribute not only to citizenship learning but also the expansion of student voice. The experiences of students, in the second article, and those of teachers and administrators, in

the third article, are explored through analysis of interview data. The final article addresses this question by drawing on my own experience of implementing school participatory budgeting using analytic autoethnography. This dissertation presents school participatory budgeting from multiple perspectives and recommends more empirical research on the structure of the process before, during, and after implementation.

This dissertation examines this approach to citizenship learning dynamically by using various methodologies and bringing together the literature on student voice, citizenship learning, participatory budgeting, and curriculum studies in order to enrich the discussions and provide actionable knowledge for advocates and practitioners.

DEDICATION

To Natasha, for her tolerance and endurance.
To Amalie and Zeke, for their sacrifice of time building Legos together.
To Mozhdeh, for her indefatigable and relentless support.

To my committee, for standing by me for almost a decade.

To my mother, Libby, for standing by me for a lifetime.

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In order to find this dissertation in a database, one will need to use my name. In order to write it, it took, literally, a team of family members and scholars to see me through. My committee chair, Dr. Daniel Schugurensky, took me on as a doctoral student after knowing me only a short time and has very patiently stayed by my side despite the many twists and turns the process has taken. His commitment to the empowerment of all people to be protagonists in their own lives through education and democracy continues to inspire me.

My understanding of the history and theory of curriculum and education began before my doctoral studies thanks to Dr. Tom Barone. It was Tom who encouraged me to apply to the doctoral program. He has been both teacher and dear friend ever since. Words fail to capture my gratitude.

Everything I know about social theory, cultural studies, and what education meant beyond the context of schools began with the coursework and conversations I had with Dr. Jennifer Sandlin in my first semester as a doctoral student. Discussions in class and afterwards expanded my horizons and drove me to read almost every citation and try to comprehend every major thinker of the 20th century. Her kindness and support of my enthusiasm is the greatest gift any teacher ever gave me. Know that my personal library tripled in the hopes of understanding everything you never made me feel bad about not knowing.

I would like to thank the students and administrators of the Southwestern Secondary School District who agreed to participate in this study. In particular, I am grateful to my principal for supporting me to do research in the district and then trusting

me to oversee participatory budgeting on our campus. Most of all, I would like to thank my government students who worked tirelessly and brilliantly on PB and helped me experience vicariously the daily lived experience of students.

For those I mentioned and to those loved ones, colleagues, and friends I did not name: thank you for everything you selflessly gave. It is finally done.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

Participatory budgeting is a means of democratic decision-making focused on a shared budget. It cedes power traditionally exercised by elected or appointed government officials to citizens or "the people". It began in 1989 in Porto Alegre, Brazil when citizens were given control over a portion of the capital budget of the city through the *Orçamento Participativo* (Baiocchi, 2003; Fung & Wright, 2003; Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2018). Since then it has spread to every continent and been used in contexts other than cities to include public housing, single city districts, schools, community colleges and universities.

Participatory budgeting was selected as one of four innovations in democratic governance in 2003 (Fung & Wright) by the Real Utopias Project. It has been shown to improve transparency of government (Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2018), more efficient and responsive government (Röcke, 2014), and increased participation by citizens (Gilman, 2016). Further it has contributed to the development of citizenship by functioning as a school of citizenship, as the very environment of participation has a pedagogical dimension that consists of learning democracy by doing (Schugurensky 2000).

In the United States, the movement of participatory budgeting from cities to schools is relatively new and its use throughout an entire school district, until the time this study was conducted, had never been done before. In the city of Chicago, school participatory budgeting was adopted, but only after municipal participatory budgeting

had been in place for over five years (Sadiq, 2014). Likewise, the City of New York is going to start school participatory budgeting in Fall 2018, after several years of experimenting with municipal participatory budgeting. This is a significant step for school participatory budgeting and in the direction of the institution of schools, which has been remarkably successful at resisting change (Kliebard, 2004).

Education of students for democratic citizenship has followed a well-established pattern for over a century. Commonly, this has been the traditional secondary school civics course in which students are introduced to the mechanisms of the three branches of the federal government using the Constitution as a starting point. The key information and some frame factors of the public sphere (e.g. media, campaign finance, lobbying groups) are covered in the course in the hopes that these will equip young men and women to take part in U.S. democracy. It is a staple of the secondary social studies curriculum and has changed little. The question has been raised at various times whether the civics curriculum was a sufficient means of nurturing democratic citizenship. Most notable and one of the earliest to argue persuasively the educative importance of experience was John Dewey (1916, 1938). As he pointed out, democracy is not merely a system of government, but a way of living together. Learning how to live in a democratic society is dependent upon learning from experience. There exists the need for citizens to have both the capabilities and inclination to engage constructively in democratic deliberation and collective decision making. There appears to be a need for a democratic education that includes both the information about our democracy as well as experiences that allow us to function in a democracy. School participatory budgeting provides an

opportunity to complement the well-established civics curriculum with the experiential aspect of citizenship learning.

Methodology

The manuscripts that make up this this dissertation utilize two methodologies. The third and fourth chapters are examples of case study research. The fifth chapter utilizes analytic autoethnography. In a traditional dissertation, an entire chapter would be dedicated to research methodology. As this dissertation is a series of interrelated independent manuscripts, each manuscript contains its own section related to research methods. The constraints on length of most academic journal articles prohibit lengthy descriptions of methodology such as those one finds in dissertations. I feel it is important to briefly discuss my motivations as well as an overarching rationale for the designs of each study.

I chose to study school participatory budgeting because I believe it can contribute to changing schools into spaces where youth are respected, valued, and empowered. It is a subtle tool that I sincerely believe can shift consciousness. If adults on high school campuses begin to observe youth making decisions reflecting thoughtful democratic deliberation and imbued with deep insight about where resources should be allocated, those adults, I believe, will begin to welcome them into greater co-governance of schools. I believe secondary schools perpetuate childhood, which bodes ill for a democratic society. The educative dimension of school participatory budgeting, then, depends upon the impact it has on both students as well as adult school personnel.

This project initially began as preliminary research for a future longitudinal impact study of school participatory budgeting. As a new phenomenon in the United

States at the time of this study, there was no established research program. As a teacher in the same district in which this study takes place, I already had questions about how the municipal participatory budgeting process would be augmented to fit the school context. For both these reasons, I advocated studying both students and the adults working closely with them. Furthermore, with no prior research in this area that I felt dealt with enough aspects of the process, I chose to treat Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 as case studies. Both could be considered pilot case studies (Yin, 2018) as well as intrinsic case studies (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 2005).

When it came time to analyze the data, I felt that specific information about the process should be examined from the perspective of all participants. I also knew that the perspectives of participants could reveal aspects of the process not anticipated by the prepared questions, so I chose to use thematic analysis in analyzing interview data for Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 (Fereday & Muir, 2006; Lapadat, 2010).

My personal experience of researching the process and then being the facilitator of the process on my campus was both challenging and rewarding. Furthermore, it was a repository of many of my questions and revelations on school PB. I have found no narrative or autoethnographic research on participatory budgeting. I chose to pursue this research methodology in Chapter 5 because it presents a view of the process that has not been explored before.

These three empirical manuscripts informed the broader conceptual considerations presented in Chapter 2. Each chapter is distinct and can stand on its own, but there is still unity in their diversity; the four manuscripts making up this dissertation are part of a coherent whole. They are intended to provide a wide array of jumping-off

points for conversations about research and practice in this emergent area of civic learning.

Research Objectives and Questions

This dissertation is meant to serve a number of purposes. The first is to further develop an understanding of what enables or constrains the transformative potential of school participatory budgeting as well as to align it with an educational discourse on school reform that is known and widely accepted (chapter 1). The current literature on school democracy and citizenship education does not anchor itself in the kinds of research and recommendations that educational leadership actually monitors when it looks for ideas to improve educational institutions. The second goal of this dissertation is to take two distinct groups of agents in the participatory budgeting process, youth and adults (i.e. students, teachers, and administrators), and consider them separately through an analysis of empirical data collected in a separate research study conducted during the 2016-2017 academic year. The final goal of this dissertation, using data from that pilot year study (see Chapters 3 and 4) and my own personal experience in the second year (chapter 4), is to consider how to implement and study school participatory budgeting. Based on the above, the objectives of this dissertation are:

1. To better understand how to support and study the transformative potential of participatory budgeting,
2. To connect school participatory budgeting to other intervention discourses to better promote and contextualize it,
3. To better understand the contextual distinction between cities and schools in regard to participatory budgeting,
4. To learn about the experiences of different actors in the school participatory budgeting process, and
5. To explore the accomplishments and challenges of participation and implementation during the initial phase of school participatory budgeting in a large urban school district.

This dissertation pursues the research objectives by addressing the following questions:

1. What were the accomplishments and challenges of school participatory budgeting in Southwest Secondary School District[1] (SSSD) during initial implementation?
2. What about participatory budgeting connects it to the values, goals, and discourse of school reform?
3. What are the salient contextual differences between municipal and school participatory budgeting?
4. What were the accomplishments and challenges for students during SSSD's initial implementation of school participatory budgeting?
5. What were the accomplishments and challenges for sponsors and administrators during SSSD's initial implementation of school participatory budgeting?
6. What were the accomplishments and challenges for school participatory budgeting when embedded in a social studies Government curriculum?

Research Methods

This dissertation employs different methodological tools in examining participatory budgeting. These include:

- Literature review
- Case study research
- Focus group interviews
- Semi-structured interviews
- Analytic autoethnography
- Narrative inquiry

Individual Manuscripts

The four chapters of this dissertation are written as standalone manuscripts, each to be submitted for publication in peer-reviewed academic journals. Below are the descriptions of each chapter.

School Participatory Budgeting: The implementation challenge

Chapter 1 explores the idea of participatory budgeting in schools with an in-depth investigation of the relationship between participatory budgeting and the

[1] This is a pseudonym for a school district in the southwestern United States

school context, with an emphasis on mass public education in the United States. It introduces a framework for analyzing the transformative potential of school participatory budgeting design, the scheme of implementation, developed from the work of Ernesto Ganuza and Gianpaolo Baiocchi (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014; Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). The paper conducts an analysis of the peer-reviewed literature, connecting school participatory budgeting, its goals and benefits, with the research literature on student voice. This paper offers a comprehensive perspective on school participatory budgeting in favor of its adoption in schools, highlighting the benefits, opportunities, and potential obstacles it faces going forward.

School Participatory Budgeting: Students' perspectives

Chapter 2 presents findings from a case study of students who were members of student steering committees (SSCs) during the first year of participatory budgeting in their district. Focus group interviews were conducted with the SSC from each of the five schools, exploring their experiences with regards to the accomplishments and challenges they faced in the implementation of the process. This study utilized a qualitative case study design and used thematic coding to analyze transcripts from the focus group interviews. This study focuses on what is roughly the analogue of citizens in participatory budgeting in the school context: students. Insights garnered from their experiences are critically important to the design of the process and the design of future research studies on the civic learning of participants.

School Participatory Budgeting: The perspectives of teachers and administrators

Chapter 3 investigates an important and understudied group responsible for the implementation of school participatory budgeting: adults, specifically, teachers (i.e. site sponsors) and administrators (i.e. principals and assistant principals). This case study explores the perspectives of five pairs of adults (i.e. site sponsors and principals or assistant principals) from each of the five campuses that participated in the pilot year of school participatory budgeting in the Southwest Secondary School District (SSSD) during the 2016-2017 academic year. A qualitative case study approach was conducted utilizing analyses of in-depth interviews with each pair of adults. The perspectives of adults can reveal important considerations concerning how to structure and support the participatory budgeting process in the context of schools.

Stories of School Participatory Budgeting: An analytic autoethnography of research and practice

Chapter 4 tells the story of researching and implementing school participatory budgeting in a large urban secondary school district in the Southwest spanning two years of teaching, research, and implementation. The story uses analytic autoethnography to construct a narrative that investigates the motivations, accomplishments, and challenges of striving to integrate the transformative aspirations of participatory budgeting into the professional responsibilities of a social studies teacher while teaching civics. This final chapter intends, through the use of a rarely seen research methodology in this field, a study that reveals the

practical components of bringing democracy to life in a class about democracy in the United States and Arizona.

Proposed Value

This dissertation takes up a relatively new phenomenon in citizenship learning in the United States (participatory budgeting) and addresses it from multiple perspectives. It presents a multidimensional analysis on school participatory budgeting as has not been done before in the English language or in reference to the particular context of secondary education in the United States.

The contribution this dissertation makes to the field of citizenship learning and education for democracy balances the aspirations for a transformative impact of the participatory budgeting process with a sensitivity to the empowerment of stakeholders. It provides forms of qualitative analysis infrequently found in the field. It furthermore synthesizes the study and practice of teaching, learning, qualitative research, curriculum studies, education for democratic citizenship, participatory budgeting, and participatory research.

This dissertation aims to contribute theoretical, empirical, and methodological scholarship to the larger learning process surrounding participatory budgeting. This research is intended to be of use to practitioners and scholars, those working to establish and to understand participatory budgeting. This intellectual effort has been conducted to support a practical purpose that of doing democracy.

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CHAPTER 2

SCHOOL PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING: THE IMPLEMENTATION CHALLENGE

Abstract

This paper explores the practice of participatory budgeting in schools through an investigation of the relationship between participatory budgeting and the school context, with an emphasis on mass public education in the United States. It uses as a referent the participatory budgeting process adopted by an urban school district. First, it examines the roots (sociohistorical and philosophical), benefits, and implementation structures in the context of cities. Second, it presents the 'scheme of implementation' framework as a lens through which to examine the empowerment dimension of participatory budgeting. Third, it explores the institutional values of and demands placed upon public schools and makes a distinction between program adoption and adaptation. Fourth, it describes the field of educational research and practice known as student voice and juxtaposes its values and goals to that of participatory budgeting. Finally, the essay describes how the empirical findings from student voice support the claims of participatory budgeting for schools and offers a discourse it can align with in order to facilitate wider and deeper implementation. The essay argues that as municipalities and schools are fundamentally different in their core missions, participatory budgeting cannot simply be transposed into this new context but school participatory budgeting needs to reconceptualize participatory budgeting in an educational context.

Introduction

The broad appeal of the basic structure of participatory budgeting has facilitated its adoption all over the world and in a wide variety of contexts (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014; Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012; Shah, 2007; Wampler, 2012, Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2018). Participatory budgeting has also "become completely politically polyvalent" (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2012: 31) as it can be implemented along a spectrum that ranges from moderately non-invasive to socio-politically transformative. Both the World Bank (Shah, 2007) and proponents of radical democratic reforms (Gandin & Apple, 2002) advocate the use of participatory budgeting, though the shape of the process

in each case is very different, reflecting the ideological differences that divide the two. It is likely that the power to appeal throughout the landscape of political beliefs that participatory budgeting has almost demonstrated over 30 years will facilitate its incorporation into schools, institutions which traditionally strive for (a veneer of) political neutrality (though this is not really possible). Research has showed the benefits of participatory budgeting in cities. Touchton and Wampler (2013) found that municipal governments that instituted participatory budgeting showed an increase in their spending for health care and sanitation services. They also found a correlational reduction in infant mortality rates in cities that adopted participatory budgeting. These two shifts suggest that participatory budgeting affected how municipalities prioritize spending.

Participatory budgeting functions as a catch-all that effectively addresses issues managerial and sociopolitical. It can do wonders and it can ameliorate seemingly intractable issues (Touchtone & Wampler, 2013). Broadly, it can help address issues of civic engagement (Putnam, 2000) as well as contribute to an increase "social capital" (Putnam et. al, 1993). Participatory budgeting positively contributes to transparency, governance, democracy, and civic learning (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2012; Shah, 2007; Sintomer, Herzberger, Allegretti, 2012; Wampler, 2012; Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2018). There has also been a documented increase in new civil society organizations (CSOs) in cities that established participatory budgets (Touchton & Wampler, 2013). It is more than simply an innovation: researchers identified participatory budgeting as a space of (1) learning and (2) personal growth (Schugurensky, 2017; Wampler, 2012), that is, a space in which people positively develop their citizenship and themselves.

For those unfamiliar with participatory budgeting, a brief description is in order. Participatory budgeting is a practice through which ordinary people are given an opportunity to participate in democratic decision-making regarding the allocation of funds. Originally, the process involved citizens in Porto Alegre, Brazil to determine how to spend a portion of public funds on capital projects in their city. Since its beginning in 1989, participatory budgeting has been used in other cities as well as within public agencies (e.g. housing associations, schools).

Considering Context

The trajectory of participatory budgeting into schools had been one of city experience to school establishments. This was the case with Sullivan High School in Chicago's 49th Ward, the first instance of participatory budgeting in the U.S. (Gilman, 2016). Participatory budgeting processes have affected populations such that there have been various spillover benefits (Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2018), which in some cases includes greater attention to local education in those sites (Baiocchi & Lerner, 2007). Such spillover benefits manifest themselves differently in different locations. The process has led to use participatory budgeting in schools. In the case of the Citizen School (De Azevedo & Schugurensky, 2005; Gandin & Apple, 2003), for instance, this was a comprehensive overhaul of the educational system guided by the values embedded in the Porto Alegre participatory budgeting process itself. Either directly or indirectly, participatory budgeting has found expression beyond the initial contexts and the limits of its funding. The expression, however, of municipal participatory budgeting is a radiating one—like ripples in a pond. The use of participatory budgeting in schools, if first done in the city or local government, conceivably draws on the experience of the city process. In

the United States (Cohen, 2015; Cohen Schugurensky, & Wiek, 2015) and France (Röcke, 2014), municipal participatory budgeting has not, in all cases, preceded school participatory budgeting. In such cases, no prior experience of the process exists in the community that could act as a scaffold. A goal of democratization of an otherwise undemocratic space such as a school would not be as clear to the surrounding community nor the school personnel. Neither is it likely that there would exist the same kind of the collective support of the community nor the institutional pressure from government agencies. Government support in the form of administrative changes, some argue, is a critical component of a transformational participatory budgeting process (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014; Wampler, 2012).

Participatory budgeting is situated within the broader academic concern for citizenship education and promotion of democracy. This area of theorizing and research has long been seen as having a relationship to schools (Biesta, 2004). It is also entangled in concerns about the negative consequences of diminishing civic engagement (Koc-Michalska, Lilleker, & Vedel, 2016; Putnam, 2000). Confronted with the flagging civic mission of schools, the anxieties about youth political engagement (Biesta, 2011), and by virtue of the learning dimension of participatory budgeting (Schugurensky, 2017), participatory budgeting would seem a worthwhile initiative to bring into schools. No explicit mention of the differences between the municipal and school context in the reviewed literature on participatory budgeting. This suggests that proponents of participatory budgeting may not consider the contextual differences as significant.

The characteristic adaptability that participatory budgeting has shown over the past 30 years inspires confidence the process could move into schools. With only minor

to moderate adjustments, participatory budgeting would transition from its original context into another public institution. The transition, however, is not confined to the technical adjustments. It requires understanding the organizational relationships that exist in this new context (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014; Gnauza & Baiocchi, 2012; Spillane & Louis, 2002) and their implications for implementing participatory budgeting.

Schools have shown an incredible resilience in the face of change or reform (Baiocchi & Lerner; Illich, 1970). Even the best-intentioned reforms to compel school change, like desegregation, could only do so much. The professional learning community (PLC) is an example of this resilience. PLCs have modified school schedules almost universally. Schools have shown they are able to adapt ideas so that they conform or minimally disrupt present practice. The adaptation process is often one that leeches or sidesteps the very reforms that motivated its adoption. In the case of PLCs, if the habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) of teacher practice in the school or district has been independent teaching with little interference, then PLC time becomes, for example, grading time. PLCs only work if the use of them is combined with the adoption of the values that surround it (Cranston, 2009). The distinction to be made here is one of adaptation of practice versus adoption of practice. The latter includes not only the technical aspects, but also the normative values.

This is a critical issue for the transposition of participatory budgeting into schools. The values that comprise the undercurrent of participatory budgeting must be adopted *in addition to the technical elements*. It is more than likely that most who advocate for participatory budgeting in schools do so with the hope that it can realize its transformative potential and change schools. This implies a need to clarify those very

same values such that they can be considered when developing plans for evaluation and implementation of the process. Such is the subject of the following section of this paper.

Research and practice in this field goes beyond the products and outcomes of participatory budgeting to concern itself as well with the process--experience--and the values embedded in that process. It is readily apparent in much of the literature on participatory budgeting that the authors are, without reservation, advocates of their topic. Baiocchi & Ganuza (2014) indeed offer advice to those in this field:

> One of the lessons for critical scholars is probably that agnosticism, rather than what anthropologists call "ontological complicity," might be a better stance from which to evaluate participatory processes. (p.34)

It is certainly important to strive to be detached and as objective as possible in the study of participatory budgeting. Nevertheless, the issues that brought scholarly attention to this particular practice remain theoretically and empirically important, no less because they stem from moral and ethical commitments of individual scholars. Gert Biesta (2007), in deconstructing the discourse of evidence-based teaching, points out the problem with over-emphasis on 'what works' in education. His argument can be applied to the study of participatory budgeting as well. If participatory budgeting has a learning dimension as part of its value, then it can be considered education, even though described in terms of its mechanics alone (i.e. deliberation, voting, etc.). Because it is educative, it is then important to remember:

> … education cannot be understood as [merely] an intervention or treatment because of the noncausal and normative nature of educational practice and because of the fact that the means and ends in education are internally related. (p.20)

Though not uniform across all researchers and practitioners, most interested in participatory budgeting share certain values and one such value is its transformative

potential: the potential to thicken democracy. If research is in part informed by an interest in this potential, as my own research is, then there is a justification for clarifying understanding of participatory budgeting as it moves into unfamiliar contexts such as the public education system in the United States. Pursuant to this end, I am making an attempt to distill the essential aspirations of participatory budgeting, great and small, in order to establish a spectrum of normative aspects of participatory budgeting. By establishing this, it then becomes possible to more precisely implement and evaluate participatory budgeting as well as modify research and practice to fit the context. Thus, participatory budgeting becomes something that transcends the context. An abstract or essential conceptualization of participatory budgeting *combined* with an array of techniques used successfully, can be crafted to suit the context. Its technical elements and moral ambiguity are precisely how participatory budgeting has travelled the globe (Ganuza & Baoicchi, 2012). What remains is to further explore the essence of participatory budgeting itself.

Essential Participatory Budgeting

Brian Wampler (2012) attempted to identify essential principles concerning how participatory budgeting functions in order to create social change. He argued that participatory budgeting adheres to four principles: voice, vote, social justice, and oversight. The degree to which any participatory budgeting process strives for these has direct relevance to the scope of social change that can be expected from it. First, voice is valuing active citizen participation. Second, vote beleives in greater citizen authority--an authority with a concurrent sense of ongoing responsibility that a suggestion box cannot do. Third, social justice is a lens to determine how scarce resources are allocated.

Redistribution in favor of those with less material means and comforts encourages wider participation beyond the usual suspects and overall reconsideration of how society operates. Fourth, oversight, reinforcing the other three principles, creates greater transparency in part by letting citizens make determinations about shared resources as well as institutionally subordinating the expertise of municipal departments to the execution of citizens' decisions.

These principles reflect core values of participatory budgeting, but, so framed, may not apply beyond the municipal context. Participatory budgeting can also have an impact on the participants themselves (Schugurensky, 2017). Democratic experience may indeed improve democratic citizenship, but social context mediates the experience in which it takes place. Democracy is community life itself (Dewey, 1916). Then a core principle includes fostering a culture of cooperation and common understanding, which goes beyond advocating for a more just and effective exercise of power. Community-building is also a key principle. More equitable and efficient allocation of resources is a feature of the kind of social change participatory budgeting can promote. All of these are connected to the individual and collective capacity of a society to read social reality--to name the world (Freire, 1970). Thus, another key principle to consider is a commitment to capacity-building, which applies as much to that of institutions and leaders as it does to citizen-participants (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014; Röcke, 2014) or even to students, teachers, and administrators. In order to approach participatory budgeting in this manner, a deeper examination of the design of the process is needed.

Dimensions of Participatory Budgeting

Gianpaolo Baiocchi and Ernesto Ganuza (2014) made an important contribution to the study of participatory budgeting when they explicitly disaggregated what they believed were the two dimensions of participatory budgeting: the communicative dimension and the empowerment dimension. The immediate experience of participants in the midst of deliberative democratic decision-making is, they suggest, an effort to democratize communication amongst participants. They describe the empowerment dimension as that "*much-less* visible but crucially important institutional architecture" (2014: 31) that constitutes the difference, they argue elsewhere, between participatory budgeting being a policy instrument or a device (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). Simply stated, it is the difference between participatory budgeting being (a) a "*political strategy*" (p.2), meaning a mechanism of a transformative policy agenda, or (b) the democratization of citizen demand-making (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014).

A substantial body of literature exists on the quality and practice of deliberation in participatory budgeting, which includes literature concerning equitable representation and participation (Escobar, 2011**;** Gilman, 2012; 2014; 2016; Grillos, 2014; Schugurensky, 2017; Schugurensky & Myers, 2008; Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2018). Baiocchi & Ganuza (2012) articulated three sets of questions to guide evaluation of the communicative dimension:

1) What is the **intensity** of the participation? Who actually participates? Are there features of these participatory spaces that prevent them from being open to all?
2) How **inclusive** is the deliberation? In addition to presence at assemblies, do all citizens "deliberate"? Are there systematic biases about who speaks, and who decides? Is the technical language made accessible to all?
3) How **democratic** is the deliberation? What is the quality of decisions emanating from the participatory process? Do participants feel free to argue and to open debate or discuss the rules governing discussions? (p.36)

They go on to assert that careful consideration of the communicative dimension of participatory budgeting has been addressed in research literature on Brazil and beyond. It continues to be a central focus of research literature. These questions related to the communicative dimension can be directly transferred to the school context.

The pedagogical function of participation has also received increasing attention over the past decade (Cohen, 2015; Cohen Schugurensky, & Weik, 2015; Lerner, 2009; Lerner & Schugurensky, 2005; Schugurensky, 2001; 2002; 2004; 2012; 2017; Schugurensky & Myers 2008). This refers to the learning (including tacit learning) that takes place through the experience of participation (Schugurensky, 2000; 2017). Participatory budgeting is a kind of school of citizenship (Lerner & Schugurensky, 2005). Within this area, the research gives focused attention to the relationship between process design and the tacit learning experience (Lerner, 2009; 2014; Schugurensky, 2000; 2017). However, even these contributions, remain more closely concerned with the participatory spaces than "institutional arrangements" (Baiocchi, 2003:46).

As noted above, participatory budgeting was first launched in 1989. Over twenty years later, in 2003, the *Orçamento Participativo* (OP), which is the name of the original participatory budget in the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil, was presented as one of four examples of empowered participatory governance in the Real Utopias Project (Fung & Wright, 2003a; 2003b). In that same publication, Gianpaolo Baiocchi (2003) noted that "what distinguishes [the OP as an] intervention from [the other three] is its concern with institutional arrangements" (p. 46). Porto Alegre was the seed, then the blueprint and is now nearly a legend in the field. The Porto Alegre Experiment transformed the city. power over the city. This was, in part, due to the communicative dimension described

earlier and in part because the PB of Porto Alegre had the pieces that are still considered the essential elements of participatory budgets everywhere (Sintomer, Herzberg, & Allegretti, 2010; Wampler, 2012; Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2018). These are the topics of the following sections.

Essential Elements of the Process

The two participant-generated pieces of the process are the nexus where all other issues meet: ideas and proposals. The generation of ideas, development of proposals, and the eventual selection and completion of proposal projects are the skeleton of participatory budgeting. Deliberation (including discussions on values, priorities, equity and justice) takes place, almost exclusively, in terms of ideas and proposals. The learning dimension (mostly tacit learning) is also contingent upon the quality of the experiences around idea generation and proposal development, which, in turn, are significantly affected by the design of the participatory budgeting process. Gains in civic knowledge, attitudes, skills, and practices are made in assemblies and spaces for proposal development and refinement.

The various designs of the participatory budgeting process are discussed in the literature on the participatory budgets in the United States and elsewhere, especially the research and evaluation literature (Ausberger et. al, 2016; Cohen, 216; Cohen, Schugurensky, & Weik, 2015; Community Development Project, 2016; Crum, Salinas, & Weber, 2013; Crum, Baker, Salinas, & Weber, 2015; Gilman, 2014; 2016; Grillos, 2014; Kasdan & Cattell, 2013; Kasdan, Markman, & Convey, 2015; Vallejo Office of City Manager, 2016). Though the literature does deal critically with the communicative dimension, it does not address the issues of (a) primacy, (b) scope and importance, (c)

actual participatory power, or (d) the self-regulating/constitutional facets of the process (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014: 39). Even in the most detailed accounts, the elements related to the empowerment dimension (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014 *see above*) are difficult to find in a single place and are not addressed directly. As has been noted elsewhere, this is partially due to the fact "that the blueprint that has travelled [across the globe] only includes the arrangements for the [...] communicative dimension" (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014: 39).

In their discussion of the empowerment dimension of participatory budgeting, Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014) note the importance of examining "the intensity with which participants can qualify their preferences and sort them… [and] the connection between participation and the exercise of authority" (p.39). Pursuant to this, they identify four criteria. The first examines the "primacy" of participation. In other words, are the forums an adjunct point of access to government or a vital one for the allocation of resources? The second ("scope and importance") concerns the purview of the participatory budget and refers to the proportion and areas of the budget that have placed in the hands of the participatory process. It includes this question: "how important [are these areas] to [achieving] social justice?" (p.39). The third examines the effective authority of the participatory budget apparatus ("actual participatory power"). It evaluates the quality and extent of efforts by the governing authority to ensure the decisions of the participatory budget are carried out. This includes the help offered by the government to help develop viable proposals as well as what opportunities exist, after participants have voted, for other agencies to block the carrying out of the projects. The fourth criterion concerns the self-determination of the participatory budgeting process ("self-regulating or

constitutional aspect"). One facet is the authority the participants have to determine the design, rules, and regulatory aspects of the participatory budget. This would include the degree to which social justice criteria is incorporated into the prioritization of projects. This also reflects the amount of power that has devolved from the government authority to the participatory budget. Another facet, then, is the degree to which the government is beholden to the decisions of the participatory budget.

The United States is only in the early stages of implementing participatory budgeting in schools, so there is limited empirical literature on the subject. It is thus difficult to point very effectively to empirical evidence. To address the empowerment dimension of school participatory budgeting in the United States, it would be helpful to describe the institutional arrangements (Baiocchi, 2003), what will be referred to as the **scheme of implementation** of three specific participatory budgeting processes (municipal-based, youth-municipal-based, and school-based).

Schemes of Implementation

A review of relevant literature provided no established framework with which to interpret schemes of implementation. The task is taken on here. This is an attempt to extend the argument of Baiocchi & Ganuza (2014) to a theoretical framework with which to assess participatory budgeting processes beyond the municipal context, particularly in schools. The empowerment dimension can be understood in terms of three fields in which individuals and groups operate regarding the process: *authority*, *administration,* and *implementation*. In the first field, authority is often conferred through a *deputy*. This is typically an individual or agency that functions as the point of contact between the authority conferring or devolving power to the participatory budget and some structure

within the architecture of the participatory budgeting process. The second field, administration, consists of those individuals and groups that administer to the needs and outcomes of the participatory budgeting process. It also includes the individual or group that determines the rules and either delegates or conducts the evaluation of the process. The third field, implementation, includes all elements of the process that are working to generate ideas, develop proposals, and facilitate deliberation and training.

Participatory budgets are established through the approval by an individual (e.g. mayor) or collective body (e.g. city council) using its own authority and giving that authority to the participatory budget according to the established rules of the process. This authority can be *delegated* or *devolved*. Delegated authority consists of giving proximate authority over a particular task. For example, the admissions department has been delegated the authority to admit applicants. Devolved power, to use the same example of admissions, would be if a university's Dean of Admissions were to cede a set number of places for each college and let the college decide, without consulting the centralized university Dean of Admissions, which applicants to admit provided applicants met the criteria stipulated in the admissions policy of the university. A further devolution of power would be if the college determined the universal minimum qualifications for admissions for the entire university and then set their own criteria on a college-by-college basis. The Dean of Admissions, then, would essentially be the executor of the collective will of the colleges.

Both types of conferred authority come with accountability, but there is a reversal of power relationships in the extreme case of devolved power. This decentralization process can be an admixture. A deputy, or deputization, is one such case. Take the

example of a superintendent of a school district. The superintendent is often hired by the school board and serves at the pleasure of the board. The board has conferred their authority on the superintendent to, for example, to expel students or spend district funds. The school board cannot expel students, though they can use their ultimate authority to attempt to compel their deputy. This would not hold true for the relationship between superintendents and principals. Principals, in most cases in public school districts in the U.S. have power over their specific campus, which can be overridden at any time by the superintendent.

The manner in which authority is conferred in the context of participatory budgeting is a central aspect of the empowerment dimension. As to the administrative and implementation fields, hierarchy is not determined precisely by the conferred authority. One is not greater than another. In the case of Porto Alegre, this was apparent when the mayor devolved power to the grassroots through neighborhood associations and district representatives. After two years of experimentation, the administration of the OP was placed in the newly created Budget Council, consisting of two representatives from each city district as well as one representative from both the neighborhood associations union and the municipal employees' union[2] (Baiocchi, 2005). The OP has overseen between "9 percent and 21 percent of [Porto Alegre's total budget]" (p.14).

In essence, the mayor subordinated municipal departments to the decisions of the OP. The greater expertise of the municipal departments and their responsibility for executing approved project proposals--their administration of the process--did not stand

[2] The União das Associações de Moradores de Porto Alegre (UAMPA) and the Sindicato dos Municipários de Porto Alegre (SIMPA) maintained a presence while not dominating the deliberations of delegates (Baiocchi, 2005).

above the authority of the OP. As Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014) note: “while the budget was subject to the approval of the municipal city council, the pressure and monitoring of large numbers of participants meant that it was usually approved without modifications” (p.36).

The administration—the execution and oversight—of capital projects remained under the control of municipal departments, which were not under the authority of the Budget Council. Nevertheless, the OP worked through the Budget Office to directly control the efforts of municipal departments in terms of the funds allocated to the OP.

Schemes of Implementation Framework

The scheme of implementation framework is an initial step in an attempt to better clarify aspects of the empowerment dimension of participatory budgeting. The above are over-arching descriptions distilled from existing literature and my own analysis of participatory budgeting processes.

In the following three examples, which are meant to explore the utility and explanatory power of the scheme of implementation framework, the individuals (e.g. change agents) or groups (e.g. steering committees) are described in terms of the field of the empowerment dimension they occupy. The description, in part, is due to the ubiquity of certain terms across participatory budgets though their roles and responsibilities may greatly differ. This poses a challenge for systematic study and practice of the transformative potential of the specific process in place. The first is the celebrated example of Porto Alegre, followed by Boston’s Youth Lead the Change (YLC) municipal youth-only participatory budget, and the third is the case of the Southwest Secondary School District’s (SSSD) with almost 15,000 students across 10 campuses. The

empowerment dimension of Porto Alegre has been an object of analysis before (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014) and thus it can establish a clear baseline for exploring the two examples focused on youth in the United States. The description of Porto Alegre is that of Ernesto Ganuza and Gianpaolo Baiocchi (Baiocchi, 2003; 2005; 2011; Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014; Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012), while more recent literature (see Chapters 3 and 4; Gilman 2014; 2016; Grillos, 2014) informs the other two examples.

The experience in Porto Alegre is highlighted as it was the prototype and has since become the archetype of participatory budgeting. The youth participatory budget in Boston, Youth Lead the Change, was the first large-scale participatory budgeting process that was focused, roughly, on the same age group as high school students. The last focus is on the first large-scale implementation of school participatory budgeting in high schools in the United States.

Porto Alegre

In the city of Porto Alegre, the creation of the OP was intended to put into practical action a concept introduced years earlier in a meeting of CSOs (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). Authority was conferred upon the OP by the mayor of the city. It was a mix of "political centralization with administrative decentralization" (Navarro, 1996 cited in Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). The mayor consolidated, to a significant extent, funding streams in a single one under the aegis of the OP. He also created two administrative units above the various municipal departments. One unit was delegated to oversee the inputs of the participatory budget, which was now virtually the exclusive access point for all funding. However, the mayor devolved power over the budget to the OP, according to the rules, responsibilities, and restrictions laid out in the rulebook. The rulebook,

however, was not subject to mayoral approval. Thus, the power over the budget rested with the OP. The municipal departments, including the new ones to coordinate participatory inputs, were effectively subordinate to the OP. Alongside this new unit was a coordination unit that centralized city project planning (i.e. carrying out voter-approved proposals), which entailed checking that projects were not redundant, duplicative, or conflicting. Finally, each of the municipal departments provided one individual for every neighborhood assembly, known as community facilitators, that were responsible for providing expertise in developing ideas and revising proposals so that, if chosen during the voting process, were accurate and usable. This prevented any proposal from being rejected at the end of the participatory budgeting cycle.

