NAVIGATING THE GAZE:

YOUNG PEOPLE'S INTIMATE KNOWLEDGE WITH SURVEILLED SPACES AT SCHOOL

by

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ABSTRACT

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by

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The 1980s introduced numerous state and federal policies that created a similar ideology of discipline and punishment in the educational system and the criminal justice system, a phenomenon known today as the school-to-prison pipeline. Several critical elements are involved in the production and maintenance of the school-to-prison pipeline, such as zero tolerance regulations, surveillance technologies, and strengthened in-school discipline practices. In this dissertation I argue that these elements of the pipeline maintain a strong presence and occupy the physical spaces of public schools. Moreover, surveillance cameras and police officers are most often installed in the cities' most under-resourced public schools, and poor, immigrant and students of color are most likely to attend these same schools.

In this study I describe the research process of the youth participatory action research collective called Student Supporting Action Awareness formed for this study. Collectively, we document how students navigate through the surveilled spaces of some of New York City public high schools. Through spatial examination and analysis of our citywide youth survey, as well as youth researchers' written and visual narratives, this mixed method participatory action research interrogates the social fabric as produced by

dominant social institutions, and it investigates how the criminalization of youth affects student academic motivation and resourcefulness. This study selects methodologies from education, environmental and social psychology, but also relies on critical theory, political economy, and participatory action research to document student narratives, their perceptions of space and place, and their lifeworlds amidst intensified school policing procedures.

The data analysis in this dissertation is inspired by the work of geographers Cindi Katz, Henri Lefebvre, and especially by Edward Soja and his theoretical framework of "Third Space" to situate young people's lifeworlds within the constantly redefined, restructured and reshaped spaces at urban public schools. The concluding chapter challenges mainstream epistemologies of the school-to-prison to reframe and change the discourse, research, policy and practices concerning school safety. The last chapter also provides considerations for data analysis, research methods and policy recommendations for this work.

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Certainly, the completion of my doctoral work marks an enormous victory for my family as well as the communities I am part of. Nevertheless, the doctoral journey remains a very alienating experience for many of us. Even though the following categories of race and ethnicity are too often lumped together, they are still helpful to remind us that graduate education remains a racially segregated opportunity. According to the Survey of Earned Doctorates (SED), a total of 44,515 doctoral degrees were awarded in 2007. Only seven percent of the recipients were African American, six percent were Asian American, and five percent were Latino/Spanish speaking. These numbers are indicative of how for many of us completing graduate school is not a solitary act but rather the accomplishment of organized and caring communities that are needed to clear many institutionalized obstacles. Hence I believe that for those of us in possession of a doctoral degree, it is a responsibility to encourage and mentor others who wish to do the same.

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Patricia Krueger

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CHAPTER ONE

"School's Out!" Connecting the School-to-Prison Pipeline to Systematized Disinvestment in Public Education

Introduction

Arriving at the 34th street subway station in mid-town Manhattan during morning and afternoon rush hour traffic has been an overwhelming experience. However, it is not so much the traffic of the many bodies of daily commuters that create a numbing overstimulation. Rather it is the increased presence of U.S. Homeland Security military officers who since September 11th in 2001 have been in charge of maintaining public safety in some of the city's busiest areas. From various checkpoints throughout the train station, military officials in full camouflage attire scan the moving crowds while maintaining one finger on the trigger of their enormous semi-automatics. Nobody stops or turns around to display any hints of shock and awe.

Regardless of whether their presence does or does not protect U.S. borders and city walls from terrorists attacks, Cindi Katz explains that "the military *performs* homeland security" (2007, original emphasis). It is arguable whether or not this performance security alleviates public fear of serious harms and dangers. However, their security performance confirms a state-sanctioned message that warns us that we are living in times of extreme violence, and that danger needs be countered with extreme and pre-emptive measures. A public's numbed state of mind towards this excessive securitization of common space paralyzes our need to question and is also indicative of

how quickly institutionalized safety and security procedures can become imbedded in our daily lives to the extent that they are internalized, accepted, and thus normalized.

The production of protection is a lucrative business in this country. In 2008 the federal government allotted $481.4 billion to the U.S. Department of Defense for the U.S. "Global War on Terror." After an additional $147.7 billion, the financing of all U.S. military programs and activities totaled an unbelievable $670.3 billion in 2008 alone (U.S. Department of Defense, 2007). Meanwhile, in 2008 the Department of Education was set to operate with a federal budget of $56 billion (U.S. Department of Education, 2007). By prioritizing the funding of the U.S. war machine over the nation's social wage, public housing, transportation, health care and public education, these services and those who rely on them suffer greatly. Additionally, state sponsored (over)securitization of the country's social wage has materialized on the local level in the forms of intensively surveilling and policing communities that have historically been dispossessed by the country's historical and racialized systemic disinvestment. In other words, the power and performance of the U.S. national security state has spilled into various local instances of daily life and is no longer confined to geographies of warfare in "global elsewheres."

New York City (NYC Department of Education) public schools, the country's largest public school district and the locus of this study, are yet another set of spaces that have been equipped with strengthened security and surveillance technologies to monitor the movement and behavior of predominantly nonwhite and low-income students. While teachers and students have expressed their anger with the disproportionate criminalization of youth of color (Sullivan & Keeney, 2008) the general public has remained quiet about the fortification of the city's public schools. Metal detectors, 200 armed police officers,

mobile police precincts parked in front of school buildings, bag scanners, and more than 4500 school safety officers are now in charge of maintaining security and social order on school grounds (Mukherjee, 2007). Reports have shown that intensified policing and school surveillance practices are profoundly racialized and are disproportionately suspending Black, Latino, immigrant youth, and low-income students for primarily non-criminal behavior. In addition, schools with permanent metal detectors issued 48% more suspensions than schools citywide. Furthermore, metal detector schools have become known as "dropout factories" as less than 60% of the graduating class complete their high school education (Losen, 2006). According to the Children's Defense Fund (2007), "when Black children graduate from high school, they have a greater chance of being unemployed and a lower chance of going directly to full-time college than White high school graduates" (13). The report also explains that Black students are approximately four times as likely as White students to be incarcerated. Given these disproportionate suspension and incarceration rates that both public schools and the criminal justice system have produced among youth of color, many scholars and national youth advocacy organizations have coined this inter-relationship as "the school-to-prison pipeline," (Brown, 2003; Sullivan, 2007; The Advancement Project, 2005), or "an institutionalized link that places socially unwanted and undesirable youth into the criminal justice system, and with it, guarantees the burgeoning of the U.S. prison industrial complex" (Wald & Losen, 2003, p. 11).

Importance of this Study

Centralized control over school safety and its expansion into the spaces of the carceral system is only one of the many examples of how public education is now

managed by for-profit businesses and other outside, non-public education administrative offices. Consequently, public schools and processes of schooling are complex physical sites that require students to apply incredibly resourceful navigational skills if they want to graduate amidst the ideological collisions that are housed within a privatizing public school system. More specifically, student navigation through school space currently includes daily encounters with aggressive tactics by military recruiters who primarily target poor communities and students of color, the frequent closings of large and under-performing high schools that are replaced with smaller, theme-based schools or corporate charter schools, decreased federal and state funding for English as a Second Language (ESL) and English for Language Learners (ELL) programs, federal legislation of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and the institutionalized belief in the success of standardized testing to prepare young people for their future participation in this country's economy, mayoral and thus centralized control over urban public schools, the corporate textbook industry that publish curricula to teach students to be docile and obedient consumers, and the agreements with other private educational management organizations that run after school and extracurricular activities (Boyles, 2008; Harris, 2004; New York Collective of Radical Educators, 2008; Saltman, 2005).

This dissertation is a study of the physical spaces within NYC public high schools and documents student movements and lived experiences with the school-to-prison pipeline. Data includes young people's perceptions of the current changing landscape of public education as orchestrated by the socio-economic structures of the globalized U.S. neoliberal market economy.

This study was guided by the underlying belief in students as experts in public education and the social inequalities that school structures produce. Many of the weekly research meetings of this youth participatory action project (YPAR) were filled with numerous conversations during which youth researchers explored, pushed, demanded and named the silenced participation of class, race and gender in the systemic production of systemic oppression. The following is an excerpt of one these discussions:*

Patricia: Let's return to our conversation about the power structure of the pipeline. Who has power?

KD: The Board of Ed.

Vileta: I don't like just using "white people" since we know that there are also black people within the Board of Ed.

Piper: Businesses and business people.

DC Schwartz: Snapple!

MS: Yeah, they make a lot of money.

DC Schwartz: The reason why you see so many Snapple vending machines in schools is because the New York State government has to have only Snapple vending machines in school. They set it up in a way so that they give schools the money to have Snapple. So that the school makes pretty much its money from Snapple. With that money they buy security cameras. Schools are the ones who sign the contract to tell Snapple, "Ok, we are going to

* All student names have been changed.

let you in."

MS: It's like invisible money that is circulating.

DC Schwartz: No, but it is really there, they just want you to believe that it's not.

MS: Monopoly money!

Patricia: Whose money is invisible and who is saying that the money is not really there?

KD: Schools.

Vileta: The mayor.

MS: Them scholarship people.

Vileta: Them scholarship people, they got the money, they just don't want to give it to black people.

DC Schwartz: Exactly, most universities have *every* dollar. They just don't want to pay me none of it. They are dumb.

KD: Is Ronald Mc Donald black or white?

Vileta: [laughs]

DC Schwartz: My EFC is really small.

Patricia: Yes, corporations make tons of money. Then why do they allocate such few amounts to scholarships?

Piper: They feed into an education system for people to fail. And then, those are cheap workers, and they still got a lot of products coming back out.

Vileta: That's how we get exploited and businesses play into that. I am

upset now. Can we explore this a little more, how businesses play into this? What she just said made a lot of sense.

DC Schwartz: Businesses run America, man.

Young people are profoundly aware of the racist ideologies and social systems that marginalize and silence their communities. The data that this study gathered are useful to teachers, parents, school administrators, and researchers who wish for their students to learn under less oppressive and subjugating learning conditions.

About this Study

During 15 months my ten co-researchers and I used qualitative and quantitative research methods, including interviews, a youth survey, and focus group discussions, and created space maps of schools to collect data for the two following research questions:

- What are some visible and invisible elements of the school-to-prison pipeline that mark the learning environment in some of New York City public high schools?
- What are high school students doing to navigate through the physical landscapes of their schools?

By focusing our research tools and analysis on youth narratives, our research examined how the physical spaces in public high schools absorb criminal justice-oriented educational policies and in turn shape student perceptions of the current socio-political climate in public education. This project also brought together disciplines that traditionally do not interact with one another. More specifically, I selected scholars and theories from the fields of political science, sociology, human geography, psychology and

education to participate in this multifaceted and exciting conversation that intersects education with human geography.

Structure of this Dissertation

The next and second chapter I have called "Caught in the School-to-Prison-Pipeline: Unraveling Central Concepts and Contexts of Criminal Justice-Oriented Educational Policies." By giving summaries of a few selected federal, state and local educational policies, including A Nation at Risk in 1983 and Operation Impact in New York City in 2004, I reflect on the larger social contexts that have supported the institutionalized relationship between public education and the criminal justice system. Furthermore, this chapter displays the disproportionate school suspension rates among Black and Latino youth and how these are paralleled by the equally disturbing disproportionate numbers of non-white youth who are filling the spaces of the carceral system. This chapter concludes with requesting a new epistemology of youth criminalization.

"Working with Participatory Action Research Methods to Document Young People's Intimate Knowledge with School Safety Practices in New York City's Public High Schools" is the title of the third chapter. I detail each of our research tools as well as rationales for selecting them for this participatory action research study. In addition, I explain to the reader why participatory action research was both the preferred research paradigm and epistemology for our data collection.

Chapter four, "Filling-In Spaces of School Safety: Materializing Space, Surveillance and Discipline as Interrelational Social Processes" is the first of the two chapters in which I present our findings and their analysis. The purpose of this chapter is

two-fold: first, I explain the need to include a study of school space in educational research to reveal the multiple and colliding interests that materialize within surveilled and policed schools. I claim that schools are shaped by dominant ideologies that construct "the hidden curriculum of space" (Dickar, 2008), similar to the "hidden curriculum" (Apple, 1990) of education. By framing NYC surveilled schools as "contested sites" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003) I show how the raced and classed underpinnings of school surveillance answered the first question of this study: *What are some visible and invisible elements of the school-to-prison pipeline that mark the learning environment in some of NYC public high schools?* Second, I invite the theoretical framework of "Thirding" (Soja, 1996) into a conversation with our data from our youth survey, surveillance maps and interviews to show how young people's perceptions and interpretations of criminalizing school safety mechanisms expanded each of the "trialectics of space production" (Lefebvre, 1991). With students' "counter-topographies" (Katz, 2001) we excavated and outlined the crevices, altitudes, and depths of structural inequalities that fiscal inequities have produced within the lives of surveilled youths.

Chapter five, "Running Inside A Poisoned Maze: Young People's Lifeworlds in The New York City School-to-Prison Pipeline," is the second chapter in which I share findings that answered the second central research question: *What are high school students doing to navigate through the physical landscapes of their schools?* Inspired by "Thirdspace" and its commitment towards including the possibility of social action in the analysis of space production (Soja, 1996), this chapter documents the lived intricacies of young people's geographies, their lifeworlds, within a disinvested public school system.

With their surveillance maps youth researchers illustrated how school space is filled with multiple obstacles or "poison" that young people must navigate through and around to complete high school. School surveillance and policing mechanisms are turning NYC public schools into sites that socially control and contain youth of color and students from low-income communities. I dedicate this chapter to the resilience of my co-researchers as well as to the determined young people in this country who refuse and resist an ideology of white supremacy.

Youth researchers as well as citywide students have expressed repeatedly and adamantly that they wished for school safety measures to be more youth-centered and less abusive and punitive. As a result, in our final chapter six, "Trusting the Disaster: Piecing Together Alternatives to School-Based Mass-Criminalization of Disinvested Youth," we have compiled a list of recommendations for what specifically needs be included in the training program for future school safety agents. There is also a number of NYC educators and administrators whose work has detoured from criminalizing students for behavioral and discipline issues. I will highlight some of their inspiring alternatives as these have raised significant questions for future research. And finally, we wish for our study to draw the attention of educational researchers to the importance of space for building healthy and sustainable educational encounters between students and their teachers. We like to think of this call to action as a re-strengthened "space activism."

Final Thoughts

As thoughtfully and disturbingly analyzed by Kenneth Saltman (2000) and Henry Giroux (2003), immigrant, working class, and youth of color are not far from being

positioned as the next casualty of domestic militarization, given the overwhelming presence of repressive and punitive practices of school safety. It seems plausible that public schools in urban areas have been used as spaces that reproduce the underclass; a socially unwanted, superfluous population that is undesired in the current high-technology economy. By nourishing an alliance with the prison system, it is also possible to argue that highly surveilled and policed public schools provide spaces to set up a supervision process for systematically depriving children of the urban poor of acquiring technical skills and values. In thinking about schooling during the Reconstruction Era as a process that systematically underdeveloped Black people (Anderson, 1988; Butchart, 1980), I am afraid that leaders of today's schools and prisons are extending the colonial mode of production by using school safety and discipline practices as a means to divert wealth, power and resources from socially controlled and contained communities. Figuratively and literally, in light of a systemic disinvestment in public education, school is out.

In 2005, the U.S. spent $213 billion on the criminal justice system, including police, corrections and the judiciary, compared to the $42 billion on housing and $56 billion on higher education (Petteruti & Walsh, 2008). The U.S. prison industrial complex has exploded into businesses that has incarcerated over two million people in the U.S. today who are not able to reach full levels of civic participation, legal protection, and access to the benefits of human relations in production. Similarly, urban public schools are increasingly producing a social underclass as educational policy makers push for more highly standardized and test-driven math and science curricula, and advocate for punishing learning institutions financially that are not able to produce the desired test

scores. Many disinvested urban schools do not move beyond equipping students with skills for manual labor. Tragically, under such conditions of a mis-education, schools produce none other than a highly under-skilled population that will have to accept the social roles of an unwanted, feared, superfluous, and exploitable pool of labor. In other words and in light of this discussion of the school-to-prison pipeline, highly surveilled public schools (see Impact Schools in NYC in the next chapter) are producing a reserved cadre to complete manual work in the prison industrial complex.

Many of the scholars that are mentioned throughout this dissertation, along with the urgency behind their texts, have assisted our research collective to be fearless in stating the difficult: how does the population of a hyper-criminalized, incarcerated and de-skilled poor fit into the locally and globally strengthened landscape of the neoliberal U.S. market economy? The carceral system depends on a growth and constant influx of bodies in order to continue receiving state funding; however, if there are no "criminals" left in the common space, (in this case, public schools), if there is a shortage of "available" students to penalize and criminalize, then what will happen to this particular industry? In other words, once the school-to-prison pipeline has succeeded in removing low-income youth and students of color entirely from public schools, what implications does this have on their communities, families, the productivity of cities and the future of public schooling? When is enough really enough?

I speak on behalf of my co-researchers: we hope this dissertation serves a purpose beyond that of a required final written project for the completion of a doctoral degree. We wish for our work to join the manual and intellectual labor of the many individuals and community groups who are committed to interrupting, questioning and dismantling

the school-to-prison pipeline. May we dare to dream about an organizing manual, a student guide, a community resource to facilitate ongoing and growing action plans?

CHAPTER TWO

Caught in the School-to-Prison-Pipeline: Unraveling Central Concepts and Contexts of Criminal Justice-Oriented Educational Policies

The school-to-prison pipeline is one way of the government to influencing the media and the youth to do more bad and more negative things. It leads to an increase in negative stereotypes of youth and racism. It dehumanizes youth so that they themselves feel just about on the level of animals, and psychologically it forces them to do more violent and dangerous things.

Entry from MS' journal

My opinion of the school to prison pipeline is that it is racist against black and latino students and … it is also trying to keep black and latino kids less educated by not buying any books and other school things that are needed, and they spend our money on security and metal detectors. That's horrible.

Entry from Starshonna's journal

Introduction

This research on how young people describe their experiences within the surveilled and securitized physical spaces in some of New York City's public high schools is placed amidst the current crossfire of ongoing federal and state policies that disproportionately profile and punish youth of color, the poor, and immigrants for mostly disciplinary matters and other non-criminal behavior. One example of such policies is the questioning of students' immigration status in school. Many legal groups, human

rights and community-based organizes have produced a wealth of evidence to support the claim that such practices unfairly undermine the education of marginalized youth. In order to cross-examine to what extent increased safety mechanisms operate in poor and under-funded schools, the New York City Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) looked at the total number of students eligible for the federal free school lunch program and matched them with the location of schools operating with metal detectors. The result produced is the following: metal detectors are dominantly placed in schools attended by students from under-resourced families, thus exhibiting statistical information that reveals that "poor students constituted fifty-nine percent of children attending high schools with permanent metal detectors but only fifty-one percent of high school students citywide" (Mukherjee, 2007, p. 20). Additionally, police get involved in twice as many non-criminal incidents in schools with permanent metal detectors than in schools without them.

Other reports offer data on how an increased use of metal detectors and student suspensions are predominantly found in schools with students of color. According to the NYC-based Urban Justice Center, the proportion of Black and Latino students in the average high school in NYC was 71% in 2006, but in high schools that use metal detectors the population of students of color rose to 82% (The Human Rights Project, 2007, p. 24). In addition, NYC schools suspend poor and students of color at a higher rate than white students for the same infractions: "8.3 % for Blacks, 4.8% for Latinos, compared to the 2.5% for whites" (The Human Rights Project, 2007, p. 7). Furthermore, in collaboration with the Department of Education (DOE), separate schools were created to work with students who have been suspended from schools repeatedly and extensively for physically fighting or bringing objects considered dangerous to school grounds,

including water bottles, staplers, and plastic cutlery for home made student lunch. These Second Opportunities Schools (SOS) require students to attend their educational programs during one academic year. The Human Rights Project points out that 90% of SOS students are Black or Latino.

With increased federal attention to national security since the incidents of September 11, 2001, the criminalization and detention rates of undocumented as well as documented immigrant youth have increased severely. More specifically, South Asian, Muslim and Arab students have been targeted by heightened harassment and discrimination practices in public spaces and schools by police officers, security staff and school officials, including regular racial and ethnic profiling during their school day (Desis Rising Up and Moving & Urban Justice Center, 2006; Nguyen, 2005). All aforementioned data show that not all students equally bear the brunt of increased policing, securitization and surveillance practices in NYC public schools. The weight of the burden that is placed on surveilled schooling in NYC public schools is predominantly carried by working class, Black and Latino youth, as well as students from immigrant families.

The criminalization of marginalized youth in urban public schools is also nourished by what can be interpreted as the government's interest in maintaining a sustained pool of cheap labor. While acknowledging urban schools as racially and ethnically diverse places, policy makers also remind us that urban public schools are dominantly attended by economically under-served youth who most likely will be filling low-wage working sectors. Leonardo and Hunter (2007) thus state that educators and policy makers re-imagine public schools in urban areas as "a controlled place of

difference" (p. 781). Socially perceived variables among students such as class, race, and gender feed school safety and security mechanisms to discipline those who deserve to be trained into becoming the next cadre of workers for the current globalized market industry. In other words, public schools in urban areas are not immune to the frequent anti-poor and racist whirlwinds of a changed economy that re-organize urban manufacturing centers into technocratic and managerial service switchboards that supervise and ensure increased flows and channels of capital (Castells, 1984; D. S. Massey & Denton, 1993).

By looking critically at the augmented use of punitive solutions to socially and ideologically control "the urban jungle," including public spaces of schools, housing and health care (Leonardo & Hunter, 2007), and examining the increasing amount of money and human capital invested in what is called today the prison industrial complex (Picus) (A. Davis, 2003; Meiners, 2007), Henry A. Giroux argued that urban spaces have been manufactured into a state of "domestic militarization" (2003). Furthermore, Giroux states that the carceral system "has become one of the most important institutions of symbolic production of equating black youth with the culture of criminality and defining the urban public school as training ground for legitimating the models of authority and punishment that legitimate the regime of race-based incarceration" (p. 59). Due to their large student body and limited spaces for operating, urban public schools are particularly affected by intensified school security and safety mechanisms, and have begun to physically and structurally resemble facilities of incarceration. Garrett Duncan (2000) makes a powerful argument about intensified punitive disciplinary practices in public schools that are attended dominantly by students of color. He claims that "the main

purpose of urban public schools in the lives of students of color has been largely to prepare them to occupy and accept subordinate roles within the U.S. economy and, by extension, society" (2000, p. 29). According to The Children's Defense Fund (2007), "when Black children do graduate from high school, they have a greater chance of being unemployed and a lower chance of going directly to full-time college than White high school graduates" (p. 13).

Looking at the monumental amounts of money spent on youth incarceration and detention further crystallizes the intimate relationship between school safety and security and the criminal justice system. Paul Street (2001) explains, "large states now spend as much or more money to incarcerate young adults than to educate their college-age citizens," and spending for the construction of prisons is growing "at a faster rate than any other type of state expenditure category" (p. 28). In New York City (NYC Department of Education), the cost of maintaining a young person within the spaces of the criminal justice system for a year far exceeds the cost of public education for a year. More specifically, the average annual detention expense for one youth in FY 2006 was $170,820. In 2008 this number increased to $200,000 (New York Times Editorial) while the average annual cost per pupil in a NYC public high school was $11,844 (Office of the Mayor, 2006), and the cost of providing a year of employment training for an unemployed youth was $2,492 (Children's Defense Fund, 2007). As these insights on the costs of incarceration reveal, surveillance and social control are no longer theoretical constructs. Instead safety and security practices in public schools need to be understood of as top priorities in many state and federal budgets.

Given these statistics, it is not too far fetched to re-conceptualize public schools as productive feeders for the fully exploded prison industrial complex. Public schools are increasingly involved in a systemized process that relies on the growing rate of school push-outs to populate the lucrative prison industry. Under this perspective it is plausible to make the following connection: public schools help to further institutionalize the collaboration between themselves and the prison system, a phenomenon that has become known as the school-to-prison pipeline (Brown, 2003; Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, 2005; Wald & Losen, 2003)[*]. Furthermore, if one of the historical outcomes of U.S public schooling has been to unequally train and equip young people with the necessary skills to enter the nation's work force (Tyack, 1974; Tyack & Cuban, 1995; Webber, 1978; Woodson, 1919) then we have to think critically about how schools are pushing disproportionate numbers of poor, immigrant, Black and Latino youth into the margins of U.S. social order. I agree with Garrett Duncan (2000) who states:

> the disregard for the education of black youth during the early part of the 20th century is still evident today in the redirection of state discretionary funds to prison construction as opposed to the public education of children and youth of color in urban settings. (p. 33)

This chapter aims to install a window into the social-historical contexts for current school safety and security practices in NYC public schools. By assembling a series of national and local criminal justice-oriented educational policies and some of their related events into a narrated timeline, this chapter illustrates the multi-scaled manifestations of some of the most prevalent daily safety and security practices that have built the

[*] I will from now on refer to the school-to-prison pipeline as "the pipeline."

foundation of the pipeline. This chapter opens with a depiction of the securitized learning environment in NYC public schools, followed by a discussion of the high rates of school expulsion and suspension it has produced. To show a parallel development of highly racialized incarceration rates in this country, the chapter leads the reader to some of the structural and ideological aspects of the criminal justice system that further anchor the manifestation of the pipeline. The preceding overview of the history of federal and local educational policies of the last 20 years reveals a web of tightly interconnected legislation and policy that have shaped the outcome of all current school safety and surveillance mechanisms. The chapter concludes with the state of school safety in NYC public schools in 2009, the year this document was composed.

Reality Check: Introducing the Learning Environment in New York City

In September 2000, the New York City's Chancellor of Education declared in a document entitled *Regulation of the Chancellor:* "The maintenance of safety and good order is the collective responsibility of all school staff, the New York City Police Department, the Board of Education's Division of Student Safety and Prevention Services, parents, and students" (New York City Board of Education, p. 2). Since officially handing over of all school safety-related issues from school principals to the New York Police Department (NYPD) in 1998, public schools in NYC have rapidly turned into scenarios of crime control and punishment. Police officers and security personnel visibly patrol hallways and student cafeterias, mobile precincts park in front of school buildings, metal detectors welcome students, staff and visitors, body searches are conducted when necessary, and overall, a more punitive approach to disciplining young people is being applied.