Within the OP, there were also structures, democratically determined but hierarchically organized (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014). The highest was the Municipal Council of the Budget (MCB)[3], what Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014) refer to as "the forum of forums" (p.37). This body examined issues beyond the scope of the rulebook as well as developed the rules for the process. Baiocchi and Ganuza explain, "they acted as intermediaries between the municipal government and local-level participants" (p.37). Beneath the MCB were budget delegates, who had been elected by the neighborhood open access assemblies. Ideas were generated at neighborhood assemblies, then proposals were developed by budget delegates, who also met with the other delegates to determine the prioritization of project proposals. This process of developing a budget of projects

[3] Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014) refer to the budget council of Porto Alegre as the Municipal Budget Council, while Baiocchi (2005) named it Conselho do Orçamento Participativo (COP) or Participatory budget Council. This was the formal administrative body at the pinnacle of the OP.

and allocating funds was mediated by social justice criteria (Baiocchi, 2011), which were hammered out by 1991:

> …criteria for allocating funds across [the 16] districts were a district's (a) need for a particular service, (2) population in needy areas, (3) overall population, and (4) ranking of priorities" (Baiocchi, 2005:38).

Fortunately, the Porto Alegre experiment is well-documented. On the other hand, this also presents the challenge of determining which information is critical to articulating the present framework. As mentioned above, authority emanated from the mayor, who conferred authority upon the two new municipal departments and the OP itself. In the case of the new municipal departments, the mayor delegated authority to oversee and coordinate the efforts of the subordinate departments to serve the decisions of the OP. The mayor devolved power over the budget to the OP.

These new departments and the MCB administered the participatory budgeting process. The existing municipal departments also were part of the administrative field of the process. The municipal departments provided resources and carried out proposal projects while the MCB developed the rules of the process, revised them, and evaluated the annual cycle. The administration field of the scheme of implementation is not determined by power, but by role and responsibility. The community facilitators, budget delegates, and neighborhood assemblies would all occupy the field of implementation. The focal point of the participatory budget is the projects emerging from ideas, developed into proposals, and voted into execution by the citizens.

Boston's Youth Lead the Change (YLC)

The City of Boston, through the Mayor's office, created a youth-only participatory budget. The mayor's authority created the process and authority devolved to

the oversight committee (Grillos, 2014), the deputized body. The oversight committee was responsible for hiring a consulting group to help "with logistics" (Grillos, 2014: p. 6). In that case, some authority was delegated to this group by the oversight committee. The oversight committee also established the steering committee consisting of youth-focused CSOs and representatives from the consulting group and the mayor's office. The oversight committee stipulated that the CSOs could have up to two representatives on the steering committee, but at least one had to be a youth.

The administration of YLC, according to the description of the pilot year (Grillos, 2014), was carried out by the Steering Committee, which was responsible for creating the rules and guidelines of the process, with some additional support from the consulting organization. One of the key rules was that youth would be defined as residents of the city between the ages of 12 and 25. The fact that the oversight committee mandated that at least one representative from a CSO be a youth is puzzling considering that the definition was not determined until the steering committee was formed, according to the evaluation report (Grillos, 2014).

The field of implementation consisted of the thematic committees that arose out of the open-access youth assemblies and were comprised of volunteer youth change agents. These committees were facilitated by hired facilitators. In this scheme of implementation, final authority over proposals was held by the oversight committee. Further, the youth in general were not reported to have contributed to the evaluation process nor the refinement of the rules. Other than the youth member of a CSO on the steering committee, youth only acted within the field of implementation, while decision and administration were beyond their grasp.

By reading these four papers, which are the four main papers on Boston, I did not find any section on the institutional relationships nor any analysis or evaluation of how the structure may have affected the process. The most salient point, however, is the difficulty in clarifying these relationships from the available literature (Ausberger et. al, 2017; Gilman 2014; 2016; Grillos, 2014). Based on the argument of Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014), their empowerment dimension should be a topic of conversation amongst researchers and a potentially insightful object of analysis.

Southwest Secondary School District (SSSD).

The description of this particular scheme of implementation is drawn from the studies conducted on this participatory budgeting process (See Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5) and the author's own experiences.

The school board conferred its authority to its deputy the superintendent. It is important to note that participatory budgeting was put in place through a decision from the school board. The superintendent then delegated authority to administer the process to an employee in the district overseeing retention and civic engagement programs for students.

The district hired a consulting group to assist with the process. This group mobilized two individuals to work with SSSD, one on a regular basis and one less so. The district coordinator and consultant essentially administered the entire process from the district level.

Each of five campuses had one principal or assistant principal and one teacher attached to the process. The teacher served as the site sponsor (See Chapters 3 and 4) and

worked with the student steering committee (SSC) on the campus (See Chapter 3). The principal or assistant principal provided support for the sponsor (See Chapter 3).

It is clear that the field of authority consisted of the school board and its deputy, the superintendent. It is also clear that the district employee and the consulting group operated within the field of administering the process. This, however, is where things become less clear. In some cases, the consultant and volunteers would facilitate idea collection activities on campuses (See Chapter 4), which would constitute implementation. Most of all, though, the roles of the two adults on each campus (site sponsor and principal or assistant principal) were not made clear to them (See Chapter 4). Also, the study of the process indicated that there was no written rulebook or guidelines for the pilot year, and that the process was guided at the district level (See Chapter 4).

This is not a criticism of SSSD's incredibly successful efforts, but it does raise an important consideration: how do practitioners work with civil agencies like schools to develop clear schemes of implementation? The term steering committee in this instance as compared to that of YLC is almost completely different. Based on the Porto Alegre experiment, the concept of a steering committee would be roughly the equivalent of the MCB, but this is not the case. The responsibility and authority of evaluation exercised by the MCB was not exercised by youth in the case of YLC and has not yet been established in the case of SSSD. Referring back to the distinction between adaptation and adoption, what can an exploration of the empowerment dimension offer in terms of strengthening the participatory budgeting process in?

Clarifying roles and responsibilities, either through directions from the district or committees of adults and/or students, seems important. It is particularly important in

understanding the transformative potential of the process and the dispositions of the various individuals and groups in the SSSD case towards a transformative effort. It must be acknowledged that an understanding of the scheme of implementation could develop organically within the process over time. However, such a course would likely be one of adaptation rather than adoption. It will grow in the direction—the habitus (Bourdieu, 1970)—of the organizational culture which eschews disruptions mechanical and philosophical, as was indicated in research on the adults in the process (See Chapter 4). Further, the homology between school participatory budgeting and city participatory budgeting remains unaddressed in the literature. There could be value in a conversation about whether there are important differences between municipal and school contexts as well as the possible implications of those differences. Transposition from one context is not a simple matter, and thus should be a matter for discussion.

Defining (School) Participatory Budgeting

Participatory budgeting has been implemented so widely that it is difficult to create taxonomies of its variations and to develop an essential definition of the process. The school context complicates the matter further. In the interests of clarifying an understanding of participatory budgeting in the school context of the United States, this section goes through efforts in the literature to organize and identify the forms and characteristics of participatory budgeting, juxtaposing them to schools. First, is an attempt to utilize a taxonomy developed from comprehensive global review of the many instances of participatory budgeting (Sintomer, Herzberg, & Allegretti, 2010) in order to locate school participatory budgeting within the larger discourse. Continuing in an effort to develop a working definition of school participatory budgeting from the existing

literature in the field, the discussion turns next to the four basic principles from the Porto Alegre participatory budget (Gilman, 2016) in order to contrast it with the context of schools. Finally, a similar approach is taken to contrast criteria identified as the minimal threshold to qualify as participatory budgeting (Sintomer et al., 2012) with the context of schools in order to underscore the difficulty of directly translating from one context to another.

In a comprehensive global review of participatory budgeting processes, Sintomer, Herzberg, & Allegretti (2010) identified six procedural ideal-types: (1) adaptation of Porto Alegre, (2) proximity participation, (3) consultation on public finance, (4) multi-stakeholder participation, (5) community participatory budgeting, and (6) participation of organized interests. None of these ideal-types bears much resemblance to the school participatory budgeting process in the majority of school participatory budgeting initiatives in the United States. Closest would be the first and fifth ideal-types as participation is high and the funding is both modest and removed from local government, as it is channeled to the participatory budget through the school district. One strength shared in common between the first and fifth types is that of autonomous control over the development of the rules of the process. In common with the first type, there is, in the case of the largest school participatory budgeting process, "a de facto transfer of decision-making competence" as the proposals "are largely taken on board" (p.11). The first ideal type has an additional strength that could be of future interest to school participatory budgets, which will be explored later in this article: "participants… prepare their own reports…" (p.12).

Basic Principles of Porto Alegre PB

It is this complexity that should give us pause before we uncritically assume democratic citizenship is learned informally in the same manner in the context of a school as in the municipal context. To help clarify this point, Gilman (2016) identifies four basic principles of the first participatory budget in Porto Alegre, Brazil:

> (1) Direct citizen participation in government decision making processes and oversight; (2) administrative and fiscal transparency as a deterrent for corruption; (3) improvements in urban infrastructure and services, especially aiding the indigent; and (4) a renewed political culture in which citizens would serve as democratic agents. (p.7)

The above is not only a complex set of 'basic principles', but it is also incongruent with a school context. In the first place, students do not possess a form of explicit power like the franchise nor does the structure of authority and power in the school system remotely mirror that of a democratic government. To be clear, this is not a rejection of the viability or value of schools implementing participatory budgeting. On the contrary, the viability of the process is of the utmost concern here. The contextual differences go well beyond different terminology or scale, and instead more accurately reflect differences in ecology. In order to implement participatory budgeting in schools in such a way as to accomplish similar goals with similar degrees of success requires more thoughtful consideration.

Minimal Requirements for Participatory Budgeting

Sintomer et al. (2012) developed five additional minimal requisites for a process to merit the designation of participatory budgeting: (1) the process must be focused on how exactly a finite budget is to be spent, (2) a process that includes a body with "some power over administration and resources" such that participants' decisions have broader policy implications beyond the immediate site, (3) it must be (intended to be) an ongoing

process of participatory *budgeting*, rather than participation in one budget cycle, (4) there must be a deliberative space for citizens as it should constitute a new "public sphere" (p.3) with a distinct institutional structure, and (5) there must be accountability measures for the process "through annual meetings or publications where organisers provide information [concerning the results of the process]" (p.3). The authors found that, in 2010, there were between 795 and 1,470 initiatives that met their minimal requirements to qualify as a participatory budget. Any process of participatory budgeting in a school, at least in the majority of cases involving a public school in the U.S., would not and could not meet the second of Sintomer et al.'s five requisites:

> (2) The city level has to be involved, or a (decentralized) district with an elected body and some power over administration and resources (the neighborhood level is not enough)… (pp.2-3).

It is possible to substitute campus for "city" to represent "a (decentralized) district". A campus does have "some power over administration and resources". It might even be possible to simply ignore the part about "an elected body", being satisfied that as a public institution, school districts and their affiliated campuses are part of a structure that ascends from the school or school district level to a composite kind of "elected body" (i.e. citizens elect officials whose "power over administration and resources" result in district and campus leadership). It is the second part that presents the real obstacle:

> In fact, we can observe a growing number of neighborhood funds where citizens can decide about a concrete amount of money, but without having any influence on issues that go beyond this level of a single neighbourhood (pp.2-3).

This second part resembles the characteristics of a school campus. In schools, students (neighborhood residents) "can decide about a concrete amount of money" while not having any institutional power to influence "issues that go beyond" capital improvements

and into matters concerning their broader educational experiences. They are also short-term citizens—four years in the case of a high school. The problem is deeper, though, because it applies as much to the students as teachers and administrators. The principal of a campus has the most power "without having any influence on issues that go beyond this level".

Once again, school participatory budgeting represents an opportunity to improve civic learning as well as emotional and academic gains, which is explored further in the discussion of student voice below. The point being made is that the available definitions, minimum qualifications, and taxonomic descriptions simply do not transfer to the school context and that is indicative of significant differences for research and implementation.

What makes cities like participatory budgeting? It benefits the elected representative and the distribution of resources (Gilman, 2016). This is along a spectrum predictably based on the empowerment dimension, but it is almost always good. Cities are also about governance and they are beholden to their residents based on very tangible measures. Do I have power? Water? Is there crime? Trash? Disrepair? And even philosophically, in most places participatory budgeting cities are units of democratic systems (Sintomer et.al, 2012), so democracy is an implicit value.

But what of schools? Do they value democracy? Of course. Their civic mission is visible and rarely dismissed out of hand. Nevertheless, schools are different, and their internal compass is different. But what is the equivalent of water and power in a school? What tells us whether a school is functioning or not? Though teachers and administrators rarely subscribe very strongly to these measures, they are grades and test scores—this is how society monitors schools. Furthermore, such an abstract and massive thing as

"education" is not easily grasped, and such measures make it more digestible. Even more, the functioning of schools is not so instantaneously in jeopardy as a city that fails to provide basic services. Lastly, as agencies run undemocratically (mostly), schools do not have as direct a relationship to stakeholders. In fact, they do not have a clear set of stakeholders. Ultimately it may be citizens, and the immediate claim that parents operate as proxies for their children have merit. Parents are not the most immediately affected. Rather, the most immediately affected are students, teachers, and administrators who are subject to the policies of their district or state agencies. In contrast, cities are immediately beholden to residents, though regulated and constrained by higher authorities. But one city is not the same as another.

Schools, on the other hand, have been operating beneath the Tyler Rationale (Kliebard, 2004) even 40 years prior to Ralph Tyler's (1949) publication of *Principles of Curriculum and Instruction*, which was more or less a reiteration of the John Franklin Bobbitt's dictate of social efficiency as outlined in his work *The Curriculum* (Bobbitt, 1918). Bobbitt, in turn, was essentially refining a broader social zeitgeist of scientific management, proliferated by Frederick Winslow Taylor and described in his work *Principles of Scientific Management* (1911). In fact, the most prolific scholar and opponent of both Taylor and Bobbit, and later Tyler, is also the most oft cited scholar in any discourse on democracy and education, John Dewey. Efforts to counter the habitus (Bourdieu, 1970) of those who labor in the mass education system in the United States have been made almost ceaselessly for over a century. Even in the face of revelations of harmful unforeseen outcomes of schools (Illich, 1970)[4], the organizational culture of

[4] Illich noted that schools teach pupils to value only those things that can be measured and, to our detriment, "school them to confuse process and substance" (p.1).

schools has changed only moderately. In large part, this is because schools in the United States look across municipal and state boundaries to form a national culture. Schools do not vary a great deal throughout the United States and efforts to change them require being sensitive to the fact that the audience is not simply the local community and government, but the national organizational community of K12 education.

Two problems, then, present themselves for the supporters of school participatory budgeting. The first is how to connect the priorities of the process to the priorities of the organizational culture, and the second is how to nurture the transformative power of the process. Entangled in these problems is a need to not assume but anticipate the possibility that the system and its agents will perceive a threat. What threat does participatory budgeting pose if it is transformational? What do schools and school personnel feel they might have to lose if decision-making power devolves to students? How might they be reassured or even convinced that changes to school governance are desirable? This brings us back to nurturing the normative values in participants.

The effectiveness of participatory budgeting in schools is dependent upon values and goals, sometimes not completely in the hands of any part of the administrative structure of schools. As with all education, as Dewey (1938) and Biesta (2011) explain, there must always be a connection between means and ends. Though advocates most likely have certain ends in mind, it is not their role to dictate or manipulate, rather they can influence and guide. Such conversations need to happen within the field. What do schools and their adult agents see as the end of participatory budgeting? Their perspectives need to be heard (See Chapter 4) in order to obtain the necessary information that will guide relevant research and implementation activities. If advocates

are not involved in the sense-making of the process (Biesta, 2011) school personnel go through upon being introduced to participatory budgeting, those same personnel can default to the school sense, which may bring upon participatory budgeting the same doom as has come to PLCs: surface compliance (Rudduck, 2007).

In the interests of aligning participatory budgeting with the goals of schools, it is helpful to look at the literature on student voice. Student voice offers a possible empirical basis upon which to recommend school participatory budgeting to schools.

Student Voice

Student voice has descended from the ivory tower of academia and "entered the everyday lexicon of teachers, administrators, and education policy makers" (Conner, Ebbey-Rosin, & Brown, 2015, p.1). Student voice refers broadly to those practices and policies that make room for students to develop and communicate their own understandings of the world around them. This can be as small as their understanding of a particular academic concept they then discuss and discover with a classmate or it may be a campus or district policy they feel affects them. Student voice emphasizes the training, sounding, and hearing of the emergent and established perspectives of students.

Advocates of student voice can come from a number of very different value orientations (Rudduck, 2007). Many find the basis for their support of student voice in the fundamental rights of children, in particular the U.N. Convention on the rights of the child. Others see the need for student voice through the lens of a simple market strategy, in that, students are the primary consumers of school and their perspectives are obviously needed. Finally, there are those that feel strongly about the civic mission of schools, the need for citizenship education, and that youth are agents of change (Rudduck, 2007). It is

not difficult to see, then, how easily participatory budgeting and student voice intersect. One of the greatest strengths of both student voice and participatory budgeting is that they are forms of interventions that can gain the support of a wide spectrum of reformers. Virtually every ideological camp, whether inside or outside of education, can see value in them. There are a number of extensive analyses of the term student voice (Cook-Sather, 2006) as well as calls for a more radical orientation towards student voice (Fielding, 2004a; 2004b; 2013). However, it is in part the fact that student voice has made its way into the rank-and-file discourse of schooling that makes it easier to implement in schools. At the same time, the potential for student voice to be radical can still be exploited while not setting off any alarms.

There are concepts that frequently recur throughout the student voice literature, such as rights, respect, and listening (Cook-Sather, 2006). These represent some of the important values and relevant concepts used to evaluate student voice. In addition, proponents are interested in the empowerment of students and further concerned with changing the traditional power dynamics that characterize traditional relationships between, on the one hand, students and teachers, and on the other, teachers and administrators. The examples of, and support for, student voice appears most frequently in the United Kingdom followed by Canada, with significantly less of a presence in the United States (Conner, Ebby-Rosen, & Brown, 2015; Cook-Sather, 2006; Fielding, 2013). One reason given for the support in the United Kingdom is that student voice is supported in the wording of educational policy. The less pronounced support for student voice in the United States, suggested by Rudduck (2007), is that, other than Somalia, the

United States is the only country that declined to sign the 1989 United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child.

Student Voice Research Findings

Student voice can be ascribed to a diverse array of programs, policies, and pedagogical orientations, provided they actively promote and cultivate the views of students and make sure they are heard. According to one review of empirical data (Conner, Ebby-Rosin, & Brown, 2015), beneficiaries of student voice projects include students, teachers, and institutions. From an array of studies and initiatives described by both Conner, Ebby-Rosin, and Brown (2015) as well as Rudduck (2007), student voice has the potential to contribute to a number of specific positive outcomes (Table 1.1). The outcomes for institutions are not as precise and are the ripple effect of the outcomes for students and teachers. More confident and engaged students working with more motivated and adaptable teachers are more likely to create healthier environments socially and academically.

Student voice, in a very general sense, functions to bring about two basic outcomes: a "practical agenda for change" (Rudduck, 2007, p.587) and a change in the

Table 1.1: Potential positive outcomes of student voice	
Students	**Teachers**

greater agency stronger sense of membership in the school community improved self-concept (e.g. confidence, competence, self-worth, psychological empowerment) leadership skills civic or sociopolitical knowledge increased engagement in school improved civic engagement	greater motivation in their teaching more aware of/sensitive to the capacity of students broader perspective on teacher, learning and school governance adaptability/readiness to change perspective and practice knowledge of specific and actionable changes to make

positionality of students (Rudduck, 2007; York & Kirshner, 2015). The input and reflections of students on classrooms and schools produces information that is specific and actionable because they are grounded in their immediate firsthand experiences (first outcome). Power is redistributed in favor of students, helping students become subjects rather than objects in school, or, as positionality suggests, changing how students are conceptualized and treated in relation to other stakeholders in education (second outcome).

The perspective of students' wants or demands falls into roughly four clusters (Rudduck, 2007): (a) autonomy, (b) pedagogy, (c) social, and (d) institutional. Students want autonomy as far as being able to make decisions about what and how they study. They want pedagogies that create engaging and challenging learning experiences, which are also applicable to their present life or career objectives. In the classroom and campus community they want to be respected, safe from abuse or bullying, and work collaboratively. In school in general, they want to be trusted with greater responsibility and consideration as well as to not have their membership in the community be conditioned on their academic performance (i.e. grades do not impact whether or not they belong to the school community). As the above illustrates, the perspectives of students

can provide a guide for practical next steps in classrooms and schools. Soliciting the input of students, for many, is a necessary but not sufficient condition for an effort to qualify as voice (Conner, Ebby-Rosen, & Brown, 2015; Cook-Sather, 2006; Fielding, 2004a; 2004b; 2013; Rudduck, 2007; York & Kirshner 2015).

Although most teachers feel, and legitimately so, that they do not have a great deal of agency when it comes to campus and broader educational policy, they still "remain the gatekeepers of change in most schools" (Rudduck, 2007, p.595). To clarify, the behaviors, attitudes, and conceptions of teachers play a substantial role in how authentic and/or effective any student voice initiative is. If teachers value student voice and prioritize incorporating the thoughts and ideas of their students back into their pedagogy, it is more likely to be effective. If not, student voice becomes superficial. This becomes a kind of half-hearted, technical obedience or surface compliance (Rudduck, 2007). As a consequence of soliciting student voice and failing to act upon it, students can become even less willing to share their perspective. In other words, when student voice is done poorly, it can do the opposite of what it was intended to accomplish. This danger of surface compliance can be equally real for school participatory budgeting.

Attractive to schools. The appeal student voice has for schools is easily understood. Anything that offers schools the possibility of improving sense of belonging, self-concept, self-efficacy, and academic achievement (John-Akinola et. al, 2013; Jones et. al 2002; Osterman, 2000; Yonezawa & Jones, 2009) justifies the effort required to initiate and implement. If it delivers what it promises, student voice can improve teaching, learning, performance, and overall satisfaction of the people who occupy the space.

Getting student input, which happens explicitly in the form of ballot proposals and indirectly from the issues that come up during idea collection in a school's participatory budgeting process, is nearly identical to the process of student consultation described by Rudduck (2007). Ruddock's (2007) review of the author's research experiences with student voice projects, suggests that student consultation leads to (a) a practical agenda for change, and (b) increased student self-esteem. These two outcomes converge, leading to enhanced student commitment to learning and to the school. Other documented outcomes of student voice include teachers' newly expanded understanding of student perspectives (via authentic student consultation) and greater awareness of student needs. This, in turn, contributes to improved pedagogy and teacher-student relationships. This mutually reinforcing cycle is reminiscent of both Pateman's (1971) virtuous circle of citizen participation. It also us suggestive of an ongoing cycle of action and reflection, echoing Freirean praxis (1970). If one were to develop the aspects of school participatory budgeting that are consistent with student consultation, school participatory budgeting then becomes a contributor to student voice.

For example, if one were to integrate the empowerment evaluation approach (Fetterman, 1994) into the work of SSCs, then school participatory budgeting becomes a very powerful action-reflection learning approach that also resembles student voice. This can be taken further by including students beyond the membership of the SSC, teachers and administrators in the empowerment evaluation. An even greater step could be to bring together this process from individual campuses into a more comprehensive districtwide process. In so doing, the school participatory budgeting process might begin to (a) profoundly impact student positionality in the view of adults (York & Kirshner,

2014) and (b) resemble a process like that of the Porto Alegre Experiment. With regards to the latter, the process might begin to empower and include students in developing the rules and conducting thorough evaluations of the participatory budgeting process. These would serve as tools both of devolving power to students as well as building capacity for critical thought, which holds value for academics and their functioning as democratic citizens.

It is important to note here that the accompaniment of SSCs in such a process would need to be supported by the site sponsor as well as the supporting campus administrator. This would suggest that attention to ongoing efforts to build the capacity of adults at the forefront of school participatory budgeting would be warranted.

The relationship between student consultation and positive outcomes aligned with overt school objectives identifies qualitative, rather than quantitative, outcomes. It still represents features of a school's mission that circle back to academic achievement. Students' enhanced commitment to school could be rephrased as better attendance rates, better academic performance, and correspondingly higher retention and graduation rates. Positive change to pedagogy could be rephrased as teachers getting better at helping students achieve academically. And positive change to teacher-student relationships could be rephrased as fewer disciplinary problems and keeping students engaged.

To be clear, there is no such evidence to date, but research in pursuit of such questions can find a basis in considering participatory budgeting as a means of strengthening student voice as well as a means of citizenship learning.

Taken Together

When we consider participatory budgeting in schools simultaneously and in light of the work with student voice, insights emerge for each. The extensive research and diversity of student voice work, in particular the aspects of student voice projects that contribute most to their impact can be carried over into the design of participatory budgeting processes in schools. For example, when student voice goes beyond a simple vocalization of concerns and opinions and incorporates writing and presentation into the structure of the project, impact and change are greater. Participatory budgeting in schools, so far, has not embedded such aspects into its process design. Student voice that is considered critical and lauded as having the greatest transformative potential (Fielding 2004a; 2004b; 2013; Kirshner, 2008; York & Kirshner, 2015) use participatory action research as both a mechanism and a research methodology, which can also be adapted to work with participatory budgeting in schools (See Chapter 5). A potential example of this would be to task steering committees with compiling a report for students, teachers, and administrators on the process itself and important issues or ideas that came up but were not explicitly stated in any of the budget proposals. Even in terms of professional development for teacher-sponsors, the work of Kirshner (2008) on the learning environment arising out of different ways of guiding participation can inform as well as provide options for teachers who guide the process on a campus.

Student voice can further inform participatory budgeting process design (e.g. written reflection, reporting, YPAR). It can be an initial step in a broader transformational project, in that it can help the values of student voice without overwhelming the institution with competing priorities. Participatory budgeting is not

unlike youth activism. Because participatory budgeting spans an entire year, it provides almost daily opportunities to be part of structured voluntary activities. Structured voluntary activities, claims Reed Larson (2000), contribute to the development of initiative (i.e. intrinsic motivation) to accomplish something meaningful.

Furthermore, if we compare the categorization of learning outcomes reflected in the KASP instrument used in Rosario, Argentina (Lerner & Schugurensky, 2005)—knowledge, attitudes, skills, practices—to the seven potential outcomes for students through student voice identified by Conner, Ebby-Rosin, & Brown (2015), there is a clear correlation. Knowledge is reflected in the fifth: gaining or expanding civic or sociopolitical knowledge. Attitudes is reflected in the first through third: agency, membership, and self-concept (e.g. competence, confidence, self-worth, psychological empowerment). Skills is reflected the fourth and fifth: leadership skills and civic or sociopolitical skills. Finally, practices is reflected in the sixth and seventh: greater engagement [in school] and greater civic engagement. Researchers are already seeking out the same indicators.

Gains to student voice

Student voice, despite its current place in the mainstream, still faces challenges. One of these concerns, the overall paternalism of schooling that manifests itself in the culture of most large public schools and the perceived threat giving students a say represents to teachers and administrators acculturated to these norms (Conner, Ebby-Rosin, & Brown, 2015). Another challenge is one of quality. Student voice initiatives can be difficult to do well, such that they accomplish their ambitious goals of institutional transformation. Conversely, giving student voice a nearly unimpeachable status can lead

to it being co-opted, tokenism, or being used as rhetorical weapon against teachers and students (Cook-Sather, 2006).

Participatory Budgeting for Student Voice

Participatory budgeting can serve as an initial step in a larger transformative agenda or a foundation upon which to incorporate and build support for student voice. It can help initiate change in the sense that in can begin to develop a sense in school culture that students are subjects and should be valued. Participatory budgeting affirms the legitimacy of student voice without risking severe resistance by school personnel because it begins with something (the allocation of funds), that is not entangled in the demands of academic achievement. To detractors, participatory budgeting is, at its worst, a less invasive approach to attending to student voice than efforts to change instructional strategies. In its straightforward structure, participatory budgeting retains a simplicity that makes it accessible without being "benign but condescending" and less likely to be "cynical and manipulative" (Fielding, 2004b, p.200). It is a vein through which student voice can "get into the bloodstream of the school" (Rudduck, 2007, 601).

Conclusion

It is either ironic or obvious that the success of transformative participatory budgeting in schools depends to an extent on (a) whether or not a learning process is established within participatory budgeting at the site, (b) the character and quality of that learning process, and (c) whether in that process the transformative aspirations are internalized or rejected. Participatory budgeting could be a harbinger of tectonic change, which if caught unawares or suggested all at once, may scare schools off.

In sum, supporters of school participatory budgeting can encourage the internalization of the goal of greater democratization but cannot compel it. If schools and the people who work there do not indicate any interest in the transformative potential of participatory budgeting, then the task is to investigate its impact in a more limited way. The focus of inquiry could then be narrowed to the impacts of participatory budgeting when used as a device rather than a policy instrument (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). There is no evidence to suggest that a more limited agenda and implementation of participatory budgeting does not initiate a process of democratization. At present, this would be difficult to determine because the scheme of implementation is not closely considered neither before implementation nor in the evaluation of the process.

It is pertinent to add here an editorial comment on the context of the United States. As a federalist republic whose establishment was very much a painful reconciliation between centralized control and regional autonomy, the United States has important unique characteristics. The one that seems to have the most significance in this article is the influence of legalism on society's relationship to its institutions. In a polyphonous and often discordant social reality such as it is, the presence of extreme disparities between rich and poor, the overwhelming strength of individualism, and the power careerism has had on people's almost nomadic movement all over the country, the role of the community to mediate the will of the individual with the authority of institutions is much diminished. The power of participatory budgeting to generate community is one of its most powerful virtues. In the United States, institutions have incredible power and reach with great resistance to change. Further, the concentration of power in the federal

government that has effectively taken place since the Great Depression has slowly eroded the effective authority and quality of state government. A prime example of this is that of education. States, according to the Constitution, have authority over education, but the federal government's exercise of its 'power of the purse' over (re)distributing tax revenue has often precipitated a domino effect of constraints upon schools and classrooms. This was the case generally with the standards movement that gained momentum in the early 80s and was sharply exercised with the passage in 2001 of No Child Left Behind (NCLB), which placed conditions on the distribution of Title I funding from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which effectively placed K12 educational policy under federal control. Navigating the complex waters of school governance requires the exercise of great care and significant forethought. Creating greater school autonomy in favor of democratization has been tried before with some success (*see* Goodman, 1992; 1996), but takes a very systematic approach along with consistent technical and emotional support. Though there is a great deal of dissatisfaction and frustration with government in the United States, there is as well a great deal of faith in its institutions as demonstrated by their resistance to change. This Gordian knot is not easily cut, nor should it be attempted incautiously. Again, participatory budgeting represents an opportunity to address both of the pulling sides, individuals and institutions, by developing community which in turn builds capacity in both directions. Hence, any efforts at social change on any scale in the United States must be intentional with deliberate consideration of how that attempt serves to build capacity individually, collectively (community), and institutionally: it is fundamentally an educational process that must be comprehensively educative.

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CHAPTER 3

SCHOOL PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING FOR STUDENTS: THE CASE OF SSSD

Abstract

Background: School participatory budgeting has only recently emerged in the United States. Research on youth participation in the context of participatory budgeting is scant in the United States, and the research literature in the English language internationally is primarily concerned with youth experience in municipal participatory budgeting processes. As this case is the first of its kind in the U.S., it is a rare opportunity to learn about the experiences in a process found to have a positive impact on civic learning. Such an opportunity includes a deeper investigation of the context and experience in which such learning takes place.

Purpose: This case study of students from the student steering committees (SSCs) of five campuses examines their experiences with regards to the accomplishments and challenges they faced in the pilot year of the process.

Setting: The study context was the pilot year of school participatory budgeting in a large urban secondary school district in the Southwestern United States. Students established steering committees on each campus to implement the process amongst their peers beginning with idea collection, onwards to proposal development, and culminating in the finale of voting day.

Research Design: The study used a qualitative case study design, focusing primarily on focus group interviews conducted with each SSC at the end of the pilot year of school participatory budgeting during the 2016-2017 academic year. The design also incorporated observational field notes and additional document sources to corroborate findings from analysis of the focus group interview data.

Findings: Coding and analyses revealed several themes of student experience with the participatory budgeting process across all five campuses in the district: participation, relationship, governance, and communication. Students reported a capacity and desire to engage in more rigorous inquiry surrounding the process. Moreover, they felt a greater sense of belonging after taking an active role at school and that a sense of belonging makes it legitimate to contribute.

Conclusions: This case study presents students' perspectives on the first-time school participatory budgeting across a school district. It suggests that students' participation has a relationship to how the process is carried out during idea collection and proposal development. The student steering committees (SSC) benefit from engaging the general student body on multiple occasions to provide updates and help guide non-SSC members through the proposal development process. Finally, a formal student-led

evaluation process at either the campus or district level might benefit participation and student positionality over time. Although, this case is instructive, it is that of a nascent process that had no prior experience to draw upon. Therefore, the findings are particular to a very specific moment in time for school participatory budgeting in the United States.

Introduction

While public attitudes about government and politics are difficult to categorize (Pew Research Center, 2015), Pew recently reported (2017) that only 20% of Americans felt they could trust the federal government: only 4% reported "just about always" and 16% reported "most of the time". Concerns about the decline in trust and civic engagement have been the topic of research for decades. Robert Putnam (2000) provided one of the most compelling presentations of the relationship between civic engagement and the health of civil society. More recently, researchers observed an increase of a class gap in terms of civic and social engagement over the past 20 years (Snellman et. al, 2015). Researchers underscored the relationship between extracurricular participation, social class, and political and civic participation in adulthood. Fung and Wright (2003) suggest that the current state of democracy is one characterized by little trust, approval or participation. Furthermore, thin democracy provides limited opportunities for participation and such participation is of limited depth.

Benjamin Barber (2003/1984) advocates for more participatory practices within democratic societies and criticizes representative democracy as being "thin democracy." He indicts a rights-based perspective as being a manifestation of hyper-individualism, diminishing the active and collective role of democratic citizenship. Some have even gone so far as to suggest that social problems can be placed at the feet of thin democracy

(Lappé, 2005a; 2005b). Thick democracy or deep democracy exists where people gain experience with democratic decision-making.

The concerns about the health of democracy and advocacy for more participatory forms of democratic governance are both connected to the underlying belief that democratic citizenship is a lived experience and thus learned through experience. This runs counter to the opportunities traditionally offered within the formal education system.

The basis for experiential approaches to citizenship learning (i.e. 'doing democracy') is the premise that democratic governance requires of its citizens certain soft skills (e.g. listening, deliberation, public speaking). Participatory budgeting is one such experiential approach. Proponents, through process design and training facilitators, work to foster these skills and researchers seek to understand the process and/or its impacts.

In the context of local governance, participatory budgeting has grown since 1989 to become a valued and widespread approach to engage citizens in direct democracy (Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2018). Research on participatory budgeting, moreover, asserts that participants' experience in the process contributes to citizenship learning (Lerner & Schugurensky, 2007). In the 2016-2017 academic year, participatory budgeting was introduced on five campuses in the Southwest Secondary School District (SSSD) becoming the first instance in which participatory budgeting was adopted into a school district in the United States.

School participatory budgeting, in its conception, seeks to bring democratic experiences to students by ceding a portion of the school budget into their hands. The process gives students direct control over the allocation of these funds in a year-long process of direct democratic decision-making.

Predictably, some might hesitate to give high school youth so much power within the context of school governance. Grace Llewellyn (1997) notes that our society turns "the power of adolescence into a weak disease" (p.72). Citing the *World Book Encyclopedia*, she goes on to state that in general "teenagers mature psychologically at the rate set by their society… [and] as a result, psychological adolescence normally lasts at least as long as the period of legal dependence" (p.73). In the United States, it is as if we prolong childhood by treating adolescence—and even early adulthood—as a time characterized by recreation and reduced responsibility. Yet, adults know that adulthood is not a gift smuggled down a chimney that one wakes up to on the morning of our 18th birthday but is instead a process of maturation that society can and must slowly nurture. The same can be said of citizenship.

Secondary school students are the captive audience of schools and at a point in life when they are awakening to responsibilities of adulthood and developing the powers to fulfill them. Incorporating democratic experiences into schools, which already transmit information about democratic governance, could render them sites for nurturing democratic citizenship.

This case study explores the experiences of groups of students from each of the five participating campuses in SSSD's first year of school participatory budgeting.