Ever since Giuliani held mayoral office from 1194 until 2001, many public schools in some of the city's poorest communities have introduced drastic changes to their daily safety and security operations, including an intensified presence of safety agents on school grounds. In 1999 there were nearly 3,400 school safety agents (Brown, 2003) and in 2001 the number increased to 4,000 (Weiner, 2004). During a two-month period in 1999, "these officers procured 340 arrests and handed out 457 summonses" (Brown, 2003, p. 17). Furthermore, starting in 1994 metal detectors were placed in over 60 of New York City's 1,136 public schools. Other city schools required students to undergo searches with hand-held metal detectors (Pitts, 1999). Out of the 250 high schools in NYC, 137 currently use safety officer radios during their daily interactions with staff and students. The underlying ideology for these intensified processes of school surveillance and securitization is "zero tolerance," a product of the Giuliani administration approach to all city criminal justice activities.

The zero tolerance policy derived its name from a firm underlying belief in the following: any unaddressed minor social and non-criminal misconduct could easily mount to more serious and harmful criminal delinquencies. In other words, giving a young person an adult prison sentence for being in the possession of drugs could pre-emptively prevent the individual from engaging in more serious and harmful criminal activities in the future. Zero tolerance safety policies originated from an authority heavy, top-down community policing approach to maintaining social order and control. With rising popularity among city administrators, zero tolerance practices did not remain within the realm of community policing and quickly spilled into other public arenas such as public education. The effect this had on school expulsion and suspension rates,

especially among students of color, continues to this day to be one of the most disputed topics among students, parents and teachers.

School Expulsion and Suspension Rates

This punitive method for addressing school discipline issues is not specific to the NYC public school system. Nationwide, since the late 1980s, advocates of zero tolerance policies have argued for strengthened surveillance and security practices to be implemented in public schools (Ayers, Dohrn, & Ayers, 2001; Sullivan, 2007). Moreover, zero tolerance policies have pushed for increased use of school expulsion and in-school suspension as a means to control and supervise disruptive student behavior. The results show almost a doubling, from 1.7 million to 3.1 million of suspended students since 1974 (Wald & Losen, 2003). Even more disturbing are the high rates of school expulsion and suspension among poor students, and alarmingly, among male youth of color. In a study of the 1994 - 1995 school year, Russell Skiba (2002) collected disciplinary report cards from some of the largest school districts in the U.S. (those serving more than 50,000 students). His document outlines the racial and socioeconomic disparities in school disciplinary outcomes. Skiba found that "far from supporting the hypothesis that African American students act out more frequently, these data and other data suggest that African American students are disciplined more frequently and harshly for less serious, more subjective reasons," such as for excessive noise and loitering (p. 16). A report by The Advancement Project illustrates more recent rates in disproportionate suspensions (2005). In 2000, Black students "were seventeen percent of public school enrollment nationwide and thirty-four percent of suspensions" (p. 18). Skiba (2000) suggests two explanations for this disparity. In the United States, students

of color are overrepresented in lower socio-economic classes, and the overuse of discipline practices is disproportionately implemented in schools located in low-income communities. Skiba also clarifies that disruptive behavior is more prevalent among students of color to have caused this disproportionality in discipline.

Nancy López (2003) shares Skiba's concern of how the disproportionate implementation of school discipline affects the likelihood that students of color will be unable to complete their education. She wrote:

> Given the race(d) … ways in which school rules and policies are implemented at many urban schools, it is not surprising that men who are racialized as Blacks and Latinos comprise a disproportionate number of students who are pushed out, discharged, expelled, or tracked into low-level curriculum tracks, including special education. (p. 87)

Between 1972 and 2000, the percentage of white students suspended annually for more than one day rose from 3.1 percent to 5.09 percent. During the same period, "the percentage for black students rose from 6 percent to 13.2 percent" (Wald & Losen, 2003, p. 10). According to the Children's Defense Fund (2007), "Black children are 50 percent more likely than White children to drop out of school" (p. 13). The increase in dropout rates, especially among ninth and tenth graders, a widening of the graduation gap and the proliferating use of high-stakes tests are beginning to show how current educational policies and practices have created so-called "circuits of dispossession" (Ruglis, 2009), and how these state-sanctioned institutionalized mechanisms have turned public schools into hostile and alienating environments in which it becomes almost impossible for poor

students to learn obtain all required materials, let alone complete a public school education.

In summary, given these practices in school safety and security, including the push for raising the number of police officers who are operating inside public schools, as well as the tremendous spending on surveillance and examination equipment to establish safer and more protected public learning communities, zero tolerance policies have created a startling rate of race and class-based disproportionality among affected students. Moreover, since the initial implementation stage of zero tolerance policies in the 1980s, by not investing money and effort in developing any alternative and less punitive school safety methods, public school districts have defaulted to current discipline practices that highly ostracize and profile urban youth as criminalized, feared, and dangerous individuals.

Reality Check II: Incarceration Rates in the U.S. Criminal and Juvenile Justice System

Another system that has produced a similar race- and class-based disproportionality is the criminal justice system. In their study entitled "And Justice for Some," Poe-Yamagata and Jones (2000) explain that this overrepresentation is to be understood as being "a product of actions that have occurred at earlier points in the juvenile justice system" (p. 1), such as repetitive school expulsions that brought the school administration to the decision to refer a case to juvenile court. The authors refer to the disproportionality produced inside the criminal justice system as the Disproportionate Minority Confinement (DMC). African Americans, Native Americans, Latinos, and East and South Asians still constitute the minority of all people living in the United States. However, it is important to note that by using the term "minority," the

authors are referring almost exclusively to African American youth, because of the lack of data available on other youth of color. DMC, as defined by the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, refers to a situation in which "the minority population of juveniles detained or confined in secure detention facilities, jails, and lockups exceeds the proportion of such groups in the general population" (p. 4).

According to the Human Rights Project at the Urban Justice Center in NYC (2007), in NYC Blacks and Latinos represent about half of the city's population but "constitute 91% of the jail population" (p. 9). The youth incarceration rate is equally disturbing: Black and Latino youth make up approximately two-thirds of the city's general population but 90% of all incarcerated youth (compared to white youth who represent 25% of the population and only 5% of young people in prison). The Children's Defense Fund offers a heartbreaking projection for NYC's youth of color: "a Black boy born in 2001 has a 1 in 3 chance of going to prison in his lifetime," while a Black girl has a 1 in 17 chance. For a Latino boy this ratio is at 1 in 6, and for a Latino girl it is 1 in 45 (2007, p. 15). These statistics suggest that many young people of color from under-served neighborhoods will ultimately find themselves on a fast, pre-determined journey to confinement.

The high rate of incarceration does not correspond with the actual frequency of crime, as the national crime rate "is nearly at its lowest point in the past thirty years and continues to fall" (Petteruti & Walsh, 2008, p. 7). Between 1992 and 2002 the national rate of crime and violent incidents in schools among students aged 12 to 18 dropped by 50%. Furthermore, between 1994 and 2002, the number of youth arrests for violent crimes also decreased nationwide by 47% (The Advancement Project, 2005). This data

confirms the notion that schools and the criminal justice system have taken on a preemptive stance to eliminate all forms of school-based violence. Instead of dismantling the structures of inequalities that public schools reproduce as a result of unequal distribution of funding and learning resources based on class and race differences, city and school administrators continue with the help of safety personnel and police departments to target the bodies of poor and youth of color as one of today's most feared public enemies, and along with it, support the further strengthening and expansion of the prison industrial complex.

The Construction of the School-to-Prison Pipeline

Excavating statistical information of both public schools and the criminal justice system that seem to mirror similar processes of systematically dispossessing poor and young people of color of attaining an education and building sustainable futures for themselves and their communities does not by default signify a direct causal relationship between both systems. However, as human geographer Doreen Massey (1992) has pointed out, "there is an integral spatial coherence here, which constitutes the geographical distributions and the geographical form of the social relations. The spatial form was socially 'planned', in itself directly socially caused, that way" (p. 81). Massey emphasizes some of the fundamental characteristics of space and space formations; on one hand space is a product of social relations and human interaction, on the other hand it is maintained by the same ideologies and socio-political structures that create and organize human relations in production. Henceforth, separately located space formations continue to be bound together by a similar set of laws, policies, and structures of regulation and domination that control the public social sphere. Even though

materialized as separate physical and spatialized organizations, both the public school system and the criminal justice system are part of the constitution of the same larger socio-political system, a political economy. This is why I attempt to establish their inter-connectedness and thus their participation in producing similar statistical trends.

In agreeing with Massey I claim that public schools and the criminal justice system do co-construct systemic inter-relations, collaborations, and interactions at various spatial scales, "from the most local level to the most global" (p. 80). It is thus that criminalized youth who are pushed into the prison system are directly connected to a highly selective (and racist) globalized market economy. Because this chapter focuses on exhibiting the larger social and historical contexts behind the construction of the pipeline, I will elaborate this notion of spatialized power relations in chapter four, where I give importance to connecting educational research to examining the hidden meanings of physical space.

In returning to the contextualization of the pipeline, data shows that both systems show an intensification of inequalities and disparities along the lines of race and class. It is worthwhile to note that while the systematic tracking of poor urban youth of color from the educational system into the criminal justice- and prison systems has produced, during the past 15 years, a plethora of facts and statistics that illustrate this proliferation, there is still little research available about how this disproportionality affects specific racialized groups. Both Skiba (2002) and Poe-Yamagata & Jones (2000) have run into the homogenization of statistics with the frequently used term "minority." Consequently, a dichotomy between Black and White youth has been constructed. In addition, Poe-Yamagata and Jones unveil that most quantitative data collected on Latino youth has

been categorized by most research institutions as "white." Therefore, most data on the minority overrepresentation is thought to be underreported.

Nonetheless, scholars and policymakers have begun to argue that the steady increase in U.S. prison population among communities of color and the growing rates of suspensions in public schools in urban areas can no longer be seen as coincidental developments. Instead, they are to be understood in terms of two systems simultaneously producing racial disparities resulting in an overrepresentation of people of color. From this perspective the public school system should be re-thought of as an accomplice in systematically placing socially unwanted and undesirable youth into the criminal justice system, and with it, guaranteeing the burgeoning of a prison industrial complex. According to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), with more than 2.3 million incarcerated people the U.S. has the largest prison population in the world (2008). The Justice Policy Institute suggests that the number of people whose lives are impacted by the PIC is actually much higher if we include all separate criminal justice spaces in our count, such as prisons, probation/parole, and jails that produce a disturbing 7.4 million people under the control of the U.S. criminal justice system (Petteruti & Walsh, 2008). This number becomes even more alarming if we compare it with the populations in other countries, including Belize, Cape Verde, Israel, and Suriname, each of whose total population does not surmount 7.4 million (The World Bank Group, 2007).

What is even more important to point out is the widespread belief that removing "bad" and "disruptive" behavior from public spaces will create a safer and orderly society. To this day, there is no evidence to prove that zero tolerance measures have been

able to effectively reduce, change or prevent violence from occurring. School discipline practices, as illustrated earlier, are increasingly adopting the approach of how crime is treated in society. In other words, students, predominantly poor and youth of color, who are often treated as adult criminals and receive adult punishments, are removed from public spheres so that others, "who are presumed to be 'good' and law abiding," can be protected (Noguera, 2003).

Many scholars and community organizations have recognized the systematic trafficking of poor young people of color from public schools into the criminal justice system as the pipeline. According to Walden and Losen (2003), the pipeline depicts

> a journey through school that becomes increasingly punitive and isolating for its travelers. Many will be taught by unqualified teachers, tested on material they never reviewed, held back in grade, placed in restrictive special education programs, repeatedly suspended, and banished to alternative out-placements before dropping or getting pushed out of school altogether. Without a safety net, the likelihood that these same youths will wind up arrested and incarcerated increases sharply. (p. 11)

Connecting poverty and race helps to further outline the contours of this institutionalized journey. Throughout her academic and community-based work, Angela Davis (2003) has remained adamant about doing so. She writes:

> There is even more compelling evidence about the damage wrought by the expansion of the prison system in the schools located in poor communities of color that replicate the structures and regimes of the prison. When children attend

> schools that place a greater value on discipline and security than on knowledge and intellectual development, they are attending prep schools for prison. (p. 38)

Davis' outlook describes current practices. What has changed, however, is that school expulsions occur as prematurely as the early childhood years. In 2005, The New York Times published the results of the first national study of expulsion rates in pre-kindergarten programs (Levin, 2005). The study exposed that among preschoolers in the nation, boys were expelled four and a half times more than girls, and African-Americans double the rate of Latinos and Whites. Also, four-year olds ran the chance of getting expelled one and half times more than three-year olds.

All of the aforementioned statistics speak on behalf of the construction of the pipeline. What seemed to be for a long time two separate social institutions, namely the educational system and the criminal justice system, need to be understood as two powerfully merged networks that collaborate along the lines of sharing a similar ideology of discipline and punishment. This chapter situates the pipeline as a materialized product of historical practices that constructed a social system to rely on the leadership of dominant ideology and institutionalized power relations for its maintenance and longevity. Starting with a "Nation At Risk," the next section offers a detailed overview of some of the most salient policies and legislation that frame a nearly twenty-year history of criminal justice-oriented educational policies.

History of Recent Criminal Justice-Oriented Educational Policies

I have selected a series of educational policies both on federal and New York State levels from the past twenty years that have facilitated the construction of the school-to-prison-pipeline. My selection was based on the impact they have had on school-based security

and safety procedures. The figure below depicts their temporal proximity. The paragraphs that follow detail how each of these national and local events might have assembled a network of inter-related events between public schools and the criminal justice system.

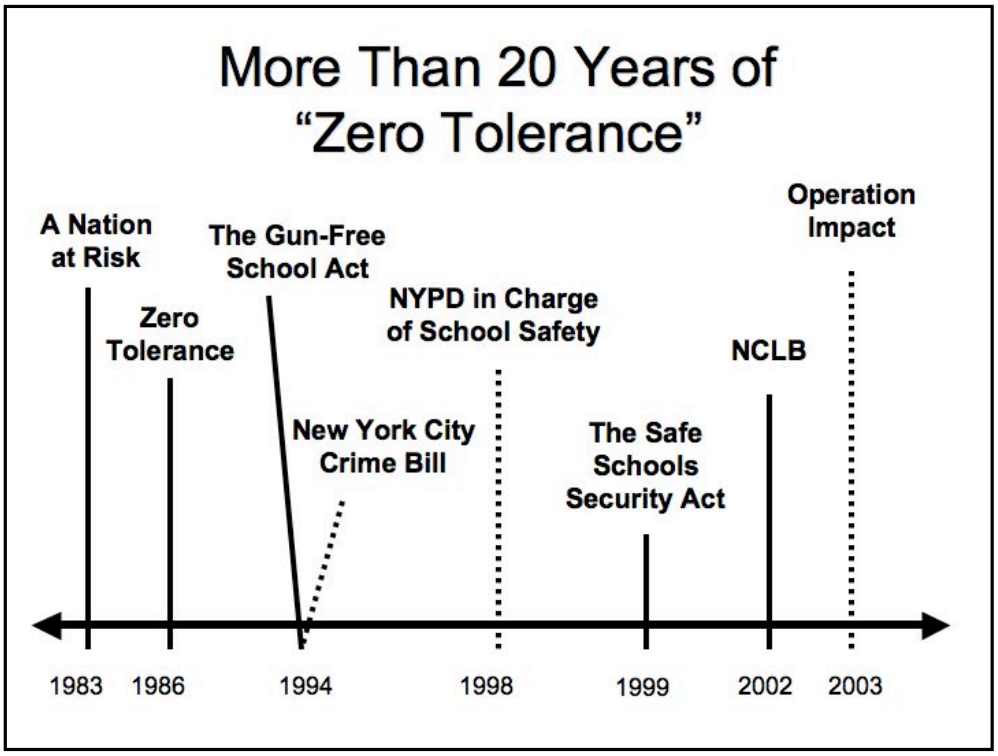

Figure 2.1. Overview of recent zero tolerance educational policies in the United States. Solid lines refer to federal legislation, while dashed lines represent New York State-specific decisions.

A Nation at Risk

The 1970-1980 period of restructuring the mode of U.S. urban economic production was marked by an era of "order maintenance" (Parenti, 2001) and supervising the initial stages of forming the "informational mode of development" (Castells, 1984). As some of the largest U.S. cities were structured and organized into administrative and bureaucratic headquarters to secure the initial scaffolding of what has become the current

globalized market economy, most low-skilled labor and working class communities were forced to resolve serious poverty-related challenges that are associated with urban unemployment on their own (D. S. Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1996).

This time in history was accompanied by a great panic among national politicians and school administrators as they were faced with anxieties related to maintaining social order and control in urban areas after an estimated "2.3 million manufacturing jobs disappeared for good" (Parenti, 2001). In addition the problems posed by moving manufacturing jobs to poor countries to access cheaper means of production the administration of Ronald Reagan was situated in the midst of the Cold War between the United States and the former Soviet Union and its allied countries, fearing an economic and military defeat by communist governments. The National Commission on Excellence in Education issued a federal report that declared a crisis in the quality of U.S. public and private education. This document was *A Nation at Risk (*The National Commission on Excellence in Education*,* 1983*)*. The report outlined a projection of how low academic performances by students in science and technology had the potential of leading to an overall economic defeat of the U.S. economy. Furthermore, the report declared that students' low academic achievement rates were putting the country's economic success at risk. To overcome the educational crisis, the document suggested increased investment in the country's future leaders by introducing various school reforms that would take immediate measures to improve the quality of education.

One of these reforms was *A Nation at Risk*, a mayoral takeover of schools and districts particularly in urban areas. As Deborah Land (2002) explains, "takeovers occur due to sub par academic achievement, as measured by achievement test scores, as well as

fiscal mismanagement and administrative ineptitude or corruption." It is during this transition from federal to local and state authority, that "the state board of education transfers management responsibility to a local district or school for a specified amount of time" (p. 229). This shift of control from representative to local executive leadership signified a fundamental change in educational governance throughout this country. In cities like Chicago and NYC, passing centralized control and power over urban education to mayors was supported by hopes for improved academic achievement (Carl, 2009). Nevertheless, instead of investing in augmenting students' educational attainment, city administrators became notorious for applying their patronage of urban schools to self-serving political campaigns. From the standpoint of urban development and political economy, during this time of decreased funds in federal aid to cities, dominant power relations redefined the quality of urban schools according to the political agendas of local administrators whose decisions mirrored their interest in securing the flow of capital. In other words, supported by national efforts, local city administrators began to dedicate heightened attention to transforming and increasing the productivity of urban centers, and urban schools were one of the loci for this re-organization of the mode of production. Most frequently, the reorganization of the urban landscape from manufacturing center into administrative and managerial headquarters was the first step that materialized at the very local level; by supervising local communities whose behavior was perceived and treated as disorderly, deviant, delinquent, socially unwanted, and uneducated, (in other words, people of color, the working class, urban poor). These individuals were perceived as threats to the goals of urban reform, widely known as "urban renewal" (Castells, 1983). Categorized under the rubric of "Quality of Life" for urban settings, city officials

were quick to implement a series of community control programs that relied heavily on intensified state-sanctioned community policing programs (Parenti, 2000).

Zero Tolerance

Zero Tolerance policies were instrumental ideological tools in creating various measures for local and national programs of social control. During the Reagan era, the name for this set of public policies first received national attention as the title of a program developed in 1986 by U.S. Attorney Peter Nunez in San Diego. The program was aimed at impounding seagoing vessels that were caught with carrying any amount of illegal drugs (Russell J. Skiba & Knesting, 2001). Soon thereafter, beginning in 1988, customs officials were ordered to seize the vehicles and property of anyone crossing the border with even trace amounts of drugs, and to charge arrested individuals in federal court. The language of zero tolerance quickly gained acceptance and popularity within the field of public policy and began to be applied to other political domains, such as Reagan's War on Drugs, which targeted predominantly African American communities and the decaying public education system. In NYC, "the NYPD launched a citywide round-up of truants: refugee youth escaping New York's dilapidated schools" (Parenti, 2000, p. 77) to prevent students from engaging in the trafficking of narcotics. Furthermore, under the reign of the strictly implemented Rockefeller Drug Laws that racialized the country's codes of punishment for drug consumption and possession, it became very transparent that zero tolerance policies were mostly concerned with controlling the working classes socially and moving law enforcement to "the center of domestic politics" (p. 27).

By 1993, zero tolerance policies had been adopted across the country. Skiba and Knesting (2001) explain that many school districts in California, New York and Kentucky were frightened by "a seemingly overwhelming tide of violence in the early 1990s" and began with mandating school expulsion for bringing drugs into schools, fighting, and gang-related activity (p. 2). In addition to increased security and surveillance measures in schools, including an overuse of cameras, metal detectors, tasers, canine units and biometric hand readers, the implementation of zero tolerance policies also introduced higher rates of school suspension and expulsions (Ayers et al., 2001). Similar to all other zero tolerance policies, all of these school security practices were not lenient with disruptive student behavior and began to focus on the physical removal of student bodies to establish order and social control on school premises.

Gun Free Schools Act

In 1994, during the Clinton Administration, the federal Gun Free Schools Act (GFSA) was signed into law and precipitated zero tolerance and school expulsion policies. GFSA mandated a one-year expulsion and in some cases added criminal charges for any student who brought a weapon to school, including the use of a firearm, weapon or a knife. School districts committed themselves to turning public schools into "gun free zones" and began to invest in even more intensified security measures such as video surveillance cameras and an increased police presence on school grounds (Dupuis, 2000).

The following graph shows how in 1996-1997 almost forty percent of public schools in the U.S. began to control access to their grounds. The graph also points out

that these security measures were especially heightened in schools where more than 50% of the students were of color.

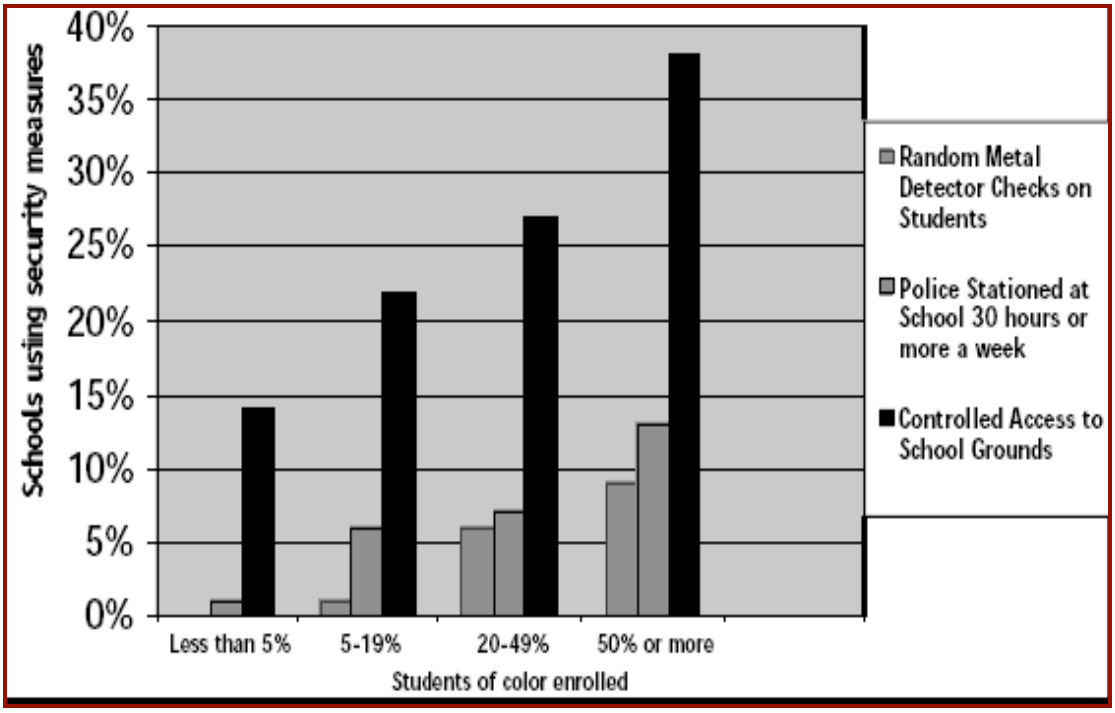

Figure 2.2. "Percentage of Public Schools in the U.S. Using Various Types of Security Measures by Percent of Students of Color Enrolled, 1996-1997." (U.S. Department of Education and National Center for Education Statistics, 1998)

Besides further institutionalizing the systematized criminalization of youth of color, this maximum-security approach to establishing gun-free school zones stigmatized schools and their surrounding neighborhoods. Random metal detector checks on students, police stationed at schools for 30 hours or more a week, and controlled access to school grounds resulted in further attracting the attention of media and local government who used the "at-risk" label to determine a student population in need of strict disciplinary measures. GFSA marked the beginning of excessive school security measures by putting students of color at academic disadvantages compared to their white peers (Johnson, Boyden, & Pittz, 2001).

New York City Crime Bill

In 1994, school security measures took a turn towards intensifying police presence in school. U.S. Senator Charles Schumer was the author of the 1994 Crime Bill in NYC. This local legislation awarded the NYPD with $6.25 million in federal grants under the bill's Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) program. The money was used to hire 50 police officers to patrol NYC schools (Senator Charles E. Schumer New York, 2004).

NYPD Taking Charge of School Safety

In September of 1998, the New York City Department of Education (DOE) voted to turn control of public school safety over to the NYPD. The resolution came just one year after a failed attempt by the NYPD to add high school year book photos to their database of mug shots (N. Davis, 2000). In 1998 New York City's mayor Giuliani and chief police commissioner Raymond Kelly announced that school principals were no longer in charge of making any school safety-related decisions (Hollaway, 1998). Ever since, NYC school safety agents (Medina & Gootman) have been reported to NYPD and not to the DOE as before. Quickly after, early in 1999, NYPD employed nearly 3,400 school safety agents to ensure the safety in some of the city's largest schools (Brown, 2003).

Safety Security Act

The federal Safe Schools Security Act of 1999 authorized schools with an annual $10 million budget to acquire school security-related programs and technology, including a reinforced use of metal detectors. Additionally, the bill established a School Security Technology Center and authorized grants to public schools to access specialized school security programs and private educational agencies to conduct school security

assessments, security technology development, and technical assistance relating to improving school security. The Safety Security Act shaped the foundations for delegating increased participation of privately contracted consulting agencies in public urban education.

Columbine Shooting

In addition to local and federal legislation, there were many cases of highly profiled school violence incidents that influenced policy making around issues of controlling student behavior. Probably the most widely known violent act in a U.S. public high school occurred in April 1999 in Columbine, Colorado. Two students opened fire inside the student cafeteria, killing twelve students and a teacher, and injuring an additional twenty-four individuals. Ever since Columbine and some of the more recent school-based shootings, including the incidents at a Lancaster Country Amish school in Pennsylvania in 2006, and the shootings at Virginia Polytech Institute and Cleveland's SuccessTech Academy in 2007, many schools throughout the country allocated significant amounts of resources to purchase and install school security technology, such as metal detectors and video cameras (Russell J. Skiba & Knesting, 2001). It is important to point out that all of these school shootings occurred after the ratification of the 1994 The Gun Free School Act, thus leading to the overall questioning of the efficacy and relevance of unforgiving zero tolerance policies and ideology to establish school safety.