Conceptual Framework

The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of high school students engaged in participatory democracy through the school participatory budgeting process. The conceptual framework of this study is grounded in the following: (a) citizenship as the animating facet of democracy, (b) the broad scope of citizenship learning, and (c)

participatory budgeting as a source of democratic experience. Democracy is, in one sense, a theory of governance while also being an orientation towards living in association with others (Dewey, 1916). Citizenship, in the latter case, is a mode of being that characterizes a democratic society (Biesta, 2004; Lawy & Biesta, 2006). Citizenship learning can be conceptualized as ranging from didactic to experiential approaches. Learning about the theory of governance is necessary, but insufficient for nurturing a democratic society. Democracy must not only be known, it must also be done. It has been suggested that participatory democracy, practices in which people make collective decisions using democratic principles, improves the quality of democratic citizenship (Mansbridge, 1995). This is attributed in part to the fact that the experience of democracy through participation is in itself educative. The experiences of democratic participation, especially processes of direct democracy, are themselves instructional instruments of what participants learn thereby. Within this framework, are the essential elements underlying the school participatory budgeting process under study.

Citizenship Animates Democracy

The word *citizen* has power. It connotes such dignity that Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon (1998) found no pejorative use of it, nor does it occur frequently in slang (p.113). Though society and culture change, the dominant citizenship discourses (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006) rely on definitions of citizenship millennia old. The concept of citizenship continues to expand throughout the social sciences. Citizenship as a statutory definition within the legal code of a nation-state has been replaced by a number of more dynamic discourses on the concept (Shafir, 1998; Noddings, 2005).

T.H. Marshall. The work of sociologist T.H. Marshall frequently serves as a frame of reference within the contemporary citizenship literature. T.H. Marshall's *Citizenship and Social Class* (1950) describes three parts of citizenship: civil, political, and social (p.8). Civil citizenship emerged in the 18th century in the form of rights to property ownership, free speech, and due process of some common set of laws (Marshall, 1950, pp.10-11; Torres, 1998, p.105). Political citizenship adds to this political participation, roughly coinciding with male suffrage in the early 19th century (Marshall, p.13; Torres, p.105). Social citizenship means having access to all that is good in society—means and opportunities for a good life (e.g. economic security).

These were "strands woven into a single thread" that diverged because of the dual processes of geographical fusion and functional separation (Lister, 2003: 9). Citizenship is a "status bestowed upon those who are a full member of the community… equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status in endowed" (p.18). Ruth Lister (2003) isolates three salient features of this theory: equality, rights and duties, and the fact that these flow from the status of membership (p.14). She also notes that community is a contested concept. Marshall's citizenship is a status with rights and responsibilities and historically situated within the United Kingdom's post-WWII welfare state (Lister, 2003; Torres, 1998).

A democracy is more than a structural guideline for a political system; it also has implications for the society in which it is adopted. The wellbeing of a democratic society is contingent upon the quality of its members, or citizens. The legal status of citizen is rooted in the particular legal code in which it is defined: it is static. The practice of citizenship, on the other hand, imply the ongoing application of democratic concepts and

processes: it is dynamic, alive. Merrifield (2002) describes this distinction as the difference between being a citizen and acting like one. For citizenship to animate democracy, it must be understood both in theory and through practice.

Citizenship discourses. Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006) studied discursive formulations of citizenship in journals, policy, and curricula for the period between 1990 and 2003. They identify two dominant discourses, which they refer to as civic republicanism and liberal. They also identify a series of nondominant/critical citizenship discourses: feminist, cultural, reconstructionist, queer, and transnational.

Civic republicanism. The civic republican discourse emphasizes love and service to a narrowly defined political community, a nativistic ethics mobilized, despite heterogeneity, to strengthen commitment to political community and nation (Oldfield, 1998). Nationalism and patriotism are the iteration of this theme in the civic republican discourse.

Liberal citizenship. The liberal citizenship discourse emphasizes full exercise of individual liberty (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). It is a discourse of individual freedom with two threads: neoliberalism and political liberalism. Though neoliberalism "has not yet emerged as an explicit discourse" it is nevertheless "very influential in American [sic] culture and schooling" (p.661). Neoliberalism promotes a homo economicus (Ladson-Billings, 2005) and is largely rejected by political liberalism.

Foremost in political liberalism is freedom-as-autonomy: the right to choose ideals and an incredulity towards authority (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Macedo, 2000; Shafir, 1998). Second in emphasis is a Habermasian-influenced valuing of deliberative democracy (Knight Abrowitz & Harnish, 2006). Political liberalism

prioritizes developing skills of decision-making. Adrian Oldfield (1998) points out that by dichotomizing individual and community in the name of protecting property, liberalism isolates individuals from the community for the sake of the individual's protection from (presumably dangerous) others. Dewey (1916; 1927) recognized the tension between individual and community as the intersection of democratic citizen, democratic society, and democratic government. It is in the process of an individual's association with others that democracy is given life.

Critical discourses. Critical discourses explore issues of "membership, identity, and engagement" (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, p.666). They exhibit political criticality, engaging with "issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, matters of race, class, and gender, ideologies, discourses… and cultural dynamics interact to construct the social systems that construct our consciousness" (Kincheloe, 2001, pp.122-123). In pursuit of social justice, they welcome conflict and controversy (2001). They question liberalism's privileging of the individual. These discourses consider difference a resource rather than a threat (Flores & Benmajor, 1997). They problematize the division between public and private, which has undermined the domestic sphere and made difference an apolitical matter of lifestyle choices. Critical citizenships demand acknowledgement of "cultural, national, and global identifications" (Banks, 2001: 5).

Citizenship Learning

The process of an individual's socialization into a community is an educational process (Dewey, 1916). If Dewey (1927) is correct and democracy is "the idea of community life itself" (p.148) and citizenship is a form of membership in a community, then democratic citizenship is a primary aim of education. Schools have historically

employed a didactic approach to citizenship education in the form of civics courses that cover democracy as a form of government and the concept of citizenship as a legal status.

Civics education attempts to teach students political literacy (Davies, 2008). Through history courses, schools incorporate political literacy in discussions of the development of political institutions and political philosophy as aspects of the genesis of civilizations. Government or civics courses describe more pointedly the aspects of statutory citizenship (i.e. rights and responsibilities) and the mechanics of national governance. The concern is that this alone has failed to stimulate interest in civil society or politics (Putnam, 2000). The disconnect between high school civics curricula and the citizenship discourses within the social sciences can in part, be attributed to the Social Studies' estrangement from the academic field of political science almost a century ago (Ahmad, 2006). Joe Kincheloe (2001) offered an insightful, if caustic, critique of the approach schools adopt within traditional civics courses: which is that even if a civics course reflects any particular point of view, it is most interested in avoiding a point of view. A society is in danger of being one characterized by ambivalent and passive citizens when democratic citizenship is framed as a neutral topic in a classroom, taught didactically and learned passively.

John Dewey (1916) saw such an approach as inadequate in order to maintain a healthy democratic society. Democratic citizenship implicitly demands contact with others and experiences shaped by democratic concepts. In other words, democratic experience can only exist in the context of associated living. Synthesizing some of the important work of John Dewey (1899; 1916; 1938), the basic premises are that people learn by doing, that to learn to live in a democracy there must be some educative

experience within a democratic medium, and that, in terms of schooling, there can and must be a conscious effort in practice and structure to achieve this.

Concerns about the health of civil society led to considerations of how formal schooling might address the 'democratic deficit.' One factor that has been emphasized is the decline in overall civic engagement (Putnam, 2000). This has, in turn, led to incorporating community service hours as part of high school graduation requirements and in the review process for college admissions departments (Adler & Goggin, 2005). Civic engagement has been both narrowly and broadly defined and the definition predictably reflects "the perspective and interests of the definer" (p.238). The term can include any or all of the following areas of participation: local community involvement (e.g. neighborhood associations, community gardens, Girls Scouts), electoral participation (e.g. voting, running for office, fundraising) and political voice (e.g. demonstrations, strikes, writing comments in social media).

Service learning is a relatively recent and widespread strategy of schools to improving students' civic engagement. Literature on service learning is frequently tethered to its contributions to citizenship learning (Battistoni & Hudson, 1997; Boyte & Farr, 1997; Kahne & Westheimer, 1996; Mitchell, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Service learning ranges in focus from enhancing content acquisition to transformative social action (Butin, 2005; Bickford & Reynolds, 2002; Boyle-Baise, 1999; Varlotta, 1997a; 1997b).

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) pose the question: what kind of citizen? They proposed three ideal types: personally responsible, participatory, and justice-oriented. In their study of 10 sites, they select two in order to more closely examine the "subtle and

not-so-subtle" (p.245) distinctions between programs that emphasize on of the latter two kinds of citizen. Their focus on the implicit view of citizenship advocated by these programs suggests that the concept of citizenship should be expressly considered when implementing service learning. If, for example, one examines the status and practice of citizenship in terms of knowledge, attitudes, and dispositions (Merrifield, 2002) then identifying what each consists of and how it is learned is essential. Approaches to citizenship learning exist on a spectrum from didactic to experiential.

In botany, the term radical describes something springing directly from the root of a plant. Radicals of citizenship learning are exceptional in the degree to which they embody or emphasize the importance of experience and critical reflection on root causes of present political issues (Beatty, 2010), though they do not dismiss civic engagement or civics outright. Such radicals include schools which have incorporated democratic co-governance into their design (i.e. "democratic schools").

Michael Apple and James Beane (2007) describe democratic schools as working in "practical ways to infuse education with democratic participation by the whole community including parents, teachers, community members, and significantly the students themselves" (pp.150-151). Notable examples of democratic schools include Summerhill and the Sudbury Valley School (Greenberg, 1992a; Greenberg, 1992b), both of which reflect the laissez-faire tradition of curricular design (Barone, 2010).

Jesse Goodman has been a proponent and researcher of democratic schools since the 1990s (1992; 2006). His research began with the Harmony School in Bloomington, Indiana and has since blossomed into an organization that works to democratize individual schools (2006). The approach has been to help schools develop greater relative

autonomy within districts, empowering teachers and students to contribute authentically to co-governance as well as collaborative and democratic curriculum development. Democratic schools, though few, claim to educate for citizenship through meaningful and consistent experience in the practice of democratic governance. These experiences develop the habits and skills needed within a democratic society.

The Citizen School Project (1993-2004)

The Citizen School Project or the Citizen School emerged in the city of Porto Alegre, the capitol of the state of Rio Grande do Sul in southern Brazil. It represents democratization of a more comprehensive sort than the 'democratic schools' described above. The Citizen School Project was created through a participatory structure, the Constituent Assembly, and has three goals: democratization of access to schools, democratization of knowledge, and democratization of school governance (Fischman & Gandin, 2016).

The Citizen School Project arose four years after the participatory budgeting process in the city began (Gandin & Apple, 2002), though it also reflected the continuation of educational reform already underway in Brazil. The development of the Citizen School Project was the second generation of the broader citizen school movement of Brazil in the 1980s, which was formalized upon Paulo Freire's appointment as Secretary of Education for São Paulo in 1989 (Schugurensky & Madjidi, 2008). The initiatives across the broader movement "aimed at transforming educational spaces into democratic spaces" (p.112). This entailed pursuing greater school autonomy and community ownership of both the administration and curriculum of schools. The

movement lost momentum in São Paolo in 1992, though it would resurface a decade later, yet it was successful in that it paved the way for similar efforts elsewhere in Brazil.

The Citizen School of Porto Alegre reflects what participatory budgeting has been able to do in terms of coordinating the energies of cities, schools, and the people. Their origin in the thick democratic practice of participatory budgeting legitimates the Citizen School in the eyes of stakeholders. The devolution of power from the *Secretaria Municipal de Educação* (SMED) to that of students, parents, and teachers seems to make such an endeavor possible. The example is illuminating in that it reflects the profound reconceptualization of entrenched organizational structures of public institutions that is possible once the citizenry begins to experience democracy as an integral aspect of daily life.

It has been argued that participatory democracy has an important pedagogical dimension (Pateman, 1970) and that experiments in participatory democracy can act as a kind of 'school of citizenship' (Lerner & Schugurensky, 2007). Schugurensky and Myers (2008) assert that the educational potential of participatory democracy is to be found in two general practices: deliberation and decision-making. Both of these practices are found in participatory budgeting.

Participatory Budgeting

At first glance, the experience of being part of an extended budgeting meeting may seem neither exciting nor an effective incubator for democratic society. Yet, since its first iteration in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 1989, participatory budgeting has been adapted and implemented throughout the world, in part, for these very reasons. The literature indicates that deliberating about the allocation of shared resources in a structured and

democratic process can be linked to positive changes in citizenship learning indicators (Lerner, 2009; Lerner & Schugurensky 2005; 2007).

In the case of municipal participatory budgeting, city residents have direct control of some proportion of the municipal budget through the participatory budgeting process. Through this structure, residents allocate funds through a form of direct democracy (Baiocchi, 2003; Gilman, 2014; 2016). Schools, like cities, vary in how they implement the participatory budgeting process (e.g. scale, structure, access). In some cases, all students, teachers and staff are eligible to participate in the process and in others voting is also extended to parents. With the Citizen School of Porto Alegre, the funds of the school are already subsumed in the democratic structure of the school and the municipal participatory budget (Gandin & Apple, 2003).

The features of citizenship that might characterize student experience within the participatory budgeting process will vary widely depending upon the design of the process in the specific context (See Chapter 2). Examples point to such concepts as fiscal responsibility, sources of public monies, and oversight processes of public spending (Cohen, 2015; Röcke, 2014). Developing proposals for the participatory budget would be influenced significantly by contextual factors. The size of the participatory budget and the governance structure within which it emerges (e.g. campus, district, city, county) would determine the rules and procedures delimiting the process (Röcke, 2014). Many ways of structuring the process would profoundly affect the social life (Dewey, 1916) students experience. There is not discussion in the literature focused on how subdivisions by grade within a school (Cohen, 2015) or subdivisions by school within an entire province (Röcke, 2014) might influence the process. It stands to reason that the social

environment within which a participatory budgeting process takes place is influences the character of the 'school of citizenship (Lerner & Schugurensky, 2005) participatory budgeting creates. a factor in how the experience of democratic participation

The literature on school participatory budgeting either is confined to a single site (Cohen, 2015; Cohen, Schugurensky, & Weik, 2016) providing a depth of information on the process and outcomes or describes a process of school participatory budgeting on such a large scale (Röcke, 2014) that its object of analysis is equally broad in scope. Understanding students' experiences of their own participation can help inform the objective of impacting school governance and individual citizenship learning through the participatory budgeting process.

Based on review of the literature[5], described below, regarding youth and participatory budgeting indicated a need for further investigation of the interplay between students' experience as participants and the structure of the process. The literature on school participatory budgeting did not provide a thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the process nor did any study take the participants' experience itself as an object of analysis. The process of school participatory budgeting is related to the experience of it, which is why this case study explores in greater depth the experiences of participants.

Prior Research

The empirical literature focuses on the constituent elements of citizenship learning. These are knowledge, skills, behaviors, and attitudes. First, there is information that citizens should have. Second, democratic citizens need to have certain abilities, such

[5] This refers only to literature on municipal and school participatory budgeting published in the English language.

as being able to deliberate and/or interpret newspapers and political literature like leaflets (Torney-Purta, Lehman, Oswald, & Shulz, 2001, Schugurensky & Myers, 2003). Third, citizens must participate (i.e. engagement). Finally, there are relevant values needed for citizens to effectively apply knowledge while engaging in democratic society. Researchers interested in citizenship study these elements using different methods and terms.

Studies on civic learning investigate five topics: knowledge, attitudes, engagement, dispositions, and civic virtues. Relevant knowledge consists mainly of political information and democratic skills (Schugurensky, 2006; Torney-Purta, 2001; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Tupper & Cappello, 2012; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Relevant attitudes include feelings towards government, participation, efficacy, diversity, solidarity, etc. (Banks, 2001; Metz & Youniss, 2005; Schugurensky, 2006; Torney-Purta, 2001; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Tupper & Cappello, 2012; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Wylie & Marri, 2010). No less essential are the manner and/or degree of engagement in civil society (Zaff, Malanchuk, & Eccles, 2008) as well as the dispositions of present or future citizens (Zaff et al., 2008). Finally, in what might be described as 'civic virtues', studies examine citizenship by looking at perceptions of the ideal or 'good' citizen (Torney-Purta, 2001; Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Tupper & Cappello, 2012; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Wylie & Marri, 2010).

Knowledge

In Phase II of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study (CivEd) (Torney-Purta, 2001; Torney-Purta et al., 2001), researchers distributed the testing instrument to 14-year-olds in 28 countries.

They obtained two knowledge scores: (1) content knowledge (of fundamental democratic principles); and (2) skills in interpreting civic-related information (e.g cartoons, leaflets, newspapers). Results suggested that greater home literacy resources predicted civic knowledge (Torney-Purta, 2001). The study incorporated a 'concepts of democracy' scale-measure to assess understanding of democratic principles that corroborated the above test results.

There were a number of other findings. Aspirations for higher education and literacy resources were the most important predictor of civic knowledge (Torney-Purta, 2001). Young people who spend many evenings and hours out of their homes with peers have lower civic knowledge and skills. Finally, experiencing discussions of issues in open classroom climates related positively to civic knowledge in twenty-two of the twenty-eight countries. The United States scored significantly above the mean on civic knowledge (Torney-Purta et al., 2001).

Chareka and Sears (2005; 2006) conducted two related comparative studies of recent African immigrants to Canada and native-born Canadians. The first study mapped conceptions of civic participation of both groups using a phenomenographic approach, which investigates the qualitatively different ways people perceive, experience, conceptualize and understand phenomena (2005). The aim of this study was to see the clear division between two categories of civic participation: political and non-political. Both groups identified only formal political phenomena (represented by images) as being political. Researchers asserted that prior knowledge should be incorporated when attempting to increase political participation through citizenship education (2005).

Attitudes

The IEA study (Torney-Purta, 2001) used three separate scales to measure beliefs about (1) the importance of conventional citizen activities; (2) the importance of social movement related activities; and (3) the intention to participate in conventional citizen activities as an adult. Evidence suggested that levels of civic knowledge and engagement do not necessarily go together. School efficacy, based on the 'confidence in participation at school' measure, assessed democratic experiences in schools and specifically examined the extent to which students believed attempting to change the school would have positive results.

The IEA instrument included a variety of measures of attitudes. One category was trust in government, since legitimacy of democratic governments requires political trust. Most trusted were courts and police, then national and local governments, while political parties were the least trusted agencies in all countries.

Perceptions of conventional citizenship responsibilities (e.g. political discussions, political party membership) were perceived as considerably less important than what this study dubbed 'social-movement-related activities.' Most (80%) felt voting was important, but overall youth were skeptical of traditional forms of political engagement. Still, many were open to other involvement in civic life. The participants felt that affiliation and action associated with social movements is valuable, but affiliation with political parties and political discussions is "not important" (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p.81).

Engagement

Participants in the IEA study reported on the kinds of engagement they gravitated towards. The 14-year-olds were willing to "collect signatures for a petition, participate in

a non-violent protest march or rally" (Torney-Purta et al., 2001, p.120), which fell into the study's unconventional participation category or social movement related activities. The same study reported that in Colombia, Greece, Cyprus, and Italy two-thirds or more of the participants were likely to engage in non-violent demonstrations compared to less than one-third of participants in England, Czech Republic, and Finland. Three-fourths were prepared to collect signatures in Colombia and Chile; one-third or less were willing to collect in Estonia, Czech Republic, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Slovak Republic. Voting stood out as the most preferred future political activity across all countries.

In another study (Biesta et al., 2009), researcher findings indicated that leisure activities have a special role in allowing youth to interact with adults in a structurally different way than with parents, caregivers, and teachers. The study's practical conclusion was that a focus on democratizing students' experiences in school most likely will have a greater effect on citizenship learning than a concern for improving citizenship curricula and citizenship teaching.

Dispositions

Zaff, Malanchuk, Eccles and Michelsen (2002a; 2002b) developed a civic context model. A later study by Zaff, Malanchuck, and Eccles (2008) attempted to further refine the civic context model. The researchers were interested in determining the mechanisms that facilitated the formation of sustained civic engagement.

The study utilized data from a large longitudinal study that followed youth throughout high school and into early adulthood. The original model had five components: (1) civic context within which youth develop; (2) whether or not youth have an opportunity to engage ('civic opportunity') in early adolescence; (3) perception of that

participation; (4) continued civic participation as young adults; (5) sustained participation/positive citizenship. Zaff et al. (2008), upon revision of the model (Zaff et al., 2002a; 2002b), found that three aspects of positive citizenship in late adolescence served as mediators: peer support and communication, positive citizenship in adolescence, and other extracurricular activity participation. These mediated the formation of sustained civic engagement between early adolescence and early adulthood. They found that civic context (a composite of individual and social variables) in early adolescence predicts civic participation (e.g. extracurricular activities) in late adolescence. Civic participation in late adolescence, combined with continued civic context, predicts civic engagement, civic activism and volunteering in adulthood.

Civic Virtues

The concept of citizenship as civic virtues emerged from the literature, wherein a number of studies were interested in the normative dimension of citizenship. In other words, the features and values of good citizenship. These reflect Lawy & Biesta's (2006) criticism that citizenship education places an "emphasis upon social engineering, upon the 'manufacture' of compliant yet 'active' citizens" and that this "remains a fundamental component of the mainstream discourse of citizenship and citizenship education" (2006, p.42).

Westheimer & Kahne (2004) conducted a 2-year study of democratic educational programs from which emerged three 'types' of good citizen: (a) the personally responsible citizen; (b) the participatory citizen; and (c) the justice-oriented citizen. These three kinds of good citizen addressed the question: "*What kind of citizen do we need to*

support an effective democratic society?" (p.239). They used two examples of the ten programs studied to describe in detail the latter two types of citizen.

The first program, Madison County Youth in Public Service, was administered in two high schools in a suburban/rural community on the East Coast. Two different 12th grade government teachers opened their classroom for two years (i.e. four cohorts). Fifty-nine percent of the students in the study were female. No specific demographic data were available, but the teachers reported that the vast majority of students were white European-American. The second program, Bayside Students for Justice, was administered in an urban West Coast school. The Bayside curriculum was developed for low-achieving students as part of a 12th grade social studies course. The participants were representative of the population of area schools. Of the 25 students, 21 completed pre/posttest. There were more female than male students (62%, 38%), 8 African-American, 8 Asian or Pacific Islander, 3 identified as "Other," 1 Latino, and 1 Caucasian. Researchers used a mixed-methods approach using observational, interview, and pre/posttest survey data. Their design is based on Lois-ellin Datta's (1997) "pragmatic basis" for mixed method design (p.34). Researchers also collected documents prepared by program staff, a fourth data source. Researchers were interested in the democratic orientation, or kind of citizen(ship), programs promoted and how well they promoted capacities commensurate with these orientations. Researchers included the following measures: "civic efficacy, vision, leadership efficacy, desire to volunteer in the future, knowledge, social capital for community development, following news stories, views on government responsibility for those in need, and employer responsibility for employees" (p.247). Researchers concluded that links between participation and justice "are not

guaranteed" (p.264). It is then necessary to distinguish between the kinds of democratic values programs promote. Researchers asserted that traditional measures such as civic responsibility, often do not attend to the highly relevant ramifications of different or divergent democratic values.

Tupper and Cappello (2012) conducted a study in Saskatchewan of Grade 10 students' perceptions of the 'good' citizen in relation to the official social studies curriculum. They hypothesized that students, regardless of SES and other differentiating characteristics would exhibit Gramscian "common sense" understandings of citizenship. Specifically, their perceptions of the 'good' citizen would align with the perceptions transmitted by the social studies standards. Their sample was drawn from two high schools with differing SES. Their methods are based in visual sociology and specifically drew upon two methods from visual sociology (Chareka & Sears, 2005; 2006; Taylor, 2002).

Students wrote down ideas they associated with the good citizen and then formed groups of 4-6. Using markers, periodicals, and other artistic materials groups created visual representations of 'good' citizens. Researchers reversed Whetton and McWhirter's (1998) 'draw and write' technique. Groups were interviewed within one week and asked to explain their representations of 'good' citizens, which was an adaptation of Taylor's (2002) photo-elicitation interview. These interviews were not interviews to interrogate, but for students to elaborate on their choices. They first analyzed every collage and identified four emergent themes. According to their data analysis, in the views of students, 'good' citizens share four characteristics: (a) display a sense of nationalism and national pride; (b) respect relationships and display a communal ethos; (c) embrace a

socially sanctioned concern for the environment; and (d) embrace official multiculturalism. They further analyzed the interview transcripts of the focus group discussions to see if these supported or extended the themes.

Students' articulations of the 'good' citizen mirrored common sense understandings embedded within the social studies curriculum, both visually and verbally. When taken together, the conceptions of the 'good' citizen failed to elicit critical thinking on behalf of students. The communal ethos demonstrated by students was more of an avoidance of conflict than an expression of solidarity, which is an obstacle to engaging in uncomfortable self-analysis of prejudices and perspectives. This construction of 'good' citizenship is decidedly less critical than other approaches (Tupper & Cappello, 2012).

Approaches to education for democratic citizenship have significant and potential long-term consequences for youth in terms of how they conceptualize and practice citizenship. Evidence suggests that ignorance—lack of civic literacy—is not necessarily to blame for the apparent lack of youths' interest in voting and/or other means of formal political participation (Chareka & Sears, 2006; Torney-Purta, 2001). What should be the aim of education for democratic citizenship and how might citizenship educators fulfil this aim?

Research on Youth and Participatory Budgeting

It is possible that even when power is redistributed to young people, they may still choose to not participate. This choice may not reflect apathetic political culture (Pateman, 1999). Youth may conceptualize participation more as belonging to a group than to actions. John-Akinola et al. (2013) found that more attention needs to be given to a

child's sense of belonging and participation as an act. For 248 students between the ages of 9 and 13 in Ireland, participation was more about being a part of the environment: if you belong or feel you belong there then you are participating. This may carry over into high school. Thus, creating or nurturing that sense of belonging may be a concurrent priority when endeavoring to encourage youth to actively participate in decision-making processes such as participatory budgeting.

The literature on youth and participatory budgeting is limited in the English language. There is citizenship literature in the field of adult education that may be applicable to youth as well. Some of the adult education literature on citizenship education is dedicated to the theory and study of deepening democracy (Fung & Wright, 2003). This literature holds important lessons for working with youth, confirming that participating in democratic processes has an educative function. Substantive intergenerational democratic forums at the local level— "mini-democracies" can provide citizenship learning that could be transferred (horizontally or vertically) to other settings (Schugurensky, 2004, p.607). The IEA study found that youth spending time only with each other does not promote civic knowledge or skills (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Consequently, the aforementioned "virtuous circle" (Schugurensky, 2004, p.607) of citizenship learning may benefit from increased intergenerational interactions.

The history of youth involvement in participatory budgeting goes back to its origins in Brazil. Youth have also been given opportunities to be part of participatory budgeting through school and also through children and youth participatory budgeting processes. The youth participation in the participatory budgeting process can occur in any of the following spheres:

1. Municipal participatory budgeting with the inclusion of youth with adults
2. Municipal participatory budgeting specifically for youth (Youth participatory budgeting)
3. Municipal participatory budgeting specifically for children and youth who have not yet reached legal adulthood or majority
4. School participatory budgeting

Studies have been done on youth participation in all of these spheres in different regions (Latin America, Europe, East Asia, and North America). The Presupuesto Participativo Joven in Rosario, Argentina has served as a guiding example worldwide (Cohen, Schugurensky, & Wiek, 2015; Smith & Fletcher, 2014/2016). A youth participatory budgeting was initiated in the city of Cluj-Napoca, Romania in 2014 (Brennan, 2016) and in Colle di Val d'Elsa, Italy in 2011 (Beppe88 & Fletcher, 2011/2017). It has also been done in the United Kingdom since the need for more attention to citizenship education underscored in the Crick Report (Crick, 1998). There have been projects on the Isle of Wight (Onyiliogwu & Fletcher, 2013/2017), Berkhamsted (Hall & Fletcher, 2013/2017a), and Stockton-on-Tees (Hall & Fletcher 2013/2017b). There was also the school participatory budgeting process instituted in Region Poitou-Charentes, France in 2004 (Röcke, 2014) and in Paris (Cabannes, 2018; Ganuza, Nez, & Morales, 2014; Napolitano, 2015; Nez, 2016).

In the United States, municipal youth participatory budgeting and school participatory budgeting both began in 2014: Boston's Youth Lead the Change (YLC) (Gilman, 2014; 2016) and Bioscience High School (Cohen, 2015; Cohen, Schugurensky, & Weik, 2016). Since 2014, youth participatory budgeting has spread to Seattle. School participatory budgeting was implemented in the 49th ward of Chicago, Met High School in Sacramento, Overfelt High School in San José, and one middle school in Mesa, Arizona.

The following are descriptions of participatory budgets from three different regions: Latin America, Europe, and North America.

Latin America. The three studies reviewed below came about through the efforts of the Urban Management Program (UMP) for Latin America and the Caribbean. UMP promoted and supported interventions through what it called "Urban Consultations". This review is drawn from a review of cases by Yves Cabannes (2005) in which she summarized findings by researchers for each site (p.210), two of which are presented here.

Cotacachi. The cantón of Santa Ana of Cotacachi is in northern Ecuador. At the time of the study, 40% of the population was between the ages of 6 and 24. In each of three zones within the cantón, young people divided themselves into two groups: one for children up to sixth grade and one for youth up to age 28. Each of three zones had congresses with democratically elected delegates for each age group between March and June of 2000 and again in 2002 (Cabannes, 2005). In 2002, the mayor authorized a participatory budget for children and youth of $6,372.

The whole process, including the participatory budgeting process, gave an opportunity for youth to interact with peers of the same age "from different cultures, strata and sectors" (2005:190). They learned the skills and difficulties of the consultative process. The youth seemed to prioritize the importance of human development. Though it has not been tied directly to the process, it is of note that this area had been largely illiterate before but following the process almost all young people and adults are literate (2005).

Barra Mansa. Barra Mansa is a municipal district in southeastern Brazil. Over 25% of the population at the time was under the age of 14. Tracing back to 1997, the mayor of Barra Mansa, in her work with UMP, came to the decision to implement participatory budgeting (Cabannes, 2005). She included in her plans the establishment of councils for children (OP Mirim). The project included assistance from a local NGO, Encomen (Encontro de Meninos e Meninas de Barra Mansa). Various adults were invited to facilitator trainings to become OP Mirim agents. These would work with the various levels of the OP Mirim.

There were 18 girls and 18 boys elected as councilors in the municipal assemblies. These were elected by district delegates in the 6 district assemblies, which in turn were elected by neighborhood delegates in neighborhood assemblies. Neighborhood assemblies were open to all children to participate but only those between 9 and 15 could vote, and of those only the ones enrolled in school could be elected (Cabannes, 2005). The budget allocated to OP Mirim in 1998 was $150,000 to deal with 18 identified priorities. The management of these funds and the electoral and the deliberative process at each level were seen as rich learning opportunities for young people. In addition to these were the "caravans of citizenship" in which councilors (the top tier of the electoral process) went around the city to learn about different neighborhoods and districts. Post-caravan reflective discussions helped young councilors to better prioritize and contextualize projects under review.

Europe. The two studies reviewed include a municipal youth participatory budget in Romania and a school participatory budgeting process implemented throughout a region in France.

Romania. Brennan (2014) conducted one-on-one interviews with 45 English-speaking participants (14-25 year-olds), examining KASP indicators in a municipal youth participatory budgeting initiative carried out online in Cluj, Romania. The study looked at the dynamics of online participation. She examined the outcomes for participants using a paired t-test. The main finding was that 85% of participants felt empowered by the experience. Brennan also noted that the proposed projects that the youth were voting on were intended either for the entire population of the city or a specific sub-group of youth (e.g. artists). Most respondents voted for proposals focused on cultural events, while 10 voted for art projects. She recommended more deliberation amongst proposal teams, youth participatory action research (YPAR), and longer studies in the future.

Poitou-Charentes. One of the largest and longest school participatory budgeting processes is in Region Poitou-Charentes, France (Ben-Hammo, 2008), where it is incorporated throughout both public lycées and private schools. Röcke (2014) notes some of the features of process design and youths' role in the process. She noted that although the original intention of the process was to impact citizen participation, its most significant impact had been a more effective restructuring of the regional government's structure. In its efforts to respond to the demands of the participatory budget, the government became a more responsive and transparent collection of agencies, while the impact on greater civic engagement was inconclusive.

North America. Research on two different processes and a description of a third just emerging are presented here. They are focused solely on the United States.

Boston's YLC. This project was initiated by the City of Boston with assistance from a national NGO, Participatory Budgeting Process (PBP). YLC defined youth as

participants between the ages of 12 and 25 (Burns, 2014; Insua & Fletcher, 2015/2016). The evaluation report from Harvard on the pilot year of YLC (Grillos, 2014) was the first study of participatory budgeting focused solely on youth in the U.S. A follow-up evaluation study examined the second year of implementation at the same site and published by Boston University's School of Social Work (Augsberger et al., 2017). Hollie Russon Gilman also included YLC in her dissertation research (2012) and then in her book on participatory budgeting in the United States (2016).

Tara Grillos (2014) dedicated the fifth section (Part V) of her evaluation report to the question: Participatory budgeting as a school of democracy? The study design incorporated survey data and interview data. The surveys asked participants at all levels to respond to a prompt ("As a result of participating [in YLC], I am more likely to…") in terms of six activities: (a) contact a public official, (b) vote in local and/or national elections, (c) consider working in politics, (d) volunteer for community projects, (e) work with others to solve community problems, and (f) join a community group. In-depth interviews were conducted with Change Agents and representatives on the Steering Committee. The survey data was used to compare three groups of participants: voted only, voted plus, and change agents. The results confirmed predictions that those more involved showed greater gains in all six areas. The in-depth interviews provided greater insights into the outcomes of participation. Steering Committee members and Change agents reported "social benefits, increased knowledge and skills, and feelings of empowerment" (Grillos, 2014:31). The follow-up evaluation study (Augsberger et al., 2017), reports on the views of youth on problems and challenges facing youth in Boston.

The report's findings are informative from the perspective of public policy, but significantly less so on civic learning.

Bioscience High School. The dissertation and the published study of Bioscience High School (Cohen, 2015; Cohen, Schugurensky, & Weik, 2015) focused primarily on student civic learning. Bioscience's school participatory budget included students from 9^{th}-12^{th} grade. The study used a questionnaire, with a Likert scale, asking students to rate themselves pre-/post-participatory budgeting across 20 indicators (Cohen, 2015). These indicators were organized according to knowledge, attitudes, skills, and practices (KASP). This instrument was based on a previous instrument of 55 indicators for municipal participatory budgeting but was adapted to the school context. The study found that the most significant gains were in terms of knowledge and skills and least in terms of attitudes. It can be argued that from the perspective of enhancing participation in democratic processes, the most significant indicators would be those of attitudes and practices. The traditional priorities of schools were satisfied by gains in indicators regarding knowledge and skills. It is important to keep in mind that the study was small and the process at Bioscience was nascent.

Roger C. Sullivan High School. In Chicago's 49th Ward, the participatory budgeting voting is extended to those 16 and older, so it did not include all secondary school students. Since 2014, members of Chicago's PB have been working with 15 Sullivan students to develop proposals for the general PB (Macías, 2017). The work of the Student Voice Committee (SVC) to identify potential projects during the fall and put proposals on the ballot that year motivated their principal to make the $25k available in a schoolwide participatory budgeting process (Sadiq, 2014). The increasing role of youth in

the Ward's participatory budget has been assisted by Mikva Challenge, a non-profit, non-partisan group dedicated to youth empowerment and giving youth a voice (https://www.mikvachallenge.org/) and Embarc, a teacher-driven experiential learning model based in the Chicago area (http://embarcchicago.org/**).**

Southwest District

The rationale for this study is to contribute to taking a "a step forward in the theory and practice of participatory democracy" (Mansbridge, 2003:175). The theory and practice of one manifestation of participatory democracy in the United States, participatory budgeting in schools, can "serve as a further guide to practice" (p.175) of participatory democracy and citizenship learning. This study is a "step as yet untaken… [the one requiring repeating] the observation of practice" (p.175). The theoretical and empirical literature reviewed suggests closer examination of student experiences in the process: "whose own experiences and insights may help our still fledgling understanding of how to" (p.195) *do* democracy better.

In the 2016-2017 academic year, the largest school participatory budgeting process in the U.S., in terms of participating schools and students, was implemented in the district in the Southwestern region of the United States which is the subject of this study. The design of the 2014 evaluation of YLC and Bioscience informed the design this study of its pilot year of implementation. The scale of the process in the Southwest District represents a chance to conduct research beyond an individual campus. Such cases, though insightful, cannot begin to consider the dynamics of a district of almost 30,000 students, 2,000 teachers (double check), and 22 campuses.