No Child Left Behind (NCLB)

The first administration of George W. Bush in 2002 introduced this federal legislation that re-involved the federal government in public schools and districts. Moreover, NCLB shook the grounds on which student academic achievement had been

measured. Unlike *A Nation at Risk* from twenty years earlier, NCLB has put tremendous pressure on public schools and teachers by requiring students to pass a series of federally mandated, annual standardized proficiency tests in reading, math, and science. As a result, teachers sustain enormous pressure by teaching specifically towards standardized tests. Student scores continue to determine if schools are making "adequate annual yearly progress," (AYP), "towards the goal of 100% proficiency for all students, including special education students and English language learners, within 12 years" (Christensen & Karp, 2003, p. 200).

Sanctions for schools that were unable to meet the AYP after four or five years have included numerous punitive measures, such as either paying teachers for increased student test scores (merit pay) or removing teaching staff who were connected to school failure, replacing the school's curriculum, decreasing a school's management authority, and consequently inviting so-called "outside experts" to advise "at-risk" schools and offer tutoring services (Karp, 2006). Other consequences have included school restructuring and the creation of charter schools. While this law funneled additional monies to the poorest and historically most under-served schools, and while it also acknowledges racialized disparities within student test scores, the needs of special education students, and the impact that under-prepared and uncertified teachers have had on student learning, these additional funds were the first to suffer from some of the most drastic budget cuts in education, thus leaving schools in escalated conditions of despair.

NCLB also consists of sanctions that allow students to transfer out of "failing schools" into learning settings with more tutoring services and other extracurricular and learning opportunities. With all its intricacies and depths, NCLB is a top-down approach

to surveille schools' overall academic performances (test scores) and individual student academic achievement and attainment.

With regards to NCLB being connected to school security and surveillance measures, one category of school transfers is the informally known "Safety Transfer," but more formalized "Unsafe School Choice Option" in NCLB rhetoric and can be found in Title IV in Part E, subpart 2, section 9532. A safety transfer permits a student who is either a victim of a violent or non-violent incident within the perimeters of a public school the option of transferring from the school to a safer public learning institution as long as the State is able to show support and the mandated documentation that define the school as "persistently dangerous." According to this federal legislation, schools are attached to this label if "they have two successive years of violent incidents that meet or exceed the criteria established by the Department" (The University of the State of New York, 2005). This criterion includes the use or the potential use of weapons, homicide, sexual offenses, robbery, physical assaults resulting in injury, and arson. NCLB also requires that each of these school districts completes an Incident Reduction Plan to outline what steps it will take to reduce the number of violent incidents. None of these mandates address the inequities in school funding or the social inequalities that public schools reproduce. Instead NCLB has been central in facilitating the privatization and corporatization of public schools.

Operation Impact, New York City

At the end of 2003, the DOE and the City of New York Office of the Mayor announced in multiple press releases that ten high schools and two middle schools were identified as the "Twelve Impact Schools…as the first phase of a new school safety plan

to reduce school violence and disorder and create safe learning environments in all City public schools." Known also as "Operation Impact," this policy exhibits how the selection of the twelve schools was made based on a quantitative and qualitative evaluation by both the DOE and the NYPD to document public schools with the most incidents involving assaults, weapons or dangerous instruments, and the total number of major crimes. Furthermore, "the new plan will identify and alleviate violent and disruptive behavior in schools by focusing on problem schools and problem students, in addition to streamlining the school suspension process" (City of New York, 2004). Subsequently, Impact Schools have received an increased number of school safety agents and the NYPD has doubled the number of permanently assigned police officers to each of the Impact Schools. (City of New York, 2004)

Beginning in February 2004, the DOE identified an additional four Impact Schools and with it, the NYPD has created a new 150-member uniformed school safety task force to surveille hallways, cafeterias and monitor school premises under court supervision and organize truancy sweeps. In September 2004, the U.S. Department of Justice granted $6.25 million to cover the expenses for fifty new police officers (Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, 2005), totaling a NYC school safety task force of 200 members.

NYPD and DOE applied as a model the "Operation Spotlight" initiative to Impact Schools to focus the attention of the criminal justice system "on chronic misdemeanor offenders who commit a disproportionate amount of crime" (City of New York, 2004). In other words, drawing school personnel's immediate attention towards students' behavioral issues will also increase the chance of instantly identifying quick solutions

such as removing undisciplined students from hallways and classrooms. Students with two or more principal suspensions within a 24-month period are considered "Spotlight Students," or treated as special cases that need intensified attention and supervision. Furthermore, an unforgiving three-strikes-and-you're-out policy is also implemented for those students with "Spotlight" status that frequently results in expulsion, and if needed, in arrest.

School Safety in New York City Now (2009)

Data by the Bureau of Justice Statistics shows that federal, state and local expenditures for police protection programs continued to grow enormously, 77.37% in the last decade (Petteruti & Walsh, 2008). In NYC this materialized in the form of an increased number of SSAs, now totaling 4,625, and since 2000, the addition of at least 200 armed NYPD officers assigned to NYC schools to conduct hallway sweeps, arrests, and school ground surveillance (Weiner, 2004). According to a study by the New York Civil Liberties Union, "if SSAs were considered their own police force, the number of SSAs alone would make the NYPD's School Safety Division the tenth largest police force in the country, with more school safety agents than there are officers in the police forces of Washington, D.C., Detroit, Baltimore, Dallas, Phoenix, San Francisco, Boston, San Diego, Memphis, or Las Vegas" (Mukherjee, 2007, p. 10). Additionally, in 2006, city officials reported that 21% of middle schools and high schools, a total of 82 public schools or 93,411 students, scan students using permanent metal detectors on a daily basis. But more noteworthy is the fact that police and SSAs are now getting involved in twice as many non-criminal incidents in schools with permanent metal detectors than in schools without them. In other words, permanently installed metal detectors make way

for school safety agents to seriously question or punish NYC students for non-violent behavior (bringing cell phones to school, for example) or in confrontations in which students are asked to take off their shoes to search for any hidden objects. It seems that the legitimacy of surveillance has been escorted into the space we call school.

In addition, school safety and surveillance practices in NYC continue to be racialized, as increased policing and the systematic criminalization of public schools have resulted in disproportionately punishing poor students and students of color (Russell J Skiba et al., 2002). According to various reports (City of New York, 2004; Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, 2005), suspension and expulsion rates of NYC Impact Schools, or schools that are troubled by higher rates of violent incidents and have received strengthened police presence as a result, match the national disproportionate school suspension rates; Black students make up 17% of the student population but account for 36% of out-of-school suspensions and 31% of expulsions (Sullivan, 2007). Furthermore, public schools with the most safety and surveillance practices are overcrowded, under-funded and their students are predominantly Black and Latino (Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, 2005).

On August 8, 2005, New York City Mayor Bloomberg, Schools Chancellor Klein, and Police Commissioner Kelly announced a significant drop in school violence and thus transitioned six schools off the Impact list (New York City Department of Education, 2005). According to city officials, Operation Impact proved to be a successful measure to reduce crime rates and disorderly conduct in New York City's public schools. Consequently, Impact Schools have received additional funding during the following

academic years and further increased the number of school safety agents and police officers, including a 200-member mobile School Safety Task Force.

Operation Impact, as well as its policy forerunners, have advocated and implemented tighter safety and security measures in public schools. This policy is a clear example of how multiple processes become part of the knowledge production on who needs to be disciplined in school and who deserves to graduate. These processes are anchored within the long-standing racialized, class-based and gendered ideologies of dominant social institutions and power relations. These processes have also served to set up these mechanisms as our current default system on how to define and create school safety. Tragically, young people, moreover poor youth and students of color, tend to accept the trajectory laid for them, and as a result, they internalize the development of their adult life in terms of an award they have earned. Precisely because of this, there is little resistance to the pipeline, because a large majority of adults believe that students hold grades, produce test scores and exhibit behavior according to what they deserve in life.

Conclusion: Towards the Construction of a New Epistemology of the Pipeline

Numerous scholars have moved away from solely using statistical information to display some of the profound consequences that the pipeline has had on young people's lives. Instead, many educational researchers are increasingly including qualitative data from interviews and focus groups with young people to document some of the multi-faceted injustices that the pipeline has produced in their personal lives as well as in the larger learning environment of their schools over the past 30 years (Nolan, 2007; Weiss, 2008). Furthermore, many researchers are turning their studies into participatory action

research with young people about youth experience with school safety and security mechanism. To illustrate this further, Michelle Fine and Nick Freudenberg (Fine et al., 2003) hired student researchers to survey and interview young people in some of NYC's parks, street corners, schools and libraries of their communities on the interaction and trust levels they have towards adult safety personnel in their schools. This youth action research project produced alarming data, namely the high incident rate of sexual harassment by police officers in schools towards female students. One of the interviewed students explicated, "they say they are protecting us, but they only make me feel more at risk" (p. 151). Another young woman admitted to being sexually harassed by a police officer, and commented," so this is how I learned the very people who say they are going to protect you sometimes make you the most vulnerable." With regards to describing their interaction with police officers in schools, youth of color have responded with comments like "officers … have the mindset that every Black male is some hoodlum, someone who is waiting to commit a crime" (p. 154), or "you get used to this, the downs, spread eagles …" (p. 153). Undoubtedly, a youth-centered approach to conducting research on the pipeline is in the position to unveil the multi-dimensional materialization of criminal justice-oriented educational policies.

It has become common practice to accept the aims of educational policy without questioning the underlying voices of authority and the social systems that maintain their interest and power. Looking at the language of Operation Impact could be a profound research method to unveil silenced ideological dynamics of domination and control that regulate practices of school order and safety. What other research methods can educational researchers turn to in order to challenge mainstream voices that advocate

without taking race-, class-, and gender-based biases into account when creating more security and surveillance technologies for schools?

It is time to question some of the most fundamental values and principles of schooling processes in public urban education. Even though most school districts claim they are successfully raising student test scores in standardized exams, one cannot overlook their affiliation with the overwhelmingly disproportional rates of suspensions and dropouts among students of color. With regards to the criminal justice and prison system, most people believe that prisons are filled with people who have committed violent crimes, i.e. murder and rape. Another widespread assumption about prisons is that they are the best solution to make our communities safer. The truth is that 92% of federal prisoners are incarcerated for non-violent crimes, and more than 50% of youth of color were arrested for non-violent infractions (School of Liberation and Unity, 2001). It is important to be clear about how both social institutions operate as agents of social control by instilling in young people what it means to be "normal," "good" and "obedient." Both the schools system and the criminal justice system have been central in teaching society about the values and norms that are regarded as central tenets for a consumer society.

Furthermore, it is time to create a new knowledge base that will lead to a new paradigm that makes room for critical thinking and critical educational research. It has to be a knowledge that challenges and dismantles oppressive and exploitative social and economic structures, the many institutionalized forms of racism, the anti-poor initiatives of the state, the many myths and false assumptions about discipline and safety programs in public schooling, the malpractices of school administration, and the entire notion of

meritocracy. This is also a plea for educational policy makers to direct their endeavors to critically reconstruct the legal and political scaffolding of schooling. As Pedro Noguera (2003) rightfully stated, "like the ballooning prison population that is disproportionately comprised of poor Black and Latino men, those who are punished and disproportionately pushed out of school have few advocates and defenders in American society" (p. 351). The making of new knowledge is not risk free, as it consists of taking a stance against the well-established institutions and their hegemonic gazes. This new youth advocacy is really a newly defined youth activism that demands from policy makers, administrators, the business elite, scholars, teachers, students and their parents to put their bodies on the frontlines in order to resist and fight against the mass-imprisonment, the mass-silencing, and the mass-displacement of poor, urban youth of color.

The next chapter provides the reader with a detailed description of each of our research methods. Furthermore, this is a study of the physical settings of six of New York City's public high schools. Our space-centered approach to gather data on how young people perceive and function within the physical spaces of their learning institutions offered us an infinite number of lessons, hidden perspectives and visually rich and non-traditional texts on how young people define some of the invisible characteristics of the pipeline. Moreover, our youth-centered methods have produced a series of incredibly complex narratives and often heartbreaking insights into student journeys through multi-faceted landscapes of school surveillance and complicated youth understandings of safety, trust, and individual academic motivation. On behalf of my co-researchers I voice our collective desire and hope that the following chapter will connect

our (research) labor of love with the ongoing work of other community-based educators, scholars, and activists.

CHAPTER THREE

Working with Participatory Action Research Methods to Document Young People's Intimate Knowledge with School Safety Practices in New York City's Public High Schools

Introduction

Four years ago in a public high school in Queens a student of mine in my social studies class, Laila,[*] commented after watching *Books Not Bars* (Landsman, 2001): "It is true that there are more people watching us, but it does not necessarily mean that they are paying attention to us." The film, a documentary produced by the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights in Oakland, California, portrayed an entirely youth-led movement against the expansion of the prison industrial complex in the United States. In addition, this medium displayed how the young people of the Books Not Bars Campaign fought relentlessly against the "Super-Jail for Kids" proposal in Alameda County, which was then about to be turned into one of the biggest youth jails in the country.

It is still unclear what exactly triggered Laila's comment; whether it was, as reported in the film, the $46 billion dollars spent annually on incarcerations in the U.S., the quarter of the U.S. population whose lives have been affected by the prison industrial complex, the more than 1.5 million American kids who have at least one parent in prison or jail, the Black youth who are 48 times more likely to be incarcerated for drug offenses than white kids, or whether it was the fact that girls make up the fastest growing prison population in the juvenile justice system.

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[*] All student names have been changed.

After viewing the film, Laila and her peers began to think immediately about the escalating number of security officers in some of New York City's public high schools. She described how public schools increasingly resemble scenarios of crime control and punishment. Throughout the school day, police officers and security personnel visibly patrol hallways and student cafeterias; vigilant mobile precincts are parked in front of school buildings; and metal detectors scan the bodies of students, staff and visitors especially in schools that are located in the city's poorest neighborhoods (Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, 2005). Decision-makers in New York City (NYC Department of Education), and their counterparts in other urban areas around the country believe in the success of these punitive approaches in disciplining young people to keep their schools safe and secured. Moreover, these surveillance and safety practices in public learning spaces are backed by enormous funding and have produced unspeakable injustice and violence in the cities' poorest communities where people struggle against economic and political marginalization. Many scholars, educators and activists are arguing that there exists an institutionalized collaboration between public schools and the criminal justice system, and that with the help of criminal justice-oriented educational policies disruptive students are removed from the classroom and placed in suspension rooms, regional truancy offices, and juvenile detention facilities. Since the early 1990s this phenomenon has gained nationwide attention and has been called the school-to-prison pipeline (Brown, 2003; Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, 2005; Noguera, 2003; Skiba & Knesting, 2001).

After watching *Books Not Bars*, my class sat in reflective silence. Finally, Darome, who is usually quiet and observant, stated what everyone else in the room was

hesitant to voice: "We know that all of these officers don't make us feel safer, then what's the purpose of it all?" It was at that moment, amidst the honest and fearless thoughts of my students, that I conceived the design for my mixed-method and participatory action research (PAR) study. However, instead of studying the purpose and reasons behind the increased use of punitive school safety policies in NYC public schools, I was more interested in examining the physical spaces that host these safety mechanisms. Thus I formulated the following two research questions:

1. What are some visible and invisible elements of the school-to-prison pipeline that mark the learning environment in some of New York City's public high schools?
2. What are high school students doing to navigate through the physical landscape of their schools?

With the first research question I wished to examine the different elements that orchestrate the physical presence of the pipeline, such as the increased use of metal detectors and surveillance cameras in public schools. I was also very interested in documenting some of its less visible characteristics. I wanted to know if the materialization of the pipeline has led to any change in the usage of spaces and places that traditionally have not been associated with teaching and learning. Unlike the visible elements of the pipeline that supervise the movement of student bodies, the second question inquires about the social and ideological manifestations of the pipeline such as to what extent security practices are made invisible, including to what extent they are naturalized inside school spaces. Since NYC public schools are increasingly operating under these safety and security mechanisms, I hoped to be able to document if these learning environments are perhaps leading students to identify alternative locations for

learning, teaching and social encounters with their peers, including how learning and teaching have possibly been redefined according to student perspectives.

I start this chapter by outlining my positionality as a researcher. Then I explain my decision to apply some of PAR's fundamental elements to the design of this project. I also discuss why I hesitate to consider this study a full PAR. By continuing with details about how I recruited my co-researchers, I then introduce all research methods. The chapter concludes with a description of our analysis methods.

Researcher's Positionality

With this study I listened to my life-long commitment to teaching and learning about social justice-relevant issues with teenagers. Only this time, I wanted this to happen outside the setting of the high school classroom to facilitate new collaborative encounters among citywide youth to nourish critical thinking and community-wide action. Furthermore, I wanted my research to participate in the construction of a youth-centered narrative about school discipline to identify alternatives to current punitive school safety practices. In order to reach these goals, I knew I had to invite the experts in students' lived experiences with the pipeline into this endeavor; namely high school students themselves. Thus, co-researching with youth some of the federal and national educational policies that sustain the social and ideological structures of the pipeline from a standpoint that honors the views of those who have been trafficked within its spaces, required me to choose and follow a conscientious logic of inquiry that would not further strengthen any demonizing and criminalizing discourses on young people and their regular encounters with systems of social control, discipline and surveillance.

In addition, researching the pipeline from a perspective that wishes to illuminate the footprints that young people have left behind while on their (involuntary, may I add) journeys through the intricate and under-documented pipeline's pathways seemed at times a very difficult and even impossible task. Some of the very schools that my co-researchers attended asked us to consider detours, as if to discourage us from such complex undertakings. This included one school safety agent who blocked entry into the physical space of one of the participating schools on the day two youth researchers wanted to video tape the ways they move throughout their school building. Fortunately, we had received authorization from the corresponding school principal prior to the scheduled video recording and who had to explain the project and our intention to security staff. Despite the hurdles, we decided to continue and remain dedicated to our Black and Latino friends who struggle to this day with recuperating their lost classroom time and incomplete assignments due to having spent long periods of time in suspension rooms or truancy centers. As a result of listening to the many heartbreaking and discouraging stories of my co-researchers, throughout the study it became very clear to me that adults in schools, including school safety agents (SSAs), teachers and administrators, and those who are under the influence of popular media's construction of "urban youth," often view and treat misbehaving and disruptive students as "dangerous," "deviant," "potentially dangerous," and "at-risk" (Giroux, 1997, 1999; Harris, 2004; Saltman, 2000). To my dismay many of the marginalizing discourses about poor students and students of color have become widely accepted and normalized in this society. I concluded that documenting young people's encounters with securitized and surveilled spaces in their schools was a more urgent task than I had ever imagined.

I certainly do not request that we ignore some of the most horrific cases of students who brought weapons into their schools and murdered their teachers and peers as seen in Columbine, Colorado, in 1993 and at Virginia Tech in 2007. This document is not asking the reader to forgive young people's willed criminal misconduct simply because they are young, less experienced and victimized by the larger economic structures and racialized political ideology that prevail in this country. But what I do argue is that there is a need for educating our communities about the pipeline as a product of racialized criminal-justice oriented educational policies, such as zero tolerance policies, that increasingly and disproportionately punish poor students and students of color severely for non-criminal behavior.

To summarize, if my study was to report on how youth are experiencing the pipeline, then all of my methods had to be youth-centered as well. I tried to ensure that my methods were non-threatening, welcoming and interesting to young people. In other words, I hoped for my co-researchers to be enthused about breaking some of the traditions of social science research and about co-leading a knowledge production *with* other young people, *about* young people, that would *stand in the service of young people*.

Why PAR? PAR as a Research Paradigm and Epistemology

My decision to step into the shoes of PAR was heartfelt, especially after being mentored by the daring work of numerous activist scholars whose inquiries have always stood in the service of collectively breaking free from hegemonizing, Eurocentric, vilifying and commodifying systems of knowledge production on urban youth in public schools (Fine, 2006; Giroux, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Meiners, 2007; Saltman & Gabbard, 2003; Smith, 1999; Weis, 1990). There are a number of reasons that led me to

this decision. First, PAR moves beyond the borders of positivist research activities by adding the weight of the human experience to the discourses of statistics and mathematical formulas, thus creating more intimate relationships between the researcher and the researched and allowing a firmer anchoring of data analysis within the vast landscape of social contexts. As educational researcher Ernest Morrell astutely comments, "Critical research is messy and near, but not less 'worthy' than more traditional forms of research" (2006, p. 113).

Secondly, PAR makes room for exciting and non-traditional activities. For example, the youth researchers in this study have created personalized floor plans of their schools to capture the locations of where they experience school surveillance. They also color-coded their journeys of how they each move throughout the school building during any given school day to correlate these two visual representations with the wealth of existing statistical data on student suspension rates by race and gender, for example.

Thirdly, by working together as a team of co-researchers, we changed the demographics of expertise on the pipeline. Instead of policy makers, administrators or corporate executive officers, I was part of a dynamic group of young people who carried an intimate knowledge about the intricacies of the pipeline as well as mainstream knowledge about it. More importantly, through PAR all youth researchers were equipped with skills to debunk the ideological and systematic miseducation that had been spreading misleading perceptions about the dangers that are supposedly found within urban public schools. Young people learned how to critically question and analyze some of the pipeline's elements inside their schools and studied how these mechanisms have failed to create safer learning environments. For example, youth researchers questioned the

effectiveness of metal detectors by asking themselves if the detectors really prevent violence from occurring. They often agreed with existing reports (Mukherjee, 2007) and supported the notion that metal detectors contribute to the systematic over-punishment of young people for non-criminal behavior. Youth researchers thought about how metal detectors facilitate the removal of a superfluous population of predominantly poor kids of color from school grounds (Brown, 2003; Duncan, 2000). Through PAR, our analysis was sharpened by some of the youths' real needs: equitable school funding, investment in extracurricular activities, learning resources and improved physical conditions for many of the city's dilapidating school buildings.

And fourthly, PAR has taught me that not only are there many ways to conduct and consider research, but also it has facilitated the politicization of the entire research team. Similar to other Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) projects (Cammarota & Fine, 2008), we took our conclusions into some of the schools in our communities and after-school youth programs to share our ideas for social action projects. The NYC-based Collective of Researchers on Educational Disappointment and Desire (CREDD) had inspired us with their courageous youth-centered campaigns to educate the larger community about how NYC's public schools are systematically pushing out young people. According to CREDD, school push-outs are left without sufficient and viable alternative educational opportunities and resources to successfully complete their high school education (Tuck et al., 2008). We continued to learn about YPAR processes by tracing the work of the Fed-Up Honeys, who implemented a clever citywide sticker campaign to educate the public about how forces of gentrification in the

city's Lower East Side contributed to intensifying racialized and gendered stereotypes of young women of color who reside in the same neighborhood (Cahill, 2004).

There are numerous other YPAR groups that document the experiences of young people and how they are "bearing witness" to the daily injustices in their lives (Fine, 2006). I learned after only the first few months of working with my team of youth researchers that PAR "takes lived experiences as the starting point for investigation, places emphasis upon the research process, and reconsiders the value of research as a vehicle for social change" (Cahill, 2004, p. 3). Unlike more traditional research during which "the researcher is simply a vessel into which the subject pours their essence, and is conceptualized as having no connection with the data produced" (Blake, 2007, p. 415), PAR surpasses this epistemological paradigm in that it requires co-researchers to commit themselves to the spaces and conversations that reside outside the boundaries of research meetings and protocols for semi-structured interviews, for example.

In summary, this project brought together a group of young people who, under the guidance and sponsorship of a graduate student, collectively implemented rigorous processes of data collection to build a youth-centered narrative on high school students' experience with surveillance and securitization in some of NYC' s schools. All of my co-researchers were in the thickness of all data collection, analysis methods, and analytical conversations for identifying the implications our research could yield for educational policy makers. From this perspective I agree with my colleagues at the City University of New York PAR Collective that our group of co-researchers embodies numerous fundamental PAR principles, including "the potential and power of collective wisdom … that people know things from their lived lives that go unseen by other modes of inquiry.

Each phase is collaborative and relies on reflection" (personal communication, December 1, 2008). My co-researchers would concur, via their lived experience with school safety and security practices, and by bearing witness to the disproportionate suspension rates among their Black, Latino and LGBTQ friends (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer), that they engaged in profound analyses of how racialized, class-based and gendered social differences have produced a fast track journey for students to travel between the premises of their public schools and the criminal justice system.

Why Not Only PAR?

My colleagues at the Participatory Action Research Collective at The Graduate Center of The City University of New York further outlined the fruits of our PAR labor: "There is no fixed method but instead theory, method, and question are matched continuously with the lives, talents, and skills of co-researchers." It is here where I pause to reflect that this study did not implement a full PAR epistemology. Each youth researcher played a double role throughout the duration of the project: they were both researchers and participants. As researchers they collected data, established coding systems for analysis, and presented some of our findings at regional and local conferences. Simultaneously they were participants as they provided data by creating surveillance maps of their schools and by being interviewed by me. They both inquired and were inquired; they gathered and disseminated. Thus they maintained a unique presence in this study that allowed them to situate their own experiences and encounters with school safety and security within the narratives of other citywide youth.

To this day I am stunned by their eloquence and the patience they applied to their double-role without ever diluting their personal standpoints in the process. Furthermore,

I have come to the conclusion that their double-role allowed some of their personal, conflicted struggles with the pipeline to surface (i.e. why do we feel safer with detectors in our schools when those who operate them simultaneously criminalize us?). It seemed by floating between the borders of researchers and the researched, we added our own flavor of triangulation to our analyses. It was an authentic process that provided us with a profound alternative to traditional forms of validating our data. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) best summarize this intention: "The combination of multiple methods, empirical materials, perspectives and observers in a single study is best understood, then, as a strategy that adds rigor, and depth to any investigation" (p. 4). While this project bordered and borrowed from PAR grounds, we shaped our own PAR-like and almost-PAR journey.

In addition, there are a few institutionalized hurdles that all PAR scholars have to encounter, no matter the PAR level to which their projects ascribe. And this is precisely why standardized protocols for research ethics prohibit the materialization of full PAR studies. In order to meet all ethics standards for conducting research in the social sciences, my research methods had to be approved by both the Institutional Research Board (IRB) at my university and the Department of Education (DOE).[*] In other words, I had to be sure that my study was going to be approved for following a research protocol that abided by all research ethics as outlined by the overseeing institutions *before* any research activity started. Similar to what I had to do when I first composed a research proposal for my department, this approval process situated me again as the sole author of

[*] A detailed narrative about the process receiving IRB approval is included in Appendix #1.

all first drafts of our research tools. Even though the young people in this project were trained and certified by my university's IRB to implement our methods for our data collection (i.e. youth survey), I had to take on the role of principal investigator to speak on behalf of all planned activities and consent forms without the consultation of my co-researchers who were soon thereafter at the forefront of our data collection.

As much as we wanted to avoid establishing a hierarchical division of labor during our course of working together, we could not deny the fact that institutionalized research ethics had inserted this structure into our study from the point of its conception. At times we were able to negotiate with the IRB to collectively create our research tools. Other times my co-researchers placed their trust in me to make administrative and logistical decisions in their best interests. Submitting our collective and collaborative research agenda to the surveilling gaze of an institutionalized protocol of research ethics injured aspects of our commitment to PAR. However, as a group we decided that our study does indeed embody an example of a PAR and we referred to ourselves as a PAR team.

Recruitment of Youth Researchers

It was in November of 2007 when I contacted some of my NYC teacher and educator colleagues to find out if they knew of any teenagers who would be interested in participating in my research project. I was looking for ten students who would also think that questioning the increased policing of spaces inside their public schools is an urgent and necessary task to perform. The only requirement I had in terms of who could join the project was that students had to be attending a public high school that was operating with safety mechanisms such as metal detectors, surveillance cameras, and School Safety

Agents (SSAs). I explained to my colleagues that all ten students would play the double role of being my co-researchers as well as the researched (generating information when, for example, they are being interviewed by me).

Almost immediately after my first outreach I was able to schedule a few recruitment presentations with different after school youth programs. On a late Friday afternoon I visited a Manhattan-based citywide youth leadership program, and it was there that I surprisingly met all of my co-researchers on one day. Initially, there were eleven students who signed up for my project, but due to the long-term commitment I was asking of participants, one student decided that he could not fit it into his demanding school schedule. Each student filled out a so-called application that I had prepared to collect their days and hours of availability, along with the reasons they were interested in joining this research collective (see Appendix # 3). It took another two weeks to establish our meeting schedule. The young people had to negotiate around jobs, taking care of their younger siblings, and attending extracurricular activities and tutoring programs at school. There was only one day left for us to meet: Saturday.

My co-researchers resided in all five boroughs of NYC, which raised the issue of finding a central meeting location that was easily accessible to all of us. We decided on the vicinity of Midtown in Manhattan. We met at my doctoral institution, The Graduate Center of The City University of New York located on 34th Street. My co-researchers were excited about holding our meetings within an academic and graduate learning environment that would expose them regularly to educational resources, such as top-of-the line computers, video technology and spacious meeting rooms. In retrospect I realize

that The Graduate Center assisted us with numerous tasks that spanned far beyond our PAR purposes.

Throughout our year of working together, many of the young people took advantage of having access to this space and used the computers to finish their homework and access online databases to identify special articles for their research projects at school. The seniors especially needed to be able to connect to the Internet on a regular basis as all of them were in the midst of making decisions about college and job applications. They often met after our weekly meeting to research college programs that spoke to their interests. In addition, seniors downloaded college applications and supported each other during this demanding time of meeting all admission deadlines. At other times they asked me for insights and tips about the college admission process. We also had many opportunities to meet other young people in the building who were part of other PAR projects with some of my colleagues in my department. Even though these encounters didn't result in any collaboration across our PAR projects, my co-researchers informed me that talking to the other PAR groups affirmed the validity of students' participation. Moreover, the fact that they met other youth researchers left them with the impression that The Graduate Center is a place that permits, recognizes and values the presence and input of young people in academic research. During the next 12 months, starting at the end of 2007 until early 2009, we began to craft a closely-knit community of action researchers. The following table (3.1.) provides an overview of all youth researchers in this project. I have added a mini-biography of each of my co-researchers in Appendix #4.

Name	Age	Gender	Grade	Ethnicity/Nationality
Allemand	18	Female	Sophomore	Egyptian
Askia Samuel	18	Male	Senior	South Asian
DC Scwartz	17	Male	Senior	Black
Dimples	17	Female	Senior	Latina
Ja	18	Male	Senior	South Asian
KD	16	Male	Junior	African American
MS	16	Male	Junior	Latino
Piper	18	Female	Senior	Caribbean
Starshonna	16	Female	Sophomore	African American
Vileta	15	Female	Freshman	African & Native American

Table 3.1. Members of Students Supporting Action Awareness (SSAs)

Who We Are

Our research team, including me, was comprised of six females and five males. My ten co-researchers knew each other before joining this PAR by way of a local youth organization. They attended six different New York City public high schools in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and the Bronx. Collectively we identified as multilingual and globally schooled, working class, South Asian, Black American, Caribbean, African, Latino, Native American, immigrant youth, spoken word artists, community activists and youth organizers. Half of the youth researchers attended some of the newly created small high schools and others came from the city's larger comprehensive high schools (some of which have received additional city funding to decrease their numbers of violent incidents, meaning, they are operating with an intensified number of school safety agents). All youth researchers identified their schools as learning sites that used school safety mechanisms and security technology, namely surveillance cameras and metal detectors, and a presence of SSAs to (add something here—lower crime?).

Over the course of working together, we developed very close, intimate relationships. The young people's prior interconnections via a local human rights youth

organization freed us from having to do a lot of getting-to-know-you activities, and thus allowed us to move fairly quickly into the focus area of this study. In addition, while I was undeniably the principal investigator, I also stepped into the role of friend and mentor for my co-researchers. I frequently wrote letters of recommendation for their scholarship applications and college admissions. We were also communicating with each other during times outside our weekly meetings to talk about homework and challenges they were facing with teachers, family and friends. I also spoke with their parents to keep them updated about their child's contributions and accomplishments, and about some of the changes we had to make in our meeting schedule. Sometimes I even had the chance to meet my-co-researchers' younger siblings when there were no alternative options for childcare but to bring them along to our meeting. And lastly, my co-researchers invited me to their high school graduation ceremonies to witness this very special moment in their lives along with their families and friends. To this day we remain in close and regular contact via emails and phone calls about our daily pains and joys.

Our Research Methods

Right at the beginning of our first meeting I explained to my co-researchers that I had already designed the research plan of action for our study that consisted of both quantitative and qualitative methods and that was also open to change as a course of methodological action. I also stated that I had originally proposed all research activities to follow a structure of two phases. The difference between these two phases was the number of youth researchers who would be participating in each of them. The first phase included all ten students. The second and longer phase would then continue with only five of them as a series of focus group activities and only after the team had collectively

selected who would be part of this smaller group. The rationale for this plan was two-fold. On one hand, given their numerous responsibilities of caring for their younger siblings, attending to jobs and taking care of schoolwork, I had assumed that students would not be able to commit over such a long period of time to regular meetings and special citywide events. On the other hand I had budgeted for each youth researcher to receive a stipend at the end of each research meeting. However, my funds were limited and would have not allowed me to pay all ten students for their work in both phases. I was surprised when my co-researchers adamantly declared that they were willing to take a cut in their stipends if all of them could remain on the collective. It was thus decided to rid our project of the two-phased structure.

We did not jump right away into our research methods. Similar to what I had to go through as the principal investigator to receive research approval, the IRB at my doctoral institution also required that all of my co-researchers complete the online human subjects course and exam (CETI). My co-researchers took this test prior to beginning with any of our weekly meetings. Some of them completed this long, detailed, comprehensive and multiple-choice test at home or on the computers at their schools. Others came to The Graduate Center on a few afternoons right after school and stayed until the evening hours to receive their human subject test certification. Once all of us cleared the human subjects online test, we were ready to embark on our research journey. The next table provides an overview of all of our research methods followed by detailed descriptions.

Table 3.2. Research Methods for Students Supporting Action Awareness (SSAs)

November – December 2007
Recruitment • Contacting several New York City-based youth after-school programs to invite ten high school students into the study; • Ten co-researchers complete a "personal information form" to describe their interest for joining the project and the types of safety and security practices in their schools; • Informational meeting before winter break in December.
January – March 2008
Building a community of researchers • Setting group guidelines and expectations; • In-depth discussions and workshops on research ethics, logics of inquiry, manifestations of the school-to-prison pipeline, Participatory Action Research as an epistemology and inquiry; • Review and revision of central research questions, proposed research methods and activities.
Youth survey: Design, distribution and administration (N = 114) • Revisit and strengthen IRB-pre-approved youth survey consisting of open-ended and multiple-choice questions of how young people define and experience safety and surveillance practices in their schools. Questions also included demographic information about survey takers; • Distribution and collection survey among peers in school; • Collective development of initial codes for survey analysis and data entry (N = 114 from nineteen different NYC public high schools).
April 2008 – December 2008
Turning school floor plans into "Surveillance Maps" (N = 10) • Creations of youth researchers' school floor plans that outline a) the premises of their school, b) location of all safety and security practices on school premises, and c) their personal movement on school grounds, (N = 10); • Prompts for mapping activity: a) draw a floor plan of your school; b) indicate on your floor plan how you move throughout specific spaces during the school day (i.e. what hallways do you use, where do you hang out with your friends) from the minute you enter until the moment you exit school; c) use special colors and shapes to show location of specific safety and security practices and the different use values you attach to specific areas and places; • Presentation of individual surveillance maps to the entire group; • Cross examinations and comparisons of all maps to identify emerging themes.
Video narratives (N = 10) • Participating principals signed and returned separate consent forms for video narratives to take place during non-instruction time; • Youth researchers each created a 15-20-minute personalized video narrative of how they move throughout the physical spaces of their schools during the school day; • Prompts for video narrative: "Picture yourself giving a tour of your school to a prospective student. Include all the spaces you use in your school and all safety and security practices your school uses. Tell them how you feel and what meanings you attach to them. Think of what is on your surveillance map, try to include in this video all the images of spaces, places and security practices;" • Entire research team watched all videos to compare each other's physical learning environment and discussed differences in security practices; • Collective identification of emerging themes and experiences.
Personal interviews (N = 9) Youth researchers' individual one hour-long semi-structured personal interview with principal investigator to elaborate on personal perspectives on safety and security practices in each of their schools.
Concept map Collective creation of poster-sized concept map in shape of a tree to construct contextual understanding of the multi-faceted manifestations of the school-to-prison pipeline (inspired by Paulo Freire's "Problem Tree").

Building a Community of Critical Researchers

Our journey towards fashioning ourselves into a closely-knit community of co-researchers began with signing a "Research Contract" (see Appendix #5), and spending a significant amount of time thinking about what we needed to provide for each other in order to be personal about our viewpoints and to speak openly about our experiences with systems of school security and surveillance. In order to facilitate this conversation, we taped numerous pages of newsprint on the walls. Each of us was equipped with a marker to write down our suggestions for establishing our group's "guidelines."

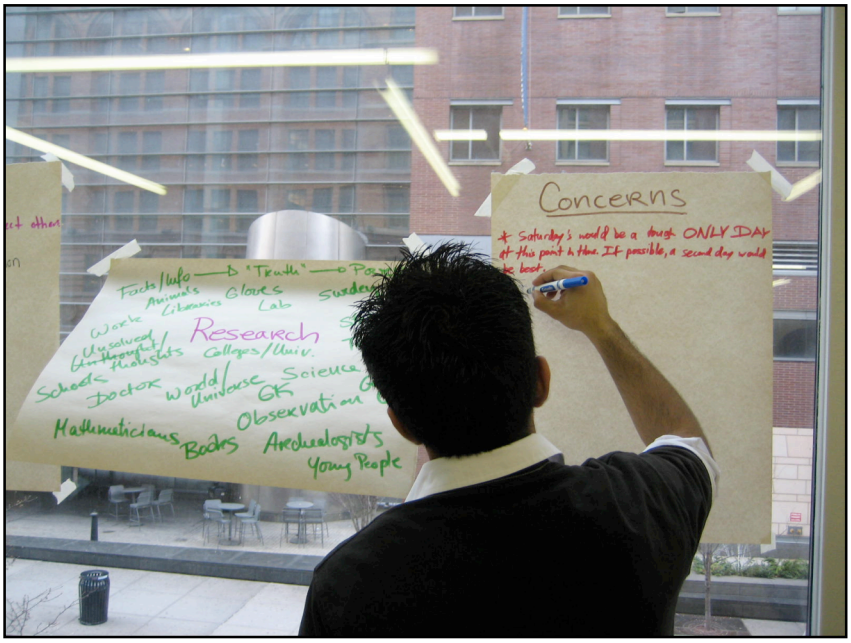

Figure 3.1. Youth researcher proposing group guidelines

We decided to not call our guiding principles "rules" because we immediately connected it to the very learning institutions that made us often feel unhappy, angry, and marginalized. Thus importing the word "rules" into our critical and youth-centered collective had the potential of inhibiting us from raising questions and identifying alternatives that could challenge dominant school safety ands security practices. Table 3.3 provides a summary of the foundation we had laid for our research team, including

our expectations and concerns we had named for each other. This conversation facilitated the drafting and signing of our "Research Contract."

Guidelines	Expectations	Concerns
• Respect yourself and others. • One person speaks at a time. • Listen to one another's opinion. • Participate. • Be kind and thankful. • Be on time. • Come prepared. • Analyze. • Be in the groove. • Never lose sight of the goal.	• Everyone should keep their promises. • Be on time. • Agree and disagree with each other in a respectful manner. • Finish our project. • Do good work. • Make yourself available to meet on other days besides Saturday. • Put your all into this work. • Keep the goal deep and at the core. • Have fun and be patient.	• Is one day per week enough to do all the work? • School principals: will they let us take the survey to school? • Can we add more weeks, if needed? • I am broke. • "Reserved seats:" people sitting in the same chair every week.

Table 3.3. Group guidelines

In addition, drafting our group guidelines also helped us to collectively unveil any silenced anger and frustration with school safety practices. A few co-researchers turned to creative outlets such as poetry, drawings and journal writing to allow their feelings to surface. Sometimes we used more formal thinking and writing exercises such as reading articles and then analyzing them to articulate our opinions and standpoints. We realized there were disagreements among us regarding liking and disliking security practices in schools. Some of us believed that it was an abuse of power for SSA's to be able to apply a punitive approach to discipline students for minor, non-criminal infractions such as writing graffiti on desks, arriving late to school, or refusing to take hats off during class. Others expressed their relief for having metal detectors that scan all students at the beginning of the school day to avoid a possible presence of weapons during the school day. Regardless of our dissonances, we believed in the importance of articulating and

questioning our views if we wanted to create a new, a more student-centered narrative around school safety practices.

It was also in these early stages that we started to express our hope around what purpose our research could serve. We had realized quickly that safety practices in our represented schools were not at all student-centered. In other words, adults decide what, where, when and who implements safety and security practices in schools. We articulated from early on how safety protocols are created by adults to maintain order and control over students and spaces in schools, and that young people are rarely invited into these conversations. We contacted other youth collectives to investigate possibilities of collaborating to organize youth events around this topic matter. Furthermore, my co-researchers decided that we needed to be able to refer to our work and our group under an official name if we really wanted to participate in actions and present our work at conferences. Many ideas floated around the room that day and we built a list of possible names for our group:

- Active Students for Revolution/Reform
- Students Supporting Action Awareness
- Active Youth for Revolution
- Diverse Safety/Schools Researchers
- Resolved or Resolute Students for Change

In the end we decided to call ourselves *Students Supporting Action Awareness* (SSAs) to re-appropriate an acronym used by the DOE to refer to school safety agents and who also, according to my co-researchers, are notorious for abusing their power and over-disciplining students for minor infractions in school. This conversation about our

collective name strengthened our motivation for conducting our research. As Students Supporting Action Awareness we wished our research to reach the potential of bringing students and administrators together to explore and implement alternative protocols for school safety.

Next, we read articles that illustrated multiple logics and modes of inquiry as well as some of the epistemological decisions educational researchers face during the time of assembling a study with human subjects. We also engaged in numerous interactive exercises and creative writings and discussions to clarify what research means to us individually, what types of collaborative research projects we either had heard of or had participated in, the reasons why people conduct research, the ways researchers collect data, the difference between quantitative and qualitative research paradigms, what participatory action research is, the role of social justice in PAR, and what contributions, if any at all, research in the social sciences is able to make to society at large and to specific communities.

In addition, we explored some of the central themes and larger social contexts of the "school-to-prison pipeline," and local, state and federal policies that sustain the systematic punishment and criminalization of young people in urban public schools. I shared with them a power point presentation I had created during the second year in my doctoral program, when I had just begun to formulate my research interest in the pipeline. We further strengthened our understanding of the social and historical landscape of school security and surveillance by reading related articles and fact sheets written by community and national organizations (Campaign for Fiscal Equity, 2003; Sullivan, 2007; Weiss, 2003). We used an "Article Summary Form" (see Appendix # 6) to guide

us through crafting our own content analyses of the articles we read together including those by Garrett Albert Duncan (2000), The New York Civil Liberties Union (2007), Loic Wacquant (2002), and Johanna Wald and Daniel Losen (2003). We also discussed reports and policy briefs written by authorities and experts in the field, e.g. the Department of Justice (2006), and countered them by viewing youth-produced videos (Landsman, 2001; Youth Camera Action, 2007), as well as youth performances (Fine et al., 2004) about how public schools in this country continue to under- and mis-educate young people by systematically creating practices and policies that contribute to students not completing the education they need in order to become productive and desirable workers in this country's economy.

Regarding how and by whom our weekly discussions were facilitated, most of my co-researchers were already trained by their prior participation in youth work in peer education and carried a wealth of experience in workshop facilitation. Nonetheless they openly asked me to facilitate most of our workshops. I kept all boundaries between the roles of the facilitator and the facilitated as blurry as possible by adding role plays, debates, physical movement and case studies to our agenda so that all of us took turns in stepping into the role of the facilitator. As a result, any one of us led discussions during workshops.

During this time we also enjoyed creating and collecting artwork that captured our personal experiences with school safety:

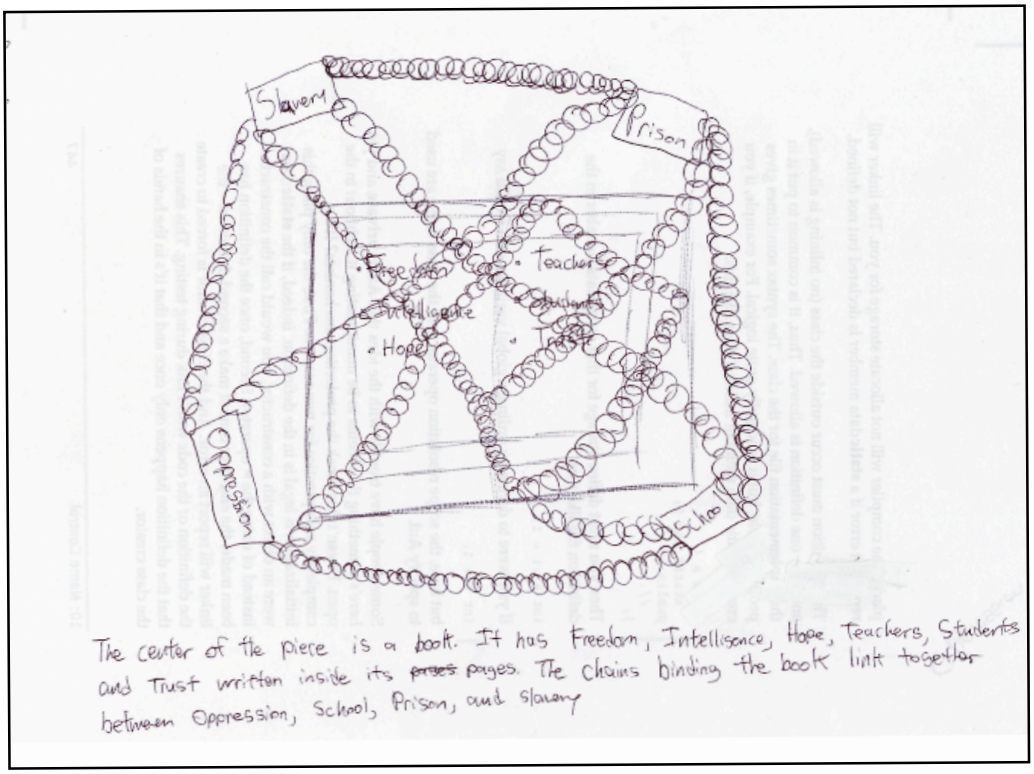

Figure 3.2. Youth researcher's drawing to describe the manifestation of the pipeline: "The center of the piece is a book. It has Freedom, Intelligence, Hope, Teachers, Students and Trust written inside its pages. The chains binding the book link together between Oppression, School, Prison, and Slavery."

These drawings led to some of our most insightful initial conclusions about the possible meanings of the pipeline. Sometimes co-researchers invited some of their friends to be guest speakers to enrich or challenge our views. For example, through a personal connection of one of the youth researchers, we had the opportunity to speak with a truancy officer who agreed to be interviewed by all of us on one Saturday morning. Another time one of my co-researcher's friends from another school joined us during a meeting and illustrated for us the heavy police presence at his high school in Manhattan. We thus gained a clearer understanding of the wide range of applied school safety and security mechanisms.

After this detailed period of methodological and epistemological explorations, including our familiarization with the larger social, historical and political landscapes of our research topic, we were eager and happy about turning all of our theoretical conversations into action. We did this by dedicating entire meetings to revisiting the central research questions I had formulated for this project. Further, we looked at all remaining research methods I had proposed for our group and discussed if they would be able to provide us with answers to our research questions. Our research tools consisted of both quantitative and qualitative methods.

Youth Survey

Our first praxis took place with a preliminary draft of a youth survey I had composed for the DOE to receive research approval. I was delighted that my co-researchers finally had the opportunity to add their voices to turn the survey into a more youth-centered and youth relevant research tool. By looking at one question at a time, my co-researchers applied their x-ray vision to how each question was posed, if questions encouraged other high school students to write about their experiences with school safety and security, and whether the survey overall was too long. We collected 114 completed surveys from students at 19 different public high schools, and worked together to create codes for survey data analyses throughout the remaining time of our project. A copy of our final youth survey can be found in Appendix # 7.

Surveillance Maps

Soon after collecting all surveys, co-researchers each created a floor plan of their respective high school in which they illustrated the physical spaces of their school, identified some of their school's security and safety mechanisms, and marked some of the

spaces they use during the school day. My co-researcher Starshonna documented the process of this research method. She wrote:

> To create our maps we went through a specific step by step procedure. First Patricia asked us to draw an outline/ blue print of all the school spaces that we all used. We created the maps based on one day out of the whole school week, and if we couldn't decide which day to use, Patricia said we could choose our busiest day. Then we incorporated entrances and exits, sign-in desks, principal's offices, suspension rooms, staircases, windows, bathrooms, cafeterias, library, auditoriums, locker rooms, and gyms. We only had to incorporate those things in our maps that were part of our daily experiences with school spaces.
>
> Then Patricia introduced her ideas for map keys to us. We added our thoughts and made some changes to make sure the map keys related to how we use our school spaces. After our discussion about the map keys it was time to apply them to our maps. We used our map keys to identify the locations of specific school safety and surveillance practices (detectors, cameras, NYPD) and our personal experiences with particular areas in schools such as places where we feel the safest, places that we do not use, most trafficked areas, least trafficked areas, places where we hang out with friends, areas that are bright, and areas that are dark. After we included those aspects on our maps we showed how we navigated through all of these spaces by drawing arrows to point to the details of our daily movement.
>
> Following the actual creation of our maps we paired up with each other, ideally with someone from another school. We exchanged maps, and looked at the map

of our partners then explained it back to them. We did this to just make sure that our maps made sense.

At the end, we posted all of our maps on the walls in our meeting room and we walked through our map exhibition. We also had a group discussion about our maps and answered questions around if we were able to convey the message about our schools and its spaces the way we had envisioned it, if we understood each others map keys, what we learned about each others schools, spaces, and security practices, and finally if our maps answered our original research question questions. This is where we began with the gathering of our map findings.

Although I created all map keys prior to beginning this mapping exercise, my co-researchers helped me to group them into two categories. First, youth researchers identified the locations of all security and surveillance practices on their maps. Secondly, students also identified particular spaces and places on their schools' premises to provide the reader with a window into what use values, feelings and other personal insights they have attached to these. At the end our map keys were classified according to the two themes:

A. Security and Surveillance:

- SSAs (unarmed) = orange or purple dot
- NYPD (armed) = black around orange dots
- Permanent SSAs = purple square
- Metal detectors = outlined in green
- Surveillance cameras = yellow dot
- NYPD office/Security office = outlined in red

B. Spaces and Places:

- Places where you feel the safest = dotted green line
- Places that you do not use/access = dotted red line
- Most trafficked areas = dotted blue line
- Least trafficked areas = dotted orange line
- Places where you hang out with friends = dotted purple line
- Bright areas = highlight yellow/large circle
- Dark areas = highlight green/large circle

As Starshonna explained, we discussed our maps thoroughly and in the middle of this process we decided to call them "surveillance maps" instead of school maps or floor plans for various reasons. We realized that with this visual research method we were able to shift away from a dominant discourse that has focused mostly on student behavior to explain the need for intensified school safety and security practices in schools. By following this call to action, we turned the gaze of surveillance technology away from student bodies and onto the larger learning environment. Furthermore, our maps display young people's profound knowledge about the different elements that compose the physical landscape of their schools. Finally, with our surveillance maps we examined if criminal justice-oriented educational policies influence the decisions students make around what places and spaces they use in school.

Video Narratives

To personalize their experiences with security and surveillance in school even further, each youth researcher produced a short video recording of the same physical spaces they had previously outlined on their surveillance maps. Prior to their recording

date, we discussed the procedure for this activity. The consent forms that each of their participating principal signed reminded us that we could do all video recordings only during non-instructional hours. In addition, in order to follow IRB regulations we had to be sure to not record any other human beings or body parts that could reveal their identities. We were the only ones who were allowed to appear fully in our videos. Therefore we agreed that only research team members would hold the camera throughout all recordings to avoid mistakes. To make it easier on me who would be traveling while carrying the video equipment through the city, we also decided that all video recordings would be scheduled according to school site since we had cases of more than one co-researcher attending the same school. For example, all co-researchers who attended the High School for Teaching Health Careers would be completing their video narratives on the same day to avoid multiple trips to the same site. In addition, whenever possible co-researchers would video record each other. When this was not feasible, I was in charge of holding the camera.