Methods

The following question guided the design of this study: *What were the students' experiences during initial implementation of school participatory budgeting in a large urban secondary school district in the Southwest region of the United States?* The purpose of this case study was to understand the experiences of the most intensively engaged students in the first year of the school participatory budgeting process in a large public urban secondary school district. This project began as preliminary research for a later large-scale study of civic learning and school participatory budgeting.

I adopted a case study approach because the pilot year of a single school district reflected a "bounded system" (Flood, as reported in Fals Borda, 1998). Though participatory budgeting had been done elsewhere, including schools, this first instance represented a case unto itself. This district's initiative is the first instance in the United States in which school participatory budgeting was implemented on a wide scale (Schugurensky, 2016 personal communication).

Protocol for this study emphasized process more than impact in order to get a 'lay of the land' for future research. As such, the novelty of school participatory budgeting and the variety encountered in the research could not hope to reflect be a summative evaluation (drawing any final judgments) of either process or impact. The data collected for this study allowed for further and deeper consideration of the process and impact. My findings are more concerned with implementation and process design than impact. I chose to treat this study as an intrinsic case study, considering the experiences in this study and the uncharted territory of implementing school participatory budgeting on this scale in the U.S. (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 2005).

Research Context

In the summer of 2016, the Governing Board of a large urban secondary school district in in the Southwestern United States approved an initiative to implement participatory budgeting in its schools. The 2016-2017 school year was the pilot year for participatory budgeting and took place on five campuses. The expectation was that if the pilot experiment were successful, the project would be incrementally expanded to more schools until it would include all high schools in the district. This was the first time in the United States in which participatory budgeting was implemented by a district and, significantly, emanated from the Governing Board and District leadership (i.e. Superintendent).

Description of each of the five sites. The five campuses can be divided twice: size and instructional focus. First, they are divided by size, which is how the district itself distinguished them. There were two "comprehensive" campuses that have a large student body and no particular emphasis to their curriculum. These schools had more than 2,000 students. There were three "small" campuses with fewer than 350 students, each of which had a specific focus. The two groups received different funding for participatory budgeting: large campuses received $7,000 and small campuses $4,000. Table 2.1 summarizes this information.

Research Participants

The group interviews were designed for members of student steering committees (SSCs) of the pilot year's five participating campuses. When conducting the interviews, however, there were others present. In all but one case, at least one adult was present. In four cases, at least the site sponsor was present, and in one case both the site sponsor and

administrator were present. The group interviews were conducted over the course of one week with 36 students participating in the following order: CompA (n=9); STEM1 (n=8); CompB (n=6); Magnet (n=11); and STEM2 (n=2).

Table 2.1: Campus and District Demographics for the Pilot Year

Name	Students	PB Funds	Type of School	Percent Free/Reduced Lunch	Demographic					
					Hispanic	Anglo	African American	Native American	Asian	Other
District	27,761	$26,000	Public School	77.4%	81.7%	4.4%	8.3%	2.4%	1.6%	1.6%
CompA	2,186	$7,000	Comprehensive	N/A	95.2%	1.2%	2.6%	0.5%	0.2%	
CompB	2,226	$7,000	Comprehensive	80.2%	68.8%	6.8%	11.2%	6.4%	4.4%	2.5%
STEM1	317	$4,000	Environment & Sustainability	100%	73%	14%	5%	2%	7%	
STEM2	82	$4,000	Computer coding and technological skills	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Magnet	310	$4,000	Public Safety College Preparatory	87%	90.1%	5.5%	2.6%	0.22%	0.98%	0.6%

Student steering committees. One of the common design features in all participatory budgeting processes is that of the steering committee. The steering committee is responsible for coordinating the overall process, managing communications between participants and the overseeing institutions, and assisting with proposal development. In cities like Porto Alegre, Brazil the work of the steering committee is highly sophisticated and time-consuming. The participants of this study were those students who participated in some level of coordination throughout the process. They were secondary school students between the ages of 14 and 18.

Data Collection and Analysis

This study collected data from multiple sources with a focus on students who were members of their campus steering committees. The school district employed one organization, using grant funding, to guide implementation. Another non-profit organization with an emphasis on civic engagement also provided volunteers and helped to coordinate events such as voting day. There were also the teachers ("site sponsors") and administrators from each campus directly involved with the process.

Observations and field notes. I observed two of the three district-wide meetings (September and May) of the 2016-2017 academic year. These meetings were three to five hours in length. I observed one campus's steering committee meetings and their campus's voting day (CompA). These observations lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. I also participated in one publicity meeting at CompA, where students presented school participatory budgeting to community leaders.

Student group interviews. An approved IRB protocol was used to conduct semi-structured group interviews with five student steering committees from each of the

participating campuses in the pilot year. These group interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes. These took place after the last district gathering of the steering committees to reflect and celebrate the completion of the process, over a two-week period in May of 2017 in a large urban secondary school district in the southwestern United States.

Digital audio recordings were made of the interviews and then manually transcribed into a Microsoft Word document. They were reviewed twice for accuracy. Each transcript was between 30-60 pages, double-spaced.

Additional sources. I took descriptive data from documents and emails sent amongst the researchers, the school district, and the two outside non-profit organizations working with the district. From these I confirmed my field notes concerning project proposals, voter turnout rates, details about the design of the process outlined in documents distributed to SSCs and their chaperones to the events.

General Coding Procedures

I listened to the audio recordings as I read the transcripts, taking note of significant moments and encoding those moments on the printed transcript copy. At this time, I did not attempt any interpretation of those same codes. Single or repeated responses were included for the purposes of coding. I used interpretive codes, which then developed into pattern codes for thematic analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.57). Then I read and re-read the written transcripts while listening to the audio recording to ensure that I captured "the voice" of all the participants and looked for patterns and organized the moments until I had identified themes.

Thematic analysis. I utilized an inductive approach (Fereday & Muir, 2006; Lapadat, 2010) in the process of analyzing the data. My approach is grounded in the

process I took to generate the themes presented. Listening, transcription, and then the repeated review of transcriptions produced codes and then indexing those codes (Bloor & Wood, 2006). Throughout I engaged in what was "a form of pattern recognition within the data where emerging themes become the categories for analysis" (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, pp.3-4).

This paper reports the findings on four themes that emerged during data analysis. The process of analysis, though deliberate and systematic, was iterative and reflexive (Tobin & Begley, 2004). While examining the themes, I stayed open to identifying new themes and rejected those themes that proved not to be useful in understanding student experiences of the participatory budgeting process within the context of the school system.

I reviewed my field notes, audio and written, after initial review of the interviews and then again after thematic analysis. Field notes were used as a tool for corroboration. I also referred to secondary texts, produced by the organization helping with the process, in order to check my themes against information collected by that outside organization. Materials included some of those distributed at the district-wide workshops. Most prominently, I used the guide produced for the final end-of-process reflection/celebration in which quotes and paraphrasing of highlights ("glows") and challenges ("grows") were incorporated. These, it appeared, were collected at some point during the process by this organization. They served as a referent to guard against overinterpretation or inadvertent fabrication of evidence (Crabtree & Miller, 1999) in my own analysis.

Limitations

The limits of this study are some of those associated with case study research. This case presents only five schools of school participatory budgeting in one school district and only those students who were members of the SSC participated in the group interview. The findings provide a rich description but cannot be considered predictive of school participatory budgeting elsewhere nor how the process will develop in the coming years in the Southwest district studied. It nevertheless does underscore salient features of the process in this context that may hold relevance in this district's future efforts and elsewhere.

Another limitation was that only group interviews were possible, without enough time to follow-up with individual students on their responses nor focus on specific questions related to citizenship learning. Group interviews are limited in that many people are often speaking simultaneously, and this presents a challenge for precise transcription and identifying speakers. Also, the contributions of any respondent may have affected comments by other group members. Of course, this is also its strength as a research method, providing lines of thought and reflection not anticipated in the protocol (Bloor & Wood, 2006, 100). Finally, as a teacher working within the same school district I was able to understand many of the 'inside' references to school schedules and procedures and familiar with the population and general communication style. However, my level of embeddedness may have biased me towards interpretations consistent with my own views as an employee and my own work schedule was the primary barrier to being able to engage in more observations.

Findings

The Observed Process

This section reports on the process as it was experienced by students, which emerged from the analysis of the observational field notes and the group interviews with student steering committees (SSCs). A description of the process as it was communicated to students, teachers, and administrators is described in greater detail in an earlier section.

The district conducted its pilot of school participatory budgeting without imposing a detailed and universal structure for all campuses. Other than the five phases described in the guide to school participatory budgeting (Mogilevich, 2016), campuses and their SSCs had full discretion. Campuses were defined as being either 'small' or 'large' in order to determine how much funding to allot the process for each participating school.

At the orientation meeting in September of 2016, the participatory budgeting process was presented as consisting of four phases: idea collection, proposal development, community presentations, and voting. The final ballot included the top three proposals from each campus. In my observations, the experiences of the study participants (SSC members) were clustered around three activities: collecting ideas, prioritizing those ideas for proposal development, and proposal approval. Idea collection officially began after the initial districtwide orientation workshop. Efforts to develop proposals had no clear start date. Proposal approval began after the January meeting with the district's finance office.

Idea collection. SSCs reached out to the general student body to solicit their ideas for how to spend the money. Campuses varied in how they operationalized this stage of

the process but in general either utilized the Advisory period (an academic intervention period every day that lasts 30-60 minutes) or held a school-wide assembly. Ideas ranged from modest proposals to purchase specific items (e.g. “new mirrors in the bathrooms”) to generic, abstract suggestions (e.g. “beautify the school”). Prior to SSCs sorting ideas and removing duplicates, approximately 3,000 ideas were collected, ranging from 200 in small schools to 2,000 in large schools.

Proposal development. Proposal development was allotted the most time of the three efforts. SSCs needed to apply the parameters of the budgetary guidelines on capital expenditures and cull the ideas that did not conform. During this phase of the process, SSC were expected to facilitate development of ideas into proposals including cost of item, cost of associated labor (e.g. installation and plumbing for a water bottle filling station), and a rationale in terms of how it benefited the entire school community. At this point, all students could take on the task of developing an idea into a proposal. The group interviews revealed that on at least one campus, developing a proposal from an idea was, in effect, to become a member of the SSC. Submission of proposals for approval was the responsibility of the SSCs. as well as the site sponsor and administrator from the campus.

Proposal approval/finalizing the ballot. Proposals were to then be vetted by the district CFO’s staff and then campuses would select the three for the official ballot. How schools would decide was not dictated to them. The approval of proposals should have been an iterative process between SSCs and the district. It seemed that the finance department understood their role to be approving only those proposals that were submitted for the ballot. Two campuses had two proposals on their final ballot, while the other three campuses had three proposals (the maximum allowed in that cycle) on their

ballot. Appendix A presents a table of voter turnout, winning proposals, and final proposals on each campuses ballot.

Themes

Four main themes emerged during data analysis: participation, relationships, governance, and communication. The descriptions of the process offered by SSC members revealed variations of breadth and depth in the pilot year. As students in the group interviews responded to questions, a sense of the different actors and their positions in the context of the process emerged. The theme of governance reports on participants' views on voting and the intermediary role SSCs played in decision-making throughout the process. The theme of communication arose from the qualitative dimension of communication and interaction many students emphasized during data collection.

Participation. The student steering committees, relative to all other students, had the deepest experience of participation, as they were part of every stage of the process. The breadth of participation varied. Breadth, in this case, refers to the proportion of the student body that participated beyond the initial idea collection. SSCs varied in size from 5-20 students independent of school enrollment.

In some schools the steering committee faced challenges in attracting a sufficient number of student participants. The students did not identify any precise number needed nor any definitive reason for greater participation. They reflected on the issues of recruitment and retention as well as the level of work required in developing proposals. In one school, a student stated that, going forward, "we need to recruit more people." In another instance a student asserted that recruitment was less of an issue than that of

retaining the students recruited: “we had them [other students] but they never showed up.” Another said: “[Recruiting more students beyond idea submission] was the hardest process.” In yet another instance, interviewers tried to discover what participants thought the reason for these challenges were and one student explained:

> “We talked to [all] the [advisory] classes and we invited them but we didn't get a lot [of people]… [It] was kind of difficult getting people into it, because most of the people thought that it [proposal development] was boring.”

Elsewhere members of SSCs indicated that the “hardest part of [participatory budgeting was] doing the research and gathering all of the information”. Another participant added that doing that research was “stressful.” This might be related to the same student’s comment about more student participation: “[students] didn’t stay around when we were doing the research… ‘oh, it’s too much work’”.

Students from three schools expressed that there was too little time to complete proposal development. This may be attributable to the frequency and duration of their meetings. All met during advisory where they had 30 minutes with meetings occurring weekly (e.g. “every Wednesday”). One of these SSCs only met “once/twice a month”—also during an advisory period of approximately 30 minutes.

Three SSCs (CompA, CompB, and Magnet) described similar structures for their participatory budgeting process in the pilot year. The experiences of members of the three SSCs as they described how the process unfolded on their campus suggested that there was a notable difference in participation between SSC members and the overall student body. The SSC oversaw idea collection, proposal development (including selection for the final ballot), and carried on some measure of the responsibility on the voting day. It appears that there were two possible tiers of participation for students on these campuses:

low and high. The student body was limited to submitting an idea and/or casting a final vote unless one served as a member of the SSC. Low participation provided two opportunities during the pilot year to contribute to the process: submitting/generating an idea in mid Fall of 2016 and participating on Voting Day in March of 2017. It is important to note that membership on the SSC was open throughout the year. Any individual student could have attended SSC meetings and/or developed a proposal; SSCs were not exclusive. There were no monitoring systems in place to track the precise number of students that participated in different stages of the process on these campuses. Nonetheless, SSC members made clear that it was the SSC that developed proposals, which in effect left only idea generation and voting as opportunities for participation.

The fourth campus, STEM2, began in a manner like that of the three schools above, by collecting ideas on a wide scale. A member of the SSC from STEM2 described the integration of web-based tools as a strength: "we got ideas from the entire school—[students] all submitted it on an online forum." Following this, the SSC reviewed the online submissions and eliminated (a) duplicates and (b) those "filtered out by our principal and [site sponsor]"[6]. STEM2's SSC went back to the student body in a general assembly and presented a refined list of ideas, which were subdivided into categories (e.g. music, sports equipment). Between this time (October-early November) and the January meeting at district, the SSC presided over teams developing "10 or 11 ideas [into proposals]." After the January meeting, these "dropped to like four immediately [afterwards]." Wider student participation appeared to be a conscious goal of the SSC,

[6] Comparing the SSC interviews and adult interviews revealed that this was simply a matter of removing items that were very clearly not capital expenditures and would have been eliminated.

which it attempted to achieve through the structure it developed for idea collection and proposal development.

The STEM1 school, which had been experimenting with the participatory budgeting process for the three years prior, had similar features to that of STEM2. They had large general assemblies and organized collected ideas into thematic categories. They added another feature, which was to also organize ideas by the grade level that produced them. After the students provided input, the proposals from each grade level were narrowed down by an informal group voting activity modeled at the orientation meeting for SSCs in September entitled 'dot-mocracy.' This was conducted by volunteers from the consulting organization and volunteers from a local university. From the original pool of 200 ideas, three ballot options advanced to voting day.

The process of STEM1 is unique as it is the only one informed by prior experience. The group interview indicated that STEM1 had considered how to improve the breadth of participation. A senior looking back on his freshman year experience—the first time that school (or any school in the U.S.) implemented participatory budgeting—had this to say:

> [W]hen we first did it [three years ago], we relied on the students to do the research by themselves and to do the filtering by themselves and to just turn in the paperwork. So in the end, like freshman year there might have been like 10 total actual right proposal forms…

He went on to describe the current year:

> …and then this time around we had [students/student teams] come in and [it] was like mandatory to do it in a large setting and then it was like [the teams] had a whiteboard saying here's what we [the team] want, here's why.

This school also seemed to benefit from the presence of the consulting organization assisting the district with implementation of school participatory budgeting. Members of SSC recognized their presence on campus:

> "Mildred was there talking about the program and I think there was just a lot more presence on campus. And it got people more excited about [participatory budgeting] at the concept of, like, 'this is free money' to spend on whatever we want to improve the school."

STEM1 appeared to have the most sophisticated dynamics of participation, as evidenced by the variety and intensity of interactions between students, proposal developers (individuals or teams), and the SSC. The interview data does not, however, indicate that the SSC of STEM1 made the same kind of deliberate efforts as those described in the interview of the SSC from STEM2.

The experiences recalled and described by SSC members pointed to aspects of participation in terms of both breadth and depth. They highlighted the lack of breadth when commenting on recruitment and retention. Their comments suggested the depth of participation needed in the level of work required to accomplish tasks associated with proposal development. Depth of participation was evidenced by descriptions of SSC members taking on and completing different tasks and utilizing a wide array of skills to accomplish them.

What is indicated upon examining the experiences across all five campuses is that certain structural aspects of the process design may have contributed to different degrees of participation in terms of both breadth and depth. By bringing the student body together again after initial idea collection, the student body was once again encouraged to take up the task of developing proposals. Then, as in the last case, there was a deliberate effort to bring those interested together and walk them through the proposal development process.

Relationships. One group of SSC members was asked about their absences from two of the three district-wide meetings. When asked if they had attended the budget meeting in January, one student replied: “We didn’t go as a student body, I don’t know if our teacher [site sponsor] went.” When asked why they did not go, one responded: “I don’t know. We weren’t informed about them”. Another student added: “we weren’t told about it.” On another campus, a student reflected on what he thought the biggest change to come out of the participatory budgeting process: “I think the fact that I feel this [process], that everyone who voted just opened the eyes of the district.” On a third campus, a student reflecting on the impact participatory budgeting had on the adults on campus said: “I don’t think they [adults other than sponsor and administrator] know anything about this club.” Soon after I asked them:

Me: How much decision-making power should students have and how much should teachers have and how much should administrators have, do you think? Just off the top of your head.

Student 1: I think they should have, not more, but *some* say in it, ‘cause we're the ones that that drink water—the teachers don’t. We’re [students] the one that go to the restroom, like on the public ones over there—they don't. Like, I think we [students] should have, yeah even more say.

Multiple students: Equal

Student 2 Like if we had one of you guys [she indicates to the sponsor and administrator] go into one of the restrooms here, you'd be scared to death. To look to the side [of the bathroom stall door] because there's a freaking gap right there and you're like hoping, oh dear God, you don't see someone peeking through it.

Students expressed a complex web of relationships as they responded to straightforward questions evaluating the process. During this time, members of the SSCs seemed to position themselves in relation to others in a number of ways and expressed comments that supported this notion. As each individual member discussed her/his experiences

during the participatory budgeting process, comments pointed to other individuals, groups or entities with which the individual interacted, within the context of being a member of the SSC over the course of the year. Figure 2.1 presents the web of relationships, with sample comments, that emerged as individuals from the SSCs recounted their experiences and interactions. The encircling terms were codes for the individual, group, or conceptual entity the respondent spoke to or at. These relationships, though indistinct, suggest the boundaries within which the process took place and the various actors within the process, as perceived by students on the steering committees. No individual spoke of all of these codes and no code is definitive. Yet, in attempting to conceptualize their own experience, these codes reflect what students' responses suggested the process 'was' and 'who' was involved.

Governance. SSC members most frequently spoke governance in terms of two aspects of decision-making: individual and institutional. Voting was decision-making at the individual level, while the role and responsibility of the SSC represented decision-making at the institutional level.

Frequently cited as the favorite part of the process, experiences around voting day were almost entirely positive both for themselves and, as they saw it, for fellow students. One student said he could "feel the difference happening." Another student, reflecting on the experience for fellow students, asserted: "[Voting day] is important because that way [the rest of the students on campus] feel important and understand how it will be in the future when the rest of the students on campus] get to have more say in things." SSCs appreciated that "it was really easy." In terms of decision-making, SSC members clearly recognized voting as an instance in which "we [every student] got to decide."

At the same time, SSC members also described the steering committee's role in making intermediate decisions prior to voting day. One student described this responsibility broadly: "the steering committee's job is to funnel." A student from another campus was more precise and said the steering committee's job was to "filter ideas to make them [into proposals]."

Two students more subtly seemed to understand that the committee was responsible for bringing a level of understanding or expertise to fellow students so as to guide the process:

> "[We learned] a lot about how the whole system works… to see the whole aspect of how money goes through the system." His co-member added: "[we realized] you had to go through the steps of doing this whole gigantic process and you really got to see, like, you can't just buy things… [the district doesn't] just go to Walmart across the street."

Additionally, SSC members expressed that they had been entrusted by both the school system and, implicitly, by their fellow students with a responsibility. A student from CompA noted: "we had a lot of things to fix in the school and it was really hard for us to, like, pick only three." While on another campus a student incorporated his experience with working with adults:

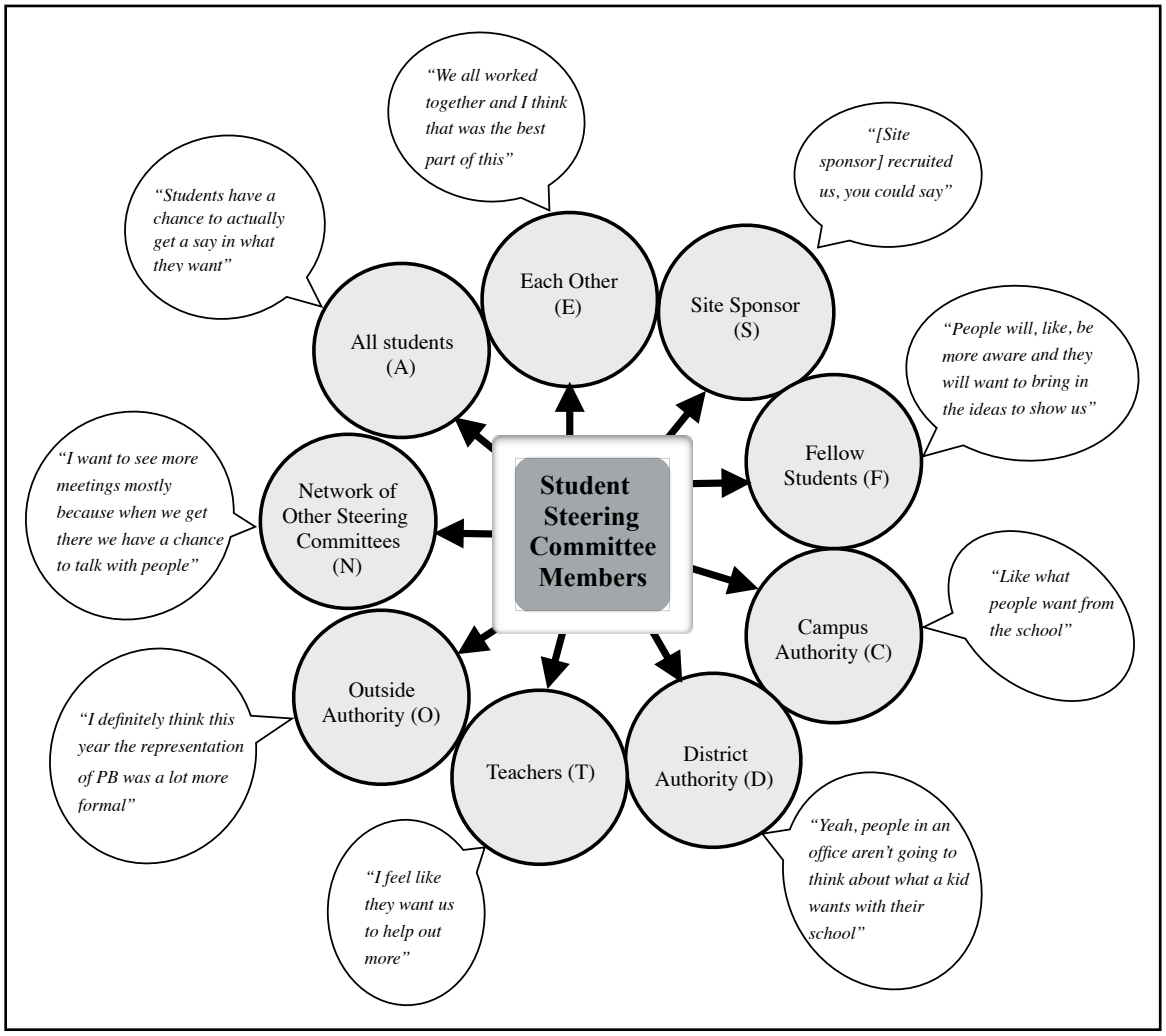
> "[The way the district representatives treated us] was very, like, 'you're an adult and you are here as a kind of like messenger from your school to work with us and make your school better. And the respect was a very generous amount and I felt important."

Another student said they were treated like "colleagues" by adults at district. Overall, there were indications from each of the SSCs that they had internalized a sense of responsibility to the larger student body.

The participants in the study, as SSC members, seemed to regard part of their role in the process as one of making decisions along the way and that this part of the role gave them

a sense of both responsibility and accountability to their peers. They exhibit a developed sense of democratic governance being about the people.

Figure 2.1: Web of Relationships in School Participatory Budgeting



Communication. Participants voiced support for having additional meetings amongst steering committees across the district. There were mixed reviews as to the benefits of those held during the pilot year, but support for continuing and even increasing the number of participatory budgeting meetings for the district was unanimous in the four interviews in which it was discussed. One student articulated that these

meetings were important so that, as he put it, “we are one, we are all part of the same [process].”

The members of the student steering committees expressed that these meetings might include team building exercises, getting to know one another, but the focus is on collective learning rather than socializing and making friends:

> “I don’t feel like we’re really there to, like, meet new people; I feel like we’re really there to exchange new and fresh ways to do *this*, and do *that*.”

While many participants expressed appreciation for meeting people, this was secondary to being connected to a larger learning process. They felt that it was an opportunity to share experiences with all parts of the process. A student saw the meetings as a chance to “see if they got any ideas to help with improving our situation or we have any ideas to help with improving their situation.” They emphasized the collaboration amongst equals more than indicating emotional comradery. As the excerpt above asserts, SSC should have meetings and the focus of those meetings was how to best do the work of implementing participatory budgeting on their campus. They did not indicate that these would require any facilitation or training from other sources, but simply a gathering of workers who were “all part of the same process,” according to one student.

This theme of communing, developing common understandings through meaningful and purposeful interactions with peers, was present in other areas. While on the topic of communication and possibly using a mobile app or other web-based platform, a committee member replied: “they won’t do it.” When the administrator amended the question saying: “but the combination of online and face-to-face?” The student replied:

> I think it's better, like, if we just do it face to face because then they like—if you ask someone like what do you want to change in the school? Like they'll tell you and they'll like, express it more in the way of why they think they should, why

> they think that that's what they need to change in the school. They would explain it to you more deeply than if they just type it out or something ‘cause they're just going to be like, oh, like I want like the water fountains, they’ll say, oh I want new water fountains and then probably that's what they're going to end it at and then if you ask them in person then probably they'll be like because the water tastes bad or this and that. They'll just explain it more deeply into why they want it.

The above indicates a desire to go beyond identifying a material object to purchase to understand why the student feels it is important. Another committee member followed up by suggesting that different ways of engagement are needed to appeal to different profiles of students:

> I think there needs to be a combination of both because there's, there's different students… They don't want to go up to a person tell them this is what I think they will be shy or something.

This thread of the group interview began with a suggestion of using a web-based platform for ease and efficiency, which the first student felt would not go beyond the surface-level, the object to be purchased. The second student, though supporting the tool suggested, expressed his support in terms of fostering participation of more shy students.

On the STEM2 campus, focused on computer science, the process incorporated a web-based platform for ideas and proposals. Even though students found it to be effective in streamlining the process in some ways, one student voiced a similar perspective to other campuses:

> [The online forum] didn’t really… let us describe what we wanted, so I think having that back and forth [between student body and steering committee] would really tell us what this [proposal or idea] is, why it would affect this many [“x” number of] students, why we would want it on campus and that kind of stuff.”

As in the case of the previous comprehensive campus, this student was asked if the online platform could work if it had a discussion forum and said simply “it would be nicer face-to-face.”

Time and again responses suggested that participants valued authentic connection with others, regardless of whether it was with a fellow student on campus or a fellow steering committee member from another campus. They seem also to recognize communication that is relevant to the context of participatory budgeting.

Discussion

Implementation of school participatory budgeting in five schools in year 1 suggests that increasing wider student participation can be encouraged by intentional efforts by the SSCs during the idea collection and proposal development phases. Those SSCs that continually went back to the general student body to report on their progress and establish times and forums for converting ideas into proposals engaged larger numbers. This pilot year did follow one recommendation from the Bioscience study (Cohen, Schugurensky, & Weik, 2015), which was to conduct a longer process. The recommendation was made based on the belief that:

> "a longer process can provide more opportunity to build steering committee capacity to ensure the students design a meaningful process for their peers… [and] build multiple forms of engagement [to increase overall student participation]" (Cohen, 2015: 118)

The findings from the current study of SSSD students supports that intermediate measures like taking a refined list of ideas back to the general student body, or having proposal development workshops, did coincide with students' description of broader and thicker participation (Fung & Wright, 2003). Further, the experience of the SSC at STEM1, which had such intermediate measures, also appeared to have developed its capacity through prior experiences with school participatory budgeting.

The theme of relationships in this study is tied to a number of different aspects of prior research. In figure 2.1, teachers were either in a general group or the site sponsor.

The only individual identified is the site sponsor, indicating that an important bond was created between youth and adults. Biesta et al. (2009) reported that the unstructured relationship with adults outside the classroom may be more important to citizenship learning than the formal curriculum. Keating et al. (2010) also underscored the powerful role teachers can play in effectiveness of citizenship education.

Along the same lines, the consistent identification SSC members made with each other suggests that they may have developed a collective identity founded upon their shared experiences of participatory budgeting. This study found that participants viewed participation as an extension of belonging, suggesting that encouraging a sense of belonging facilitates active participation in schools. This is congruent with the findings of John-Akinola et al. (2013) about belonging and participation. The data indicated the emergence of new and strong relationships developed amongst SSC members in the context of improving school life. Additionally, SSCs expressed desire for more interaction with other SSCs across the district.

A final note stemming from the study's findings on relationships is connected to research done by York & Kirshner (2013) on positionality of students. Their research described how adults' positioning of students in classrooms and the school campus either enabled or constrained students' opportunities to demonstrate agency. The web of relationships described by SSC members depicted in Figure 2.1 suggests that positionality may be of significance in understanding student participation in school participatory budgeting.

The findings on the theme of relationships intersect with those on the theme of governance. The unspecific ways in which SSC members referred to sources of authority

and decision-making power suggests, within the ecology of school governance, low civic knowledge. In the context of school participatory budgeting, there would presumably be context-specific analogues to the civic knowledge measures of the second phase of the CivEd study (Torney-Purta, 2001; Torney-Purta et al., 2001): content knowledge (principles) and skills in interpreting information. The data did not indicate that study participants developed a clear understanding of the structures through which funds were allocated at ether the district or campus level.

The experiences of SSC members in the pilot year, particularly within the theme of communication, indicate a capacity and desire of participants to engage in more rigorous inquiry surrounding the process. Interview data suggested that participants wanted to learn from the experiences of peers on other campuses. As well, responses suggested that SSC members had a willingness to play a larger role in the design and evaluation of the participatory budgeting process during the year and from year to year.

Recommendations

Analysis of interview data from SSCs provided insights going forward for school participatory budgeting. Recommendations are best organized in terms of policy and practice, on the one hand, and future research on the other.

Policy and Practice

As a means of improving citizenship learning, school participatory budgeting must consider the number of students who participate and the depth of their experience in doing democracy. This being so, it is recommended that to increase the number of participating students beyond initial idea collection and enhance the meaningfulness of the participation, SSCs should engage the general student body on multiple occasions to

provide updates and help guide non-SSC members through the proposal development process. The value of intergenerational relationships and the potential that exists for site sponsors to positively impact the quality of student experiences in the process, it is recommended that greater attention be given to orienting and empowering site sponsors to effectively accompany the process at a campus in order to enhance the relationship between sponsor and SSC.

Future Research

The direction of future research on school participatory budgeting has not yet been established. Going forward, it is generally recommended that methods borrowed from research on municipal participatory budgeting be carefully considered and painstakingly adapted to the school context.

The data did not indicate that students came to know and understand how funds were managed in the district. It is recommended that future studies develop context-specific analogues to the civic knowledge measures for schools and utilize a pre/post test of this adapted formulation of knowledge measures to evaluate changes experienced by participants over the course of the process. As noted above, a student's sense of belonging may have a relationship to the degree to which a student feels a sense of belonging in the school community. It is therefore recommended that students' sense of belonging be incorporated as an indicator within future survey instruments and as an object of analysis in subsequent qualitative studies.

The desire for more interaction amongst campus SSCs seems worthy of closer study. It may be an indication of students' desire to have greater ownership and decision-making power. It could be an opportunity to examine the collective learning process of

students across an entire district. Again, the data was not clear, but it does hint at an important component of student experience within the context of school participatory budgeting.

The set of practices York & Kirshner (2013) dub 'collective systemic agency' combined with the concept of positionality could be of value as a tool for exploring the relationships SSCs have to the ecology of the school. The methods could even be used within the SSCs along with the site sponsor to monitor and evaluate the participatory budgeting process. It is recommended that this approach be adapted to the specific context and that 1-3 site sponsors be identified to implement it for 1 year.

Practice, policy, and research need not be separated. It is my highest recommendation that as part of capacity building of both SSCs and site sponsors, as well as establishing ongoing evaluation of and reflection upon the overall district process, thought be given to implementing participatory action research (PAR) on a campus as a collaboration between sponsor and SSC. Alternatively, youth participatory action research (YPAR) could be employed as a collaborative effort of SSCs across the district. The use of either PAR or YPAR could be a built-in mechanism for process evaluation and oversight for participatory budgeting for the district in perpetuity.

Participatory budgeting in the context of public schools should be considered in its entirety. Lessons learned in other countries and contexts should not be forgotten nor should they be taken for granted. Grounded theory offers one means of developing theoretical frames by which to understand the experiences, relationships, and opportunities available to students.

Conclusion

The pilot year of school participatory budgeting in the Southwest District was an important leap forward for the process in the United States. The findings of this study in no way contest the success of the process and the willingness to authorize a study are a credit to the district's sincere interest in learning and refining its approach to participatory budgeting. The research and practice in the emerging phenomenon of school participatory budgeting should be approached with care and forethought. A primary goal must be that of understanding the intricacies of the process, with close attention to the similarities and differences between the municipal and school contexts.

The main contribution of this study is its focus on student experience without attempting to provide evidence of school participatory budgeting's success or failure. In hesitating to make such claims, it presents student experience as something to draw upon in order to help in future process and research design.

To echo Jane Mansbridge (1995, 1999): I am certain students benefitted from their experiences during the process and that it will help them be better citizens, though I did not try to prove it.

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CHAPTER 4

SCHOOL PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS: THE CASE OF SSSD

Abstract

Background: Though participatory budgeting has existed for almost 30 years, it has only recently come to the United States. And, only more recently has it been implemented in schools. There is a substantial research literature on the experience of participants in participatory budgeting, but none on the perspectives of the adults who most directly worked with students to carry it out. As these adults played an indispensable role in implementing the process, there is value in better understanding the impressions as well as the roles and responsibilities of these individuals.
Purpose: This is a case study of five pairs of adults working with students to implement school participatory budgeting for the first time on five campuses. It examined the perspectives of the teacher (site sponsor) and administrator (principal or assistant principal) on the process, and specifically the accomplishments and challenges of the pilot year.
Setting: The study context was the pilot year of school participatory budgeting in a large urban secondary school district in the Southwestern United States in which one teacher and one administrator from each of five campuses was asked to support the campus student steering committee (SSC) to implement the process.
Research Design: The study used a qualitative case study design. It focused primarily on on data from semi-structured interviews with the 10 adults who provided critical support for the pilot year of school participatory budgeting during the 2016-2017 academic year.
Findings: Analyses and thematic coding of interview data provided an expanded understanding of the accomplishments and challenges of the process and the many unexplored issues experienced and observed by this group with immediate responsibility for helping SSCs successfully carry out the school participatory budgeting cycle. Participants responded to interview questions on the accomplishments, challenges, and their recommendations for the future. Five themes emerged from analysis of interview data: (a) roles and responsibilities, (b) partnerships, (c) visions of success, (d) engagement with participatory budgeting, and (e) positioning participatory budgeting. Adults' expression of accomplishments and success were student-centered, which raised an important consideration of the use of school participatory budgeting as a policy instrument rather than a device.
Conclusions: This case of adults' perspectives on school participatory budgeting is unique. Although this case is instructive, the findings are to be interpreted within the context of a school district that implemented

participatory budgeting for the very first time. The findings, which highlight the important role and function of adults (teachers and administrators) in the implementation of participatory budgeting in a school district, point to important considerations for the design of future research and participatory budgeting processes.

Background

The Real Utopias Project (Fung & Wright, 2003) identified participatory budgeting as one of four promising experiments in empowered participatory governance (EPG). The concept of EPG was used to describe practices in participatory democracy in the real world. One thing that set participatory budgeting apart from the other three projects identified was "its concerns with institutional arrangements" (Baiocchi, 2003: 46). In the growing field of participatory budgeting, the literature focuses primarily on improving the quality of life and improving the quality of democracy for citizens (Schugurensky, 2017). There is another significant aspect of participatory budgeting, as Schugurensky notes, which is "improvement of the quality of participants [themselves]" (p.15). This is closely connected to the learning dimension of participation in the process. Municipal participatory budgeting would naturally take a keen interest in improving the quality of life of citizens and improving the quality of democracy. In most cases, cities adopting participatory budgeting are nations with nominal democratic governments. These benefits feed into the philosophical self-interest of democratic governance as well as serve the self-interest of democratically elected officials.

The learning dimension, however, is not as centrally placed in the literature (Schugurensky, 2017) nor in the promotional materials of cities with participatory budgets. When participatory budgeting moves into a school context, however, the improvement of the participants and the learning dimension of the process that complements it takes center stage. This is because schools view education as being of

primary importance, though schools incorporate their civic mission into their overall mission statements. While cities might regard learning as an outcome driven by improved quality of life and healthier democracy, schools see learning as the engine of quality of life and democracy. This distinction between cities and schools is not a difference of values but a difference of approach. There implications for implementing participatory budgeting in the context of schools, rather than in cities.

In a recent report on the state of participatory budgeting worldwide (Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2018), the only research on school participatory budgeting cited (p.10) is a study on a high school in the United States (Cohen, Schugurensky, & Weik, 2015). As this study was a case study of the first instance of school participatory budgeting in the U.S., it is not surprising that it focused on the learning outcomes for participants along with a description of the pedagogical aspect of the space.

This paper presents a case study of the implementation of school participatory budgeting in a large urban secondary school district during the 2016-2017 academic year. Research on the experiences of students and the learning dimension for student participants is published elsewhere (see Chapter 2). This study focuses on the teachers and administrators most closely connected to the process and their perceptions of the process in year 1. In particular, it addresses the "institutional arrangements" (Baiocchi, 2003: 46) embedded in these perspectives and the important yet undefined role adults play in school participatory budgeting.

Conceptual Framework

In order to frame this study, it is necessary to devote some space to a review of literature on participatory budgeting. In particular, the concepts related to the structure

and administration of participatory budgeting, with the focus being on the role of adults (teachers/site sponsors, and administrators). The conceptual framework (a) introduces the state of the field of participatory budgeting, (b) describes the benefits participatory budgeting can deliver, (c) reviews the global spread of the process, and (d) highlights the distinction between the communicative and empowerment dimensions of participatory budgeting.

State of the field. Wampler, McNulty, and Touchton (2018) declare that it is "a time of dynamic change within the [field of participatory budgeting]" (p.4). The history of participatory budgeting spans almost 30 years and has traveled across the globe. A discussion must acknowledge the fundamental transformation of the practice that is a result of using it in different ways in many different places(Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). What began as a radical reform is also now widely used as a technical tool. It has become "an attractive and politically malleable device by reducing and simplifying it to a set of procedures for the democratization of demand-making" (p.1). Radical or technical is not determined by any one thing, but its most important factor, according to Ganuza and Baiocchi (2012) "is its relationship to government structures and procedures" (p.2?). We can extemporize on this statement by amending and instead saying: the most important determining factor as to whether participatory budgeting is used radically or technically is its relationship to structures of *organizational governance and related procedures*. Participatory budgeting has been deployed, not only in cities, but in a wide variety of organizational contexts focusing on different populations determined by circumstance (e.g. public housing), age (e.g. youth), or agency (e.g. schools). Each of these contexts has its own particular kind of organizational culture, structures, and procedures (Cohen,

Schugurensky, & Weik, 2015; Foroughi, 2013; Grillos, 2014; Morgan, 2006). In the school context, the role of adults (teachers/site sponsors and administrators) would substantially affect the relationship between participatory budgeting and school governance.

Benefits. Advocates of participatory budgeting are diverse as it is "attractive to a diverse range of groups" (Wampler, McNulty, & Touchton, 2018:4). In general, advocates have two levels of aspirations for participatory budgeting: benefits to individuals and spillover benefits. On the individual level, changes in behaviors and attitudes of citizens, elected officials, civil servants and the ability of such programs to gain the support of individuals in the form of more democratic processes in governance, trust, and overall legitimacy of democratic governance has been reported (2018). In terms of spillover benefits, advocates of participatory budgeting hope it will make a substantive contribution to a stronger civil society, greater transparency, better accountability, citizen empowerment, better-informed citizens, better governance, and better distribution and allocation of resources. These benefits are general benefits for civil society and many have been applied to investigating the benefits for youth from youth-centered processes.

The civic learning outcomes for youth in school participatory budgeting in the United States (Cohen, 2015; Cohen, Schugurensky, & Weik, 2015) used an instrument based on the knowledge, attitudes, skills, and practices (KASP) instrument used in a study of the municipal participatory budgeting process in Rosario, Argentina (Lerner & Schugurensky, 2008). Researchers gave students a survey to evaluate their KASP indicators prior to the participatory budgeting process and at present. Students self-assessed the change in an indicator while the researcher asked clarifying questions.

Students indicated they knew better the needs of classmates in and beyond their grade level and how decisions were made at school. Their attitudes changed as well. They reported greater self-confidence, tolerance, trust in school authorities, their own ability to influence school decisions, a greater interest in community participation as well as greater concern for their school community. They improved or developed their skills in public speaking, listening, proposal development, persuasion, teamwork and cooperation, conflict resolution, collective decision-making, leadership, and group coordination. Their practices changed; they were more likely to discuss problems at school with peers and administrators, think up ideas and solutions to these problems, and share them with others. Similar findings were investigated for youth participants in Boston's Youth Lead the Change (YLC) youth-only participatory budget (Grillos, 2014). The most cited research on participatory budgeting centered on youth focused mainly on the outcomes and reflections of the participants.

Growth of the practice. The journey of participatory budgeting had two stages (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012): the early 1990s and the late 1990s to the present. The first stage began in Brazil and spread to some parts of Latin America as a "political strategy" (p.2). The second stage began towards the end of the century and "it traveled as a politically neutral device (p.2)." Ganuza and Baiocchi note a useful distinction between a policy instrument (affecting relationships between political society and civil society through devices) and devices (a mix of technical and social but with far less of a will to affect orientation between political and civil society). An instrument is part of an overall agenda, so it depends on the agenda as to how participatory budgeting as a device

impacts governance. This is an open question for any participatory budget: policy instrument or device?

In the Porto Alegre case, the *Orçamento Participativo* (OP) was created to realize the policy objective of giving residents control of the city's finances (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). This goal was approached systematically and applied systemically, which gave rise to what is referred to as participatory budgeting. Four parallel lines took place in the creation of the OP (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). First, the city effectively closed all other access points for project funding except the OP such that if one wanted a project funded one had to go through the process. Second, the city administration restructured itself so that a department was created above all other city departments that channeled the outcomes of the participatory budget to the appropriate city department and another to coordinate these efforts. At the same time, all city departments had to place a facilitator at each neighborhood assembly to help develop proposals and to be answerable for implementation. In this way, the technical expertise of civil servants was made subservient to the OP. Third, the democratic decision-making process consisted of multiple stages that also had a social justice component built into it to more equitably distribute scarce resources. Finally, the city restructured its utility and property taxes such that the budget grew by approximately 40% during the first years of the OP.

Dimensions of participatory budgeting. Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014) take great care in disaggregating the participatory budgeting process in Porto Alegre into two dimensions: the communicative dimension and the empowerment dimension. The deliberative spaces of the Porto Alegre experiment, these authors note, are well documented and researched. They refer to this as the communicative dimension. It is the

empowerment dimension that they argue has not been looked at closely enough. The three institutional features of the OP in Porto Alegre they describe are instructive. The first was the direct and transparent process from participant idea to government implementation. The second was the institutional reforms taken on by the administration to accommodate the participatory budget. The third was the meta-meeting ("forum-of-forums"), which was an ongoing meeting of participants from all points in the process to discuss, develop and revise the rules for, and evaluate the implementation of the process. These features have relevance for the use of participatory budgeting in the school context, which has not heretofore been adequately explored in these terms in the literature. Additionally, the literature on participatory budgeting targeting youth focuses primarily on (a) the outcomes of their experience, (b) demographic data, and (c) the intricacies of individual participation (e.g. number of times females spoke). In terms of the distinction made by Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014)—communicative and empowerment dimensions of participatory budgeting—little to nothing has been said beyond, at most, a general description of the structures in the participatory budgeting research focusing on youth.

Prior Research

The research on municipal participatory budgeting and participatory budgeting does not deal with adults *beyond the level of general participation* though it does include them for data collection. The Executive mechanism (e.g. Mayor's office, City Council, Oversight Committee) are never the object of analysis in the studies reviewed. The role of adults (teachers/site sponsors and administrators) in school participatory budgeting is (a) not clearly part of this executive structure of the implementation structure (e.g. committee facilitators, budget delegates, steering committee members) nor (b) are they

ever examined in any depth in the research literature. Accordingly, the research reviewed below focuses on outlining the structure of implementation in order to get some sense of how school participatory budgeting resembles and differs from other participatory budgeting structures.

Structures

As a means of penetrating aspects of the process related to the empowerment dimension, below are some examples of participatory budgeting structures. This was the explicit recommendation of Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014): "we do not find it useful to generalize… Specific Participatory Budgeting processes need to be evaluated in their contexts" (p. 40). Descriptions of participatory budgeting in cities of Chicago, New York City, and Vallejo, California are included for greater breadth of description. The youth structure examples are limited to the United States and thus only two detailed descriptions focused on youth are available—YLC and Bioscience.

City Structures: Chicago. The participatory budget of Chicago's 49th Ward began in 2009 (Gilman, 2016). Alderman Joe Moore invited 50 community service organizations (CSOs) to choose 1-2 representatives to be part of the Steering Committee. The Steering Committee divided the Ward into 8 "neighborhoods", which were the locus of general, open assemblies and the geographical area from which representatives were elected. One neighborhood assembly was held to provide an orientation and their elections. There was an additional Spanish-language assembly for Ward residents who only spoke Spanish. The representatives were responsible for developing proposals. They had discretion as to whether or not to continue to hold neighborhood meetings to solicit ideas. The money was taken from the "menu-money", or the discretionary spending

allocated to the Ward's Alderman. The proposals were presented at a Ward-wide meeting and then followed by another Ward-wide meeting to deliberate and vote.

City Structures: New York City. Summarizing from the four reports on the participatory budget in New York City, the structure is as follows: City Council Members (on a voluntary basis) decide to support participatory budgeting in their district (Kasdan & Cattel, 2013; Kasdan, Markman, & Convey, 2015; Community Development Project, 2016). They hold district-wide public meetings in various "neighborhoods" in the district over the course of three months (September- November). Proposal ideas are collected and delegates volunteer to help develop those proposals, beginning with an orientation in November and followed by working in committee with the Council member and with assistance from city agency staff until March (Kasdan, Markman, & Convey, 2015). There are project expos in March to present draft proposals. Voting takes place in April. From April until the beginning of the next cycle, delegates and other participants evaluate the process and oversee implementation of projects. A notable change took place in Cycle 4, where 24 council members participated, the City Council Speaker's office supported the process directly recruiting and contracting CSOs to help with recruiting, language support, voting support (e.g. printing and counting ballots), advertising and helping to coordinate meetings and trainings (Community Development Project, 2016).

City Structures: Vallejo, California. The Vallejo Participatory Budget has 20 steering committee members, according to its report on the 4th cycle (Vallejo Office of City Manager, 2016). Steering committee members are appointed by the City Council. The Steering committee coordinates public meetings and ensures equity in participation and oversight. There were nine budget assemblies, with 74 delegates, and 31 volunteer

Small Group Discussion Facilitators. The proposals are developed in a cyclical process similar to other cities mentioned and then projects are submitted to the City Council for final approval.

Youth Structures: YLC. YLC's approach focused on raising up "change agents". At the equivalent of neighborhood assemblies, youth volunteered to take the ideas generated at the meeting and develop them into full proposals thus becoming change agents. Ideas were generated through two mechanisms: "small group dialogue and deliberation… [and then] young people paired off to generate ideas, trying to balance their desires with communal needs when coming up with projects to suggest" (Gilman, 2016:111). Thematic grouping of ideas resulted in focus committees in six areas: "(1) Food, Health and Environment, (2) Community Centers, (3) Libraries, Arts and Culture, (4) Parks, (5) Schools and Education, and (6) Streets" (p.8). Six committee facilitators were hired to facilitate the six thematic committees with one change agent volunteer to co-facilitate. More than 400 ideas were refined into 14 final proposals. Change agents met with city officials and each other over a period of eight weeks. The overall participant process had familiar features to many participatory budgets.

The administrative structure is described in some detail in the evaluation report from the pilot year (Grillos, 2014). The overall structure consisted of idea collection assemblies (7), steering committee meetings (2), a change agent orientation, and change agent meetings (4). At the top was the Oversight Committee. There were City staff from multiple areas (Budget Office, Mayor's Office of New Urban Mechanics, Department of Health and Human Services, Department of Youth Engagement and Employment, and the Mayor's Youth Council). This committee posted a request for an external

organization to “implement the logistics of the process” (p.6) and the Participatory Budgeting Project (PBP) was selected. PBP hired two coordinators in Boston to plan and organize the events of the process. A Steering Committee was formed by the Oversight Committee. The Oversight Committee invited youth-focused CSOs to an information session and asked them to apply for membership on the Steering Committee. The Oversight Committee selected 22 organizations and asked each to send two representatives (at least one being a youth) to the Steering Committee. The Steering Committee established the Rulebook and that youth would include city residents between 12 and 25.

Youth Structures: Bioscience. The following description is taken from the dissertation study by Cohen (2015) and the accompanying article (Cohen, Schugurensky, & Weik, 2015). A graduate student (Cohen) approached the school’s principal about participatory budgeting and he agreed to allocate $2,000 of his budget to the participatory budget. The graduate student then met with student government (STUGO) and the teacher sponsor of STUGO and explained the process. The graduate student explained to STUGO that it “would help guide the process but have no decision-making authority” (Cohen, 2015:97) and then STUGO established a steering committee. The committee had eight STUGO members and eight elected members (two from each grade level). The steering committee established the structure and rules for the process thenceforward. The steering committee also prepared materials to facilitate project proposals and presented to the overall process at a schoolwide assembly. Class time was set aside for some grade levels more than others.

In general, there is limited information reported on the administrative structures involved in the participatory budgeting processes. The review of the literature on this subject was confined to academic papers and evaluation reports. The structural features described are ones that were distilled from the overall reports of the processes. All of the reports and publications highlight the descriptive data on participation. The administration of participatory budgeting remains in all cases underreported. There is little in the literature that addresses the empowerment dimension described by Baiocchi & Ganuza (2014).

Recognition of the fact that there is an important connection between outcomes of participatory budgeting and the administrative structure supporting the process was indicated in the theoretical literature. The administrative structure of the process (the role of teachers/site sponsors and administrators) in schools was underreported in the prior research, which confirmed the need for further study. In addition, it is common knowledge that public schools are not, in general, structured democratically (Goodman, 1992; 2006; Greenberg, 1992a; 1992b). Furthermore, students are not legal adults. The question of how participatory budgeting would be translated from the municipal context to that of public schooling was present in the early stages of research. The purpose of this study was to investigate teachers' and administrators' perceptions of the participatory budgeting process in the pilot year, which would, in part, reveal aspects of the empowerment dimension of the process.

Methods

This case study investigated the implementation of school participatory budgeting on five campuses in one school district (Yin, 2018). The purpose was to understand the

perspectives and roles of the two employees from each campus most closely involved in the first year of the school participatory budgeting process in a large public urban secondary school district in the Southwestern United States. The following question guided the design of this study: *What were the perspectives of teachers and administrators who oversaw the initial implementation of school participatory budgeting?*

This was the first time in the United States that an entire school district decided to implement participatory budgeting on a wide scale (Schugurensky, 2016, personal communication). As such, the study manifested the central organizing principle of a case study, which is that it was a "bounded system" (Flood, as reported in Fals Borda, 1998). Other instances of wide scale implementation of school participatory budgeting have been done outside of the United States (Röcke, 2014). However, the data and findings of this study were preliminary research pursuant to obtaining grant funding for longitudinal impact study of school participatory budgeting in this district. There was no history in this district of ceding to students any decision-making authority nor incorporating participatory democracy into school governance.

This case study was an intrinsic case study (Creswell, 2007; Stake, 2005) as it deals with a unique case, that of school participatory budgeting in the United States on a districtwide scale for the first time and it considers specifically the adults who were the juncture of the institution and its citizens. In terms of gaining deeper insight into the various dimensions of school participatory budgeting, this case study provides a window into an understudied feature of participatory budgeting: the empowerment dimension of

the process (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014) in terms of facilitation and implementation (Gilman, 2016).

Research Context

Five campuses implemented school participatory budgeting for the first time during the 2016-2017 academic year. The district's Governing Board approved the proposal and the superintendent called upon administrators from 5 of the more than 20 campuses to adopt the experiment in participatory democracy. The period under study was meant to be the initial step in implementing the process in every school with over 28,000 students by 2018-2019. The process took place in the southwest of the United States, within an urban secondary school district. The district worked with two external organizations. One was a consultant group specializing in participatory budgeting and the other was a local state-focused organization on civic progress. A grant provided by a foundation funded the contract for the consulting team. A municipal ballot initiative to override the school budget un order to provide for shortfalls in capital improvement expenditures funded the participatory budgets on each campus.

Description of each of the five sites. The five campuses varied widely. The student population ranged from 82 to 2,226 students. For the purposes of the participatory budgeting process, the district distinguished between large schools and small schools. This distinction determined the size of the participatory budget: $7,000 for large campuses and $4,000 for small ones. These schools varied in instructional focus. The two large schools were comprehensive schools with no particular instructional focus. The three smaller campuses were focused on public safety vocational training, computer coding, and sustainability.

Research participants

This study collected data from nine interviews with ten adults from the district. Two adults represented each of the five campuses. Each campus had a certified teacher directly working with students (site sponsor or SS) and one administrator (A) working with the site sponsor and, in some cases, directly with students. The observed scheme was to have an administrator and a teacher. On one campus a teacher with an administrator's certification was paired with a certified teacher. In total, one-on-one interviews were conducted with five teachers and three administrators. On one campus the administrator and site sponsor preferred to do the interview together due to time constraints.

Data Collection

I used interviews (described below) as the primary source of data for this study. The role of adults in school participatory budgeting is not a simple object of analysis. The perspectives of these adults on the pilot year and the use of open-ended questions provided extensive data. Thus, the use of interviews suited a study of the complex situation (Kumar, 2011) that teachers and administrators present when transferring participatory budgeting from cities to schools. I used my observational field notes and additional data sources (e.g. emails), also described below, to corroborate the data from the interviews (2011).

Interviews. Data for this study was collected in concert with data on the student steering committees (SSC) for each campus. The interviews were conducted between mid-May and early June of 2017. Interview contexts varied based on the preferences and availability of sponsors and administrators. Some interviews were conducted in person

and other via phone. Either I or I and the primary investigator conducted all interviews. For four of the five campuses, the interviews were one-on-one, while one campus included both the administrator and the site sponsor. Interviews were semi-structured, with an interview guide of six questions (See **Appendix C**). I recorded using a digital recorder and then I transcribed them. I reviewed the written transcripts twice for accuracy prior to analysis. Each interview was between 30 and 60 minutes and transcripts consisted of between 3,000 and 7,000 words.

Questions 3, 4, and 5 from the interview guide were process evaluation questions asking interviewees to identify main accomplishments, main challenges, and their recommendations for the future implementation of school participatory budgeting on their campus and/or in the district. Question 1 asked participants to describe their role in the district's pilot year of the participatory budgeting process. Questions 2 and 6 of the interview guide were platforms for participants to describe impressions, expectations, and surprises that might reveal their perspectives more broadly than with the other questions.

Observations and field notes. I recorded field notes on my computer while observing two SSC meetings (Fall 2016 and Spring 2017), the voting day on one campus (March 2017), one publicity meeting/public presentation to community and state leaders (March 2017), one districtwide orientation workshop for all SSCs (September 2016), and the final reflection gathering for all SSCs (May 2017). All digital files were encrypted.

Additional sources. I also used emails, workshop materials, reports and official school profiles from the district website to corroborate field notes.

Data Analysis

I utilized multiple sources in this study. Primarily, the data analysis is on the interview data from with supporting data from various documents.

Reporting responses. After review of the transcripts for responses to questions 3, 4, and 5, I conducted a keyword search in the word processing transcript file using the following terms: accomplish, challenge, recommend, and suggest. For this part of the analysis, I transposed direct quotes or I paraphrased a specific point from a lengthy response. I aggregated these into multiple tables and reported on them according to the topic of the question. I limited my specific references to participants by using only the general description of their employed position (i.e. teacher or administrator) and/or used pseudonyms to protect the identity of the participants.

I reviewed responses to the first question on participants' role in the process from the transcriptions. I performed a keyword search in the digital transcript file in this case for the words "role," "job", "responsibility", and "duty". My intended to report responses focused on the particular question, thereby isolating the participant's conscious perspective. I then then aggregated these findings and presented them in a table. I organized the table according to the type of job held at the institution: teacher or administrator. I did not identify the speaker and one interviewee was not asked the question.

General Coding Procedures

While compiling data on participant responses, I listened to the audio recordings and read the text of written transcripts concurrently. I noted question responses at the same time as assigning interpretive codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p.57) to portions of

the interviews. After compiling responses, I repeated the interview data review process to identify themes.

Thematic analysis. Through repeated audio-textual review of interview data, I developed initial codes. I indexed initial codes in order to develop themes (Bloor & Wood, 2006). I used an inductive approach to anlysis of interview data (Fereday & Muir, 2006; Lapadat, 2010) beginning with "a form of pattern recognition within the data where emerging themes become the categories for analysis" (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, pp.3-4).

My approach data analysis was, though deliberate and systematic, was an iterative and reflexive process. While examining the themes, I remained open to new themes and eliminated and/or refined initial themes in order to organize perceptions of adults from the process (Tobin & Begley, 2004). This paper presents the five major themes that emerged from this process: (a) roles and responsibilities, (b) partnerships, (c) visions of success, (d) engagement with participatory budgeting, and (e) positioning participatory budgeting.

Limitations

This case study most resembles Yin's (2018) description of a pilot case study. I found no research literature fitting a substantial proportion of the distinctive features of this case. The study was conceived with a "much broader [scope] than the ultimate data collection plan" (p.107). That is to say, the scope of the study was broad initially, as it was to serve as preliminary research for a future study. This does not, however, preclude the possibility of covering both "substantive and methodological issues" (ibid.). The design of the interview protocol (see Appendix C) was simple. It targeted very specific

information. In part, this was because I did not anticipate that teachers and administrators would be willing to spend much time on the interviews. On the contrary, teachers and administrators seemed willing and sometimes eager to explore aspects of the process well beyond the intended scope of the interview protocol.

I also want to note a significant distinction: the individual interviews were the *unit of data collection*, not the *unit of analysis*. "Perspectives" was the broad initial unit of analysis. In the findings section, I report the findings on the unit of analysis in two ways: (1) precisely as participants' responses when asked specific protocol questions, and (2) thematically, in order to do justice to the in-depth nature of these interviews. Of the ten interviews, eight lasted close to an hour; interviewees went beyond the bounds of the protocol. I used thematic analysis in order to treat the interview as a repository of respondents' experience. The reason being that experience, in experiential learning environments such as participatory budgeting, is pedagogical.

Interviews reflect "the sacrifice of reliability in pursuit of validity" (Cicourel, 1964, p.76). A limitation of this study may be the variability of the interviews in terms of setting (i.e. phone vs. face-to-face) and participants. With regard to participants, both adults from one campus participated in the same interview. This departed from all other interviews, yet it showed their collaborative partnership as they spoke about it.

The findings, as a case study, are rich but are not to be considered as conclusive or predictive (Merriam, 1998). In this particular case, no orientation was provided to adults nor any explicit guidance given concerning the process. This is unlikely to be true in future cases, though the efforts of the participants to make their way through the pilot year is intrinsically interesting.

A final note on limitations is that the author worked as a classroom teacher in this same district and recognized the potential value of participatory budgeting for citizenship learning prior to the study. Most participants knew me at least by name at the time of the interviews. My rapport and ease with interviewees afforded me a more intimate understanding of the distinction between each site and the ability to identify specific features of the district's structures because of shared knowledge, both of which were helpful in carrying out this study. Nevertheless, I had to stay open to contrary evidence related to participatory budgeting and set aside my own opinions as a teacher on the context and subject matter.

Findings

This section presents study findings from interviews with teachers and administrators. The first part of this section reports on responses of interviewees after being asked a question from the interview protocol. The second part of this section, examining the totality of each interview, reports on the five major themes that emerged during data analysis.

Responses to Primary Questions

The participatory budgeting process generated excitement and enthusiasm amongst members of SSCs, gave them a voice, and provided an opportunity, in some cases, to develop relationships and/or have meaningful conversations with peers and adults. From an institutional perspective, the dominant challenges included a lack of clarity on the guidelines to spending, a clear timeline for the process, and poor communication. At the level of working with SSCs, responses indicated that it was challenging to recruit and retain students. Four of the five site sponsors attributed this

challenge to inconsistent student participation due to competing commitments as the source. Accordingly, the recommendations revolved around adjustments to the timeline and (re)writing guidelines on the process. However, individual views were divergent when it came to the specifics of the recommendations.

This section presents my analysis of participants responses to a question. The findings are a summary of those responses. When analyzing the this data, I limited myself to what was said when asked instead of searching the entire interview for possibly related statements. For example, this summary does not identify recommendations implicit in any challenge unless that was explicitly stated in the response. Adults' perspectives are individual opinions but still represent a rich source of data.

Accomplishments. Participants provided 29 comments, quoted or paraphrased in Table 3.1, as the main accomplishments of school participatory budgeting on their campus. Accomplishments were almost exclusively in terms of students and described broadly below as student engagement.

Student engagement. Participants articulated student engagement in diverse ways, as can be seen in Table 3.1. Engagement was described in terms of individual student excitement (e.g. students would "light up") and enthusiasm. Others couched it in terms of personal qualities like efficacy, commitment, and/or perseverance. Participatory budgeting accomplished something in terms of improving the health of the school community in that students were thoughtful about their proposal benefiting the wider community and fellow students and generally less self-centered. Another perspective was from the standpoint of positionality within the school context by noting student

empowerment and their role in the institution by providing the opportunity for students to be part of decision-making.

Challenges. Participants provided 24 comments, quoted or paraphrased in Table 3.2, as the main challenges of school participatory budgeting on their campus. The majority of challenges stated pertained to at least one of four topics: the timeline of the process, guidelines for the process, poor communication, and/or student recruitment/retention.

Lack of clarity on guidelines to spending. Every school and SSC was well into the proposal development phase before a clear distinction was made between capital (capital budget or capital) expenditures and maintenance and operations expenditures (M&O budget or M&O). Many ideas advanced to proposal development that were clearly M&O and would not have begun had this been made clearer at the outset. In part, this was due to the fact that it was not explained to SSCs and adults that the funds available for participatory budgeting were capital funds and due, in part, that the distinction was not effectively presented.

Clear timeline for process. The word “confused”, or “confusion”, was used by seven of the teachers and administrators when they described the timeline of the process. This suggested that deadlines were either vague or variable. It also came up in terms of explaining what had to be done or understood by a certain deadline or meeting.

Table 3.1. Teacher/Site Sponsor and Administrator Comments on Main Accomplishments	
Adult	Comments
1	1. improved student efficacy 2. enthusiasm (saw students "light up") 3. commitment to remain on SSC
2	1. demonstrated that "students can be empowered…" 2. and that "people will listen to them" 3. Students "have a voice… and it matters"
3	1. Voting was seamless/took only 15 minutes/not disruptive 2. "Whatever it [participatory budgeting] is, this works… [it] gets kids [sic] excited about… school" 3. student activism – "seeing [students] involved in the democratic process… in a peaceful way" 4. "it was very inclusive"
4	1. "empowerment of students…" 2. "…I'm not just talking about PBP [sic] students. I'm talking about every student…"
5	1. "bonded with students that were leaders in [the participatory budgeting process]" 2. "student [got] excited about the possibilities [and of] seeing their own ideas manifested versus just seeing [adults' ideas]" 4. Students really "persevered… and actually felt validated by their own peers" 5. showed student "how the system actually works"/ "… actually get done"
6	1. thoughtfulness of students in proposals (un-selfish[7]) 2. breadth of engagement of students 3. high level of enthusiasm and commitment
7	1. SSCs provided substantial leadership (organized spaces, facilitated deliberations)
8	1. students developed some structure independently 2. engaged students who "hadn't really found a place" and was a launchpad to get even more engaged
9	1. students were excited 2. "it really gave the kids [sic] a voice" 3. "getting them to vote"
10	1. involved students in decision-making 2. helped students think about how to help the community 3. had the opportunity to hear student perspectives and think through things with them

[7] It would not be accurate to describe it as selflessness because they did not represent sacrifice, but they were not self-centered

Table 3.2. Teacher/Site Sponsor and Administrator Comments on Main Challenges	
Adult	Comments
1	1. "a lot of time on the front end that was not utilized well" 2. "confusion about [municipal vs. school funding" [parameters of spending the funds] 3. "district financial jargon… [made her feel] overwhelmed"
2	1. "it was confusing on my end" 2. "relatively short notice" on when voting day was scheduled
3	1. "not enough kids [sic]" 2. "tell us [the parameters of spending] before [idea collection]"
4	1. communication: "somewhat of a disconnect between us and district" 2. guidelines and deadlines unclear 3.continuity/retention of student participation [8] 4. no clear division of labor between [consulting organization] and site sponsors
5	1. timeline 2. Only being able to use capital funds (as opposed to also being able to use M&O)[9]
6	1. unclear guidelines b/c proposals got rejected at January meeting which reduced enthusiasm 2. weak guidelines because supplies are what students really want/need
7	1. District was supposed to assign budget codes (organize purchases beyond the proposal submission) and did not; "logistics"
8	1. Students lost momentum with the time lag between idea collection and proposal approval 2. Lack of precise rules led deflated excitement
9	1. students had competing commitments 2. STUGO also had competing commitments 3. timeline 4. support was passively offered but not built-in; led to confusion
10	1. miscommunication/disconnects between sponsor and administrator 2. students, based on offline conversation, may not have fully understood the purpose [which was to use money to benefit the whole campus rather than a sub-group]

[8] only 20% of original group of 20 were part of the final group of 20

[9] "Capital" refers to _____; M&O refers to _____

Poor communication. Nine of the ten participants expressed frustration concerning multiple dimensions of communication that generally could be considered poor. Specifically, participants felt communication between district and campus was unclear, infrequent, or insubstantial. In some cases, it was felt that the consulting organization did not clearly contextualize its orientation workshop and simulation in the reality and constraints of the district. Finally, poor communication was indicated in instances where participants reported that they were told one thing and then another. For example, an administrator had been led to believe that the technical aspects of purchasing would be the responsibility of the district, but they instead fell on his shoulders.

Student recruitment and retention. A challenge around having enough students involved was mentioned. In one instance, the sponsor noted that the challenge was multifaceted and encapsulated getting students initially interested, consistently attending, and retaining participants throughout the process. Some sponsors and administrators attributed consistent participation and continued participation to student over-commitment (i.e. to other clubs and activities). Others also suggested that the substantive tasks of proposal development discouraged retention either because such tasks were, in the mind of students, “boring” or “too much work.”

Recommendations. Participants provided 30 comments, quoted or paraphrased in Table 3.3, as their recommendations for the future of school participatory budgeting in the district. Recommendations generally regarded the timeline (e.g. start date, deadlines, apportioning time for each phase of the participatory budgeting process differently) and guidelines (e.g. creating explicit guidelines, changing guidelines). In the particulars, responses diverged on both timeline and guidelines.

Table 3.3. Teacher/Site Sponsor and Administrator Recommendations	
Adult	Comments
1	1. follow through by beginning of next year: *"… [district needs to] follow through and actually install those water fountains for us [then] I think the kids will be believing that we can actually make a difference. And I think that is the key in everything that we do in the district, if we as adults don't follow through the kids [sic] stop believing…"*
2	1. Install/implement proposal ideas because it is "important to show students that something tangible that came out of this." 2. better timeline 3. "[get] really engaging teachers that, um, enjoy building relationships with students"
3	1. "more communication" 2. "communications page [social media/website]" 3. student "public hearings" of proposals 4. get "parents involved" 5. absentee/early ballots
4	1. handbook with guidelines and timeline 2. structure orientation meeting to simulate the district context 3. have experienced campuses mentor new campuses
5	1. try harder to incorporate all grade levels 2. have seniors come back the following year as volunteers 3. better explain capital spending parameters *and* maintain the process/rules the district follows (i.e. no 'special' rules for participatory budgeting) 4. continue to shield SSCs from the full bureaucracy of "the 4th floor" [financial offices]
6	1. adjust timeline 2. streamline/modify structure of purchasing for accessibility for students 3. permit M&O expenditures
7	1. autonomy for each campus on the timeline of the process 2. outline the 'can-do's' for SSCs at orientation (not can't-do's) 3. have logistics done ahead of time
8	1. two rounds of voting: vote yea/nay for every idea and then vote on ballot 2. start whole cycle earlier in the year
9	1. adjust timeline 2. work deliberately in development of capacity of sponsor (professional development) 3. more interaction with other sponsors 4. educate SSCs on the fiscal process more fully
10	1. check-ins between administrator and sponsor 2. reach out to municipal agencies to partner on projects of broader scope

Timeline. According to the responses, the overall timeline of the process either needed to adjust its start date and/or end date. The timeline needed, proportionally, to allow more time for proposal development and/or finalization of proposals. Some said they would prefer the process being controlled autonomously by each campus (i.e. each campus had discretion over timeline and was autonomous from that of other campuses). Some thought the process should start earlier for the sake of students and/or for the professional development/training of adults, others because it would be necessary to have the process end in concert with the first semester. Adjusting the timeline to take place within the first semester could allow the district enough time to implement proposals before the end of the academic year.

Guidelines. There were technical and more conceptual recommendations concerning guidelines. Technical recommendations included compiling or creating a comprehensive handbook for all participants (i.e. teachers, administrators, and SSCs), since there was none in the pilot year; and simply being clearer and more explicit about the rules, policies, and procedures around spending and deadlines and/or roles and responsibilities of all stakeholders. Conceptual recommendations reflected two divergent views: treating participatory budgeting as a separate entity for spending (e.g. providing access to M&O funds in addition to capital funds) versus guidelines that include more education of staff and SSCs on the nature of fiscal spending in order to preserve the same rules for participatory budgeting as those of any other department.

Roles. From observational field notes and interviews, the pattern in the district was to pair one certified teacher with one administrator. At one site, both adults were employed as classroom teachers, however one was asked by the principal to serve

because she had her administrator certification (see Table 3.4). Certified teachers, in many cases, were focused on working directly with SSCs while administrators provided support to the teacher. The dynamic between the pair varied from site to site and is discussed later in this section. The term 'facilitator' was elaborated upon differently in the interviews. Many different elements of a participant's role appeared throughout the interviews indicating that their perspective exceeded the scope of their direct responses.

Table 3.4. Participant responses by professional role

Employed as Teachers
"[The first meeting was] in my room… [and] I first went through some of the information." "I followed up with some pieces in [my course]"[10]
"I was facilitator of the participatory budgeting process on campus… I was the lead."
"My role was, I am not sure… I was just asked to. I have my admin cert and I was asked by [the principal]."
"I would describe my role in the process as a facilitator… my role was kind of taking a back seat… and I was just a cheerleader…"
"I was basically my students' grunt labor <chuckles>… I got to do all the things they wanted me to do."
Employed as Administrators
"I presented to the whole campus what [participatory budgeting was], what it means, how/what [were] the roles of the students… [not only the SSC] but the students at large."
"So my role was to get the right people on board. Y'know, it was to get the ball rolling on this, and the best… (now, I had the ball)… and I need people to roll it."
"So, to be transparent, I think it was <pause> limited? … I love the idea."
"[My] role was a support… and it was a role of learning and—like teach me what I need to do to learn and support"

[10] i.e. used 'instructional' time

Themes

From the analysis of the data, five major themes emerged concerning the perspectives of sponsors and administrators deeply connected to the process: (a) roles and responsibilities, (b) partnerships, (c) visions of success, (d) engagement with participatory budgeting, and (e) positioning participatory budgeting. These themes capture the nuanced relationship participants described to the overall process.