During June 2008 I met my co-researchers several times at the end of their school days. After checking with their school administrators and, sometimes, also with school safety personnel, I reminded students of the prompt for this activity, before the cameras were turned on: "Imagine me being a new student in your school. Please take me on a tour to show me all the different spaces you use during the school day. I am especially interested in finding out about the safety and security practices your school uses. Do these influence your choice of what areas and places you use?" The purpose of the video narratives was two-fold: first the videos further exhibited the physical spaces of the six different public high schools co-researchers attended. Secondly, the video narratives

combined visual images with their personalized spoken texts to provide the viewer with more visual data that highlight their daily encounters and acknowledgements of school safety and security. In summary, each video narrative expanded and enriched the stories that school floor plans had begun to tell us.

Semi-Structured Personal Interviews

After completing the video narratives, I met with each co-researcher for a semi-structured personal interview either after school or after one of our Saturday research meetings. Each interview lasted for approximately one hour during which we had in-depth conversations about the meanings that youth researchers attach to their school's safety and surveillance practices. Equally important, the interviews allowed us to be more personal with each other and thus we spoke deliberately about any aspects with which we might not have felt comfortable enough to share with the larger group. The interview protocol can be found in Appendix #9.

I had audio taped all of our research meetings and listened to them prior to conducting the individual interviews. As their interviewer I was grateful to have access to these recordings because I was able to revisit many of their contributions to our group conversations. However, I came across some specific moments when parts of the recording were inaudible or when we spoke over each other, thus causing inaudibility and even incomplete articulations of thoughts. After identifying the speaker, I brought these questions to the individual interview and asked the given youth researcher to help me to fill the missing pieces or for some elaborations of their stated thoughts.

Mid-point in our conversation I asked each of my co-researchers to describe an illustration I had printed out of the pipeline. I had found the image on the website of the

New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU). It depicts a group of students who are standing in line to walk through the metal detector of their school. There are also armed police officers dressed in anti-riot gear who are observing this safety process, while a surveillance camera in the background is assisting officers with the supervision of this process. Students who are about to walk through the detector are wearing regular clothes (jeans, T- shirt, sneakers, etc). Students who already walked through the detector are wearing orange jump suits. Due to copyright laws, I am not able to include this graphic in this publication.

Concept Map

We created a concept map at the end of June 2008 to design a poster-sized overview of the group' s understanding as well as a summary of some of our preliminary findings that we had gathered from our surveys and surveillance maps. We followed the Freirian method of a "Problem Tree" to construct our own visual representation of a lived complex social problem, namely the origins and day-to-day manifestations of the school-to-prison pipeline. The process of creating our own problem tree was a thrilling and (literally) colorful culminating activity. It allowed us to label our problem tree's roots, branches and leaves with short phrases and key words that summarized our collective mental and physical journeys through the challenging landscape of local and nation-wide criminal-justice oriented educational policies. More importantly, this Freirian method helped us with seeing and analyzing many of the social and institutional factors that sustain the pipeline.

We followed the step-by-step procedure as Paulo Freire had taught it in the 1950s and 1960s during his literacy programs for the poor in Brazil (Martinez, 2006). We first

posted large newsprint on one of the walls in our meeting room. I drew the shape of a tree on it, including its roots, trunk, and branches. Since we understood that we were about to examine the socio-political construction of the pipeline, we labeled the trunk ”school-to-prison pipeline.”

We named one tree part at a time and began with the branches to identify some of the existing and dominating attitudes of adults and experts, the mission of the collaboration between the NYPD and the DOE, and some of the educational policies we had studied that feed and grow the leaves. Next, we used small sticky green paper notes for the leaves. On them we listed some of the visible symptoms and every day physical manifestations of the pipeline according to how students experience and witness them inside and outside of school. These symptoms confirm the pipeline’s existence. We then posted our “leaves” at the end points of the branches.

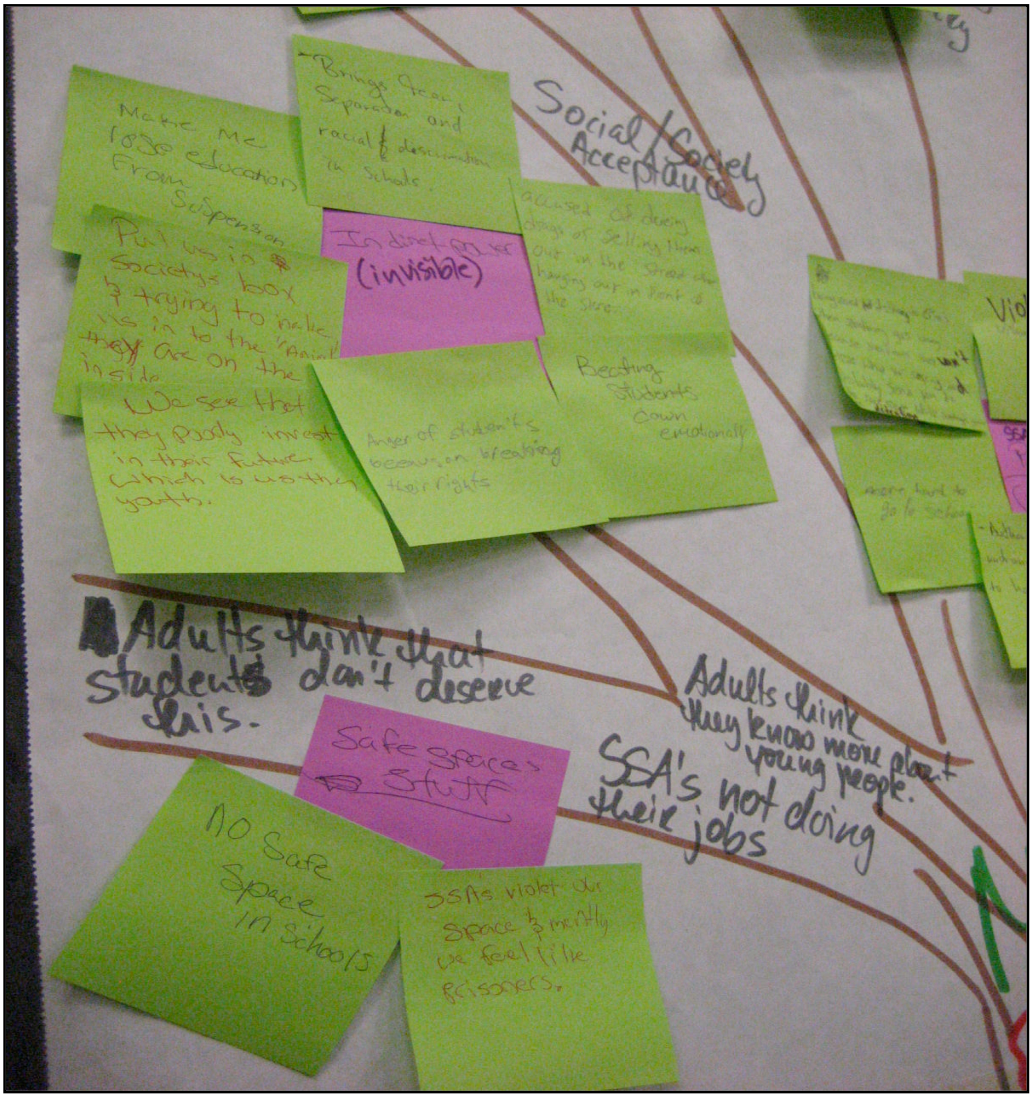

Figure 3.3. Sample "leaves" that show the daily effects the pipeline has on students, such as "adults think they know more about young people*"* and "SSA's not doing their jobs".

Following the identification of the leaves, we moved on to naming the roots, the historic processes, events, agreements and collaborations between people that are most often not talked about or associated with our social problem. These also include social values and belief systems that anchor and ensure the growth and survival of the pipeline.

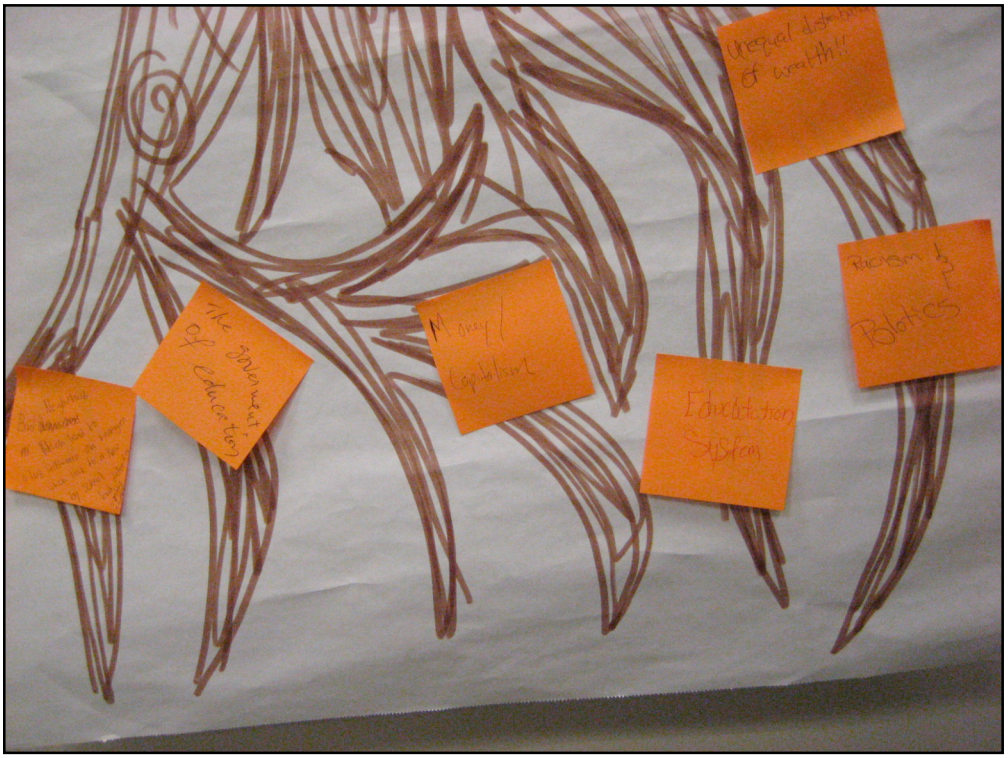

Figure 3.4. "Roots" of our Problem Tree that ground the structures of the pipeline (reading left to right): "The government of education, money/capitalism, education system, unequal distribution of wealth, racism & politics."

We agreed with Freire and hoped that the identification of all of our tree parts would also lead us to talking about solutions to the immense problematic of the pipeline. When we were ready for our tree to grow "flowers," or for us to create this list of what we could do to collectively fight against the makings, we used yet another color of small sticky paper notes, purple, to represent our ideas for taking action. We then posted "our flowers" next to the leaves.

Our completed tree reminded us of the many turns and detours we had to take throughout the thick structural and ideological foliage of the pipeline in order to be able to talk confidently and profoundly of the pipeline's impact on young people and their public schools. In addition, our tree was grounded within many of our researched and

personally lived insights and revealed our rigorous labor as both individual educational researchers and research collective.

Figure 3.5. Final School-to-Prison Pipeline Problem Tree

Writing Retreat and Special Meetings

During the summer months in 2008 I met with six of my co-researchers a few times to examine and identify any possible theoretical framework that could anchor our methods, standpoints and findings. At the end we called these four summer meetings our "writing retreat" because we engaged in several in-depth conversations during which we

combined our personal experiences with the data from our survey and components of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to determine if concepts such as institutionalized racism, white property, and the historically silencing of people of color applied to our work. We kept personal journals about our conversations and personal reactions to them.

In December 2008 we had a "reunion meeting." Five of the ten youth researchers had finished high school in the spring of 2008 and had left the NYC area to go to college in different cities. Students had emailed me about wanting to see each other again and wanting to continue to work on our data before the beginning of the new semester. Besides celebrating our reunion, we also worked on revisiting and finalizing our lists of findings.

Data Analysis

Our collective data analysis began with workshopping two different and opposing types of analysis methods, namely some of the deductive and inductive ways through which we could develop a system of structuring, interpreting, and coding our vast and diverse collection of texts and symbols (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). I asked my co-researchers for their opinions and which approach they thought was most helpful for organizing our data so that we would be best able to answer our two central research questions:

1. What are some visible and invisible elements of the school-to-prison pipeline that mark the learning environment in some of New York City public high schools?
2. What are high school students doing to navigate through the physical landscapes of their schools?

Deductive Analysis

Youth survey.

We decided to put our analysis method-savvy minds into action by first looking at our survey data by using a deductive procedure. With this top-down analysis method we searched through and across all surveys for insights that were congruent with our central research questions. We looked for student responses that made direct references to their school's safety and security mechanisms. We then explored the extent to which these could be connected to the manifestations of the school-to-prison pipeline. For example, we read over all student responses to one of our open-ended survey questions, "What does school safety mean to you?" We then made a list of all responses that explicitly named or acknowledged particular school safety practices, security mechanisms, surveillance technologies, abusive behavior by police officers, and for any other insights that could be connected to the presence of the school-to-prison pipeline. In other words, we looked for direct clues that we could use to construct a response to our first research question, "What are some visible and invisible elements of the school-to-prison pipeline that mark the learning environment in some of New York City public high schools?" This filtering process of our data produced the following list of answers:

- People who wear a NYPD-like uniform and protect the school
- Jail
- Cops in school
- Well, school safety actually describes lockdown as in surveillance cameras, metal detectors, and security guards everywhere. You can't even wear boots without taking them off.

- School safety does not mean much to me. It is law enforcement that can go wrong and end up being negative.
- Prick, instigator, wanna be cop
- Cops walking around school, looking for kids to suspend.
- Metal detectors, school officers, late to class, no freedom, jail house
- I'm sorry, but safety means nothing to me. Only that they abuse the laws.
- School safety means the protection of students through voluntary and non-voluntary actions that enforce various safety measures.
- The right to one's education without feeling like a criminal or being afraid.
- Having people checking my bags and making me take off my jewelry, coat, etc. before getting in school.
- It means obnoxious individuals can impose on students for usually trivial things although there are exceptions.

However, we quickly grew frustrated with this highly limited analysis approach for three reasons: first, we were ignoring the wide range of information that all 114 answers to this question were offering and thus homogenizing all questions by manufacturing their answers in such way that we were forcing them to only speak back to our central questions. Second, by separating answers from their parent question on the survey we were also stripping answers off of their rich and profound individual contexts. As a result, most survey data was not transported into our analysis and thus we were assembling a very shallow picture of young people's experiences with securitized spaces in schools. Third and most alarmingly to us, by manufacturing our data to answer the question of what high school students are doing to navigate through the physical

landscapes of their schools, we were also implying that the pipeline was already having an impact on the physical spaces of schools and that young people were already aware of it and thus had made conscious decisions regarding the directions and choices of their daily movement. As critical researchers we had to change our analysis method.

We were now clearer about the power of data analysis and switched into a more inductive approach for reading our survey data. We re-read all surveys numerous times with the goal of absorbing and holding as many stories as possible. We wanted them to float freely in our heads for some time before collectively building lists of some of the main ideas they were referencing. In other words, this from-the-bottom-up approach allowed the data to inform us about what students have to say about their schools' securitized and surveilled spaces instead of us manipulating it. This change in analysis standpoint was fundamental as it allowed us to include details and wider contextual angles in our coding and categorization processes, or as LeCompte and Schensul had taught us, "the emergence of patterns actually occurs because the researcher is engaged in a systematic inductive thought process that clumps together individual items at the specific level into more abstract statements about the general characteristics" (1999, p. 68). We thus decided that we would continue with this inductive analysis with all remaining survey questions and all data from our other methods.

Inductive Analysis

Youth survey.

We decided to divide all open-ended questions among all of us so that each one of us was in charge of recording all answers to the same question across all surveys on a separate sheet of paper. Once a list of all answers was established, we each grouped the

text based on a repetition of ideas. This was an organizing method we had learned from Auerbach and Silverstein (2003). It consisted of the following: we highlighted the first statement on top of our list in one color, i.e. yellow, and then searched all remaining list items for the same idea. If a match was made, that text was also assigned the same color. Once we completed the scanning of all answers for their common denominator, we continued to work individually on identifying labels that best describe the given group (i.e. yellow group). This was a necessary step for us to develop categories and codes for our data. We then repeated this procedure for all remaining answers on our lists; we always started a new category by assigning a different color to a non-highlighted item on top of our list (i.e. purple) and then systematically moved down in search of building a match. This process was repeated until all text on our list was part of a color category. Once we had finished categorizing and coding each of our data set, we then presented our results to the group for feedback.

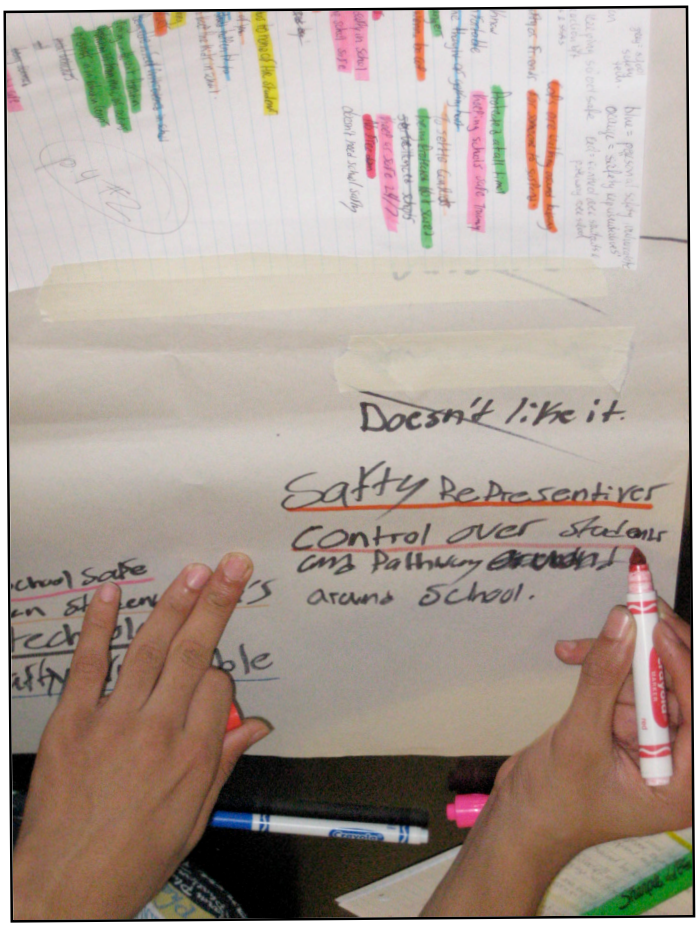

Figure 3.6. The process of creating categories of repeated survey themes.

We treated multiple-choice questions and scaled questions differently (e.g. "What do you like about your school? For each item below, please place the number that describes your opinion on the line next to it"), including questions that asked survey takers about their demographic and personal information (zip code, age, race/nationality, and gender). We entered demographic data into both SPSS and Microsoft Excel to run frequencies and build correlations. Here too, our data was speaking back to us and helping us with factoring students' personal background information into the type of encounter they have had with school safety practices.

Surveillance maps.

At the beginning we were not sure how to begin with summarizing the diverse places and spaces in schools to which youth researchers had attached special meanings. We were overwhelmed by the rich visual data each map had produced. Moreover, we constantly leafed through all ten surveillance maps at once in order to construct a narrative about each of the six different high schools that youth researchers attended. This however was a very disorganized process. We wanted to be more efficient while also preventing our surveillance maps from physically falling apart due to our continuous touching of them. We asked ourselves if it was possible to create a one-page overview that would summarize the results for one map key at a time but across all maps.

We looked into some analysis methods of cultural ethnographers and came across these so-called taxonomies that seek "to show the relationships between all the included terms in a domain" (Anderson, Herr, & Nihlen, 2007, p. 220). We understood our own taxonomies would be tremendously helpful to add structure to the analysis of our map data. Our map keys were each the common domain across all surveillance maps. In addition, the work of LeCompte and Schensul (1999) informed us that this form of domain analysis

> visually represents the hierarchical ordering of items as well as the linkages and relationships among various items in a domain. They not only help to classify information, but they can be a critical first step in identifying structures in the cultural life of whatever group an ethnographer studies. (p. 74)

We agreed to build a separate taxonomy for each map key. The different answers that each map key produced were then added as their individual subsets. The following is an

example of how we constructed our taxonomy for the domain of location of "surveillance cameras":

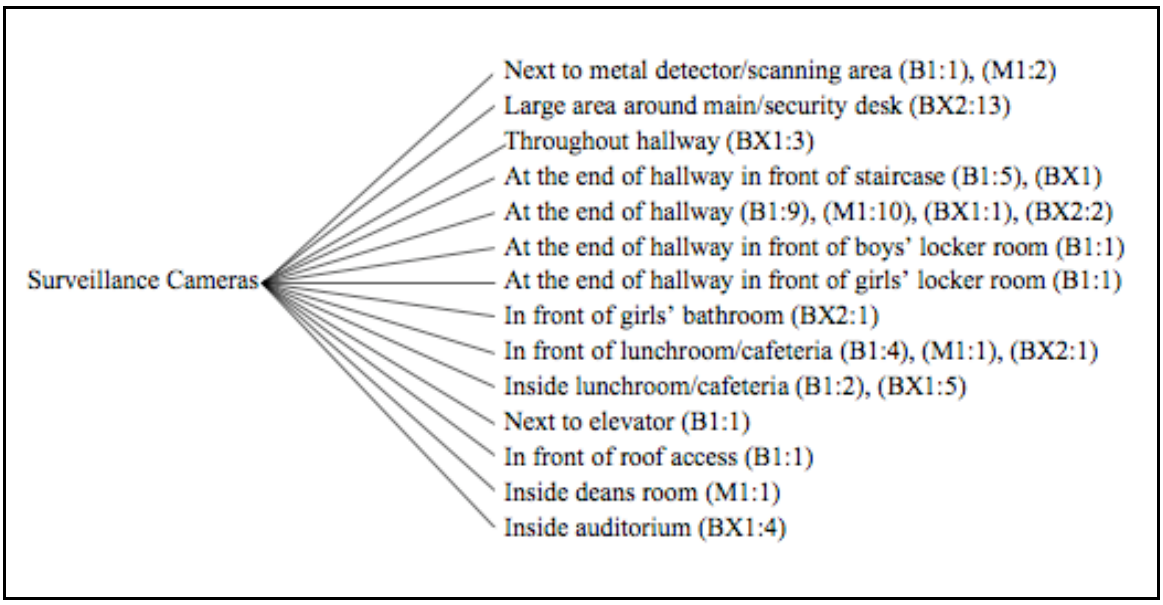

Figure 3.7. Taxonomy for locations of surveillance cameras" in schools.

The letters and numbers in parentheses refer first to our school codes and then the number of surveillance cameras each youth researcher included on her or his map. Finally with the creation of this diagram we were able to begin our discussion and analysis around the possible impact of school security and surveillance on students and the physical spaces in their schools.

Video narratives.

As a research group we watched each video narrative at least one time. Each video elicited multiple valuable insights to specialized school security mechanisms and only after viewing the first video did we conclude that it was impossible to remember each video's salient themes. We decided to design a "Video Work Sheet" (see appendix) to guide us through answering a series of questions while watching each video. Questions on this work sheet include naming the specific locations of SSA's and

surveillance cameras, the colors of any of the recorded school spaces, any specific emotions or vibes the video evoked for us, and a scale numbered one through five to rate the given physical spaces (the number one represented the most positive value, i.e. "great"). At the end of each video we discussed our answers with the large group. While we did not transcribe each video narrative to search for repeated themes or conduct discourse analyses of individual student stories about their learning spaces and surveillance and security mechanisms in school, all video narratives served as a medium to visually access each others' learning spaces and to facilitate numerous processing conversations that helped us compare and contrast the different sizes of participating schools, the state and quality of their physical condition, and the different types and levels of implemented school safety, security and surveillance practices. Each video narrative enriched and expanded the meanings of the texts that each surveillance map had previously produced. I concur with Travlou, Owens, Thompson, and Maxwell (2008) and their discussions on the need to apply youth-centered research methods to documenting young people's lived experiences and capturing "representations of young people's reality and themselves as they engage with it" (p. 324). Our video narratives accomplished this by combining young people's perceptions of their physical learning environment with their recorded discussions about the different visual representations of the meanings they attach to these.

Personal interviews.

All interviews were audio taped and I hired a professional transcription service to write them out for us. After reading through them repeatedly I then identified some of the emerged themes and wrote them in the margins. My co-researchers read through

their own individual interviews afterward and helped me to establish a final and summarizing list of themes our conversations had produced.

Method for identifying themes across all data.

We invented a participatory assessment method to organize our research findings across all data types. Its design and structure were pieced together when we first finished setting our preliminary analysis codes for our survey data. We were curious about whether or not we could summarize what survey takers had told us about their experiences with safety, security and surveillance practices in schools without searching our survey. With me writing down all ideas on the chalkboard in our meeting room, my co-researchers compiled the following list of themes that provided an overview of our survey data:

__ Favoritism played by SSAs towards students

__ Clearly set parameters/boundaries of school grounds

__ Definition of discipline

__ Screening and training of Security

__ Segregated schools based on language and nationality difference among students

__ Need to identify counter plans and alternatives to current safety practices

__ School finance (money spent on school safety takes away from other things)

__ Cost of protection gives security more power

__ Student attitudes towards SSAs

Without my participation youth researchers collectively agreed on how to rank all items according to their importance, a decision they made based on their own lived experience with school safety practices (the number one indicating most important and the number

nine signifying least important). As a group they came to a consensus and wrote a number value in front of each of the items.

We conducted this assessment activity a total of five times during our period of coding and analyzing our different data types. More specifically, as we moved through reading and viewing our surveillance maps, video narratives, and conducting our personal interviews we added two more themes to this "Research Theme Ballot," resulting in a final ballot consisting of eleven different themes. The last ranking took place at the end of June 2008 and students decided to go one last time through an individual ranking procedure. They were interested in comparing their individual responses with each other to find out if, after having worked together over such a long and intensive period of time, there was the possibility of producing variances among them.

In retrospect I realized that our "Research Theme Ballot" contributed to PAR's larger effort to intervene and redefine "who holds expertise" (Fine, 2008, p. 225) or whose voices count in the production of knowledge. With the ranking of our emerging themes we personalized and redefined the notion of construct validity because co-researchers used their youth-centered standpoints and trusted the authority of our lived experiences to "determine how cause relates to effect," or how young people describe the multi-faceted effects of school safety and security in their daily lives.

Conclusion

In summary, this mixed-method and participatory action research project with ten high school students in NYC was guided by the following research questions: 1) What are some visible and invisible elements of the school-to-prison pipeline that mark the learning environment in some of New York City public high schools?, and 2) What are

high school students doing to navigate through the physical landscapes of their schools? All research methods created a wealth of visually rich data and amazingly detailed snapshots of the pipeline's materialization. In other words, our youth survey, surveillance maps, video narratives, personal semi-structured interviews and collective concept map of the pipeline puzzled together a contextually rich and youth-centered kaleidoscopic of the pipeline's multi-faceted manifestations within the physical spaces of schools in which students are expected to learn, grown, interact, and develop into productive members of society.

Our data analysis first followed procedures in both inductive and deductive methods. However, after growing aware of how the from-the-top-down deductive mode embodied a rather limited approach to situating meaning within each of our data sets, we switched to a complete inductive analysis mode. Our inductive analysis methods included three different types of activities:

- Identification of repeated ideas to compose summarizing categories
- Constructing visualized quantification (taxonomies of surveillance maps)
- Running frequencies and correlations on computer programs

While my co-researchers were intimately involved in establishing all of the aforementioned tools for our data analysis, I remained the central person to oversee and mostly executed all data analysis for our study. However, given their close involvement in this study, during the period of writing I continued to seek the input and assistance of my co-researchers. They were my most reliable and trustworthy authorities to assess all written pages. While I will make "I-statements" throughout the presentation of our findings, the reader should know that my co-researchers have entrusted me to speak on

behalf of the entire group, and thanks to them I am in a position from where the "I" confidently and comfortably represents the "us" and "we." In addition, we hope that this document will serve more than the purpose of completing the institutional requirement of a dissertation or following the rigorous guidelines of another publication. Ideally this chapter should eventually become accessible to other youth researchers and youth researching groups, maybe in the form of a methods manual to inspire bigger and wider inquiries on how to interrupt systems of inequalities as well as paradigms of one-sided research methods and designs.

In the following chapter I begin with presenting the specific findings our PAR. I particularly lean on various theoretical frameworks and concepts borrowed from human geographers, political economists and sociologists to critically point at some of the peculiar characteristics of social space, spatial formations, and spatialized power relations, and to investigate how these are intimately anchored within the social and political groundings of the school-to-prison pipeline.

CHAPTER FOUR

Filling-In Spaces of School Safety: Materializing Space, Surveillance and Discipline as Interrelational Social Processes

"Nobody is allowed to be on the second floor because if people would be allowed, everybody would be just hanging out at the balcony looking at everybody, looking down at SSAs and NYPD. So security makes sure that nobody hangs out there to look at them or to throw stuff at them. Whatever. So that's one example of how security practices impact physical space. Because of security downstairs, nobody can use the second floor."

--Stashonna*

Introduction: Why Study Spaces of School Safety and Surveillance?

I turn to the news to help me open this document. At the moment of conceiving the lines that occupy these pages, multiple news channels remind us about the violent shootings at a Colorado high school in Columbine exactly ten years ago on April 20, 1999. To this day, the images of this shocking incident that took the lives of 12 students and one teacher remain vivid in the public's mind and are depicted by media as one of the most violent events to take place on the grounds of a U.S. public school. While the tenth anniversary of the Columbine fatalities trigger both disbelief at the great human loss and rage against a failed suburban school safety system that should have been able to prevent the horrifying events of that day, many schools districts and city administrators in this country have since then been advocating for placing school safety as a top-notch priority

* All youth narratives and responses throughout this document appear unaltered and in their original content.

for public schools, particularly in urban areas. In the meantime, school structures that produce social inequalities and institutionalized racism in young people's lives remain intact just as much as the new and intensified school policing and school surveillance technologies similarly strengthen the legacies of urban education's raced, classed and gendered social injustices.

Since Columbine, heightened school safety and surveillance mechanisms have turned surveillance technology into an incredibly lucrative industry in this country and reshaped public schools into "techno-fortifications" (Casella, 2006). To illustrate further, in 2004, the federal government spent 60 million dollars on hiring police personnel to work in schools and 19.5 million dollars on school safety equipment (Pitts, 1999). In 2004 in New York City (NYC Department of Education), the Department of Education (DOE) and City Council approved security cameras to be installed in every public school, and consequently 155 of the 1,300 city schools began with the installations. However, to this day the total number of schools with cameras remains to be reported (Bennett, 2004). The New York based Sentry Technology Corporation reported that five to ten percent of its 30 million dollars in annual sales of closed-circuit television sets come from schools. The cameras, which can be expensive, range from 1,600 to 20,000 dollars (Pitts, 1999). Shortly after, in 2006, NYC reported that 21% of middle schools and high schools, a total of 82 schools, scan students by using permanent metal detectors on a daily basis (Winston, 2007). Altogether, cameras, tazers, and scanning machines are now used to monitor urban school spaces and have unobstructed access to regulating students' bodies and their physical movement during the school day. The full securitization of NYC public schools, the country's largest public school district, has created a new school

safety-based division of labor (Devine, 1996) under which teachers are restricted to accessing student minds via the classroom encounter, while security staff and police officers are trusted to supervise and discipline student bodies.

I claim that spaces of school safety are attached to an abundance of "behind-the scenes" for-profit interests, as mentioned above. These include designs and economic structures that are invisible to the eye but that inform and shape daily human activity across space and scale. Furthermore, by drawing analytical connections between outsourced U.S. means of production on a global scale, increased federal investment in Homeland Security's special immigration units, and fortified local community surveillance programs in NYC, for example, geographer Cindi Katz encourages us "to imagine a politics that maintains the distinctness of a place while recognizing that it is connected analytically to other places along the contour lines that represent not elevation but particular relation to a process, e.g. globalizing capitalist relations of production" (2001, p. 1229). Because space is profoundly and historically connected to human relations and thus production, consequently its material is constantly informed and reshaped according to the purposes, demands, and requirements of the given social activity. Additionally, I argue that the overt and covert meanings of physical spaces of school safety and their spatialized and thus materialized social and political underpinnings need to move beyond some of the most prominent discussions on space: that school safety is an ideological sphere to examine the social reproduction function of schooling (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Willis, 1981); an alienating unit that houses the "hidden curriculum" of knowledge production (Apple, 1990, 2003); an analytical tool to dissect the theoretical groundings for critical pedagogy

(Giroux, 1983); an innovative and situated spatial-temporal setting to transport student learning beyond factual knowledge into larger social contexts (Lave & Wenger, 1991); a political instrument to facilitate the internalization of spatial design as structures of social control by dominant power relations (Foucault, 1977); and a medium that either facilitates or hinders the development of individual identity formation (hooks, 1990; Yon, 2000), for example. Whether physical, social, historical, political, ideological, mental or emotional, the multi-faceted definitions and manifestations of space remain under-examined in education because its materiality and manifestations as both a methodological and epistemological tool are not included in many research designs.

Hence, my underlying argument throughout the discussion on the next pages is the following: space is a product of social processes, and school space as a physical site is not immune to the affects that intensified school safety and surveillance have on its use value as well as the social interactions it facilitates. Or, as Doreen Massey stated, space is not simply a passive surface with people and their trajectories like phenomena "floating on it" (2005). In addition, space is not a flat and empty surface, but rather intricate and socially diverse. Not neutral and silent, but absorbing and able to soak up and inform social encounters. Thus space is as real as physical material; a living and productive sphere that is constituted "through the social, rather than as dimensions defining an arena *within which* the social takes place" (Clarke, Harrison, Reeve, & Edwards, 2002, p. 288, original emphasis). Additionally and as our data will show, uneven power distributions between school security staff and students teach us that space creates interrelational performances (Duncan, 1996; Rose, 1991), and more particularly,

school safety and surveillance fashion school spaces into highly race-, class-, and gender-based contested sites (Ferguson, 2000; Katz, 2004; Linville, 2009; López, 2003).

Given these numerous interested social relations and processes that space embodies, the notion of " the hidden curriculum of space" as brilliantly and so urgently brought to educational research by Maryann Dickar (2008) is certainly applicable to the urgent call for educational researchers to unveil the multiple meanings and ideological messages that are "hiding" behind school safety practices. Dickar completed an ethnographic study on the restructuring of a large NYC comprehensive high school that was once known as overcrowded and academically under-performing and now houses three additional smaller schools by the standards of the Small Schools Movement. With her study Dickar documented the impact this institutional reform had on students, discourses, and their learning spaces. She concluded:

> The physical plant itself informs much for the discourse on Old School prior to its restructuring and calls attention to the hidden curriculum of space. Though not carrying out any explicit policy, the physical appearance, condition, and utilization of the school's space convey powerful messages to students about the meaning of education and their place in American society. (p. 27)

Similar to her study about the spatialized changes at Old School, this study at-hand captured how school safety and security leave visible and invisible footprints on the schooling environments of multiple NYC high schools as well as how young people experienced these.

Our visually rich data answers one of our two central research questions: *What are some visible and invisible elements of the school-to-prison pipeline that mark the*

learning environment in some of NYC's public high schools? Our findings offer great insights on the specific physical and thus visible manifestations of current safety practices in six NYC high schools.[*] This includes details about their physical location, as well as their quantity and frequency. Before proceeding, it is important that I explain how the remaining text is organized: I continue with conceptualizing surveilled school spaces as contested sites to explain how practices of school security and surveillance carry on the legacy of fiscal inequities of the country's largest public school district. Our survey data confirmed some of the groundbreaking insights that the Campaign for Fiscal Equity (2003) and the Drum Major Institute for Public Policy (2005) produced in recent years. With the help of our survey data I demonstrate how current school safety practices might be legitimizing systematized segregation of urban education in this country (Leonardo & Hunter, 2007).

I present our data with the help of Henri Lefebvre (1991), who dedicated his life to thinking critically through the social, historical and spatial intricacies of the production of space. However, it is under the guidance of Edward Soja's concept of "Thirdspace" (Soja, 1996) and his spatial constructions that were profoundly shaped by Lefebvre, that I report on the intimately perceived, conceived and lived knowledge that NYC youth possessed about the securitized and surveilled schools. I conclude with encouraging scholars to consider the daily lifeworld of urban youth as a vital site for refreshing and strengthening our epistemological and methodological frameworks for building pedagogies that welcome spatialized knowledges into sites of educational inquiry. To

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[*] Throughout this document I use "I," "we," "us" and "our" interchangeably to signify that my co-researchers have entrusted me to speak on behalf our research collective.

include the words of Doreen Massey in my own spatial, community and scholarly activism, by studying the securitized and surveilled sphere of NYC public schools, I hope this endeavor helps us "to think of spatiality in a highly active and politically enabling manner" (1992).

New York City Public Schools as Contested Sites

I borrowed from the field of public health to argue that NYC public schools embody historically constructed social processes that have pieced together current schooling processes. Nancy Krieger illustrates that "embodiment is a concept that refers to how we literally incorporate, biologically, the material and social world in which we live" (as cited in Ruglis, 2009, p. 215). I included the physical space of schools into Krieger's definition of bodies that house social materiality. Furthermore, I agree with Jean Anyon (2005) that public school grounds are subject to an increasingly extended socio-political arena of educational practices that have blurred the lines between what does and does not "count" as educational policy. This explains why criminal justice-oriented educational policies such as Operation Impact in NYC School have been written into the curriculum of educational policy.

Given the multi-faceted physical and ideological groundings of school spaces under surveillance, schools are the quintessence "contact zone," a term coined by Mary Louise Pratt to explain "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination—like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today" (1992, p. 4). Furthermore, "schools are richly textured, power laden spatialities of every day life" (Van Ingen & Halas, 2006, p. 382) that connect encounters between school

safety personnel, surveillance technology, students, teachers and administrators. Low and Smith (2006) define public space as "the range of social locations" (p. 3) that envelop "the palpable tension between place, experiences at all scales in daily life, and the seeming spacelessness of the Internet, popular opinion, and global institutions and economy" (p. 3). They are specific about the profound meaning of space in that it constitutes both of the often opposite and "recognizable geographies of daily movement" on a global and local scale, and the technological and institutional influences these have on daily life. In confrontation, as in the private versus the public, students versus surveillance technology, an anthropological standpoint towards space can be of help to suggest that "contested spaces give material expression to and act as loci for creating and promulgating, countering, and negotiating dominant cultural themes that find expression in myriad aspects of social life" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003, p. 18).

I am adopting this notion of "contesting space" in order to bring forth how raced and classed ideological interests of dominant power relations have laid the historical foundation for inequitable school funding in NYC public schools. Current school safety and surveillance practices have paralleled these manifestations by over-policing and criminalizing students in some of the city's most under-resourced schools. In order to illustrate this connection further, I leaned on the data that the Campaign for Fiscal Equity and the Drum Mayor Institute for Public Policy generated.

Campaign for Fiscal Equity

Article IX of the Constitution of the State of New York explains that the State is required to "provide for the maintenance and support of a system of free common schools, wherein all the children of this state may be educated." More than 10 years ago,

a coalition consisting of educators, parents, administrators, lawyers, and community based organizations came together based on their deeply seated concern with the State's lack of commitment to providing a sound basic education for all of its public school students. This group, now known as the Campaign for Fiscal Equity, Inc. (CFE), gathered enormous amounts of evidence to demonstrate how the state government's school financing program was causing high levels of inequities among public school students in New York City. Their data included the following details: serving more than 1.1 million students, NYC is to this day the largest public school district in the country (2003). Unlike other school districts, NYC educates 69% percent of the state's minority student population, 73% of the state's students for whom English is not the first language, and while the state funds 50% of public school student lunches, in NYC 82% of students are eligible for the free lunch program. At the time of its research, CFE documented that NYC per pupil expenditure of $11, 474 was below the state average of $13,810. Other details outlined how public schools in NYC maintained much larger class sizes than school districts in suburban areas, and that teachers in the city were paid significantly less than their suburban colleagues. Members of CFE were also alarmed by the current school dropout crisis. The New York Times reported that NYC schools currently graduate only 54 % of freshmen within four years, compared with 83% from suburban high schools (Dillon, 2009). In addition, students in NYC passed the Regents exam at much lower levels than their counterparts in other regions of the state. CFE concluded that student academic achievement in NYC is extremely racialized, and it was in May of 1993 when CFE filed a lawsuit in the State Supreme Court to challenge the New York State's school financing system.

Demographic of Operation Impact Schools

Similar to the study of CFE, the Drum Major Institute for Public Policy conducted a quantitative inquiry on some of the most disturbing schooling outcomes that criminal justice-oriented educational policies of Operation Impact had been producing since its implementation in 2004 in some of the city's most surveilled and securitized public high schools (2005). Their report confirmed what many educators had been dreading: the demographic data suggested that Impact Schools exacerbated NYC schooling trends in that school safety practices intensified the city's schooling inequalities. Schools with predominantly students of color and schools located in mostly under-resourced communities were equipped with an overwhelming presence of safety and surveillance technology.

According to their study, at the average city high school, 27.5% of the entering students were over-aged for their grade compared to the 39.5% in Impact Schools. In addition, more students in Impact Schools were eligible for free lunch (60.7 %) than the student population in other schools (53.9 %). Furthermore, 51.6 % of students in Impact Schools were Black (39.7 %), Latino (39.7%), and only 4.6 % were White compared to the respective 35 %, 33.7 %, and 15.2 % in the average city high school. As for the average spending per student on direct services during the 2002 - 2003 school year, a total of $9,037 was spent for each student attending an Impact School while $10,519 was spent per student attending other city high schools. With an average of 2,486 enrolled students, Impact Schools are generally 81% larger than other high schools in New York. Consequently, Impact Schools were "operating at 105.9 percents of their official

capacity" (p. 6). The following graphic represents the disproportionate overcrowding of Impact Schools compared with the average student population in citywide schools.

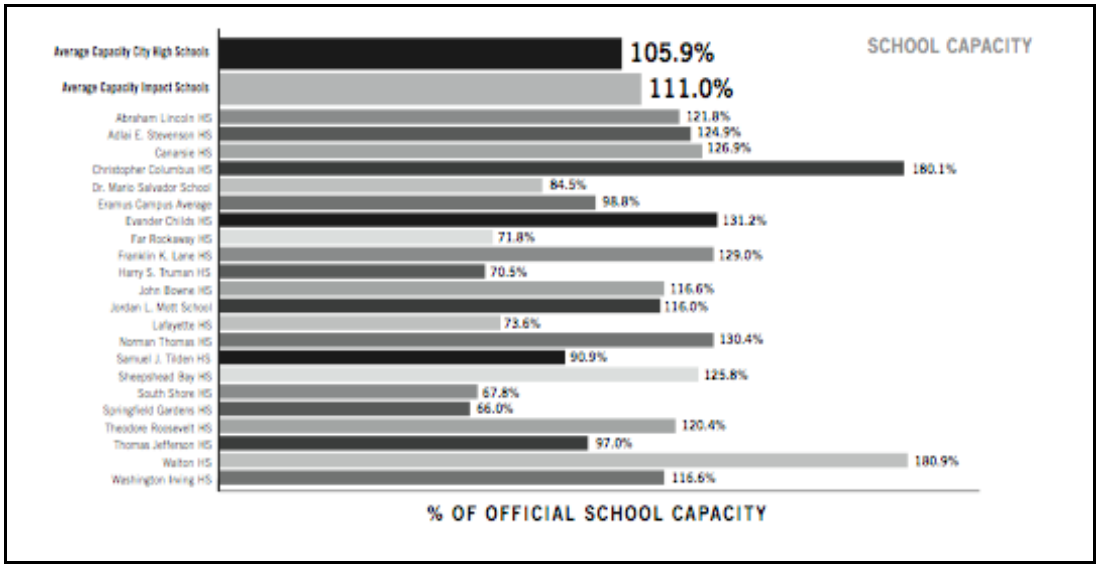

Figure 4.1. Comparison between average capacity of New York City high schools and Operation Impact schools during the 2003-2004 academic year (Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, 2005)

By using this data, I understood that Impact Schools are places of high educational needs. In addition, the student demographics at Impact Schools mirror and expand on the concept of NYC schools as contested sites; they are the loci where class, race and ideology of school security collide.

2009: Confirming Racial Segregation in NYC Schools

With the help of the data by CFE and Drum Major Institute, we read and concluded that NYC public schools are racially and socio-economically segregated, securitized and surveilled spaces. We then applied this lens to analyzing our data. Unlike the results from our youth survey, our qualitative data from our surveillance maps did not specify individual ethnic and racial differences in case the reader wonders where on our surveillance maps "class" and "race" are located. I hope the reader agrees with me; by working with a group of 10 co-researchers who demographically formed a

microcosm of NYC public schools as well as by way of having had multiple and upsetting experiences with school safety, I decided that the absence of race and class labeling does not take away from the wish to situate our data within the framework of contested space.

Even though small in survey subjects, the data from our youth survey confirmed and expanded on the student demographic data that both CFE and Drum Mayor Institute produced. One hundred and fourteen students from 19 different citywide public high schools took our survey. Of the students who gave us information on their grade level, 8.7% were freshmen, 20% were sophomores, 22.6% were juniors, and 48% percent were seniors. We explained the strong representation of twelfth graders by the fact that half of my co-researchers were seniors themselves at the time of our data collection, and thus they mostly asked their fellow seniors to complete our surveys. In terms of gender representation, with only one person who did not respond to his or her gendered identity, 58.3% of our respondents were female and 40.4% were male students.

We also inquired about high school students' racial and ethnic backgrounds. Out of the 111 students who answered this question, 29 (25.2%) were Black or African-American, 39 (33.9%) Latino or Hispanic (Spanish speaking), and 23 identified themselves as multi-ethnic or multi-national (21.7%). I combined Asian or Pacific Islander, African, Native American, South Asian, Middle Eastern, Caribbean, and White or Caucasian students into one category which I named "under-represented group" because each of their categories consisted of a number too small for our statistical software to create cross tabulations of significant and readable size (read non-White; only 3 of all surveyed students identified themselves as "White or Caucasian" – 2.63% of

entire survey population). The cumulative value of under-represented groups was 20 students (17.3%). Our surveyed high schools students were mostly non-white, and thus this data paralleled what CFE and Drum Mayor Institute had previously reported about NYC students' ethnic and racial backgrounds.

To provide a small window into the what type of school safety and security mechanisms surveyed students were encountering at the time of our study, I looked at the total of 107 answers to our multiple choice survey question of "Does your school use any safety measures?" Survey respondents chose from a number of choices: permanent metal detectors, temporary metal detectors, surveillance cameras, SSAs, suspension, expulsion, NYPD officers inside the school building, NYPD officers outside the school building, a conflict resolution program, juvenile detention referrals, arrests, confiscation of cell phones, a student success center, mentoring, and parental/community involvement (the survey is included in the appendices). In order to weave together the different ways of how students perceived materialized safety and security practices in their schools, I have also filtered responses by survey takers' variables of race/ethnicity and gender to show whether or not a disproportionate distribution of answers occurred among a specific student demographic group. Survey answers composed the following landscape of school safety in NYC public high schools:

Metal detectors.

A total of 43% of surveys indicated that represented schools used permanent metal detectors. Thirty-four percent of all Black students and 53% of all students in the "under-represented group" attended schools with detectors.

Twenty percent of all surveys also showed that schools were at times equipped with temporary metal detectors that Mayor Bloomberg introduced in 2006 under the "roving" metal detector program. Thirty-seven percent of all students from the "under-represented group," 13% of all Latino students, 11% of all multi-national and multi-ethnic students, 35% of all males, and only 9% of all females indicated that these roving metal detectors were part of their school day.

Surveillance cameras.

We had a total of 44% of students who checked cameras as one of the safety measures in school. Fifty-eight percent of all students in the "under-represented group," 28% of all Black students, 53% of all Latino youth, 44% of all female and male students supported that this safety measure had become common practice.

School safety agents.

The most widespread safety measure among all participating students was the presence of school safety agents (SSAs); 88% of all students said that their schools operated with SSAs. Ninety-four percent of all students from the "under-represented group," 95% of all Latino students, 75% of all Black students, 89% of all females and 86% of all males backed this frequency.

Suspensions and expulsions.

Seventy-nine percent of all survey takers said that suspensions were used in school. This was supported by similar values from all participating Latino, Black, multi-ethnic, and female students. However, suspension as a safety measure was represented at a lower rate at 68% of all students from the "under-represented group" and higher at 86% of all male students.

Twenty-eight percent of all students informed us that their schools used expulsion as a safety measure. While students across our different racial and ethnic groups confirmed this rate, expulsion among all males was set higher at 35%.

Police in school.

Of all answers, 26% had identified that their schools were equipped with New York Police Department (NYPD) officers who worked inside the building. Only 19% of all Black students identified NYPD in their schools but a higher rate of 39% of all multi-ethnic students confirmed the growing presence of police inside schools. I speculate that the percentage of Black students would have been higher had I provided a space on the survey for students to further explain their multiple ethnicities and nationalities.

Juvenile detention referrals and arrests.

A total of 7% of survey takers identified that their schools sent students to juvenile detention as a safety and discipline measure. While 11% of all Latino survey takers confirmed this, only 3% of all Black students identified this safety measure.

Among all surveys, 26% of students knew about arrests that were made on school grounds. Nine percent of Black students, 39% of each all Latino and multi-ethnic students, and 33% of all male students confirmed the cumulative value. By following the argumentation of other scholars who have researched the school-to-prison pipeline (Ferguson, 2000; López, 2003; Noguera, 2003), our data suggested that safety measures as criminalization mechanisms have become common and racialized and gendered practices.

Cell phone confiscations.

Of all surveyed youth, 59% answered that they were not allowed to bring their cell phone into the school building. While only 47% of all Black students have confirmed this, the rate of all Latino youth is higher (68%). The value of all female students (62%) is higher than all male students (53%).

The confiscation of cell phones has remained to this day a heatedly disputed topic because it is connected to the body searches that police personnel conduct on students to take their phones (Mukherjee, 2007). Moreover, students are mostly frustrated and angered by having to submit themselves to police power and heavy scanning. To this day this policy has not been able to respond to families who wish for their children to carry phones during the school day.

Student-centered safety practices.

Survey takers had very few options to choose from to identify to what extent their schools used non-punitive and criminalizing safety measures. Eighteen percent of all students said their school had a Student Success Center, a place in school known for involving students in disciplinary issues. Only 9% of all Black students answered that their school offered such a resource, while 32% of all students from "the under-represented group" had access to such a place.

Conflict resolution was another student-centered option that students could choose. A total of 27% of students selected this. Similar to the results for the Student Success Center, 42% of all students from the "under-represented group" in this survey had identified this safety practice in their schools.

Mentoring was more widespread among surveyed youth with a total of 40% of answers. Mentoring programs seemed to be more widespread in schools of all "multi-

ethnic students" (50%) and students in the "under-represented group" (42%) compared to the 34% of all Black students and 39% of all Latino students. A high of 49% of all male students responded with knowing about mentoring programs in their schools.

These particular gendered and racialized insights to mentoring as a student-centered safety practice confirmed the extremely gendered and racialized NYC graduation rates. As Nancy López (2003) illustrated after her ethnography on gendered student graduation rates among Dominican youth, "In New York City public schools, in 2000, 44% of Latinas graduated from high school compared 35% of Latino men; for Blacks 49% of women graduated versus 39% of men" (p. 2). The disparity in student recognition of mentoring programs possibly reflected a response to these differences in graduation rates.

To summarize our survey data, I found that most encounters between school safety and security practices and students were situated among male, Black and Latino students which is similar to the existent information we had read about NYC Impact Schools (Mukherjee, 2007; Sullivan, 2007). Interestingly, the same group of students (male, Black and Latino) also knew about safety and schooling practices that could possibly save them from getting caught within the structures of punishment and criminalization, such as a regular mentoring program. However, I noticed how male, Black and Latino students could be increasingly situated at both ends of the pipeline; on one hand schools may be conscious about the heightened and alarming incarceration and dropout rates among this student population and thus mobilize resources and services to keep them in schools; on the other hand, given the aggressive and zero-tolerance approach to school safety, Black and Latino males may lack the adequate resources to

gain a clear understanding and awareness of the ideological and structural materiality of the school-to-prison pipeline.

I should also inform the reader that four of the 19 schools that surveyed youth attended were at some point during the past five years classified as Impact Schools (since the launch of Operation Impact in January 2004 by the NYPD and DOE). While some of the remaining schools consisted of specialized small schools* as well as special schools that were designed to work specifically with students who are considering dropping out, all 19 of them were located in the of the city's most under-funded and under-resourced communities.