Roles and responsibilities. When treating the entire interview as an object of analysis, a more panoramic view emerges. The roles, embedded in the perspectives of interview subjects, included (a) coordinators, (b) emissaries, (c) guardians, and (d) managers. Again, these are not discrete but features of the role of site sponsors and administrators. Though one of these may have seemed dominant in an individual case, responses of all participants indicated at least two.

Participants' perceptions of their responsibility to the process emerged at the intersection of their function and their action. All identified the responsibility of the coordinators role to bring the disparate actors in the process into synchronicity. The perspective on the responsibility of the emissary role was to guide the process. Guardians enacted their role in taking responsibility for reviewing, closing, or polishing-off facets of the process. Managers had the responsibility of completing or achieving the end goal, as it was put in one interview: to "get things done."

Coordinator. Every interview described the role of teachers and administrators as one of coordination. Participants described their position in relation to the various aspects of the process as conduits for various demands being made on the process. All teachers "[made] some phone calls and [sent] out some emails" in order to, for example, ensure

volunteers from the university would be welcomed into other teachers' classrooms on campus. One sponsor "was constantly following-up [with district] and asking where they were and wanting to know the status of purchases [from proposals]." It was also a matter of course for administrators to reach out to district regarding the process and say, "you know this isn't just a teacher asking for this, this is a schoolwide endeavor…" or reserving and arranging "facilities rentals", such as reserving the auditorium, reserving vans for travel to districtwide meetings or arranging idea collection through various committees on a campus. In fact, one sponsor only took on the role because she had been the only available staff member on the day of the first orientation meeting in September who had district-mandated van training. They were the embodiment of the task and the weaver of the various levels and sources of priorities. They harmonized the process with the context.

A coordinator liaised with their superiors, subordinates, and/or peers. Their responsibility was to continuously juggle logistics. For example, voting day took place in the short period between two large bouts of standardized testing that year and immediately after spring break. One administrator recognized a critical dimension of his support was to keep talking with staff about the process and draw attention to its achievements simply because "… something like this, as cool as it is, can easily just be forgotten—it can be lost in the forest, man." Both adults on a campus coordinated as they worked to synchronize resources with responsibilities and maintain vision of the participatory budgeting process.

Emissary. An adult functioned as an emissary when they translated policy and district procedure into SSC practices or represented student concerns. Adults were also

often the voice of student frustration to the district about, as mentioned, feeling “really really rushed” and were indeed the only recipients of district emails. Such emails were the sole source of “instructions [for the SSC] that the [SSC] had to [use approved vendors]” and that conveyed directives and deadlines from district to SSCs.

Responses of the emissary role were those that indicated a tension of minimal interference with realizing the perceived potential of the process. They guided as they designed activities to reinforce features of learning or bridge a gap in SSCs intention and action. The role of an emissary was not only to smoothly advance the process technically, but to guide the process through designing the learning environment. In some cases, this was through structuring idea collection activities, proposal development workshops, or combing “large group [presentations]” with “small group [activities]” because “sometimes when [students] hear things in a big group they don’t really pay attention or don’t [realize] they are interested…” Guiding the process also included reaching out to the consulting organization, bringing the consultant to campus with her university volunteers to facilitate activities and give presentations. This was indicated when, in articulating his role, a sponsor explicitly characterized participatory budgeting as a “student-led process” and an administrator clarified that “[the participatory budgeting process] didn’t stir [anything] in me”. The process was for students, by students.

Guardian. The role of guardian was indicated as adults expressed the need to insulate both the SSCs and the process itself. This role was evidenced when respondents expressed perceptions of themselves as proverbial pressure valves. A sponsor would see that students “felt very very rushed [during proposal development and submission]” and were inundated with “so much of [the district’s] financial jargon gobble-de-gook” and

would spare the SSC the task of doing "the [official] purchase order, [so that] they didn't do the concrete paperwork." Adults were also often the voice of student frustration to the district about, as mentioned, feeling rushed as well as the one to convey directives and deadlines from district emails to SSCs.

The guardian's role was indicated in statements where adults characterized their activity or intervention as the final, but minor component of a task or process. Their responsibility was to attend to the necessary but not the substantive features of the process: filling-in an official requisition form in order to begin the process of implementing a proposal; and attending to the perfunctory chores but not interfering with meaningful experiences. Broadly, they were descriptions that characterized their actions as easing the burdens of SSCs or other adults in the process. SSCs understood expectations but struggled to meet all of them and were sometimes given simplified tasks, which were then converted into the appropriate or necessary level of complexity by a teacher or administrator. So, in a case similar to the one described above, the sponsor and administrator would try to "skip the middleman." In other words, they ensured that SSCs "did the research and found the [necessary information on the proposal idea]," but did not feel the need for the SSC members to find the specific budget codes for the requisition forms. In a sense, the responsibility of the guardian was to 'close the deal' that was mostly made by the SSC.

Manager. The responses suggested the role of manager when expressing the position of the accountable party or the organizational hub of participatory budgeting activities. This role was suggested when an administrator commented that he really wanted "to make sure voting went smoothly." This role was also indicated when

positioned as producer of a completed pilot year. One sponsor expressed her initial anxiety about not effectively implementing the process: “I never want people to wonder why I am in charge.” Another sponsor similarly expressed “I wasn’t sure how this was going to get done.”

The responsibility of the manager’s role was present in expressions indicating a product. Indeed, one sponsor said explicitly: “I always have a product”. Another acknowledged that in terms of events like voting day, “it’s all about appearance”. The responsibility of the role was to accomplish--to identify objectives and avoid potential obstacles to completing the process. In one sense, a participant manifested the manager’s role when expressing their sense of responsibility to ‘carry the load’ for the SSC or school. In some cases, teacher(s) and/or administrator(s) would characterize a task as one that would “bore students” so they would “just do that part”. It has a relationship to controlling outcomes, as one put it:

> “I did not know what--if I would enjoy [participatory budgeting] because I did not really know what I [could] control about it.”

Adults described their function or role and actions in a myriad of ways. Most managed large public events while guiding SSC discussions and guarded proposals from rejection due to procedural error. The perceptions of responsibilities of sponsors and administrators does suggest a wide variety of learning environments for citizenship and the generative opportunities for adults in the process.

Partnership. Each school had two adults that were deeply connected to the process, relative to other teachers and administrators. The dynamics amongst the adults were described in the interviews and were spread across three general styles: passive, active, and collaborative.

Passive. The passive dynamic was couched in language of respect for the capacity of one another. One example comes from an administrator's statement: "I allow all my teachers and support staff to do their thing." A sponsor understood her relationship to be one of "reading the administrator in" on the process as needed. An administrator stated simply: "I am not a micromanager." Another respondent characterized his general approach to his many professional responsibilities as "I cross bridges when I need to."

Active. An active partnership was indicated when ease, familiarity, and responsiveness characterized the relationship. An illustrative example comes from an administrator:

> "[I needed to support her all] along the way… so <u>whatever</u> [she] needed… [I'd] find money… whether I gotta pay for it outta my own pocket or [not]"

A sense of commitment and personal loyalty suggested an active partnership.

Collaborative. On one campus, ideas and plans were generated as a team and decisions about activities or adjustments across campus were made together. The partnership described by the adults indicated a habit of collaboration. The administrator shared first: "we didn't really think too hard about [roles and responsibilities]. We just [said]—you do this, and I do that." The sponsor qualified this statement later: "This is kinda how we work here… just trying to finish each other's thoughts." Though their descriptions of the working dynamic revealed that this had been cultivated amongst the staff prior to the pilot year of participatory budgeting, it was notable.

As each campus had two designated adults to be in tune with participatory budgeting, there was a relationship built in. How these relationships unfolded was described differently by participants, but never negatively. Passive partnerships were

characterized by implicit trust, active partnerships were supportive and responsive, and the collaborative partnership was one of co-creation.

Vision of success. The success of the process was couched in terms of what it achieved for students or how it augmented expected/familiar dispositions of students. The hallmarks were engaged, excited, and/or prepared students as well as greater (depth of) understanding for participants. As hallmarks, these comments were implicitly contrasted with perspectives on normal behaviors.

Engaged students found that "they have a voice" or "used their voice" due to the fact that they "got involved". These descriptions indicated how the process corrected a challenge of inactivity. The evidence respondents cited for their perspective that students were more excited was that "[participatory budgeting got] students interested in *something*." Similar statements suggested that participatory budgeting had, to some extent, succeeded in correcting apathy.

The success or value identified by some adults was how it effectively prepared students variously for the future as citizens, community members, and/or adults. In one interview this was indicated when an administrator expressed support for participatory budgeting in terms of contributing "to the school's mission, vision, and purpose." He believed that participatory budgeting positively contributed to the district's mission of "preparing every student for success in college, career, and life."

A final hallmark of success identified by the adults was that the student experiences of participatory budgeting helped develop understanding in students of (1) what the mechanisms of spending school funds were, (2) how those mechanisms worked, and (3) why they existed. One administrator said "[it gave students] a better sense of how

things actually work and how things actually get done". One sponsor said she thought students should learn about the broader fiscal policy of the campus and district because it "would help them understand." When asked if she thought they would be bored by this, she replied:

> "some… might find it fascinating, *but I think it would also help them understand* [the system]. Because a lot of 'em don't understand why teachers don't get paid more. They don't understand why we don't have brand new computers."

Success, especially in her description, was indicated by the degree to which students came to understand the rules and rationales of governance.

Without exception, the accomplishments of participatory budgeting, stated or implied, were described in terms of accomplishments *for students*. Participatory budgeting was successful because it motivated students, it aligned student action with organizational mission, and/or it positively impacted student perception or knowledge. There was no success described in terms of adults.

Engagement with participatory budgeting. Interview data revealed that adults (teacher/site sponsor and administrator) tended to perceive their connection to participatory budgeting in different ways and degrees. Some adults observed the process, closely watching it unfold. Others indicated that they immersed themselves in the process either conceptually, pedagogically, and/or ideologically. Finally, some sponsors and administrators developed relationships and connections with students that suggested a noticeable degree of fellowship.

Observed. Observers were not aloof, but instead emphasized that it was a "student-led process". They described their own experience as one where "students were doing all of the work". That sponsor continued: "…I was just in the back saying 'hey,

that's a good job, sounds great'… what do you need from me; how can I help?" In another instance, a sponsor observed not only the student process but the approach the consultant, Mildred, took when assisting with facilitation: "[It was great because sometimes] I could just back up and [watch] Mildred do a lot of stuff".

Immersed. Many of the interview participants indicated high levels of engagement themselves but in different ways. Some were attracted to exploring concepts with students, while others were invested in shaping the learning environment, while yet others identified strongly with students' empowerment.

*Conceptually***.** One administrator remarked how much he appreciated "[getting students'] input… and then having that conversation about [benefiting the community]." In another instance, one participant expressed support of a proposal idea with the SSC: "That project not only helps [our] students, but it also helps our community." A sponsor shared that she really "liked having those conversations [about democracy]."

*Pedagogically***.** Administrators and sponsors were deliberate and meticulous in their approach to creating an environment of learning throughout the process. They maximized opportunities or 'teachable moments'. A sponsor underscored the "important connection [that needs to be made]" between democracy at large and the process. One participant shared at length:

> "[Members of] the student steering committee were actually the ones who helped guide those conversations… [We] laid out what the conversations might be and we were in the room… but we really let the students run it…"

One campus developed guiding questions and a process to help students identify target outcomes "so that [students] are making decisions not based on one person's cool idea but how many kids [sic] will this impact?" This went further such that students developed

their own rubric for decision-making. A sponsor used instructional time to learn about management systems and others' perspectives and ideas:

> "I created an assignment in my class… so that kids [sic] could submit their ideas and so that they could see what other people were submitting [online]."

These responses indicated strategic thinking about how to create an architecture for informal learning.

*Ideologically***.** There were a few adults that identified with a perceived struggle that students faced in exercising and legitimating power. One administrator was almost emphatic:

> "I want to reinforce the idea that these students <u>can</u> be empowered; that people <u>will</u> listen to them."

References to student empowerment and voice suggested in some cases that adults felt connected to a larger movement.

Fellowship. There were comments about the working relationships developed between adults and either proposal teams or the SSCs. A sponsor highlighted how much she appreciated getting to know students "on a more personal level [during the process]." In some cases, as with this administrator, these descriptions suggested something more than cooperation and something akin to friendship:

> "[I got to] work with the students, which was really cool because it kinda educated me and [I] bonded with students that were leaders in this [the participatory budgeting process]."

In other ways respondents' comments reflected this fellowship as when one sponsor described her enthusiasm upon learning about participatory budgeting because "we could do what… we wanted"—making no distinction between herself and the SSC.

Adults' own engagement with the process appeared to be high regardless of how it was described. Adults closely witnessed student collaboration and problem-solving, trying not to spoil students' sense of agency by imposing their own views. Those that immersed themselves were either energized by discussing ideas with youth or intrigued by how to design the environment for the highest quality student experience, and/or adults felt like they were walking with students to create a more equitable school life. Finally, some adults developed a very lateral relationship with students by working with them and sharing a space that was as much social as professional.

Positioning participatory budgeting. All participants' responses, in differing ways, evidenced an effort to position this new phenomenon, (i.e. participatory budgeting) within the familiar school activities. There are comments from interviewees that reflect an effort to place or position participatory budgeting in the existing ecology of school life. Firstly, respondents considered it in terms of their own professional life. Secondly, they considered it in terms of the organizational life of the campus. Lastly, it was signified in terms of student experience, or student life.

Professional life. It is a truism of education that personnel, teachers and administrators have difficult jobs and must balance a number of priorities in their professions. There were two recurring characterizations of the professional perspective in the school context that indicated how adults located the process: "spinning plates" and mitigation.

*Spinning plates***.** The metaphor of spinning plates was used by participants to describe the relationship the process had to the totality of their professional experience—it was "one of the plates". Another synonymous metaphor was that of wearing "many

hats." These comments suggest that the process, whether positive or negative, was located as a competing priority for these adults. Participatory budgeting had entered into an ecology where "there's always something going on." One administrator quantified his responsibilities as having "a bajillion things [on his plate]" and being "super super busy". At the same time there were interviews in which such metaphors were completely absent.

Organizational life. Sponsors and administrators positioned participatory budgeting within the organizational life of school. This was suggested as they described general approaches to involving the campus. It also emerged in recollections of specific instances of diverging from the 'normal' day, by imposing an act or interrupting a routine.

Mitigation. Sponsors especially, but as well some administrators, characterized their efforts to support participatory budgeting as including the need to mitigate its impact on school routines. One sponsor, for example, reported "it was kinda our goal… to not disrupt the day." In contrast, some respondents discussed reorganizing schedules without acknowledging any challenges it might pose. Adults expressed being conscientious about "taking away class time" with participatory budgeting. One sponsor suggested that the process went well on campus because she "did not hear that many things from faculty members." And she additionally described utilizing the advisory period for idea collection and presentations, and immediately emphasized that "we disrupted no one other than that."

Student experience. Sponsors and administrators, either in describing the accomplishments of participatory budgeting or elsewhere, underscored the effectiveness, power, or impact of the process. These were always in reference to how it aligned with

institutional goals or how it affected students individually and/or the overall student context.

Completing the mission. In two specific instances, one sponsor and one administrator, indicated that the positive impact of the process stemmed from its complementarity to the mission of school. The administrator's comment was already mentioned within the theme of success. The sponsor from another campus stated that she felt that the process embodied "exactly what school should be: school should mimic real life experiences."

Students' positionality. Another perspective on the impact of the process on student experience is the contribution to a student's life or their life-as-student. It emerged in statements noting the value of an "opportunity for students to get involved with decision-making on campus." Along with this perspective was one sponsor's remarking that a distinguishing feature of the participatory budgeting process was that it "showed so much trust. And I really loved that." These indicate a vision of the process as augmenting or modifying the status quo as they are statements underscoring a departure from the norm.

The perspectives of sponsors and administrators indicated where they seemed to believe participatory budgeting 'fit', for lack of a better word, in their conceptualization of their various dimensions of life during the school day. In their allusions to the power and/or success of the participatory budgeting process adults indicated the process's positionality relative to the broader ecology of school.

Conclusion

The pilot year for the Southwest district was essentially the pilot year for the United States. The experience was one unfamiliar or radically different from anything that had come beforehand. The supporting organization, which had helped to implement participatory budgeting on a large scale in cities and even with a focus on youth, had never worked in such a large educational setting. Many things came up and the findings of this study indicate that the adults closest to this process had learned a great deal. The interviewees put in a substantial amount of effort that was both intensive and creative. There was the important, but more remote, role of the school district and its governing board that made the pilot year possible.

It is clear from the findings that teachers and administrators did a lot of work as they supported the process. The roles and responsibilities described by participants and their descriptions of how they engaged with the process (e.g. pedagogically) indicate that the adults closest to the process, in one way or another, approached their role as teachers--they mobilized their understanding of school structures to enable SSCs and the wider campus community to benefit from the process. Examples of roles and responsibilities reported by the adults included: (a) ensuring that the proposals were properly conveyed to the district; (b) taking time on a Saturday to transport students to an event; or (c) created idea collection materials best suited to their campus.

Because of the training, experience, and knowledge that teachers and administrators possess, it is recommended that specific attention be given to the approaches adults took to make the process work and work well. The facilitators drawn from CSOs often have experience facilitating deliberative *discussions*, as did the

Committee Facilitators in the case of YLC (Grillos, 2014), while teachers have experience facilitating *learning*. Combining the assets of both groups may well result in better designed tools and more focused approaches to facilitate the technical and pedagogical features of the participatory budgeting process.

I found that the role of adults in the school participatory budgeting process was highly differentiated. Adults in this case had to supply their own understanding of their role and responsibilities without any explicit guide. The practice of teaching is steeped in very technical language (Kincheloe, 2001) and the term strategy has almost completely replaced the term pedagogy in teacher education. This does not mean pedagogy is absent, but it is not explicit while strategies are offered as concrete. The roles and responsibilities identified and those that appear in the responses of participants are varied. They are strategies: coordination strategies, guardian strategies, management strategies. In and of themselves they are only tools. The question of to what end is a fundamental one to the implementation and study of school participatory budgeting. As Ganuza & Baoicchi (2012) point out, every introductory PowerPoint presentation on participatory budgeting shares the example of the city of Porto Alegre. These same authors remind us that this example had critical components if we are to anticipate similarly exceptional results. Such outcomes are not mandatory, but our analysis and application of the process should be mediated by how participatory budgeting is intended to be used.

Adults' perceptions reinforce the importance of the distinction made by Baiocchi and Ganuza (2014) regarding the communicative dimension and the empowerment dimension of participatory budgeting. It raised the pointed question of whether

participatory budgeting is to be used as a policy instrument or a device in schools. This distinction of policy instrument versus device may be better seen as a spectrum than a dichotomy. The interview findings gave some indications in terms of adult engagement with the process as to how adults understood participatory budgeting was being used. In particular, the adults' student-centered views of success suggest that the process was a device for student engagement more than a means of changing the governance of schools. Nevertheless, some understanding of what the process is meant to be in the ecology of schools needs to be explored, if not established, early on in any specific site in consultation with participants. With regards to views of success, it is possible to infer from the findings that adults saw success in terms of completing the participatory budgeting phases without any major problems. The findings of the study also indicate that schools, in particular the supporting administration of the process, might benefit from deliberating upon what the intended use of participatory budgeting is to be in their own context. This vision, whether co-created by site sponsors and administrators or not, if more clearly understood by adult supporters on each campus may facilitate better realization of that vision. Accordingly, if the intended use of participatory budgeting is more clearly expressed within the context it would likely aid researchers and implementers in better understanding and supporting the process.

In terms of research and implementation, two fundamental issues emerged during the course of this study. First, research and implementation must take into consideration whether the participatory budgeting process is being deployed as a policy instrument or device (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). Again, this will not likely be an either/or issue and it

may be interpreted differently by any single participant (e.g. student, sponsor, principal) or entity (e.g. the district) in the process. Second, a closer examination of the empowerment dimension is warranted. In particular, the adjustments or efforts made on the part of school governance structures to support the participatory budgeting process merit further study and direct investigation.

The literature on participatory budgeting in the United States does address the fact that "[participatory budgeting] can be designed to be more or less transformative and inclusive" (Lerner & Secondo, 2012: 3). The explication by Lerner & Secondo (2012) confirms what the findings of this study suggest, which is that the issues of transformation and inclusivity (i.e. participation in terms of breadth and depth) are "deeply intertwined, and best addressed in tandem" (p.3). The literature on participatory budgeting does not explicitly address the school context. The article cited above goes on to outline four strategies to deal with these issues and these strategies help highlight the challenge of translating participatory budgeting (Benjamin, 1968/2007; Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). Concepts mentioned within the second strategy raise considerations for school participatory budgeting. Lerner and Secondo state: "*empower community members--especially the most marginalized ones - to design and lead [participatory budgeting]*" (p.4, authors' emphasis). Taking this into account, where do adults fit in the school participatory budgeting process? Teachers and administrators are not empowered to develop curriculum, identify budget priorities, or determine any broader elements of policy; they are implementers. Without going too far into detail on this point, it is important to note that the conceptual labels employed in discussing participatory

budgeting in cities do not directly transfer to the school context. Issues of identity and social class are present in concert with organizational hierarchies, which are then again embedded in the governmental structures that regulate the educational agency.

The literature on the communicative dimension of participatory budgeting details the deliberative environment for participants (Baiocchi & Ganuza, 2014; Gilman, 2012; Grillos, 2014) including the quality of facilitation in deliberative structures. It is less vocal, however, on the way facilitators of these forums approach and understand their roles. In part, this may be due to the fact that whether paid or volunteers, facilitators are fellow citizens of participants. The same is not necessarily true of site sponsors (teachers) and participants (students). Additional studies may be warranted in examining the unique nature of the relationship between adults and students in the context of school participatory budgeting. Furthermore, exploring the questions from this study with adult participants in a school or district context that is designed with an intentional focus on participatory budgeting as a policy instrument.

Findings from this study suggest that sponsors and administrators, either in describing the accomplishments of participatory budgeting or elsewhere, underscored the effectiveness, power, or impact of the process. They made reference to how participatory budgeting aligned with institutional goals. As well, they commented on how it affected students individually and/or the overall student context. Kirshner (2008) discusses how the positioning of students by adults can shape the former's agency in school. He notes:

> "Positioning refers to the way that discourse constructs actors as particular kinds of people, which enable or constrain opportunities for participation in systems of activity" (p.106)

This is no less true of how sponsors and their administrative partners are positioned in the discourse of school participatory budgeting. Additional research on the positionality of all stakeholders may provide greater insight into the impact of school participatory budgeting on the overall ecology of schools and their districts.

Recommendations generally focused on timeline and guidelines, although responses diverged on both. Below are some questions that need to be decided based on these recommendations: (a) When should PB happen? (b) Who should determine the timeline? (c) Should the proposal process be easier? (d) Should there be "an actual" handbook for the process? (e) Should funds for the participatory budget be limited to capital funds?

Based on the literature, however, two broader questions must be answered first: (a) Who determines the structure of participatory budgeting going forward? and (b) How is this determination made? This case study can only make recommendations once the above two questions have clear answers. Otherwise, recommendations would be a matter of opinion without considering the context. Ultimately, this brings the discussion back to the empowerment dimension of participatory budgeting.

This study offered an insight into how the process of school participatory budgeting in any specific location can benefit from establishing its intended use at the outset. It suggested the process of building collective vision amongst those closest to the implementation process. It highlighted the adults' contribution throughout the process and reported their perceptions of the actors in the process. Implications for research and implementation were explored in light of the findings on adult perspectives on the

process from year 1 of the implementation of participatory budgeting in a large district was provided.

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CHAPTER 5

STORIES OF SCHOOL PARTICIPATORY BUDGETING: AN ANALYTIC AUTOETHNOGRAPHY OF RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

Abstract

This article is an analytic autoethnography that tells the story of researching and implementing school participatory budgeting in a large urban secondary school district in the Southwestern United States. Over the course of two years, the author was a classroom social studies teacher within the Southwest Secondary School District (SSSD). In the first year of participatory budgeting in the district he researched the participatory budgeting process on the first five campuses to implement the process while also working as a teacher. In the second year of the process, SSSD expanded to 10 campuses, one of which was the author's home campus. He served as both the teacher overseeing the process (site sponsor) and classroom teacher, while also analyzing and writing the findings of the research study of the pilot year. This article is a narrative construction of his coming into the field of participatory budgeting, researching the process, and then his work integrating school participatory budgeting into the formal civics curriculum and the research project conducted as part of the course.

Introduction

This is a story—a narrative construction (Barone, 2007)—about participatory budgeting *in schools*. Participatory budgeting began in 1989 in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre (Baiocchi, 2005). In brief, it is a form of participatory democracy in which citizens have some measure of direct control over the municipal budget (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). The process, when implemented in schools, is both similar and different (see Chapters 1, 2, and 3). In this story I aim to present my own experiences as a means of describing the challenges and opportunities of school participatory budgeting and what it was like to read about it, study it, and implement it.

This narrative construction (Barone, 2007) is in the form of analytic autoethnography (Anderson 2006; Canagarajah, 2012). Through it, I deal with

participatory budgeting from the perspective of an advocate, one whose interest in this democratic process is deeply personal, one who feels a sense of deep commitment to its underlying ideals. Drawing from my own "repository of experiences" (Canagarajah, 2012: 260), I write this story primarily from my own perspective, my own self. Hence: *Auto.* But I also concede that I the narrator exist within an organizational culture in which my personal and professional identity is deeply enmeshed. Indeed, school participatory budgeting, as we shall see, takes place in a cultural context that is so powerful, in part because it is entrusted to socialize and imprint us on society's behalf. School does not accidentally condition behavior, we authorize it to do so. By and large it welcomes our children when they are five, for eight of sixteen hours for 200 of 365 days for 13 years. This means that 20,800 of the total 75,920 waking hours of children and youth's lives (27.39%) are spent in schools. The degree of socialization that is carried out through schooling is a debate too great to delve into here, but it is a fact that school *does* condition individual behavior, collective social values, and legitimate institutional structures. Simply, schools, to more than a minor extent, influence culture. Hence: *Ethno…* Finally, I have oft been told that in social research, questions drive methods. I had questions of my own going into this research, and along the way I found new ones. And my method, storytelling, is how I have chosen to adumbrate those questions. They are embedded within my own personal and creative narrative writing, strands of educational phenomena discovered/uncovered, examined, and woven together within this storied text. Hence: *Graphy.*

I am an educator, which positions me differently at different moments. I am teacher-learner in a classroom and a learner-teacher in the field of inquiry. This is as

much a praxis (Freire, 1970) as a cultural context in which I am a member (Anderson, 2006). As teacher and researcher, as educator and learner, I have here storied my implementation of school participatory budgeting, which I believe fulfills the first of Anderson's (2006) five key elements of analytic autoethnography: "complete member researcher (CMR) status" (p.378). In this article, I take the positions of researcher, scholar, and teacher with the three engaged in constant dialogue with one another. Furthermore, I not only self-consciously but openly with students and colleagues declare myself as researcher though they relate to me as teacher. Empathy comes from being a member of the campus community, critical awareness of the tensions in that environment, and a struggling analytic detachment. On the second and third feature, as a researcher, I "engage in reflexive social analysis and self-analysis and stay visible, active, and reflexively engaged" in this narrative (Anderson, 20006: 383). The discursive practices in teaching, academic scholarship, and empirical research are overlapping while disjunctive. These features manifest themselves as I discuss my role as researcher through my perception of it as a teacher in the same school district. If the "I" of this inquiry appears to be too present it is nevertheless always questioning and challenging. My descriptions of interactions with the inquiry's context is situated in my storied perception, self-perception, and the narrative self-perception; I question the story I told myself and the one I am telling about myself. With regards to dialogue beyond the ethnographic self (Anderson's 4th element), this may be the most difficult undertaking. In the roles and responsibilities, I assume personally, academically, and professionally I am continually narrating a situation and thus always repositioning myself, and thus discussing myself. However, I think, more than anywhere else, it is in the narration of the experience I

shared with students in implementing participatory budgeting that exhibits "dialogic engagement with others" and a situated moment that transforms my "own beliefs, actions, and sense of self" (Anderson, 2006: 383). Lastly, there are analytic agendas (Anderson's 5th element) both minor and major. Analytic engagement with teaching, organizational culture, and the construction of young people all appear again and again. However, I believe that, just as Dewey describes democracy as "the idea of community life itself" (1927:148) and "primarily a form of associated living" (1916:93), this is an exploration of democracy in question, application, and experimentation: the question of what it is and can be, the application of it in life and work, and the experimentation with it in research and teaching practice.

The story is presented as overlapping narratives (becoming a teacher and becoming a scholar), reflecting the distinct and often disjunctive roads I travelled over the last 13 years. These are then followed by the more contemporary story that may serve as a synaptic connection between the two. The first narrative addresses the experiences that presaged my work in education, including how I was introduced to participatory budgeting. The second narrative provides a counter narrative of my experience in schools as teacher and then as researcher. The third, which I described as a synaptic connection, is where both lines of thought and experience meet consciously as neurons join together at a synapse. Embedded in this last narrative construction is the process I used with students in my government course as a site sponsor of participatory budgeting, the results of that process--empirical and in the context of the process--and the noteworthy experiences I had as an implementer of school participatory budgeting.

Early in life I came to believe in the concept of democracy. My post-secondary education and my work in communities were a continuation and field-test of a naive belief. My immersion in the lives of youth in communities across the United States and my immersion into the theoretical and empirical literature on education served to galvanize my belief into conviction. At the same time, however, I found that schooling had little interest in cultivating an active and deepened citizenry. I began teaching in part to earn a living as well as to see whether something could be done to further the educational project of democratic citizenship. I have enfolded the accomplishments and challenges, the experiments and results, the action and reflection into this narrative.

Growing Up

We had been driving for about two hours, I think. We were somewhere in rural Pennsylvania and discussing the future. My recently wedded wife and I were relocating from New York City to Tempe, Arizona because she had taken a promising new job there. She said, "You know, your grandmother always said she thought you'd be a good teacher." I do not remember my grandmother ever saying anything of the sort, but this is how I came to be both teacher and researcher. And these are strands of the cord I have woven into the story below.

It is challenging to find the "beginning" of my relationship with the theory and practice of education, because there is always a backstory to the (back)story, on and on *ad infinitum*. What follows are some of the frame factors of my life that helped shape the person that became an educator with aspirations of nurturing the health of an anemic democracy.

I grew up in the northwestern part of the Capitol (i.e. Washington, DC). If you are familiar with DC, you would know that governance is always discussed, debated, and critiqued by Washingtonians. This can sometimes be confused with politics. I would assert that it is the former that invokes the latter in the Capitol rather than monological partisan haggling. Like many NW Washingtonians, I had family members who were federal employees. My parents are attorneys, my mother in public policy and my father in insurance regulatory law.

My mother's family and their antecedents were white Anglo-Saxon Protestants and were omnipresent in my childhood. This branch of my family has been on this continent since the very early history of European colonization of the northeastern coast of North America. Their most outstanding virtue has been an almost corporeal faith in democracy. They have been outspoken and critical of government, but always maintaining a belief that the system itself is resilient enough to weather whatever immediate problems face it. It seems reasonable to assume that it was some combination of an awareness of the structures of governance, the technical appreciation for law, and, dare I say, an ethnic faith in democracy--white privilege has played no small part in my life story--that explains my interest in justice and equality and my sense of how various structures foster or frustrate efforts to achieve them.

Education and teaching.

Fast forward to my 24th year: I was then a New Yorker and graduate of Columbia College. Since I was so certain in high school that I would become a professional actor, in college I studied what interested me rather than developing any readily identifiable set of skills for future employment. I studied history and political science concentrated on

American Politics, American History, and Middle Eastern History. The irony of my academic pursuits did not occur to me then, since I eventually became a teacher of World History, U.S. History, and U.S. Government to high school students.

Meanwhile, I had been introduced to, intrigued by, and involved with a volunteer-run program that was conceived as one facilitated by youth between the ages of 15 and 21 for middle schoolers. The training materials and curriculum of the program characterized empowerment as a process of releasing the latent power within participants--not allocating some scarce common resource that individuals and groups compete over, but instead unlocking a boundless reservoir inherent in the essential humanity of every individual. Furthermore, the training materials focused on enabling the facilitators of the program trying to envision the kind of adults they wanted participants to become, thereby inducing a deep reflection on what trainees wanted to strive for within themselves. Finally, the program envisioned the expression of this power as being cannalized into a twofold purpose: the ongoing development of the individual and service to humanity. This concept of servant was not one of provider, but that of reaching an ideal state of servitude: servitude to the human race. This experience reaffirmed my sense of enlightened democratic individualism while adding an element that has since become the ultimate criteria guiding my life: service to others. In other words, I came to see my own individual development in terms of how it reciprocally contributed to my capacity to serve the human race.

This volunteer-run service program was itself an educational program, even though it did not align with what I would learn in the bulk of my coursework and field experience in the M.Ed. and teacher certification program. Descriptions of techniques and

strategies, the minutia of lesson plans and furniture arrangement did not address the essential dimensions of education, as I had come to understand them up unto that point. Rather, the emphasis was on the mechanisms of schooling and the roles and responsibilities of teachers to those mechanisms. From 2008-2009, I was being trained as a teacher, but it did not feel that this was the same as learning to be an educator. At the same time, I was training for a career in teaching, I was volunteering to be an educator.

My (future) wife and I have worked closely to contribute to the growth of this empowerment program since 2005 and continue, at the time of this writing-- to its development and learning process, its geographical propagation, and the number of participants. Our marriage is born of the commitment to service and the ideal of servitude.

Becoming a Scholar

I walked into a preservice teacher program with this pre-existing conceptual framework for education and skepticism about schooling. I also carried my hope and commitment. After some experience, my letter of intent for my doctoral program shows evidence of a fusion of my faith in and hopes for America and my passionate, critical concern for education (Spring 2009):

> America's legacy is one of innovation, initiative, perseverance, and indomitable spirit of striving for excellence in all things. We are builders and workers and craftsmen. We are artists and philosophers and inventors. Now it seems we train individuals to do all the tasks we cannot program a computer to do and do them in a windowless office. They can operate devices and transmit information, but our greatest resource, which has throughout our nation's history been our capacity to innovate, is being exterminated by our abstracted sense of what students should gain from education. Prehistoric societies had a curriculum before the word or concept really existed and it consisted of music, dance, craft, child rearing, cooking, and ritual as well as hunting, gathering, and farming. These are the things our current system defines as electives and is eliminating… students struggle to grasp [the] real import and function [of academic subjects] and tend to miss the mysteries and/or practical

> significance. We have lost our connection with the fountain of curiosity and wonder from which human consciousness emanates.

At this precise moment in time, I had struggled as a preservice teacher to reconcile my relationship with youth in my community work with the expected norms between teachers and students in the organizational culture of schools. In particular, I recall being told: 'You don't ever want to live in the district you teach. You wouldn't want to bump into students at the grocery store. And remember: they are not your friends, they're your students.' I could not have composed a more perfect polar opposite to my own thinking at the time. I was concerned that I could not best serve humanity by working in the current school system (I could teach, be in a classroom, but I didn't know about schools as they were). In the same letter I channeled this disillusionment and frustration into scathing critique:

> …[the current school system] has become a veritable "black hole" of taxpayer money and citizens' good intentions; both are devoured by this system and any light or nobility the dollars and hope may have had in the past is swallowed up and disappears in a maze of useless meanderings…
>
> This public education system represents the culmination of generations of Americans 'agreeing to disagree' about the fundamental goals of education. It is the first cousin of the penal system's compromises over theories of criminal justice. We have agreed to honor the sacred cow of eclecticism… our current status is akin to a finger painting when all the colors of paint have been mixed together and smeared across the canvas: ugly and unworthy of a place on our living room wall.
>
> Our public schools have been patched and remodeled and repainted, but they have not moved forward in their mission to help train a new generation and unlock the latent potential nestled in the curious and voracious minds of our nation's youth. The structure can no longer be held together with duct tape and superglue. It must be disassembled and built anew, at a depth and a level on par with FDR's reforms of social welfare of mid-twentieth century... Teachers must be able to teach without bell or whistle while being able to use such instruments to take their teaching even further than before. We need new professional development methodologies. At present, our students are not learners but dumpsters for our society to throw its rubbish in. We throw in our opinions and our textbooks and our technology and our apathy; we stifle the inherent curiosity that defines our very humanity.

(Often, when I look back at my own writing, especially "passionate" writing, I am surprised by the simultaneity of its intensity and ridiculousness; this may have been one example of such).