To offer the reader a visual summary of how surveyed high school students have confirmed the ongoing state of fiscal inequities in NYC securitized public schools, I used a software program to gather the most frequently used words that appeared in student answers to the following survey question: "If the Department of Education would give you one million dollars to improve your school, what would you spend it on?" The computer software weighted the word content of all submitted answers and created what is widely known as a word cloud or "wordle." The size of each word is calculated according to its frequency. In other words, if 85 of the 114 students who took our survey

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* In 1993, New Visions, the nation's largest education reform organization was selected by the New York City Department of Education as the primary Partnership Supported Organization to help local educators and administrators create alternatives to the city's overcrowded public schools that were highly criticized for not producing high scores on student Regents exams. New Vision Small Schools, colloquially also known as Small Schools, received start up funds for operational and instructional support for grades K-12. Small schools are partnered with local community-based organizations (CBO) for additional access to extracurricular resources. These renewed partnerships between schools and the larger communities have included strengthened assistance with the high school-to-college transition, and teaching more diversified curricula and pedagogies.

believed their schools needed to invest in cleaner bathrooms compared to 29 students who identified more extracurricular activities as their top priority, then "cleaner bathrooms" would appear in much bigger letters than "extracurricular activities." The following figure, our word cloud, represents what parts and aspects of schools and schooling youth thought needed the most investing.

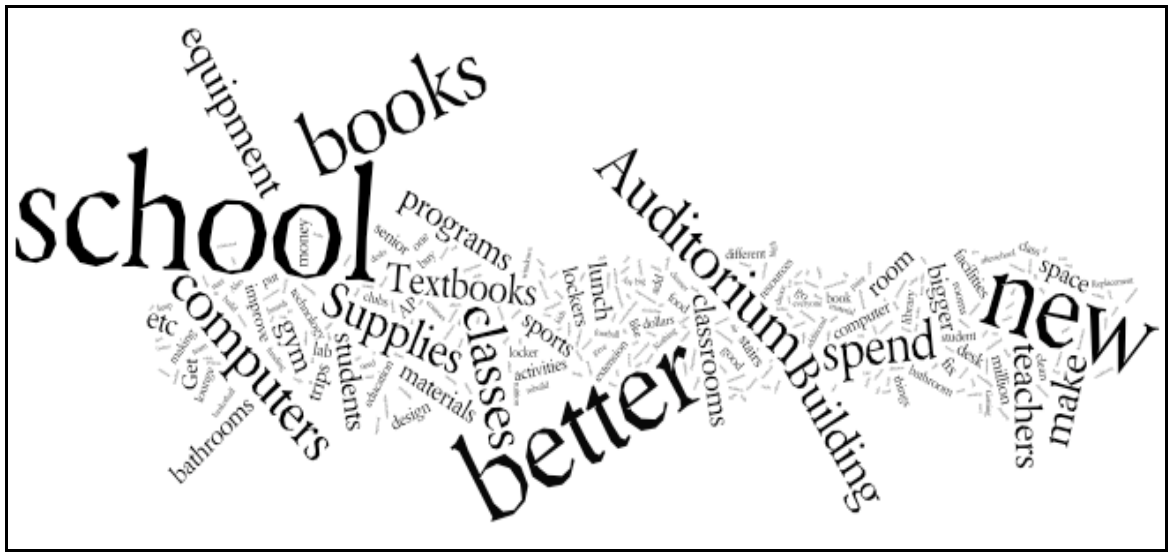

Figure 4.2. Word cloud created with answers to survey question "If the Department of Education would give you one million dollars to improve your school, what would you spend it on" to measure students' educational needs.

Besides the most frequently used word, "school," students pointed at their educational facilities and resources in need of improvement. Words such as "better, updated and new" indicated this. In terms of what specific educational material, place, and activity they wished to spend the one million dollars on, students wrote that their schools could be improved by investing in "computers, supplies and materials, textbooks, classes, auditorium, building, teachers, bathroom, and programs." Less frequently used words provide equally if not more significant insights to the current state of public education in NYC. After reading cautiously, maybe with the help of a magnifying glass,

I identified words such as "rebuild, add, additional, bigger, fix, clean and replacement" that pointed at schools' dire need to change some of their physical condition.

In summary, with the help of our survey and comparing its data with the data from the Campaign of Fiscal Equity and reports on the Impact Schools, we further traced the contours of ongoing systematized racial segregation of NYC public education. Furthermore, the survey data of our PAR connected racialized schooling inequalities to intensified school safety and security. More particularly, NYC schools under surveillance represented geographies of schooling as inherently racialized and classed. I leaned on the work of a few scholars in Critical Race Theory (CRT) to consider how nationwide schooling inequalities and overuse of school safety in communities of color could be considered as state-sanctioned manifestations of "whiteness as property" to explain these schooling inequities (Bell, 1992; Delgado, 1995; Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Mills, 1997). The work of Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate (2006) helped me with developing this point. They wrote:

> The availability of 'rich' (or enriched) intellectual property delimits what is now called "opportunity to learn"—the presumption that along with providing educational "standards" which detail what students should know and be able to do, they must have the material resources that support their learning. Thus intellectual property mist be undergirded by "real" property; science labs, computers and other state-of-the-art technologies, and appropriately certified and prepared teachers. (p. 18)

In many parts of this country the amount of funding for public schools has relied on the value of property taxes within given school districts. By following this logic of this

argument, I conclude that better schools are attached to valuable property, or better schooling conditions produce better education. Thus schools located within communities set at higher real estate values have also been better equipped financially, and as a result, intellectually. U.S. history has taught us that white families have primarily occupied homes in well-funded school districts (Gregory, 1998; Sanjek, 1998; Zinn, 1999). Therefore residential segregation joins our conversation on the structural inequalities of pubic school financing.

Furthermore, schools with intensified school safety and security lose property value because metal detectors and surveillance cameras have been shown to increase student dropout rates (Mukherjee, 2007), decrease overall school academic motivation and performance as seen by lowered test scores and daily attendance rate. Again, CFE and Drum Major have documented that this structural disinvestment has historically occurred at schools attended by working class youth and students of color. Henceforth, real property (read intellectual as well as real estate) has signified the racial construction of whiteness as the aspired and most valued property value. Consequently, this type of "politics of supremacy" (Lipman, 2006) has strengthened the ideology of meritocracy (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994) and the misleading notion of "the culture of poverty" (Kelley, 1997; Mullings, 1997) by furthering the gaps between those who deserve to be educated and those who deserve to be pushed into the spaces of the criminal justice system.

I have finally reached the point in this document to illustrate how materialized processes of school safety and security within the highly contested spaces of NYC public

schools might by affecting the ways young people perceive, conceive and experience their learning environments.

"Thirding" Young People's Lived Experiences with School Surveillance

Our data has taken on lively and lived dimensions with the help of the groundbreaking analytical methodologies of critical geographers Henri Lefebvre (1991) and Edward Soja (1996), with the former intimately influencing the accomplishments of the latter. Both scholars have dedicated their intellectual life to articulating the social production of space. On the opening pages of "The Production of Space" Lefebvre situates the reader in his main critique of mainstreamed knowledge of space of his time. He wrote, "It seems to be well established that physical space has no 'reality' without the energy that is deployed within it" (p. 13). He then quickly departed from an epistemological analysis of space as a mental construction and introduced his standpoint towards the social character of space, or space as a product of social thus historical processes. According to Lefebvre, social space contains both the social relations of reproduction (i.e. organization of the family and other social institutions such as schools) and the relations of production (i.e. division of labor). His explanation of production of space rests on three fundamental characteristics of space: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space, all of which he has collectively termed "the three moments of social space" (p. 40). I further explain each characteristic throughout this chapter.

Twenty-two years later, in his book "Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-And-Imagined Places " (1996) Edward Soja dedicated two entire chapters to retrieving and analyzing Lefebvre's work. I am extremely grateful for this endeavor

because as a non-geographer I struggled at multiple points with reading and comprehending the rich, exciting but densely written pages of "The Production of Space." Soja completed the task of translating in that he outlined and clarified Lefebvre's central argument. Thus I am able to claim that Lefebvre was interweaving three spatial notions, a so-called "trialectics of spatiality" (Soja, 1996, p. 10) to refer to three moments in space production: the *perceived* space of materialized Spatial Practice, the *conceived* space that Lefebvre labeled as Representations of Space, and the *lived* Spaces of Representation. Soja expanded on Lefebvre's carefully crafted architecture of space and categorized each moment into Firstspace, Secondspace and Thirdspace respectively. Both Lefebvre and Soja were revolutionary and daring in that they explained each of these moments as a simultaneous occurrence.

In addition, Soja argued against mainstream interpretations of space by introducing the emancipatory praxis of Thirdspace. He explained that Thirdspace is where "the social, the historical, and the spatial, their inseparability and interdependence" (p. 3) are interwoven. Furthermore, Soja coined the term "thirding-as-Othering" to capture this praxis as the openness and invitation to a critical exchange between various geographical perspectives and imaginations. More importantly, "it is a space where issues of race, class, and gender can be addressed simultaneously" (p. 5). According to him, Thirdspace combines the real, imagined, and lived epistemologies of space and is therefore "transdisciplinary in scope." I am including the following table to make this complex but revolutionary theoretical landscape of space production more accessible.

	Perceived Space	**Conceived Space**	**Lived Space**
Henri Lefebvre	Spatial Practice	Representations of Space	Spaces of Representation
Edward Soja	Firstspace: materialized, socially produced; historical and empirical space.	Secondspace: sociality of space constituted in knowledge, signs, operations and codes; i.e. mental maps, road maps.	Thirdspace/ ”thirding-as-Othering:” real and imagined lifeworld of historical/social, spatial, and lived; hosts all three trialectics.

Table 4.1. “Trialectics of spatiality” according to Henri Lefebvre and Edward Soja

I used Soja’s “Thirdspace” and his “thirding-as-Othering” to organize and discuss our findings. Analyzing our findings from a youth survey, mental maps and interviews did not automatically divide our data between these three moments of space production. On the contrary, our data responded to Soja’s vision by radically blurring the lines that run in between and connect the perceived, conceived and the lived. Our data facilitated conversations within a given method as well as across methods. I believe that our research tools truthfully represented the intention and action plan of Thirdspace. Furthermore, Thirdspace has proven to me that it is both methodologically versatile and theoretically useful for capturing young people’s experience with their physical school space under surveillance.

Preparing Our Data For “Thirding”

Choosing an easily-overlooked, daily and thus seemingly mundane phenomenon such as schooling and school safety as my research sites, stands in the service of considering “how, why and where do little, banal, everyday things *really matter* in the

contexts in which we live and work" (Horton & Kraftl, 2006, p. 262, original emphasis). Because schools are places in which US youth can spend up to twelve years of their lives, schools and their spaces occupy a rather significant component during a person's lifetime. Our data situated the school ground and securitized and surveilled school space as everyday geographies as experienced by students in order to participate in a knowledge production of young people as engaged and active space stakeholders who are able "to alter power relations and representations of teenagers in academic, policy and media arenas" (Weller, 2006, p. 105). In other words, their everyday geographies were constituted in self-definitions of their trajectories through school space. Each of our data sets framed "Thirding" in its own unique methodological way.

The data from our youth survey enriched and deepened our understanding of the social contexts of the school-to-prison pipeline by providing us with quantifiable information about the frequencies and exact locations of safety mechanisms. It also confirmed what we statistically knew about the rates of suspension and incarceration rates that existent literature had previously outlined for us. There were moments when we combined our survey data with the insights from our surveillance maps in order to speak back to the notion of "Firstspace" and to point at the materialized or spatialized processes of school safety based on how students perceived these, i.e. number of school SSAs patrolling the hallways during the school day.

Within the field of geography, our research tool of creating "surveillance maps" is more widely known as "place mapping," as they visually represented group experiences (Travlou, Owens, Thompson, & Maxwell, 2008). "Place mapping (re)constructs the dynamic relationship of young people with their physical context" and neither our

discussions during our weekly research meetings nor any of the personal interviews would have been able to build this multi-layered interface of space that framed the encounters between the people and space. We did not require our maps to be drawn to scale and were instead more interested in the ideas and the ways in which youth acknowledged and conceptualized school safety. Although place mapping, or mental maps are "static representations of the real world" (p. 320), our surveillance mapping facilitated the visualization of the use-values that young people attached to their school spaces to outline their daily movement and schooling experiences. Similar to the work of urban planners, the maps showed that students were the experts of their school space. By recreating these social relationships between students and school space, our maps reflected the social representations of student interaction with safety mechanisms and young people's conceptions of school safety. Our mapping method communicated with the theoretical contours of "Secondspace."

Similar to place mapping, our video narratives provided us with "a medium through which to elicit a collective view of teenagers' shared and dynamic experience of hanging out and about in the city, relating, comparing and contrasting such experiences not only with each other but also with the structure of the urban environment as a whole" (Travlou et al., 2008, p. 320). With the help of data from both our surveillance maps and the video narratives that each of my co-researchers recorded, we were able to juxtapose the materialized dimensions of school safety we found in our survey data with the social representations of school safety as told to us by our surveillance maps. Data from our interviews were consistent in supporting this. Stated differently, by watching each other's video narratives and reading over our transcribed interviews, we acknowledged

the physical, social/historical and spatial characteristics of "Thirdspace" and thus excavated the most groundbreaking element in space production; namely its lived dimension to determine if there is a gap between the intentionality of school safety and its reality.

In the next section I will freeze each of these three spatial production modes to show where our data resided in each. I identified three particular yet interconnected themes during our examination of spatialized school safety and security mechanisms that will be attached to Firstspace, Secondspace, and Thirdspace respectively: school security and surveillance design as spatial tactics, complex connections between people and space: the multi-vocality and multi-locality of school safety, and school security to maintain the status quo.

First Space: School Security and Surveillance Design as Spatial Tactics

Critical geographer Stephanie Simon (2009) offers an uncomplicated perspective to explain the fundamental dynamic between space and human interaction. Her work points out that space not only facilitates and hosts the social encounter; but that it also is a highly orchestrated interface, or a "contact zone" as previously explained under the theoretical framework of Marie Louise Pratt (1992). These encounters between people's differing political perspectives and the ideologies behind mechanisms of surveillance technologies add friction to their interaction and interpretations of each other. This has had immediate consequences on those who move, live, and learn within its boundaries.

Schools on lockdown.

The ideology of school safety mechanisms collides with the fundamental social characteristic of space: safety and surveillance treat spaces as containers; empty and

disconnected from their historical contexts in that security staff and surveillance cameras are primarily set up to control and contain flows of movement. By borrowing language from scholar activists from the global prison abolition movement, I framed some of our data to explain that public education in NYC is increasingly placed on lockdown. According to Julia Sudbury (2005), "lockdown is a term commonly used by prison movement activists to refer to the repressive confinement of human beings as punishment for deviating from normative behaviors" (p. xii). NYC schools follow the ideological lineage of "lockdown" in that the bodies of SSAs and surveillance cameras are commonly placed at all points of entry and exit, including doors, windows, staircases and access to roof tops. Even though participating schools implemented differing levels of safety practices, our surveillance maps captured both themes of space as an interface and school lockdown as some of the current spatial tactics that school security followed to control student behavior and movement.

I selected three from our 10 surveillance maps to show the reader how student trajectories spoke back to this idea of "school lockdown." KD, a 16-year old African-American male who attended a high school in Manhattan, drew the first map. Allemand, a young woman from an Egyptian family, was a sophomore during the time of our study and attended a small high school in the Bronx. Her school shares the building with three additional small high schools. Then the map of DC Schwartz, a Black 17-year old male senior from a high school in Brooklyn concludes the exhibition of surveillance maps at this point.

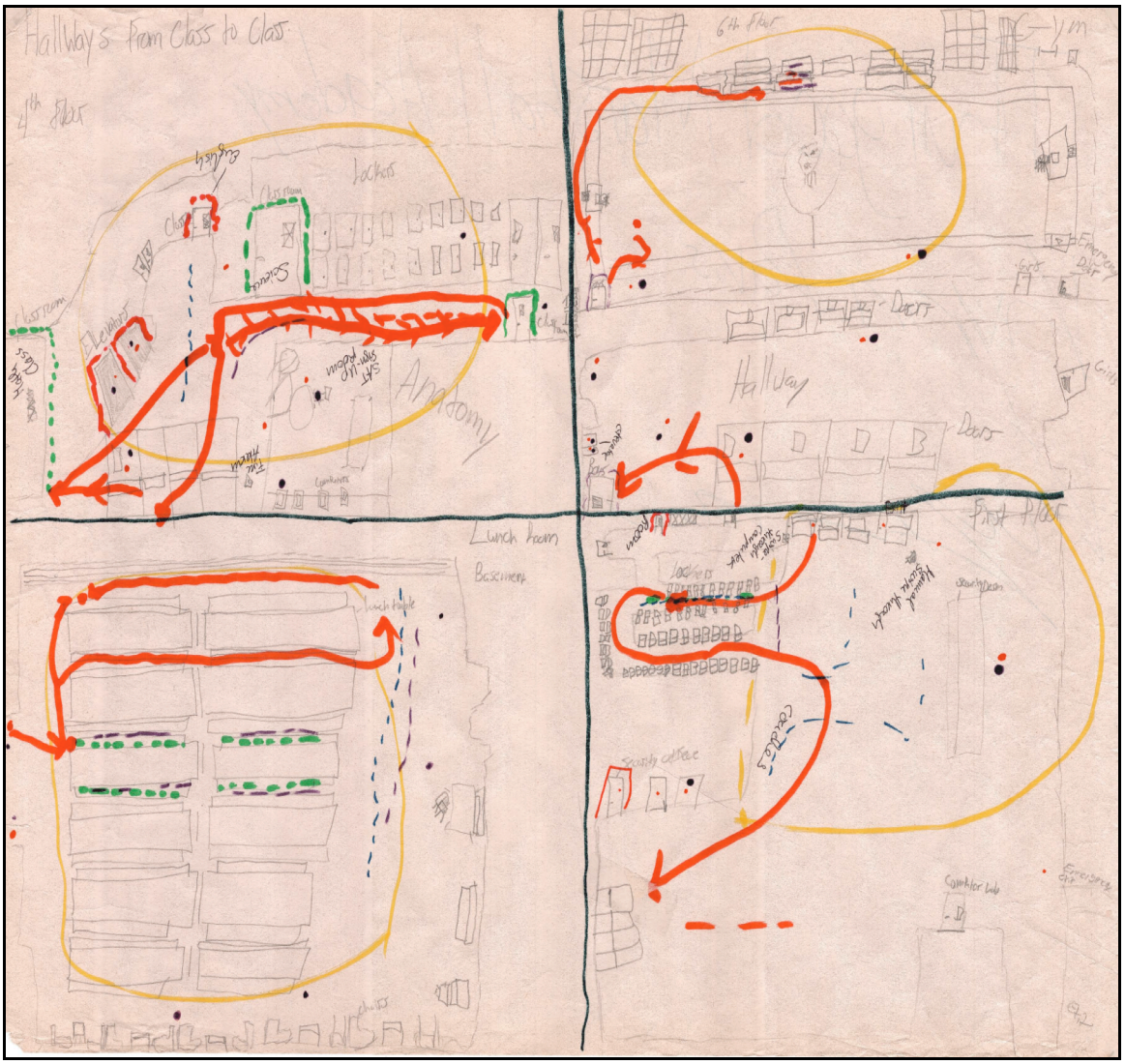

Figure 4.3. Surveillance map of KD.

The surveillance map of KD is divided into quadrants to represent the four floors of his school that he used on a daily basis. The red line indicates his movement or his journey during the school day, while the yellow encircled areas point to the bright areas inside the building. The bottom right quadrant is a snapshot of his school's first floor, including the main entrance, the security desk, a security office, a large area for all student lockers, the computer lab and a large set of doors that leads to the school's main staircase. By looking at where he placed the orange and purple dots his map taught us that permanent and mobile SSAs were stationed at central locations in his journey. Three

SSAs worked at the main entrance, two by the security desk, one stood right in front of the emergency exit, while four overlooked the larger area between the security office and the doors leading to the main staircase. Additional floors on his map, such as the depicted sixth floor in the top right quadrant further illustrate the placement of security personnel in front of or next to stairway doors, throughout the central hallway, in corners from where they could oversee most of the floor's area, and in front of the elevator.

The surveillance map of Allemand also depicted intensified school surveillance along multiple external and internal points that provide access to the building.

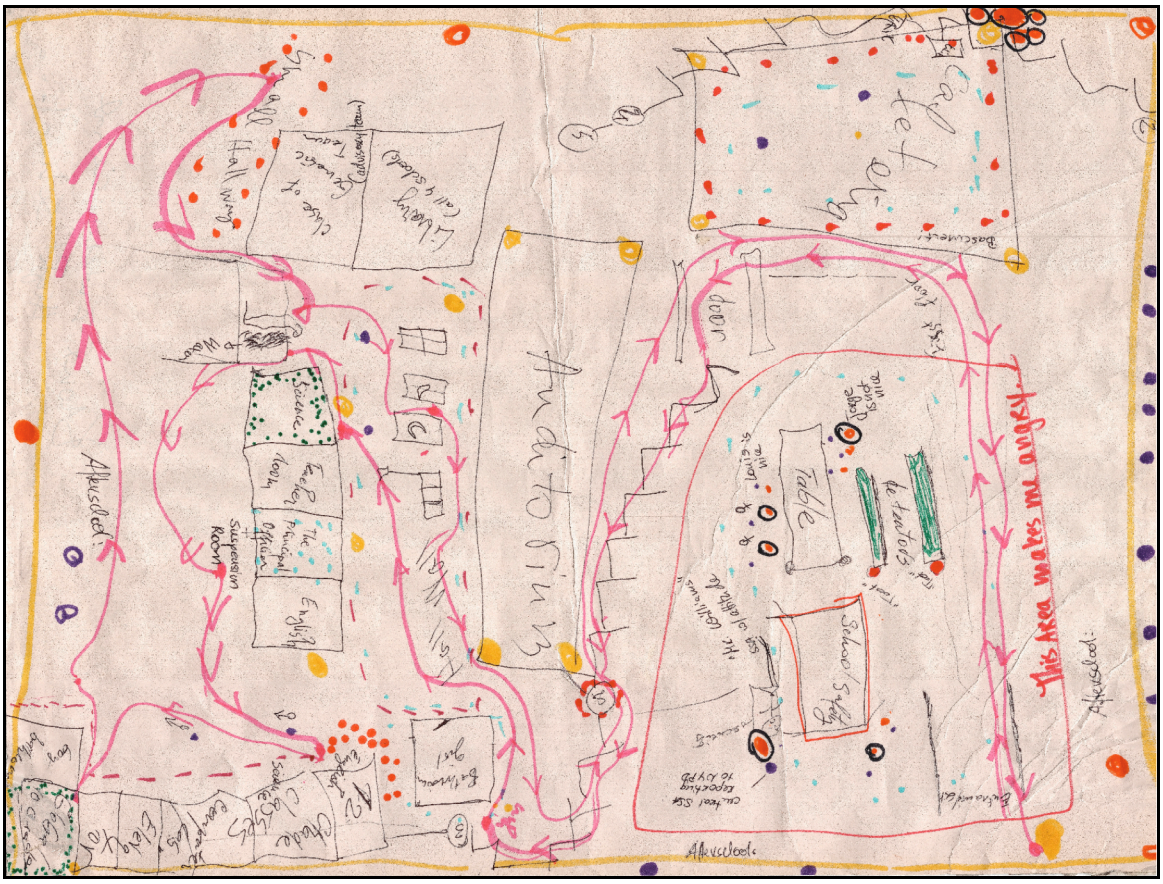

Figure 4.4. Surveillance map of 18 year-old Allemand.

Allemand's surveillance map provided us with information about the heavy presence of safety personnel and security mechanisms on the first floor. She used three floors during her school day and included them all on one page. The pink line that curves throughout her school's space represents the direction of her daily movement. The main entrance is located in the bottom right corner and read as an emotionally charged place for her. Five armed NYPD officers worked by the metal detector next to the search table and inside the adjacent security office. In addition, six SSAs were distributed to work next to the police officers. Allemand's map illustrated that "this area makes me angry." I derived that her feelings were connected to the behavior of security personnel towards students, as her map also indicated that one police officer whom she knew by first name "is not nice," and one SSA had an "attitude." There was only one SSA among the

security staff who she identified as “nice.” Her map also made reference to the sounds of the metal detector, as indicated by the “toot-toot” next to it.

She needed to climb a long stair set to reach the third floor where all of her classrooms were located. Both the auditorium and the hallway of the third floor were heavily equipped with surveillance cameras, as indicated by the yellow dots. Six SSAs were operating out of the main corners of that hallway. The basement of the building is filled with her school’s cafeteria. Two SSAs supervised its interior with the help of five surveillance cameras that were installed in all four corners with an additional one in the middle. The cafeteria provided students with an officially designated student exit. Five armed NYPD officers supervised the area in front of the exit. We also noticed the 13 SSAs whom she identified (standing along the lines representing the building walls) to show that her school was also surveilled from the outside.

I will include here one more surveillance map to show how first floors in schools were the primary location for safety and security, in addition to displaying how schools were operating under a lockdown mode by placing security staff in front of all central entry and exit points throughout the entire building to identify any expected and unwanted movement.

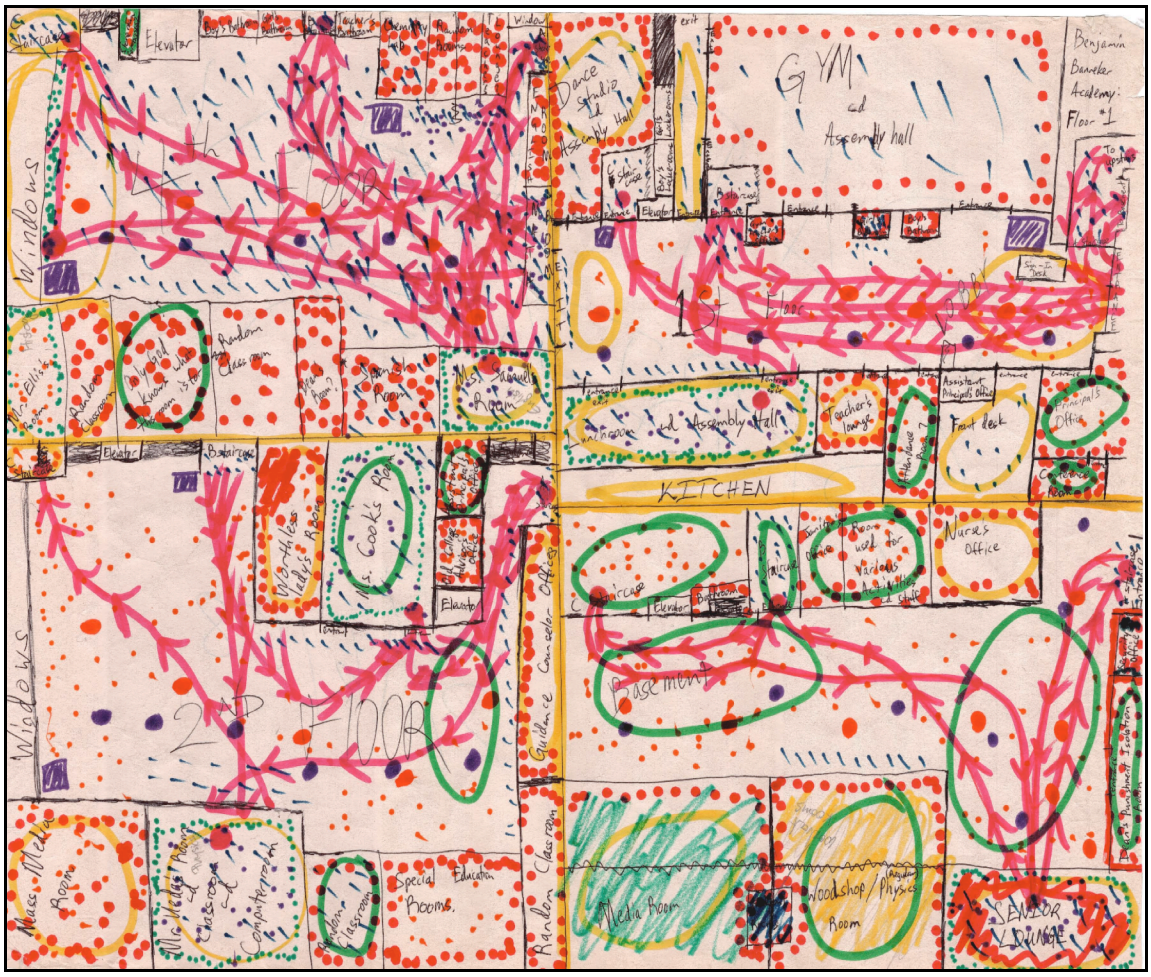

Figure 4.5. Surveillance map of DC Schwartz.