The empowerment program was based on a conceptual framework that resonated with much of the literature, especially the humanistic perspectives, I was exposed to in my doctoral program. Certain ideas of the earliest contributors to the field of curriculum studies, at the time I read them, also seemed to echo certain features of this same conceptual framework as the empowerment program: structural inequalities and institutional self-contradictions (Anyon, 1980; Apple, 1979; 1986; Giroux, 1981 and many more); the beauty of all human beings (Greene 1978, 1988; Macdonald, 1977; Noddings, 1984); the power of consumer and media culture in shaping reality and how the world teaches (Sandlin, 2000; 2005; 2007; 2010; Sandlin, Schultz, & Burdick, 2010; Sandlin & McLaren, 2010) and the seemingly self-defeating nature of schools (Illich, 1970). Most importantly, however, was how the empowerment program's emphasis on acts of service underscored the educative function of experience (Dewey, 1938), the primacy of conscientização and a cycle of action and reflection or Freirian praxis (Freire, 1970; 1970/2000; 1973). It seemed like it could serve as the precursor of educational institutions and movements like Highlander and educacion popular in Latin America (Adams, 1975/1998; Horton, 2003; Kane, 2001). It, in the most fundamental terms, delineated the path and developed the posture for transformative social action (Freire, 1970; 1994; Freire & Freire, 1997; Horton & Freire, 1990).

I think I consumed at the very least 200 books and who knows how many academic journal articles during my coursework and comps. I followed every citation that

might bring me closer to understanding how my experience with the grassroots youth empowerment program fit within the discourse of education or my perception of the realities facing local, national, and global society. I had to be told repeatedly to "stop reading and start writing" during my comprehensive exams. When I went into the classroom four years and all that reading later my views on the system of mass education in the United States had deepened, broadened, and sharpened but my feeling had changed little. But that is not all I brought with me. I also brought the theoretical, philosophical, and spiritual convictions about the goodness and value of people and the notion that good people could be trapped in the psychic prison (Morgan, 2006), as can be seen above, that I felt the school system had become. I wanted to unlock that prison as much as I wanted to release the powers of young people. When I "found" participatory budgeting, and most of all when I saw it in my district, I thought, I hoped, I wondered, and maybe I doubted whether it could begin to weaken the bars social systems keeps us locked behind.

I entered the M.Ed. and certification program in 2008. Strangely, I had been assigned an academic mentor who did not realize he had any mentees from this particular program. We met a few times during the program. I had been introduced to John Dewey and Paulo Freire almost by accident in my M.Ed. program and their work served as the main focus of our early conversations (as opposed to the M.Ed. program). As it came closer to the end date, our discussions had gotten longer and more involved concerning the state of education and teaching. I had been struggling a bit with the teaching experience and he suggested that, if I was not completely wedded to a professional life as a secondary educator, I might consider applying to the Ph.D. program with a focus on Curriculum Studies. He declared that he was retiring soon and would not take on any

more doctoral students, but that he would find someone who would take me on at least initially and he would be around for the next few years anyway if I needed any support. Luckily, his offer of support was not perfunctory. Or, if it was, I never noticed and drew upon him as friend and mentor throughout my coursework.

My loyalty to the grassroots of community work and social change was not shared by my first official advisor. For my part, I think that is the reason we ultimately parted ways. Then, in a seminar on Paulo Freire, the co-teacher of the course was a relatively new faculty member whose perspective and experience hit the spot. Beginning with a (shared) love of Paulo Freire, he introduced me to participatory budgeting--an experiment in participatory democracy that, through participation, seemed to teach people to be better citizens — that is, better people (Cohen, 2016; Gilman, 2016; Schugurensky, 2017; Wampler, McNulty, & Weik, 2018). It brought together my background in the social sciences, education, and empowering regular people to be the protagonists in the collective story of our species. After considering a very sincere and heartfelt (if dramatic and long) email I wrote to request that he serve as chair, he agreed.

I had entered the program in the Spring of 2010. Two years, 16 courses, and two internships later I took my comps. I was now, in the Fall of 2012, ready to jump into the dissertation process… but I didn't have a focused research question. There was a potential topic involving my work as a youth coordinator at a community center, yet that didn't work out. So, I then took up a long-term substitute teaching position to earn some needed funds, which turned into a full-time job. I then began outlining a proposal that combined my newfound role of gifted education facilitator with participatory budgeting at my campus. Ninth grade students read peer-reviewed journal articles about

participatory budgeting and came up with a plan for the school, presented it to the principal, who very warmly but firmly explained to us why she did not feel it was the right fit for the school. Summer of 2014: two years had elapsed; two dissertation ideas had come to naught. I tried going back to the source of my motivation to study education which was working with youth at the grassroots. I had been involved with, what in the parlance of the field could be best described as, a popular education program (Kane, 2001). I designed a rigorous participatory action research project (PAR), but that didn't work out either. And then, in the Fall of 2014, I became the father of twins and the dissertation faded into the background. By spring of 2016, I, father of two, was still teaching, but on a new campus, and completely lost.

I reached out to my dissertation chair in early spring of 2016, in the random and confused manner that had become characteristic of our relationship. He had taken to calling me "the ghost" because I would disappear for long periods and suddenly reappear, descending upon him with blazing intensity to torment him. He informed me that the district I worked in was going to adopt a participatory budgeting process beginning with five campuses next fall. He wanted to know if I was interested in joining the research project. "Of course, I am," I said quickly. I was worried about taking on another project instead of working on my dissertation when he remarked, to my great relief, "Maybe you could write your thesis [dissertation] on that?" I agreed. I spent the next two years (2016-2018) seemingly suspended in a Bermuda Triangle of professional waters. I was a World History and Government teacher and researching the first instance of district-wide school participatory budgeting in the United States.

Participatory budgeting had appeared first in Chicago's 49th Ward in 2009. There was even a youth-centered participatory budget of $1,000,000 in Boston in 2014. That same year participatory budgeting was first used in a school in the United States (Cohen, Schugurensky, & Weik, 2015). I had never abandoned my desire to *do* participatory budgeting, to be in the trenches so to speak. Accordingly, I spent the 2016-2017 year talking up the process to my own principal and he decided to make me the site sponsor in the district's second year (2017-2018). Though the district had one year of experience with the process, it was my school's first experience with participatory budgeting. In August of 2017, I was serving as the school's site sponsor, teaching U.S. History and Government, writing up the findings from the study on the pilot year of participatory budgeting, family man etcetera.

Struggling to Teach

I received the call on December 24th, 2012. A principal who, in September, had declined to hire me for a job wanted to interview me again for a one-semester substitute position. Towards the end of this second interview I shared, "I can be a good soldier. I will do whatever you ask without question or complaint. If you want my opinion, I will give it. But I won't necessarily agree with you." This was my way of adapting to organizational cultures in general, especially in schools. But I think she may have actually appreciated my transparency. Can it be that my abrasiveness is so self-defeating that it is ignored and simply appreciated as a form of sincerity?

I taught World History that semester during the regular school day, and later I was hired for a full-time position in night school. Night school was structured differently than day school. Semester-long courses were covered intensively in six-week intervals of

three-hour blocks Monday through Thursday. As well, night school included all four subjects in the required curriculum (World history, US history, Economics, and Government). The intensity and independence allowed me to develop personal friendships with students, refine my own approach to teaching, and experiment with the curriculum.

I deeply believe that this first job with all its departures from a traditional campus and teaching position is likely the only way I would have been able to learn how to adjust to life in school culture. Professional survival is something I probably owe to that school's teachers' and administrators' tolerance of my eccentricities. And most importantly, for our purposes here, this concept of tolerance will be pertinent to my later discussion of integrating the school participatory budgeting process into my government course.

Tolerance is a virtue oft touted in our society and considered one important for democracy. Is it, though, a virtue or does it connote a socio-emotional analogue to endurance? We "tolerate" bad smells, we "tolerate"—in our cultivated sense of liberal enlightenment—differences that we may not really appreciate. We may "tolerate" people's behavior in the sense that one sometimes must suffer fools—they inspire a very mild (like an itch) form of suffering and we endure.

Perhaps, worst of all is when hope and social imagination are tolerated. One may be called idealist, appreciated, patted kindly on the cheek and mostly ignored. In my case, colleagues and friends frequently noted "you should really be teaching at the college level." What led them to this conclusion? I read and learned about Kant's categorical imperative when a sophomore in high school and wondered why our students couldn't

also. I taught students words like “ontology” and “epistemology”. To my government students, I posed ethical dilemmas concerning governance, rather than politics or partisanship. I had them begin by writing their personal histories or family histories. Fellow teachers might say something such as ‘these kids just aren’t at that level.” This I could not dispute, but neither did I despair.

While suggesting humbly out loud, “you really think they’re kids?” I railed inside: “They can procreate! Isn’t that the very biological definition of adulthood?” Most would say, “well, maybe not kids, but their brains are still developing. You know the brain doesn’t stop developing, they say, until your thirties.” Ah, the unshakable platform of decontextualized psychology and neuroscience. It is a warm blanket in secondary education that condones almost every hue of paternalism. If our brains do not finish developing until our thirties, which I take issue with next, then 10%-50% of classroom teachers are in the same boat as “kids” in a high school. The issue is the meaning of “fully developed.” I can accept the scientific evidence supporting the hypothesis that there is some process of maturation biologically and cognitively that tapers after the age of thirty (Monastersky, 2007). In fact, the evidence supports that hypothesis, but not much else. Here is an excerpt from the article that inspired my disrespectful behavior:

> And the way their minds ripen seems specifically to lead them into danger. Neural systems that respond to thrills, novelty, and rewards develop well before the regulatory systems that rein in questionable actions. The teenage brain, in essence, is a turbocharged car with a set of brakes still under construction (Monastersky, 2007).

The fact that we less effectively invoke our hypothalamus in decision-making in early adulthood (15-25 years) than we do later in life, suggests, as an equally valid alternative, to nurture individuals to take pleasure (i.e. release serotonin and dopamine) for nobler

reasons than thrill-seeking and build a psychological structure that does not require so much second-guessing by our frontal cortex. Adolescent and educational psychology, and much of the research literature on teaching and education, simply supplies a justification for the continued infantilization of young men and women, which in turn becomes the self-fulfilling prophecy of their immaturity and supposedly underdeveloped academic prowess.

I found that our professional learning community (PLC) meetings did not concentrate on our collective understanding of what students should walk away with from our courses, as that would have been a "theoretical" conversation, which would not have been a good use of time. Alternatively, we discussed "teaching strategies" rather than pedagogy, planned how to handle the trauma of standardized testing on our pace through the content standards. Or we would discuss the tragedies and crises created by district directives or about salary increases. In my experience, the story of a school year can often be one of episodic crises. Then we need to renew our Structured English Immersion endorsement (SEI). We had to go through two evaluation cycles a year -- simply the organizational culture. Our attention, as teachers, can often be captured by managerial issues that can nearly eclipse our desire to explore the purpose of education and the role our teaching plays in framing and executing that purpose (Dewey, 1938).

I was to realize later that this is a key point for anyone working toward participatory budgeting in schools with a transformative potential: the most useful organizational metaphor for schools is that of the psychic prison (Morgan, 2006). As Gareth Morgan points out, "any given metaphor can be incredibly persuasive, but it can also be blinding and block our ability to gain an overall view" (p.337). There is

revelatory commentary in this text: "...we should be alert to the hidden meaning of the close regulation and supervision of human activity, the relentless planning and scheduling of work, and the emphasis on productivity, rule following, discipline, duty, and obedience" (p.217). I found that of the many images of organization Morgan put forward, schools most resembled psychic prisons:

> Such is the nature of psychic prisons. Favored ways of thinking and acting become traps that confine individuals within socially constructed worlds and prevent the emergence of other worlds… disruption usually comes from the outside. But the hold of favored ways of thinking can be so strong that even the disruption *is often transformed into a view consistent with the reality of the [prison]* (p.212, emphasis added).

The fact of the matter is that my experience as a teacher confirmed what I read as a scholar and, to an extent, observed as a researcher: schools contribute, in ways both good and bad, to society's "continuous self-renewal" (Dewey, 2008: 14). In this sense, schools are a socializing force. that instills shared values and norms of behavior; schools condition individuals. Yet, the idea of socialization does not convey how comfortable Dewey is with social conditioning. Schools are meant to do this:

> "We have seen that a community or social group sustains itself through continuous self-renewal, and that this renewal takes place by means of the educational growth of the immature members of the group. By various agencies, unintentional and designed, a society transforms uninitiated and seemingly alien beings into robust trustees of its own resources and ideals. Education is thus a fostering, a nurturing, a cultivating, process."

Dewey notes the tension between social conditioning and a kind of 'bleaching' of individuality. Sadly, schools act as a rather blunt instrument in service of forging a single society. Dewey envisions schools as lovingly attended gardens cultivating a democratic society. In practice, however, schools are the hammer and society the anvil between which students are forged. Schools should not only condition students to conformity and

creativity, enabling them to transform ideas (like participatory budgeting) as they translate them into their own context (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012). If individual students resist and/or reject transformative opportunities, it may be because growth and change are painful. Pain provokes a fight/flight "pattern of response" (Morgan, 2006: 224). Transformative dreams of the impact participatory budgeting will have on schools must be supplemented with waking actions to counter the fight/flight response, the bleaching influence school systems have upon brightly hued instruments for changing them (PLCs are an *excellent* example of this influence). Even if you build it, they might not come -- or they might just have a picnic in your baseball field of dreams. And as I watched and then strove to implement school participatory budgeting, I learned firsthand that this could be the case.

A Researcher's Walkabout

The Governing Board of the Southwest Secondary School District (SSSD) made its decision to implement participatory budgeting in July of 2016. Between mid-July and early August, I exchanged a number of emails with some individuals from the organization taken on by SSSD to coordinate logistics and to support the five campuses in various ways. We had a conference call during which we explored a few ideas related to implementation in the district, but the organization wanted to hold off any further consultations until the campuses had decided how they wanted to proceed.

Though others may disagree, my personal reflections on the experience lead me to believe that this was probably the critical period of time when the university research team might have established a clearer definition of roles and responsibilities for themselves in relation to the school district and the organizations helping the district to

launch participatory budgeting that year. We all knew each other or of each other and kept things informal, but this led to some confusion and complications over the course of the year. A large meeting involving all parties might have resulted in a tighter research program and better coordination of everyone's efforts.

The data from the pilot year was collected and analyzed (slowly). The findings of that study are reported elsewhere (see Chapter 3 and 4). From researching the process in the very first year, I took away two lessons beyond the findings of the study. One concerns the research process and the other regards student participation in the process.

First, I should have taken more responsibility for the research project in general. I might have been more deliberate and persistent in establishing the role of the research team as a distinct and independent entity. In line with this, I might also have been more vocal in developing options for how to address questions of the study, even though it was difficult to ascertain what the appropriate channels were for enabling such an outcome.

The second lesson concerned student participation on the larger campuses. I was partial to the large comprehensive campuses because they were like my own and, to me, they reflected the stereotypical 'large urban high school'. I got the sense that the student steering committee (SSC) members were the only participants that experienced the process in depth. That is to say, they were the only ones who developed proposals and coordinated the process. Moreover, it seemed that, by default, students who wanted to develop proposals *were* the steering committee. If the SSC was a members-only club, it was one where knocking at the door made you a member.

I wasn't disappointed or surprised by this. My skepticism and hope contended with one another as to whether participatory budgeting could embezzle its transformative

potential into SSSD. I also knew that school participatory budgeting, in the literature at least, seemed to develop in the wake of a city implementing the process. From my interactions with teachers from the 10 schools that were implementing PB, it seemed to me that only a minority of them had a clear idea about the process. Might this affect the citizenship learning dimension of the process, I wondered. There were a whole host of hunches and other questions that did not really lend themselves to empirical study at this point, but they were things that could inform practice, so I pocketed them for later review when it was my turn to be the teacher on a campus working with the SSC, or site sponsor (an opportunity I was actively creating with my new principal).

Making Plans

By the end of the pilot year (May 2017), I had made some decisions about what I would do on my campus. I was a government (i.e. civics) teacher and I wanted my (senioritis-stricken) students to engage in the process, and to do so within the context of the course. Based on some of the pedagogical craft applied by sponsors from the pilot year, it seemed to me that a rigorous and systematic learning approach could be applied within and throughout the participatory budgeting process. There was an opportunity here to help students engage in something akin to rigorous empirical research, perhaps something resembling participatory action research or youth participatory action research. I thought such engagements might enrich citizenship learning through school participatory budgeting. Basically, students could develop research skills and apply them to implementation of the participatory budgeting process and the evaluation of it. I was considering how to bring my knowledge of research and my affinity for Freirean praxis into the classroom through participatory budgeting. How was I going to integrate

participatory budgeting into the formal curriculum, though? I knew that one unit of government was titled “Roles of Citizenship”, so I could perhaps embed participatory budgeting there.

Then, SSSD expanded participatory budgeting the next year to include five additional campuses (mine as well). Some of the concerns from the first year were dealt with, specifically more materials and support was provided for proposal development, the process started earlier, and some money was set aside to compensate site sponsors for their efforts. What did not change were the parameters around how funds could be spent, the size of the participatory budgets (there were doled out on a campus basis), nor the organizational label for the group of students overseeing the participatory budgeting process (Student Steering Committees).

One question that arose during the pilot year concerned the nature of the SSCs. In some cases, an SSC had been an offshoot of student government (STUGO) or run by STUGO. In other cases, it had been a sort of unofficial committee. The question had been put as: should participatory budgeting be its own club or not, or should it be part of STUGO? STUGO[11] is both a club and a class and has elected officers. An official student club requires a constitution and elected officers and has a particular niche in the administrative architecture of schools. Many had thought that participatory budgeting, embodied in the SSC, did not align well with the idea of a club nor did it fluidly integrate itself into the existing work of STUGO. So, SSCs continued to defy the existing

[11] Student government has elected officers. It is also an elective course. Non-elected students and elected officers meet during an academic class period each day and there are also non-elected members that attend meetings before or after school. The members of STUGO tend to be part of the elective course for four years but officers may only participate for a single year.

architecture and it appeared that their identity might need to emerge organically from experiences over time.

During the summer of 2017, I had hoped the members of the research team would be asked to share its reflections on the pilot year. As one member of that team, I was curious about how the participatory budgeting process was revised between Year 1 and Year 2. I was also curious about what school principals knew about the process they had agreed to host and how they came by that knowledge. Did the Governing Board, who exercised the authority to put it in place, discuss the first year? When? How? With whom? Based on what? I certainly had some thoughts, having studied the pilot year. I also knew, because I had virtually committed the interview data to memory, that teachers, administrators, and students had some thoughts. Did those make it 'up the chain', so to speak? How? Was that the research team's job or was it mine? Did we (or *I*) miss an email?

Participatory Budgeting in My Classroom

(August 2017 - January 2018)

The concerns that pertained to my role as a researcher did not in any way diminish my enthusiasm for being part of implementing participatory budgeting as a site sponsor. It was, I felt, my chance to help youth from my campus *do* democracy! In so doing, it seemed then that the main elements of my work would include these: (1) bringing participatory budgeting into my government classroom *as an integrated piece of the formal curriculum*; (2) determining how the idea of a SSC to guide the process would align with this integrated design; (3) connecting this approach to the (different) district wide learning process; and, (4) seducing my students into an educational experience that

was both democratic and rigorously academic. How successful was I in this work? More on that later.

The social studies content standards given to teachers by the district were derivations of the state's content standards. Unit 5 of my course dealt with "Roles of Citizenship". Content standards can be difficult to decipher, not only those who are unfamiliar with classroom teaching, but myself as well. They require substantial interpretation as one translates them from words on a page into actual teaching. Therefore, amongst the many ideas and objectives within them one could easily make an argument that participatory budgeting fit in almost anywhere. For example, I could have used the process simply as a jumping off point for addressing the aspects of government outlined in the standards--which I did. The students and I explored many of the elements of government and issues of governance as we simultaneously implemented participatory budgeting. For the record, I did actually teach the course I signed a contract to teach. This is evidenced by the fact that the students in my course were instructed in the content that would eventually be in a districtwide final exam (one teachers are not allowed to ever see) and did fairly well on it. But I *also* focused strongly on their work with the participatory budgeting process. I focused on the aspects of the curriculum (based on the following standards) to justify (to myself, at least) my instructional decisions:

- Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.
- Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources

The research project in my course did indeed address the above standards. Because I required them to do so, students in my course did serious research--political and social scientific research--within the context of the participatory budgeting process.

But I faced not one, but two, paradoxes that semester. First, I had intended to embed participatory budgeting in the formal government curriculum. Though I did cover all of the content that semester, it could be argued that I used my classroom *for* participatory budgeting rather than placed the process *within* the course. As alluded to above, this project was not a linear approach to covering the formal course curriculum and I needed to fill in gaps at the end of the semester to prepare students for the district assessment. The second paradox was an ethical one. I had intended to 'bring democracy into the classroom,' while autocratically mandating their involvement in participatory democracy.

I should have foreseen another consequence of using (senior) students in a (one-semester) course: students effectively replaced the SSC. Initially, I intended to form an SSC. I invited students I knew along with ones I did not to come during either lunch (we have two) for SSC meetings. I spent a few weeks canvassing the lunch periods, sitting with students and talking with them. There was some interest, but the major hurdle was that a lot of decision-making took place in the back-and-forth during class. The collaborative atmosphere within class led to a lot of ideas and improvisations that an independent SSC, meeting only once per week, would not be able to keep up with unless it was led by students in my course.

Looking back, I think it was the decision to use the idea collection phase of the participatory budgeting process as the basis of the students' research project that

essentially overwrote the role of an SSC. The side effect (of the unanticipated consequence) was that the second half of participatory budgeting took place during the second semester, once the current government students were no longer "my" students. This meant I had to find a way to bring home participatory budgeting either by maintaining the commitment of seniors from 1st semester, engaging students from 2nd semester, or something else. I did something else: I went to STUGO and briefed them on the challenge facing participatory budgeting on our campus. Luckily for participatory budgeting process on my campus, STUGO ended up saving the day. I would not have expected this, but as I will describe later, they really stepped-up when posed with the challenge I brought to them.

One other point about my own approach to being a site sponsor deserves mention. Since I had 'gone rogue' with the process (albeit with no objections from anyone), it was difficult to then be a part of a collective learning process. Fortunately, I did not get the sense that much effort was made to establish such a learning process at the district level, so the only 'learning party' I missed was one at which I would have been the host, but with no guests.

Behind the scenes of my role. My role, then, was twofold. First, to meet the immediate demands of implementing the process (not just imagining grandiose ideas around it) and second, to nurture the long-term vision (setting in motion a process of reconsidering and re-evaluating school to incorporate co-governance with students). As someone interested in the transformative potential of participatory budgeting, I needed to influence campus discourse--specifically, the discourse on the democratization of school

governance. I had already begun making these efforts at the end of the pilot year, consulting administrators and approaching faculty on my own campus.

But I was largely unsuccessful. I was unable to find another teacher to co-sponsor participatory budgeting on my own campus, who might have enthusiastically helped design a better approach to the participatory budgeting process. I also did not find an administrator with such enthusiasm. The adult I did end up working with on campus, in my view, deserved great credit for bringing the first year on campus to a successful close. This person was in a kind of internship/apprentice program SSSD has for teachers who are becoming administrators but was not technically the principal or an assistant principal. Further, I was unable to gain the heartfelt interest or support of other teachers, not even from within the Social Studies department. This foreshadowed a potential difficulty in my orchestrating a transformative version of participatory budgeting.

There are many possible explanations for this dearth of enthusiasm by my colleagues, some explored in the study of the pilot year (See Chapters 3 and 4). Perhaps it was partially due to my individual style, but clearly the process did not seem to inspire the support of other adults on campus. Teachers and administrators are incredibly busy and most veteran teachers have already found some extracurricular calling in which they are already invested (e.g. STUGO, AVID, WeThePeople) that they believe to be valuable to students' educational experience. Furthermore, perhaps merely explaining the process verbally could not make clear a larger picture. The short-term vision may not have seemed dramatically different from other civic engagement activities and the long-term vision may have appeared to be idealistic.

Praxis with Friends (Students)

About two weeks into the 2017-2018 school year, I addressed each of my three sections of U.S. Government:

> The district has given you and your peers $7,000. The 2,500 students on this campus have the right to spend that money. Whether they are able to realize that right is completely dependent upon what you, and the remaining 50 students in the other sections, do in the next month or so. Whether or not they know about the process, whether or not they've been able to participate, whether or not they've contributed their voice, whether or not they've been heard, depends upon your actions. So how do we make sure that they're heard?

Some of the students had made it to the districtwide orientation workshop in August and were asked to share what had taken place at the event. They explained how they went through two idea collection activities: mapping and dot-mocracy. The first activity consists of projecting a campus map and, with a small group of 10-20 students, use sticky notes to record specific project ideas and place them in their location on campus. Then the facilitator in consultation with participants tried to group, collapse, and prioritize the ideas. Then the second activity, dot-mocracy (Figure 4.1), consists of a list of three to eight project ideas are then put on a piece of presentation paper and participants are given three to five votes in the form of 'dot stickers'. People can allocate

Figure 4.1. "Dot-Mocracy" Activity Poster

Idea	Votes
Water Bottle Filling Stations	
Better Wifi	
Misters	
Benches	
Solar Charging Stations	

their votes however they want. The three projects with the most votes, in the simulation, would advance to the final ballot.

After discussing it, we (students and I) thought these would be the best tools for idea collection on our own campus. We thought it would engage students and would take them through the whole arc of participatory budgeting that year--just like the orientation was supposed to do for SSCs. “How do we get small groups together?” They suggested advisory. “What would need to happen in order to do these activities?” They said they’d need to explain the process first before they did the activities. “So how long do you need and how many people should go to do the activities?” They decided they’d need more

Figure 4.2. Idea Collection Form

1. What are 3 things you like best about [our school]? What are 3 things you like least about [our school]?
2. What would you ADD to our campus with the $7,000? What would you IMPROVE or RENOVATE on our campus with the $7,000?
3. What are your ideas about how students should spend the $7,000?
4. Do you think students should have a bigger role in deciding what happens in school? Why or why not?

than the whole period and that it would be better to use groups of two or three for support but not to be a distraction. “We’ll never get more than an entire advisory period, if that. Is there anything we can do beforehand? Posters? Outreach?” They suggested that nobody pays any attention to posters and no one was going to listen during lunch. They thought

that advisory teachers could show students the video about participatory budgeting before teams came to present and then each team could do a really short introduction to participatory budgeting at the beginning. "How long will it take us to get this done?," I asked. They said that they'd just told me; it'd take one advisory class, as long as the video was shown first. "I *did* get that, but I was asking how long it'll take to do it for all of the advisory classes." (This was petty, on my part, because I knew they didn't know as much as *me* as I already knew how many advisory classes there were). Silence. "Okay," I said, "I think with all the students in my Government classes, we can predictably assemble 30 teams of facilitators. There are around, I think, 130 advisory sections. How long?" They thought, accounting for human error, it would take four days with some make-up days. "What else do we need?"

"What about shy people? Or people that are absent that day?" They told me life was hard and their peers would have to "suck it up". "No. If we are responsible, then we must at least develop some means—I know you don't think anyone will care, which might be right—for them to share their ideas. We might also be able to get a little more than ideas from them. Maybe some deeper questions?" I received the equivalent of 'Sure, whatever you say, Drew' three consecutive times that day (I allowed seniors to call me by my first name). So, I developed an idea form that had a shortened URL and a QR Code if students wanted to complete the form on their phones. I asked, "how much time will people need to fill this out?" They told me no one would do it. "Fine. *If* someone were to uncharacteristically take on the burden of filling this out, how long would they need?" They responded with the ubiquitous abbreviation for a little, but not much time: 5 minutes. "Alright. Let's start practicing."

They did actually end up helping with developing the questions.

“OK, you're going to go and do these activities. So what? How do you take that information and translate it into the next step?”

And they said, well we can look at all the ideas that they come up with.

I said, “Sure. When are they coming up with ideas?”

Like, the map activity--the whole thing is ideas, right?

“OK. So, you want to use those ideas?”

Yeah.

“Well how do you get them in one place when we come back?”

You know, we'll have them.

“What do you mean? You'll have them? Well, you have just seen their ideas. Are you going to keep the sticky notes?”

Yeah, I guess you keep the sticky notes.

“So, we're going to have a stack of approximately 7,500 sticky notes that all of you are just going to go through by hand?”

We can like write them down, they said.

“Seven thousand sticky notes?!?!”

But I had an idea. so I said, “I have an idea.”

Blank stares; some were irritated.

“Why don’t we use your school accounts with [that office suite software company.] We can use [trademarked product name for a spreadsheet application].”

Again, blank stares.

So, part of the part of the learning was not actually about governance. I had to teach them how to use their accounts and the software. We had to figure out a way to divide up the work without getting lost or repeating. Every day of presentations, the moment they came into class, they sat down with the laptops from the cart, grabbed a resealable sandwich bag with their presentation materials (stickers, unused sticky notes, markers, tape, and wad of used sticky notes with ideas on them). They transcribed every single one as a group, then class, then aggregated all the data into a single file with spreadsheets dedicated to each of the three data points[12].

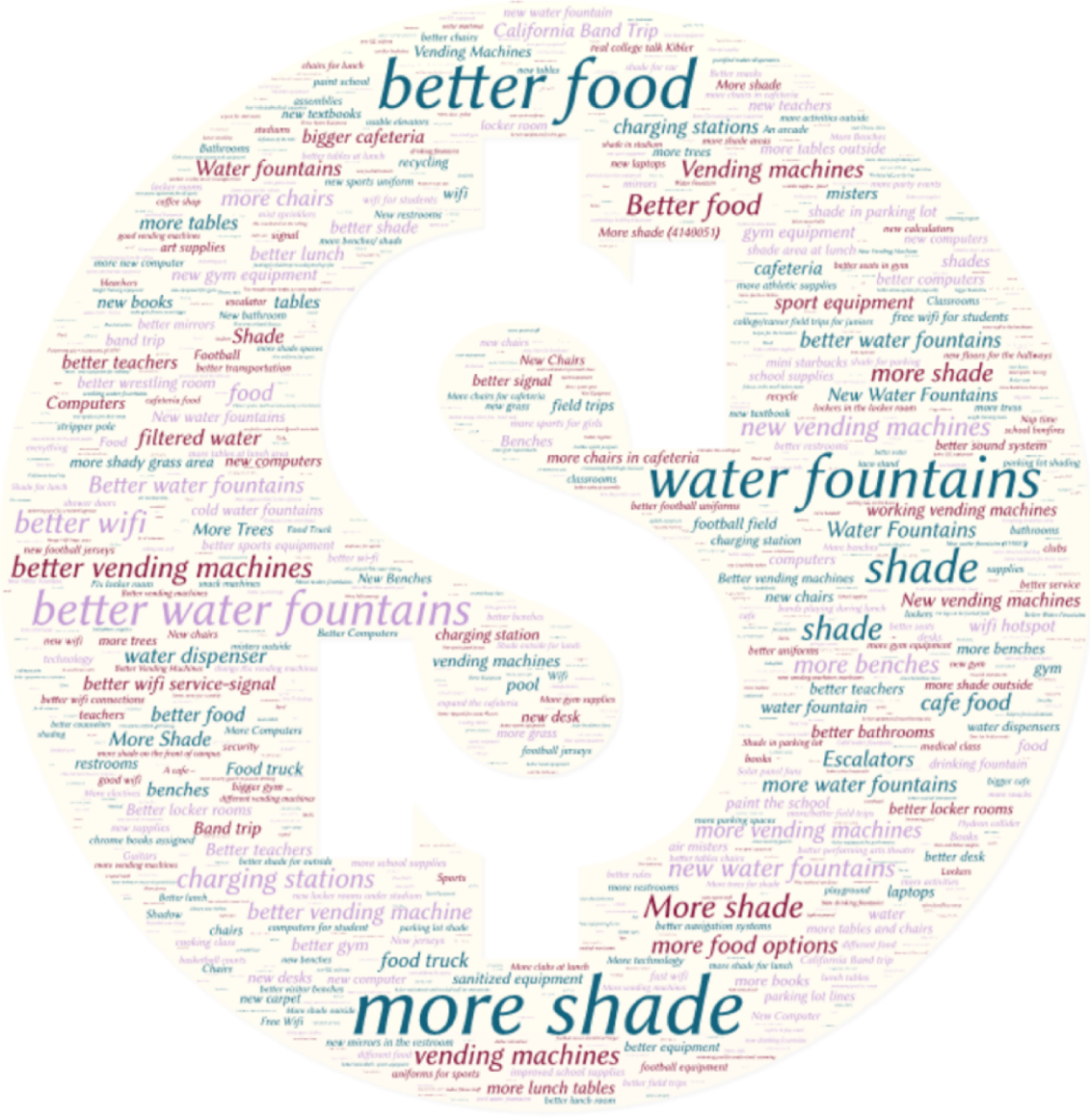
They brought back the dot-mocracy posters and did the same with the ideas voted on, including the votes for each project idea. Then the same process as they transcribed the answers to every collected idea form. So that meant that for two weeks, every day, students presented and compiled data until the presentations were done, then they compiled more data. I told them to keep an eye out for any patterns they noticed.

So after about two and a half weeks, we had compiled all the data. We consolidated it into one single database with a tab for each data collection instrument (sticky notes, dot-mocracy, idea form). I asked them, "What does the data say to you? What do you notice?" They struggled a bit here. I decided to use a tag cloud to show them one-way data can be reported. I thought this is a way that I could actually show them how research can express something that you wouldn't know if you hadn't analyzed it. Because ideas listed in a spreadsheet (erstwhile sticky notes)—the seemingly random responses of students--actually had something to say for itself. Students just had to listen.

[12] The three data points were (1) the initial ideas of students written on sticky notes, (2) the 3-5 proposal ideas from each poster created during the dot-mocracy simulation, and (3) responses from students to the four-question idea collection form.

They started to get a sense from what I was trying to teach them didactically, but not completely. Perhaps the tag cloud showed them. I have embedded the three generated from the data throughout the narrative. The first is from the collected idea, the second is the projects from the dot-mocracy simulation, and the third is students' response to the fourth question of the idea form.

Figure 4.3. Tag Cloud of [Sticky] Notes



These visual representations seemed to help them understand that their efforts could then be processed in a way that made meaning of them. I asked them to begin looking at the data for patterns or things that they thought interesting. I said, “There are two things here to do. One is we have to get to the next stage in the process. The other is you have to start analyzing data and beginning to develop your own individual research findings. So, in terms of the next step of the process, now that you've done all of this, what should happen next?” Shy murmurs (indicates that some had an answer but weren’t confident about it). “We have to develop proposals, right? Do you do it? Do other students do it?” They thought, well, people that are interested in their idea. “Their idea? Do they even remember which idea they had? What about the one that wants to build an Olympic sized swimming pool?”

After some discussion, they eventually decided that they had to look at the data they had collected and bring it together into a more concise list of main ideas. Those ideas could then be presented to the students at large so they could step up to write proposals. So, we looked for the popular ideas that were also feasible, trying not to exclude ideas for any other reason and then getting a sense of a core group that might be converted into proposals. The plan was to show these to students. We messaged to the general student body about the potential proposal ideas, but none stepped-up to write the proposals.

It was mid-November and I was a bit worried. That is when I wrote the following email to my principal:

> *We (and I mean "we" as in myself and the students in my government sections) did the following:*

- *collected and digitized ideas from 2,403 [sticky] notes; over 324 projects from simulated dot-mocracy ballots; and responses to all four questions from the 1,006 idea collection response forms*
- *they transcribed nearly every scrap of this data last week*
- *This data offers not only viable project ideas but contains invaluable feedback to all our stakeholders at [our school]. If you care about student voice, they have spoken, they should be heard, we should listen, we should act.*

…

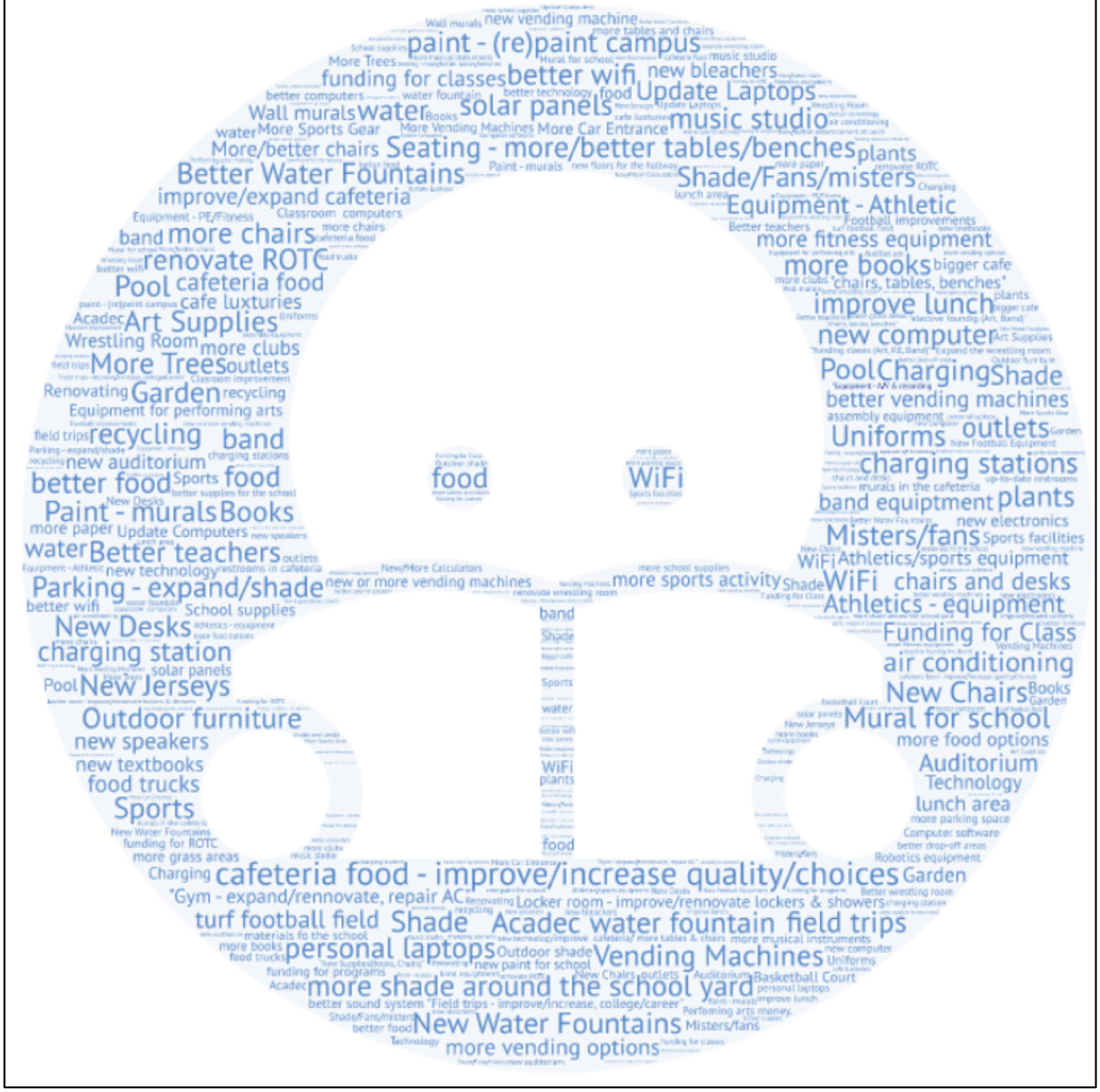
- *Someone needs to commit to this now, in an organizational AND ideological way--someone has to be found who both cares and will guide [the process] going forward*
- *If we don't ALL meet for at least an hour to go over the data and the process ASAP, this will fall apart*
- *Out of respect for the work my students have put into this initiative, you should both come to meet and listen to the reflections of ALL THREE sections at some point in the near future (3rd, 7th, 8th)*
- *they have done graduate level data collection and analysis,*
- *they have blown the doors off of anything ever done by youth involved in PB anywhere in the world and definitely the district,*
- *they do not even really grasp this fact,*
- *their work is not the stuff of Hollywood movies, but what they have actually accomplished goes light years beyond an AP calculus test or competitive robot. They have, in effect, designed and conducted a qualitative research study on a scale unimaginable for a graduate student and would never be funded to be done by a university research team or NGO. And they have done it in under 6 weeks.*
- *and they have done so despite disrespect… they have been the only people who cared (present company excluded. I think. I hope.)*
- *The challenges were expected, and they are a part of building momentum and support for the process, but the critical fulcrum is how much they are edified by their own experiences--your praise and appreciation will galvanize them for the rest of the year even though they are seniors who will in no way personally benefit and its absence will almost certainly kill it*

I eagerly await your response with a proposed meeting time of no less than 60 minutes between 12:01 AM Monday and 11:59 PM Wednesday. I am flexible.
Best,
Drew

Finally, despite my doubts about the "government" part of student government, in early December I went to STUGO. I showed them what we had done and explained what

still needed to be done. I asked them if they could help me figure out how we could carry the process to the end. I also mentioned I wouldn't be around most of next semester due to medical issues.

Figure 4.4. Tag Cloud from "Dot-Mocracy" Posters



"So, uh, you're the students' government. What should we do?" They offered to take on the remainder of the process. "Are you sure? The next phase is going to be completely up to you, which is developing 20 or so proposals from the refined list and

finding a way of narrowing it down to five for the final ballot. Your proposals will need to be legitimate. Once you're down to seven, they'll be reviewed and may need revision. Then you need five final ones, need to present or advertise them and then coordinate voting day by March." They did not seem worried. "Thank you so much. You can email me or call me if you need help even though I won't be here. You can also talk to [STUGO sponsor and administrative apprentice assisting me]."

So, STUGO really took up stage two of the process, because we had run out of time. We hadn't quite worked out the mechanics of how to bring people in to develop proposals. Now for my students, their next step was to take all of the data that they had collected and to analyze it in the following way. "You need to compose a letter to either the principal or the superintendent of the district and you need, in that letter, to share with whomever you choose what you've done and what things you see or understand that they would never know unless you told them. The things that you think they need to know—what things have emerged from the data that you see, and you understand now, which you did not realize before. These aren't necessarily material things like new water fountains, though they could be, but are things that as leaders of this agency that exists to serve you in your education--that you're the only meaningful part of--the things they need to know, and they should address, right?" I had to explain it a few times before we were on the same page.

They were confused about how I described their relationship to the institution. I told them, "You've never realized that you have the most power here?" They looked at me as though I was, yet again, an idiot. So I went on, "If students got together and decided not to come to school again until it was painted neon green, and they could give a

good reason when CNN came and asked them why they weren't in school, everything would come to a halt. Dead stop." They were contemplative. "Back to the assignment, you need to communicate the findings--your findings--from the dataset. Your job is not to yell. You're not there to criticize. You're not there to condemn, but you are, once again, the only hope there is that everything that your fellow students had to say is ever heard. It will never be heard without you." That was their final assignment for the course (plus the district-wide test).

The final assignment for the students in my Government courses was to write a letter to one of two school leaders: the principal or the superintendent. The content of the letter was meant to communicate the important concerns and findings from the data they collected and analyzed. The purpose was to help them formulate a missive that was based in empirical data that would inform school and/or district leadership of those things each individual student thought most important from their research during the idea collection phase of participatory budgeting on our campus.

I have no idea what my students got out of it, but that's a pretty common experience as a teacher. Being a teacher implies delayed gratification and it's normally delayed to the point where you don't remember the student's name when they come back, and they tell you what they got out of being in your class. Every teacher has a file folder of "thank you" notes and other mementos from students that they turn to on dark days to remind them why they're in the profession.

So, on one level, maybe it didn't do anything for students. On another, I don't think it would be possible to gauge that right now. What I do know for a fact is that what they accomplished in terms of pure research. It is, in scope and depth, pretty incredible.

It's not something any single researcher would've been able to do. I don't think it's the kind of project anyone would've decided to do. It was both a huge investment of time and labor and a pretty narrowly confined dataset. I struggled to find a term to describe the project. In a sense it was indeed participatory action research (PAR). We were working and reflecting. They were participants along with me and it was a search, and then we looked at our search again, hence, re-search. I'm reflecting on my actions on PAR, so is this meta-action research? And they're youth so it could be YPAR, but I think it can't be YPAR because I was involved. And I definitely directed parts of the process, so I doubt many critical pedagogues would deem my teaching as emancipatory.

The project was, after all, designed as a means to an end. It was a means of being faithful to the spirit, the democratic spirit, of the participatory budgeting process--the transformative idealism, if you will. The onus was on these seniors in my class to be the stewards of the process. Their work would make or break participatory budgeting on our campus. It was problem-posing education (Freire, 1970).

In figuring out the logistics, figuring out how to remain faithful conceptually and philosophically, figuring out what it all meant--it was US that did it. I am not certain where I end, and they begin. I know that I facilitated. I know that I asked questions. I know that I drove them in certain directions. I know most of all that because it was an assignment for my class, they were required to do it. It was not democratic, but most mechanisms of a democratic government, beyond representatives, exist in a very top-down structure.

The DMV does not issue licenses through an electoral process. Nor are principals (in this country) elected. And, how do we end up doing those things that we've never

thought of doing? It's basically Vygotsky's zone of proximal development (1978), right? If you have a wide palate, it's probably because someone convinced you to try something you've never tasted before.

Do I think it's worth noting that it was not a process democratically constructed? Yes. Do I think the fact that students were conscripted--compelled, coerced-- as a consequence of being in my class undermines the value? No. Not as long as such coercion was made explicit to them beforehand. It was never conceived of as a research study, but an exercise in research, in trying to analyze the world using tools of science.

Students and I often discussed and reflected upon the challenges they faced when they presented to their classmates, who, to them, didn't seem to care or were not serious. They would come back really frustrated. Maybe a teacher took their class to the computer lab and not be in the classroom when students came to present, or tell students they had to come another day. Some teachers protested that they had not been asked to give permission to have their advisory class interrupted. There were teachers who hadn't bothered to show the promotional video. Students felt angry that the teachers didn't really fulfill their end of the bargain. I asked them questions such as, "well, how do you think teachers feel when they've asked you to do an assignment and you come in and you haven't done it?" I hoped they better understood what it's like to deal with people who just didn't think your agenda was their priority. "You really want to just throw your hands up in the air and walk away, which I sympathize with, but you have the strength not to, to decide to continue on because that's what the adults on this campus do, for a whole host of reasons every day."

The contents of the letters belong to the students who wrote them. They are not included here for reasons of privacy. For me, however, serving as a site sponsor offered epiphanic moments especially as it revealed to me aspects of students' daily experiences at school.

Figure 4.5. Tag Cloud of response to question 4 of Idea Collection Form

Do you think students should have a bigger role in deciding what happens in school? Why or Why not?

I know the campus isn't perfect and needs work. But ultimately, I had thought to myself, students have a lot at their fingertips and they're always complaining about the Wifi or the lunch or something. I interpreted this as whining. When I saw those ideas, as I helped aggregate them into that single database, it was no longer a series of atomistic

individuals complaining. It was a chorus singing a lament about a place they spent half of their lives that did not freely give them any joy. They could take it, like shoplifting a candy bar, from this activity or that teacher but overall it just wore on them.

If all the surrounding conditions are always wearing you down, you can't appreciate the landscape.

So instead of seeing students that were dissatisfied that they couldn't go on Facebook, I saw students that hated the food that they ate, didn't feel safe or private in the bathrooms, felt like the instructional materials were outdated, in terrible condition, or nonexistent. And they felt frustrated about things that were already being addressed--and nobody took the time to communicate to them. Not announcement, or message, or information, but communicate with them as a person. They have every reason to believe that, much more so than their name, their ID number is who they really were in school.

And on that screen, in, of all the things, a spreadsheet, I could perceive vicariously for a moment what it felt like to be a student at my school on a daily basis. Students weren't, as I had half-consciously thought, whining, but sharing in a manner they knew how to, that they were neglected. Maybe they were confiding in me. In the data I could really feel the neglect. It is an injustice, and I had always been thinking in terms of justice, and injustice always kindles my anger. But in that data (I thought I could hear Freire's voice) it was love, or absence of it that I found. It did not make me angry, but sad and a little ashamed.

I don't know that this profoundly changed my views on the school system. I think I probably just channeled them back into familiar patterns of thought about its problems. It was, however, a sobering moment for me. It was felt, not simply known. I had just

finished doing a pretty large research study, but it didn't hit me like this. To find my eyes so opened in what was a very simple data collection and analysis process that was made possible because there were a lot of people willing to put in the work was a lesson in humility. It was very simple, but if you wanted a qualitative picture of what it was like to be a student at this school, this would tell you and all it was, was writing down ideas through sticky notes, or from a poster that was created by 2,500 students divided across 130 occurrences.

Simple but profound.

Afterword

Composing this manuscript was an opportunity to engage in some deep reflection on my life and my relationship to education. Yet, it strives for more than that. Unlike some, I had faith that students could be entrusted with funds to make responsible decisions and that the projects they chose as good or better than those that adults would have thought of. This affirmation of faith fuels my hopes for the future. Less nobly, though, it also validated my self-image as a teacher who understands and believes in students. As a result of doing the research project with students in the Fall of 2017, this conceit was challenged. In part, I overestimated my empathetic understanding of students' daily campus experience (e.g. hot, dry, impersonal, dirty, nasty food, etc.) as I had never understood students' individual complaints as pixels of collective social experience. In this, I suspect that working in schools has desensitized me to the depth of student experience. Participatory budgeting reconnected me to the profound in teaching and I believe that this speaks less to me than it does to the power of the process. I only experienced this power, however, when I treated the process as one of re-search.

I found a quote that haunted and guided the writing process: "…yet at the back of your mind is the ever-present voice that says: isn't this just self-indulgent nonsense?" (Muncey, 2010).

As I read and reread this narrative in completing the final draft, I considered three important factors in sharing it with readers: (a) trying to make the "I" about what I try to be about, which is "service", through self-reflexive inquiry, (b) my writing be a vehicle to share learning from one perspective that discloses my own biases (belief in the power of democracy and youth, and the responsibility of school systems to do good on behalf of those its serves), and (c) my autoethnography to be ethical - transparent, while considerate of those who also labor in pursuit of the noble ideals of education.

I am bereft of some skills, but I am still learning and will continue to learn to be a teacher, a colleague, and a researcher. I realize now that the most important facet of a profession is the form it takes, more than the particular job. I gravitate towards collaboration and teaching is often a lonesome road. I tried a novel approach to implementing participatory budgeting (PB) in my school, having (a) served as a champion with passion for democracy and belief in the agency of youth, (b) used my ability to connect with youth at a level that empowers them to take action, (c) brought tools from other areas, such as youth participatory action research to engage students to implement PB, (d) nurtured critical thinking and problem solving as students took on the challenges of engaging their fellow students, (e) honored students' learning and their role in the process by advocating on their behalf to administration, (f) believed in the power of PB and did not let my personal circumstance stand between me and the successful implementation of PB on my campus, (g) brought in STUGO (a forgotten and dismissed

resource within school structure) to facilitate the process in my absence, (h) supported the different stages of the implementation of PB on campus even though I did not have direct responsibility for the later stages of the process, (i) although disappointed with a 67% voter participation, though I struggled with it as a failure, I deem it an opportunity to engage next year's students to problem solve to remove obstacles to ensure a much higher voter rate, and (j) maintained a learning posture in the process as a member of a team with my students and colleagues in the interest of implementing PB as a policy instrument (Ganuza & Baiocchi, 2012) to advance citizenship learning among all the students on my campus.

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CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This dissertation included theoretical considerations and empirical research on school participatory budgeting. Chapter 1 introduced the scheme of implementation framework in order to conceptualize school participatory budgeting processes. The chapter also made suggestions for the future design of school participatory budgeting processes such as integrating participatory research approaches. It further discussed how to present the process to the decision-makers in the field of education through aligning the process with student voice. The qualitative research methodologies this dissertation utilized in the remaining chapters provided opportunities to understand school participatory budgeting from different perspectives. This dissertation developed a preliminary foundation for the future discourse of school participatory budgeting in terms of theory, research, and practice in the field. It discussed the pragmatic issues of (a) presenting the process to interested school districts, (b) designing the process, and (c) supporting the process. It broadly addresses how to approach both impact and process evaluation going forward. It has furthermore integrated the challenges and opportunities of two distinct fields: participatory democracy and K12 education.

Summary of Research

The overarching question that guided this dissertation was "What were the accomplishments and challenges of school participatory budgeting in the Southwest Secondary School District (SSSD) during initial implementation?" This question took into consideration that, as the first instance of district wide implementation, the process in SSSD would need to be explored widely in order to design more focused research. Thus,

it was conceived as a case study, utilizing a number of data collection methods, but ultimately being grounded in the interviews with the people most closely involved (students, teachers, and administrators). Such a broad and exploratory question led to new questions along the way, hence the addition of a fourth chapter examining the author's own experience with school participatory budgeting in SSSD. Though the study was perhaps initially conceived as a process evaluation of the first year, it developed into a process exploration across two years of implementation. Each chapter dealt with a different facet of this exploration.

Chapter 1 answers four related research questions through an analysis of the peer-reviewed literature integrating three fields connected to education: participatory budgeting, curriculum studies, and student voice: *(a) What is the value of school participatory budgeting? (b) What does the literature on participatory budgeting offer as its value? (c) What about participatory budgeting connects it to the values, goals, and discourse of school reform?"* This investigation found that there is little literature considering the importance of process design and its connection to the transformative potential of participatory budgeting and none on school participatory budgeting. This inspired the attempt to construct an analytical framework for perceiving the design of participatory budgeting processes in light of its transformative potential: schemes of implementation. Additionally, the literature does not address the contextual differences and consequent implications for implementing participatory budgeting in schools. One implication was the need to situate the benefits of participatory budgeting within a discourse valued by school decision-makers and that addresses the most prominent and immediate concerns of schools: students' emotional well-being and academic

achievement. The fact that the benefits of participatory budgeting and its values already are present in the discourse on student voice makes this area of educational literature a potential gateway for participatory budgeting to enter schools. At the same time, to fulfill the promises of school participatory budgeting (as student voice) attention and care must be put into designing the process to incorporate comprehensive mechanisms to foster participant learning, capacity building, and school community development. Provided that these elements are attended to, this paper concluded that schools would be an excellent site for using participatory budgeting and that participatory budgeting could have important benefits for schools and even be a catalyst for transformative changes.

Chapter 2 answers the second question of this dissertation, *"What were the accomplishments and challenges for students during SSSD's initial implementation of school participatory budgeting?"*. It utilized a qualitative case study design and used thematic coding to analyze transcripts from the focus group interviews. Coding and analyses revealed several themes of student experience with the participatory budgeting process across all five campuses in the district: participation, relationship, governance, and communication. Students reported a capacity and desire to engage in more rigorous inquiry surrounding the process. Moreover, they felt a greater sense of belonging after taking an active role at school and that a sense of belonging makes it legitimate to contribute.

Significantly, interviews with SSCs suggested that participation of SSC members as well as the wider student body has a relationship to how the process is carried out during idea collection and proposal development. As well, in comparing experiences across campuses, the process benefited, in terms of wider and deeper participation, when

the general student body was engaged on multiple occasions to provide updates and help guide non-SSC members through the proposal development process. Finally, a formal student-led evaluation process at either the campus or district level might benefit participation and student positionality over time.

Chapter 3 addresses the question: *"What were the perspectives of adults (teachers and principals or assistant principals) on SSSD's initial implementation of school participatory budgeting?"* It addressed this question through a binary analysis of the interview data. First, the data was analyzed by examining the responses of participants to direct questions about the accomplishments and challenges of the pilot year and then their recommendations for the future. Second, the data was analyzed through the development of thematic codes that provided an additional and expanded understanding of the accomplishments and challenges of the process. It furthermore revealed many unexplored issues experienced and observed by this group with immediate responsibility for helping SSCs successfully carry out the school participatory budgeting cycle. Adults' expression, interestingly, of accomplishments and successes were almost exclusively couched in terms outcomes for students rather than themselves. This brought to the surface a consideration about how training and ongoing support for adults might influence school governance and democratization of students' experience on campus.

This case of adults' perspectives on school participatory budgeting is unique. Although, this case is instructive, the findings are to be interpreted within the context of a school district that implemented participatory budgeting for the very first time. The findings, which highlight the important role and function of adults (teachers and administrators) in the implementation of participatory budgeting in a school district,

point to important considerations for the design of future research and participatory budgeting processes.

Chapter 4 grappled with the question: **"***What were the accomplishments and challenges for school participatory budgeting when embedded in a social studies Government curriculum?"* The research experiences of the author in the studies presented in Chapters 2 & 3 and the orientation towards democracy and youth were intended to offer the reader the opportunity to share in the experience. These experiences were storied not to engage in self-centered performance, but because they might offer a greater and more readily actionable reality for practitioners and researchers to use in their efforts to, like the author, promote democracy in theory and practice.

Strengths and Limitations

Monolingual Literature Review: There is a great deal of literature on this topic in languages other than English. On the one hand, this undermines any claim to have reviewed the relevant literature. On the other hand, as my dissertation focused narrowly on the context of public education in the United States, this limitation may have served as an appropriate filter for the study as well as consumers of this research.

Case Study: As noted previously, these case studies are more accurately described as pilot case studies, as the study was conceived with a "much broader [scope] than the ultimate data collection plan" (Yin, 2018:107). The research literature available did not fit a substantial proportion of the distinctive features of the case. Nevertheless, they were still able to cover both "substantive and methodological issues" (p.107).

Interviews: Focus group and individual interviews were units of data collection, not the units of analysis. Experiences and perspectives were the broad initial units of

analysis. Whatever the interviews may appear to have lacked in terms of reliability was a sacrifice in service of validity (Cicourel, 1964). The fact that data was collected from all five campuses from all highly involved participants in the school participatory budgeting process (SSC members, site sponsors, and principals/assistant principals) strengthens the validity of findings in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

Findings: Merriam (1998) asserts that case study findings cannot necessarily be considered conclusive or predictive. As well, the case of SSSD, discussed variously in Chapters 2-4, is totally unique. At the same time, the unique case of SSSD does foreshadow and help to anticipate certain general themes for challenges other processes, participants, and practitioners will face in any case of initial implementation of school participatory budgeting.

Position of researcher: Long before this study was undertaken, I had studied participatory budgeting and believed it had value for citizenship learning and transforming school governance. This as well as the fact that I was employed as a classroom teacher in SSSD should be mentioned as it affects the position of the researcher and could be considered limitations. It may have introduced a certain degree of bias into the research despite the researcher's best efforts to mitigate the challenge. On the other hand, the experience with classroom teaching added to the dissertation as it afforded a more intimate understanding of the context of the school participatory budgeting process in SSSD.

Autoethnography: The limitations of narrative research, most of all with any that is autobiographical in nature, are that of its level of objectivity and empiricism. Conversely, the experience--that central theme in the pedagogical aspect of participatory

budgeting--of research and implementation is largely absent in the literature on the topic. The personal accounts of supporters of participatory budgeting, presented thoroughly and analytically, were of genuine interest to the author. As one who had himself come to recognize its potential, an interest to engage or implement the process emerged as well. Traditional research methodologies could only offer so much in terms of practical insight. One particular feature, that of curricular integration in a social studies classroom, had been unavailable to others and is the contribution of the author in Chapter 4. I am confident that autoethnography can be more than "self-indulgent nonsense" (Muncey, 2014).

Recommendations for Further Research

a. Design studies that include participants in order to (1) gather more relevant data and (2) to build the capacity of participants.
b. Redesign the KASP civic learning instrument to incorporate elements of belonging and conduct validity and reliability testing of the instrument.
c. Engage the school or district in the design and implementation of research studies on school participatory budgeting. Identify the duration and frequency of research activities at the outset to cement the commitment of the school system in the process.
d. Identify indicators from student voice research and incorporate them in school participatory budgeting studies examining the benefits to schools and students (e.g. academic achievement, attendance, changes in pedagogy).
e. Identify and study the approaches to improving student voice that could be compatible with participatory budgeting and experiment with their use (e.g. participatory actions research, journaling).

Recommendations for Further Practice

a. Establish roles and responsibilities of actors in collaboration with the district, go over them with all other participants.
b. Be transparent about the spectrum of the process's potential for transformation and determine what the goals and aspirations of the school are in order to establish a reference point for later evaluation.
c. Make building capacity onsite the underlying theme in all efforts to support the process, through deliberate action and reflection.

Contribution to the Field

There has been little empirical research done on school participatory budgeting in the United States, because it has only been in use for four years. The manuscripts that form the body of this dissertation provide a wealth of theoretical and practical concerns for the field. This dissertation brings together aspects of educational theory and qualitative inquiry to bear upon participatory budgeting in a manner as yet unprecedented in the field. Finally, it takes the specific context of mass education in the United States as a critical dependent variable in research and implementation, which also has not been seriously considered previously in any of the literature on participatory budgeting in schools.

Sadly, perhaps, it is a fact that local schools are not as local as local government in the United States. A conversation with any teacher or administrator in public education longer than 20 minutes will confirm this assertion. Schools are highly vulnerable to trends and policy decisions far beyond their influence, which renders any innovation at a local level equally vulnerable unless this reality is considered in the process of implementation. Participatory budgeting must pursue implementation and study in a manner that is integrated with the challenges and aspirations of schools and their organizational culture.

This dissertation was composed in the hopes of outlining the beginning of a conversation within the field on school participatory budgeting. It has provided multiple vectors and uncommon approaches as a sort of invitation to other supporters to sit together and consider how to support this particular approach to strengthening democracy.

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APPENDIX A

YEAR 1 VOTER TURNOUT AND WINNING BALLOT PROPOSALS

Voter Turnout and Winning Proposals by Campus[13]			
Campus	**Voters**	**Percentage of Total**	**Winning Proposal**
CompA	1,563	76%	Hydration station
CompB	1,696	84%	Hydration station
STEM1	263	87%	Outdoor seating and shade
STEM2	74	83%	Digital Music performance and recording equipment
Magnet	258	89%	Student lounge area

[13] The information in this table comes from that reported at the end-of-year meeting. These do not hold when compared to enrollment numbers reported by the campuses on their websites.

APPENDIX B

GROUP INTERVIEW GUIDE (STUDENTS)

Focus Group Guide
PB steering committee members

1. Name of school:

2. Let's start with your own experience in the School PB process. How was your experience as steering committee members? What aspects of the experience did you enjoy the most and which aspects did you enjoy the least?

3. Let's now talk about the School PB process itself. In your view, what have been its main positive aspects and its main accomplishments in its first year?

4. What have been the main challenges faced by the School PB process in its first year?

5. What are the main thing you have you learned from participating in School PB?

6. What are your main recommendations for School PB in the future?

7. Do you have any other comments?

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Name of School
2. Gender
3. Age
4. Grade
5. Role in PB
   a) steering committee
   b) submitted proposal
   c) other

6. What were your main reasons for participating in the PB process?

Explain:

_____

_____

_____

7. Learning

1. Knowledge
   Needs of other classmates
   Needs of other grade levels
   How decisions are made

2. Attitudes
    - Self-confidence
    - Tolerance and respect for others
    - Trust in school administration
    - Confidence in capacity to influence decisions
    - Interest in community participation
    - Concern for school community
    - Willingness to vote in elections

3. Skills
    - Public speaking
    - Listening carefully to others
    - Develop proposals
    - Persuasion
    - Teamwork and cooperation
    - Conflict resolution
    - Decision-making with peers
    - Leadership

4. Practices
    - Talk about problems in school
    - Think up ideas to solve those problems
    - Propose those ideas to others
    - Talk to principals and other school administrators

APPENDIX C

TEACHER AND ADMINISTRATOR INTERVIEW GUIDE

Teachers and administrators involved in PB
Interview guide
Approximately 20 minutes

1. What was your role in the PB process that took place this year? What do you enjoy the most about this role?

2. What are your first impressions on the process? Did the process match your expectations? Did you have any surprises?

3. In your view, what were the main accomplishments of school PB?

4. In your view, what were the main problems of school PB?

5. What recommendations do you have for future PB processes?

6. Any other comments that you would like to add?

APPENDIX D

IRB APPROVAL: ASU

Instructions and Notes:

- Depending on the nature of what you are doing, some sections may not be applicable to your research. If so, mark as "NA".
- When you write a protocol, keep an electronic copy. You will need a copy if it is necessary to make changes.

1 Protocol Title

School participatory budgeting: The case of Phoenix

2 Background and Objectives

Provide the scientific or scholarly background for, rationale for, and significance of the research based on the existing literature and how will it add to existing knowledge.

- Describe the purpose of the study.
- Describe any relevant preliminary data or case studies.
- Describe any past studies that are in conjunction to this study.

This purpose of this pilot study is to collect and analyze the views of students, teachers and school administrators on the first year of implementation of school participatory budgeting in five schools of the Phoenix Union High School District. PB is an innovative democratic process of deliberation and decision-making where people participate directly in determining how funds are allocated. Since its inception in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 1989, PB has been implemented in approximately 3,000 cities around the world. In the USA, the first PB process was launched in 2009 in Chicago, and since then it has spread to other cities including New York, Vallejo, San Francisco, Long Beach, Greensboro, Boston, Seattle and Baltimore. In Canada, PB is being implemented in several cities such as Toronto, Hamilton and Montreal. School PB is a more recent phenomenon. Since 2013, only four high schools in the USA have been experimenting with participatory budgeting (two in California, one in Chicago, and one in Phoenix). This academic year (2016-2017), the Phoenix Union High School District has become the first school district in North America to implement participatory budgeting in several schools simultaneously, making it the largest implementation of school PB in North America to date. If this pilot experiment is successful, the Phoenix Union High School District has the intention of expanding it to other schools in the future. Hence, an examination of the accomplishments and challenges of the first year of implementation of school PB in Phoenix is particularly timely and relevant.

Since School PB is a recent phenomenon, the research literature on this topic is still very thin. In one of the few published studies, Cohen, Schugurensky and Wiek (2015) explored to what extent student engagement in PB contributed to civic learning though their active engagement in deliberation and decision-making processes. The findings of this study, which examined the case of Bioscience High School in Phoenix, suggest that democratic processes that engage students in decision-making like participatory budgeting can be particularly effective in developing civic competencies and dispositions. The study also found that the impact of informal democratic learning through PB increases significantly when it is paired with formal learning in the classroom. In another study, Anja Röcke (2014) analyzed the case of School PB in Poitou-Charentes (France). The researcher found that the School PB process helped the regional government to identify priorities for the high schools in the district, be they about new infrastructure or programs. Moreover, the ideas proposed during the School PB assemblies ignited other projects like the hiring of cultural workers in the schools, cultural programs and events, as well as educational initiatives to prevent school dropout, STDs, teen pregnancy, car accidents, etc. The process also helped regional authorities to understand more directly the day-to-day problems of schools (e.g. damaged facilities, toilets, delays of works) and to improve its responsiveness to address those problems. Last but not least, the School PB process of Poitou-Charentes not only empowered students, parents and teachers, but also helped to improve the transparency, accountability and efficiency of the public sector. Another recent study, although not on School PB proper, also sheds some light on the contributions of student participation in decision-making on finding and implementing effective solutions to discipline-related problems in schools. In that study, Paluck, Shepherd and Aronow (2015) conducted a research involving 56 schools (28 experimental and 28 control). In the experimental, where schools students took an active role in identifying problems and possible solutions to them, there was a significant decrease (from 30% to 60%) in actual reports of student conflict and disciplinary action. The authors concluded that the more the solution emanates from the students themselves rather than from adults, the more likely other students will hear and respond to the message regardless of the issue, be it related to bullying, cheating, racist or homophobic language, or any other problematic teenage behavior that can negatively affect the culture of a school.

This study is simple and straightforward. We plan to ask students, teachers and administrators who have helped to design and execute the school PB in the five Phoenix high schools (Carl Hayden, Central, Franklin, Bioscience and Coding Academy) their views on the main accomplishments of the process, the main challenges, and the main recommendations for the next iteration of school PB.

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3 Data Use

Describe how the data will be used. Examples include:

- Dissertation, Thesis, Undergraduate honors project
- Publication/journal article, conferences/presentations
- Results released to agency or organization
- Results released to participants/parents
- Results released to employer or school
- Other (describe)

The data will be used in a report for the Phoenix Union High School District, which will also be circulated to all those who participate in the study. One of the students participating in the project will use a portion of the findings for a dissertation research. We also envision a journal article and a conference presentation.

4 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Describe the criteria that define who will be included or excluded in your final study sample. If you are conducting data analysis only describe what is included in the dataset you propose to use.

Indicate specifically whether you will target or exclude each of the following special populations:

- Minors (individuals who are under the age of 18)
- Adults who are unable to consent
- Pregnant women
- Prisoners
- Native Americans
- Undocumented individuals

The sample will include students between the ages of 14 and 18 who were part of the campus steering committee that organized and implemented PB on their campus.

5 Number of Participants

We plan to recruit around 50 students (around 10 per school) and approximately 10 teachers/administrators (two per school).

6 Recruitment Methods

- Describe who will be doing the recruitment of participants.
- Describe when, where, and how potential participants will be identified and recruited.
- Describe and attach materials that will be used to recruit participants (attach documents or recruitment script with the application).

The researchers will contact the campus faculty advisor of the PB process to arrange a time to explain the research study to the steering committee. At this meeting consent and assent forms will be distributed to the members of the steering committee and collected the following week. The faculty advisor and the researchers will collaborate to retrieve all consent/assent forms of willing students.

7 Procedures Involved

Describe all research procedures being performed, who will facilitate the procedures, and when they will be performed. Describe procedures including:

- The duration of time participants will spend in each research activity.
- The period or span of time for the collection of data, and any long term follow up.
- Surveys or questionnaires that will be administered (Attach all surveys, interview questions, scripts, data collection forms, and instructions for participants to the online application).
- Interventions and sessions (Attach supplemental materials to the online application).
- Lab procedures and tests and related instructions to participants.
- Video or audio recordings of participants.
- Previously collected data sets that that will be analyzed and identify the data source (Attach data use agreement(s) to the online application).

Students: We will conduct a focus group with the student steering committee of each one of the five schools (average 10 students per school). The focus group meetings will last 45 minutes each (focus group guide attached).
Teachers and administrators: We will conduct interviews with 10 teachers and administrators (2 per school). The interviews will last 20 minutes (interview guide attached).
Data collection will take place in April and May of 2017.
Interviewers will take notes and record audio of the interviews.

8 Compensation or Credit

- Describe the amount and timing of any compensation or credit to participants.
- Identify the source of the funds to compensate participants
- Justify that the amount given to participants is reasonable.
- If participants are receiving course credit for participating in research, alternative assignments need to be put in place to avoid coercion.

NA

9 Risk to Participants

List the reasonably foreseeable risks, discomforts, or inconveniences related to participation in the research. Consider physical, psychological, social, legal, and economic risks.

NA

10 Potential Benefits to Participants

Realistically describe the potential benefits that individual participants may experience from taking part in the research. Indicate if there is no direct benefit. Do **not** include benefits to society or others.

NA

11 Privacy and Confidentiality

Describe the steps that will be taken to protect subjects' privacy interests. "Privacy interest" refers to a person's desire to place limits on with whom they interact or to whom they provide personal information. Click here for additional guidance on ASU Data Storage Guidelines.

Describe the following measures to ensure the confidentiality of data:

- Who will have access to the data?
- Where and how data will be stored (e.g. ASU secure server, ASU cloud storage, filing cabinets, etc.)?
- How long the data will be stored?
- Describe the steps that will be taken to secure the data during storage, use, and transmission. (e.g., training, authorization of access, password protection, encryption, physical controls, certificates of confidentiality, and separation of identifiers and data, etc.).
- If applicable, how will audio or video recordings will be managed and secured. Add the duration of time these recordings will be kept.
- If applicable, how will the consent, assent, and/or parental permission forms be secured. These forms should separate from the rest of the study data. Add the duration of time these forms will be kept.
- If applicable, describe how data will be linked or tracked (e.g. masterlist, contact list, reproducible participant ID, randomized ID, etc.).

If your study has previously collected data sets, describe who will be responsible for data security and monitoring.

Only member of research team included on this document will have access to the data. The data will be stored on an external drive for 5 years, which will stay in the possession of the research team. Consent forms will be kept in filing cabinets by the PI. As of July 1, 2019, the data will be destroyed.

APPENDIX E

IRB APPROVAL: SSSD

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Linda Abril

Alhambra

Bioscience

Bostrom

Trevor G. Browne

Camelback

Central

Cesar Chavez

Desiderata

Betty H. Fairfax

Franklin

Carl Hayden

Maryvale

Metro Tech

North

Phoenix Coding

South Mountain

May 2, 2017

Arizona State University
Daniel Schugurensky, Professor

Dear Daniel Schugurensky:

We have reviewed your request to conduct your study and are pleased to support your research study entitled *School Participatory Budgeting* at Carl Hayden, Central, Bioscience, Franklin Police and Fire Academy and Phoenix Coding Academy High Schools.

We appreciate your agreement that all participation in this study is completely voluntary and that Phoenix Union High School District, and participating High Schools and their staff and students will remain anonymous in any reports or presentations produced as a result of the study. It is our understanding that all data collected will remain confidential.

District approval of your study means that you may contact the principals at the five High Schools to request participation in your study.

This authorization covers the 2016-17 school year.

Sincerely,

Lauren Scatolini
Research Manager
Phoenix Union High School District
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Phoenix, AZ 85012
(602) 764-1249 office / (602) 271-3580 fax
scatolini@phoenixunion.org