The main floor on DC Schwartz' surveillance map is placed along the right edge of his map in the top right quadrant. The thick pink lines represent his daily movement. According to his map, his school did not use any metal detectors or surveillance cameras. However, his first floor was equipped with a security desk by the main entrance. The purple dots throughout the hallway show us that there were five mobile SSAs who patrolled the hallway. One additional SSA was placed at the end of the hallway in front of an exit, and another SSA worked inside the "lunchroom/assembly hall." Two purple squares taught us that the areas behind the security desk as well as the area by "staircase C" were supervised by two permanently stationed SSAs. Throughout the remaining

school space, more specifically on floors two, four and the basement, mobile SSAs filled the spaces of the hallways and permanent SSAs were stationed in front of staircases.

All three maps added detailed accounts to our collection of youth narratives about intensified security and surveillance mechanisms in three different NYC high schools, and how students perceived them. All three first floors were equipped with SSAs who predominantly worked by doors that served as points of exit and entrance in hallways and staircases. Henceforth, it seemed that first floors and lobby areas as well as the school's central area were equipped with fortified security tools as they most often functioned as interfaces or switchboards from where all security decisions could be made to control all activities in all remaining spaces. One of my co-researchers provided a brief insight into this during his interview :

Patricia: Do you think that your school's safety practices influence all the physical spaces of your school?

MS: The lobby, that's it.

Patricia: How so?

MS: Because it's the main floor. That's always the main thing they control.

Main floors as spatialized security headquarters in charge of orchestrating all safety measures and supervising the movements of bodies might not suffice to ensure a complete state of school safety. As defined by safety officers and the security technology they operate, the state of ideal physical and ideological safety is to place schools on lockdown to extend security's surveilling gaze into an expanded mode of security production. While she explained to me how her school overused detentions during her

interview, Vileta also expressed her frustration with her school actually locking the classroom doors:

> Vileta: We get – detention way too often. Way too often. For walking in the hallway … I don't think you should get detention for that. If you have a legit reason to be in the hallway? No, it's okay. Uh, if you don't, that's another story. And then they keep – earlier in the year, they kept locking the school down for, like, the whole period. Like, nobody can't leave the classroom.

School lockdown is a way to preemptively inject security and surveillance into space. As a result, "urban youth" are constructed and perceived as inherently misbehaving and as individuals whose unsupervised physical movement and behavior carry the potential of causing chaos and disorder. Hille Koskela (2000) named this "the gaze without eyes" to connect surveillance mechanisms to relations of power and domination. The design of school safety and security could contribute to legitimizing and perpetuating these relations.

(Don't) go with the flow.

Controlled school space as well as contained student movement, and security measures treating school space as empty and life-less spatial units, have been interpreted by students as spatial tactics to block and interfere with hallway traffic between classes. One hundred and one students answered our open-ended survey question "What interaction have your had with school safety?" Eleven percent of these answers generated a frequent theme, namely student encounters with SSAs, who for the most part removed

students from non-classroom spaces, prevented youth from exiting the school building, or did not allow students to access hallways. Student responses included:

- When I have community service, school safety makes it hard for me to go to my service site by asking me questions because they think I'm lying about going to community service.
- One day I went into an empty classroom and got kicked out after being told to present my i.d. I then went to the "corner room" where students are allowed to be when they have no class and the same security officer came into that room and kicked me out and then I went to my A.P. [assistant principal] he allowed me to stay in a different room, and then the same security guard attempted to kick me out but was unsuccessful because I went and got my A.P.
- One time I wanted to use the bathroom and the officer wanted to suspend me because "I didn't go to class." I had just finished my AP double period class.
- The only interaction I ever had with school safety was when they took my I.D. and gave me detention for walking to class seconds after the late bell had rang.
- One security ask why I go out of school early I explain to why they don't believe me so they request a note etc for go out of school. I think that not right cause if I don't feel good at school nobody can effort me to stay even when I'm sick.

Hallway blockage and preventing students from accessing specific places that are part of their school day can be interpreted as additional spatialized security tactics that create

what I call "cages within the master cage." These over-production of "enclosures" as discussed by Sudbury (2005) "pay attention to the spaces of confinement that warehouse those who are surplus or resistant to the new world order" (p. xii). I therefore suggest that school lockdown is really an ideological mode of space production that creates physical enclaves to exclude disproportionately poor youth and students of color, who at a historical moment still found employment within the city's manufacturing industry, but who are now "experiencing massive exclusion from the formal economy" (Mullings, 2005, p. 676) of globalized neoliberal market structures.

In summary, school security and surveillance designs as spatial tactics are important elements in examining their impacts on students as well as on the production of youth perceptions of them. In revisiting the work of Michel De Certeau (1984) who coined the concept of spatial tactics, Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003) offer a useful definition of the relationship between power and public space: "… power is about territory and boundaries in which the weapons of the strong are classifications, delineation and division – what he calls *strategies* – while the weak use furtive movement, short cuts and routes – so-called *tactics* – to contest this spatial domination" (p. 32, emphasis by Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga). Consequently, spatial tactics such as students exiting the school building from a door reserved for teachers only can be interpreted as a form of political dissent by young people as they challenge power relations within the boundaries of school space.

Setha Low (2000) explains that ideological differences create spatial boundaries in public spaces, including school space. Low clarifies that the spatial strategies are essentially tied to larger market forces, such as the privatization of public schools. She

explains this point by giving the following example, "a public space that is valued ostensibly as a place for people to sit, read, and gather becomes a way to maintain real estate values, a financial strategy for revitalizing a declining city center, and a means of attracting new investments and venture capital" (p. 180). The takeover of public schools by private contractors and entities such as educational management organizations (EMO) in New Orleans, mayoral control takeover of city school districts in New York and Chicago, and the national charter school movement that is supported by the corporate accounts of its sponsors and funders embody this type of for-profit spatial zoning within the field of education. In addition, a spatially rearranged and commodified school space provides a convincing materiality which we can use to educate others about school safety and security functioning as surplus producing mechanisms that can only operate at the expense of those who are pushed into the social margins of society to become the next cadre of cheap and exploitable labor.

Second Space or the Complex Connections Between People and Space: The Multi-Vocality and Multi-Locality of School Safety

Turning towards maps or the act of creating maps is very useful to illustrate how mental conceptions of social processes shape the design and production of space. Via the body of knowledge needed to draw them, as well as their signs, scales, codes, symbols, contours and labels, maps participate in the spatial meaning making and purposing spatial functions to social processes. These "representations of space" (Lefebvre, 1991), or the spatialized representations of the social world, can provide a wealth of knowledge because they are often filled with the most intricate calculations, embellishments, color designations, shapes, and angles. The occasional depiction of a human figure reminds us

that these spatial designs will at some point be occupied by the modes and means of production, including who will and will not have access to them. Thus maps also organize and structure the efficiency of space (Lynch, 1960). In other words, maps freeze spatial-temporal moments of human relations in production.

In addition, whether realistic, utopian, destructive or futuristic, representations of space, or "Secondspace" according to Edward Soja (1996), are subjective interpretations that frequently border self-representations. It is through the eyes, lived experiences, and worldviews of urban developers, architects, historians, geographers, natural scientists, and maybe questionable space experts, that we read, prioritize and signify representations of space. Unfreezing space representations is to fill spatialized materiality with the bodies and movement of people, laws, policies, ideologies, and economic structures. With this standpoint as the groundings for "Secondspace," I can now proceed to revealing that the data from our surveys, maps and interviews displayed two fundamental concepts that anchored our conversations on space representations.

Understanding securitized spaces of schools as sites of tension and contradictions, or as places whose boundaries are constantly in flux, invites the presence of two additional concepts, namely "multilocality and multivocality" (Rodman, 1992). Under this framework, spaces for school safety are similar to voices in that they transcend numerous local and global areas while existing simultaneously within the confinements of nearby neighborhoods. The multivocality of school safety grows from the "discourse of its inhabitants, and particularly in the rhetoric it promotes" (p. 642). Similarly, multilocality illuminates the construction of "complex connections" among individuals in a given public space (p. 645). Accordingly, the multiplicity of contexts (i.e. the

neighborhood of a school) is invisibly attached to each individual and builds the multilayered scaffolding of school safety.

In close analysis of multivocality and multilocality, space is capable of taking on the distinctive characteristics of what Foucault had called, "sites of heterotopia" (1986). According to Foucault, heterotopias are ideological and spatialized positions "that have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect" (p. 24). Within the social context of public schools and security practices, the racialized and classed lived experiences that students bring into their schools raise suspicion in the gazing eyes of SSAs. As a result, to facilitate the space representations of school safety, a diverse student body is usually reduced to a homogenized population. More importantly, the school surveillance practices by the NYPD ensure that urban youth follow a standardized and institutionalized set of discipline codes known in NYC as the "The Discipline Code" (The New York City Department of Education). By analyzing our data we found that the social construction of school space influenced the production of school safety.

Multivocality

The data from our survey, maps and interviews point at how surveilled school space embodies tension due to the colliding classed and racialized messages that school safety practices exercised. These have contributed to ongoing tensions that the youth felt already existed among students that could signify consistent student claiming and remaking of meaning of their school space. This may be manifested through audible

language and visible cultural differences among students that are central to the production of how young people conceived their school space.

"Spanish corner."

Two of my co-researchers represented the same large comprehensive high school in Manhattan. Both students told us repeatedly about a particular area that was replicated on the second, third, and sixth floor and that was causing disruptive noise and over-crowding.

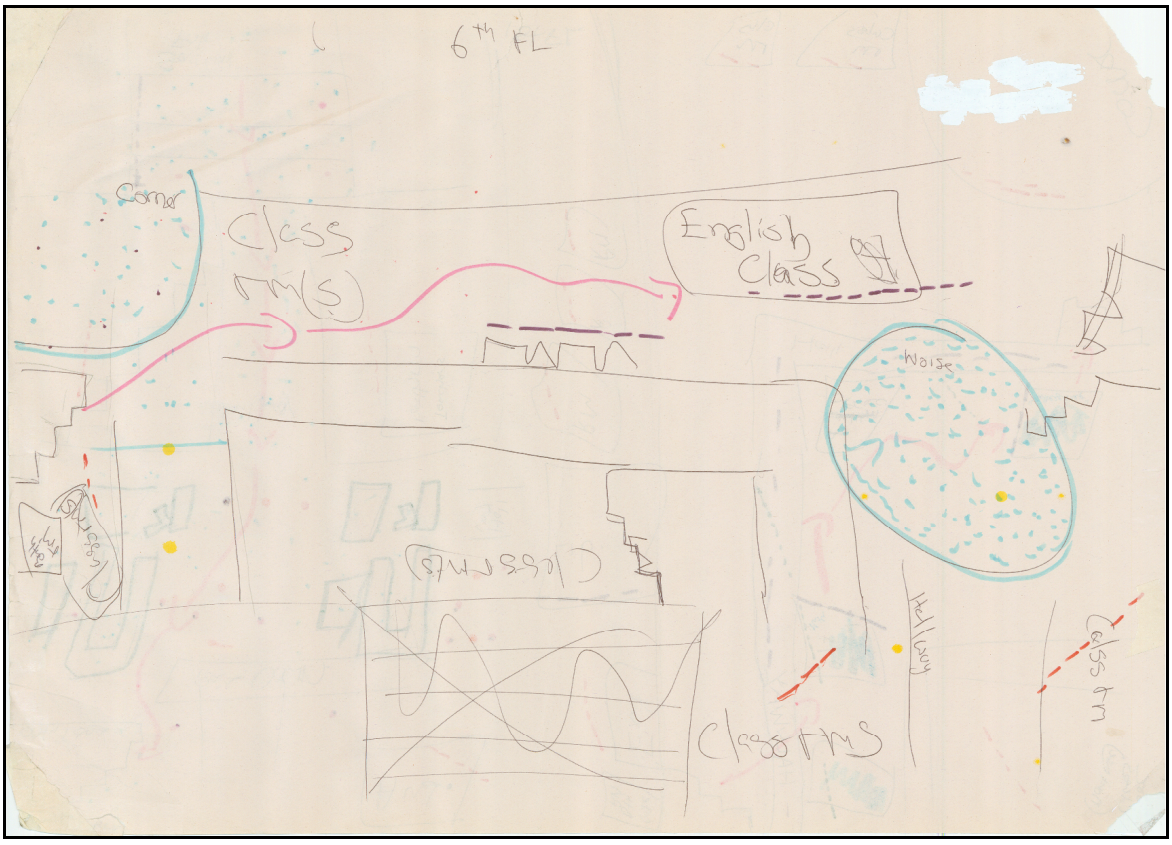

Figure 4.6. Surveillance map drawn by Vileta, 15-year old Native and African-American female freshman from a Manhattan high school.

The surveillance map of Vileta, one of the two students from the high school, displays only one of the three floors in question. Her map of the sixth floor points at the aforementioned noise area by filling a large blue circle with multiple dots on the right

side of her map. The second large blue circle that is also filled with dots appears in the upper left space to show how their existences may be connected. Vileta shared with us some more details about this space when she presented her surveillance map to us. She said:

> Next I am off to English … another class I adored. … Anyway I hate this floor, it's very crowed and violent in my opinion. I indicated this with blue dotted lines everywhere. Right next to my classroom there is this corner, where students just stand there and make way too much noise and there's always, I mean always fights and they dang near block off the door to the classroom. It's annoying and I emphasize that by circling it and putting blue dots in those areas on my map.

When we inquired about the demographics of this noisy corner next to her class, both she and her co-researcher Starshonna informed us that students who hang out in this corner to socialize are predominantly Spanish speaking and predominantly Dominican. Non-Spanish speaking students in this school have labeled this place "Spanish corner." Both Vileta and Starshonna expressed to us that the regular gathering of Spanish speakers in this corner has caused spatialized segregation based on language and nationality differences between student groups and consequently, by having developed feelings of anxiety and frustration towards this space in question, both young women felt personally alienated from an area that led them to one of their most liked classes.

However, focusing on cultural and ethnic differences causes the analysis to shift away from systemic issues, such as school safety. This "exclave in the halls" (Dickar, 2008) "calls attention to the crucial relationship between locally generated identities and academic identities and exposes contradictions embedded in students' own cultural

spaces as well as the spaces of the school" (p. 105). In other words, the multivocality among all school space users who are experiencing similar structures of circumstances (school safety) may produce diverse responses to these. One of them undoubtedly included a level of fear or dislike of a certain group of students and their way of claiming a particular space within the hallway. Nevertheless, instead of critically examining the spatial design of this floor and how spatialized representations of school safety at this location (see the yellow dots placed inside the circled and dotted blue areas to indicate the use of surveillance cameras) may or may not permit the gathering of Dominican students at this particular area, my co-researchers' analysis was directed at peers rather than authorities who supervised and maintained the use values of this given space. Such an explanation may even have strengthening effects on mainstreamed adult assumptions about urban youth; that Spanish-speaking youth are loud, rambunctious and disruptive.

SSA favoritism.

Another theme that embodied and exemplified the concept of multivocality in our data was the great frequency by which the topic of favoritism emerged during our own research meetings as well as in our survey data. More specifically, my co-researchers explained to me how commonly SSAs treated students unequally and unfairly. I noticed how emotionally charged their stories were and thus I speculated that this was a topic of utmost importance to them. However, and to our great surprise, we came across numerous survey data opposed my co-researchers' views on SSA favoritism. In other words, we found quite a few responses that indicated young people's belief in SSAs' fair and just treatment of students.

The following is an excerpt from a transcribed discussion that took place during one of our research meetings and that represents our groups' take on SSA favoritism.

Dimples: Oh, oh, oh…. *(her voice reflects excitement)* I have a story! Security guard Miss X. She is black, whatever. I don't think she likes Spanish people… I have my scarf on. She asked me why I have my scarf on, "your not black?" I said, "What? What d'ya mean, I am not black?" *(Shortly before Dimples had explained to the group that she identifies as both Black and Spanish, given the different backgrounds of her parents.)* "Oh, you Spanish people wear the…. the… head wrap like you are morenas." *(She asks her co-researchers if they know what "morenas" means, and explains, "That's what Spanish people call Black people, morenas.")* So I am like, "I am Black, I am Spanish and Black." Whatever, I am in the gym, and a Black girl with her sidekick* and all, mind you, we can't have sidekicks in the gym, she is with her sidekick right in front of Miss X's face, and I pull out my sidekick, and she is like, "no, give it to me, give it to me." I am like, "that girl was just sitting there talking, y'all were just talking about the fight that happened the other day in school." She is like, "yeah that girl got ragged." But when I say something, or when I take my phone to have a look at the time, she always says something, and she wants

* A sidekick is a type of cellular phone.

to take *my* phone away. When a minute ago a Black girl was sitting in front of me with her sidekick in her hand…

MS: Can I say something? In my school I see a lot of favoritism that goes on. … Like they be complaining if we come to school with sneakers. In my school we use uniform. I see a lot of people wearing colorful-ass sneakers … mad colorful sneakers like this (*points at his sneakers*). And then they want to be complaining and stuff. Like... same things with the phones. No lie, I won't give up my phone unless they take everybody else's phone.

Dimples: It is usually the young security guards… the young, hood ragged security guards *(laughter)*. The 21-year olds that came right out of high school, that just got their certificates for eight hours and go to school. That is security guards right there. It won't be the old people. It is the young guards that try to get involved with the teenagers. You are not a teenager anymore! You are an adult! The age group is very close.

Besides teaching me about the young age of SSAs and alluding to the short training time required for this job, this conversation explained that SSA favoritism could be based on security staff's racialized perceptions of youth and the tendency to treat one student more favorably than the other. The short example that MS added to the conversation reminded us that although he had followed the required dress code, SSAs still found other aspects of his physical appearance to exercise a system of differentiated treatment.

Data from our survey provided us with some opposing viewpoints to those represented among our group. Eighty-seven out of 114 students answered our survey question "Who do you think does not get treated fairly by school safety officers?" Given the idea of favoritism built into this question, 16.67% of student answers addressed SSA favoritism. At times, students included an explanation to their answer to show case which students were targeted by SSAs' favoritism, including "kids that are not very talkative, " "the kids who have low grades," "the people who don't know the officers," "people who look like from a gang," and "I think students who don't sit down and gossip with the school safety officers are treated wrongly." Their answers indicated that students could possibly avoid SSA favoritism if they knew how to build social and socializing connections with security staff.

In addition, 12.28% of all answers showed that favoritism could be related to behavioral issues. For example, students wrote that it was "kids that's always in the hallways," "those who are arrogant enough to reject safety rules" and "students who are suspended." Student answers also confirmed existing literature on the demographic information of students who are systematically treated unfairly by security (11.4% of all answers). They explained that students such as "Immigrants, LGBTQ, Black, Latinos, 'trouble-makers' like myself and many other males," and "I think people who are in lower class or certain minorities" carried the brunt of SSA favoritism.

"Metal detectors make me feel safer."

One of the most contested data we came across were student perspectives on whether or not intensified safety practices, including police officers, SSAs, metal detectors and surveillance cameras, were able to turn school grounds into safer and

protected spaces. Within our own research collective the standpoints were divided; about four of my co-researchers believed that security personnel and all the surveillance technologies in their schools were creating safer and more protected schools grounds, while six of my co-researchers believed that SSAs and other safety measures were not necessarily protecting students from harm or danger. At times our conversations grew heated when standpoints collided.

Arguments that SSAs and detectors were not creating safer learning environments came from witness accounts by co-researchers who had watched peers sneak phones into the school building. For example, I interviewed my co-researcher Ja, a South Asian senior at a Brooklyn high school, about what could be a potential threat to his school's safety. He explained:

> I know that some people who bring in cell phones in the school. I don't know how. So they could bring some weapons and stuff too. Some people [SSAs] are not always in the hallway, just they are in the hall during the day, but in the morning they are – everybody is in the front so there is no one in the hallway. And also during lunchtime, there are less people in the hallway. Only during class time, there are people in the hallway. Some people don't cut classes, but they're doing lunchtime, and also in the morning and in the afternoon. Especially when everyone was in the downstairs. Nobody is in the upstairs. Something could happen then.

According to Ja, SSAs' inconsistent floor coverage as well as SSA concentrated hallway patrolling throughout the school day pointed at his school's flawed security system.

To illustrate an argument from the opposing end, KD, an African American junior from a high school in Manhattan, explained to me that SSAs alone were not keeping his school safe and protected. Instead, he included the larger surrounding community to the list of school safety measures that make his school a safe place:

Patricia: Do you feel safer knowing that these safety mechanisms exist at your school?

KD: Actually, yeah because nobody has ever tried to break inside the school. Anybody can just go inside there with any type of gun and just take us all hostage, but they won't do it because I think some people care that the kids are trying to get education. So we ain't gonna do that.

Our survey data mirrored the divided perspectives among my co-researchers. We asked students to tell us whether or not SSAs were trained to do the job. Of the total 96 students who provided us with readable responses, 38.3% of them said that SSAs were not trained to do their work while 45.2% believed that SSAs were trained to do the work. Even though this survey question spoke primarily to an evaluation of SSA training, a topic that I will discuss in the last chapter, it was useful to include it here given the fact that SSAs are in charge of implementing school safety measures and thus influencing students' opinions about the level of safety and security that is created at school.

In summary, young people's perceptions and the ways in which they conceived school space and spatialized school safety measures are profoundly informed by the encounters they have with each other, with school and safety staff, as well as with the physical space of schools where safety measures materialize. More specifically, and

more relevant to the social character of space, the aforementioned narratives displayed how students' multiple and opposing standpoints are shaped according to larger underlying raced, classed and gendered ideologies of space production.

Multilocality

Students transported the process and production of securitizing and surveilling space into additional physical settings and social spaces other than their schools. By recognizing that the structural components of school safety were duplicated in other daily landscapes suggested that students were well aware of current events as well as how surveillance technologies may be the leading mechanisms for exercising social control and producing additional sites that warehoused and contained socially unwanted communities. We came across the notion of "multilocality" by way of our research design and by a rather disturbing theme that had emerged during our research meetings and interviews.

Building generalizability.

When I interviewed my co-researchers I asked each one of them if they could think of real and imagined places that they had visited, watched, read or heard about that also employed safety and security measures resembling the ones they experienced at school. My co-researchers built an extensive list of others similar settings, including:

> Starshonna: We went to Universal Studios and we had to take off our sneakers, he had to take off his sneakers. He was like a little kid. What was he really gonna do? Like we had to take off our sneakers, jewelry, push everything out of our pockets.

Ja: Airplanes. When I came to this country there was security, even in my country it existed. I never saw it. That was my first time I saw in my country. When I was entering the airport, it was like after a few seconds I was there. Then I saw it in Singapore because I came in Singapore Airlines. Then I saw in America, also the immigration offices and stuff. They actually do it in some room so if we don't have anything on us – and I think they expect something.

Askia Samuel: So this could be any, uh, interaction between, uh, the American society and the deemed Third World, you know? Though you can relate this to almost any scenario. Like for instance, um, um, Iraq.

MS: When you walk into like one of these buildings, like the Empire State Building or something like that.

Additional answers included juvenile detention centers, train stations, the court system, the White House, train stations and public offices. The topic for this study, the school-to-prison pipeline alone evoked more than one image, and by moving our reflections across scales into simultaneous global and local settings, we were under the impression that we liberated our analyses further away from the toxic grounds of criminalizing and punitive surveillance systems. Thus, we operated under the notion that to analyze "across

longitudes and latitudes" (Cammarota & Fine, 2008, p. 227) and "to produce analytic 'contour lines' situating distinct locales in relation to particular social practices" (Katz, 2001, p. 1229) would help us helped us arrive at the daring grounds of "counter-topography" as illustrated by Cindi Katz (Katz, 2004; 2006).

In doing so, I perceived each of our surveillance maps as a mini-counter-topography that captured the details of the social and spatial arrangements of the school-to-prison pipeline. Furthermore, without homogenizing each of their distinct locales, by creating individual mini-counter-topographies or following the call of the larger counter-topography that the research methods for this project embodied, we experienced first-hand how different conceptions of space production deepened and widened our principal site of investigation.

Blurred lines of school grounds.

While we respected and maintained the authenticity of each school space that each co-researcher represented and that we collectively examined, we also realized that the contours of school-bound safety measures often spilled into the physical spaces of other nearby lived environments. To my dismay, students had informed me about how either themselves or their friends had been suspended while being away from school or off school grounds. In this section I will only include one of the many of eye-opening conversations we had during our research meetings to support this claim:

MS: Let's say you do get into a fight around the corner at McDonald's….

Dimples: … that's school property.

MS: Hold on, how would you get suspended?

Starshonna: They patrol and you get suspended.

Dimples: It is school area.

(Students talk at the same time, excitedly.)

Patricia: I would be interested in finding out how far "school area" expands.

Vileta: Students from our school got suspended for something in school in a nearby park.

Dimples: I got jumped on my block and I still got suspended. We all go to the same school and they think that we bring the problems to the school. Make sure the fight does not go back to school. But my block is *far* from school and I still got suspended.

Previously student surveillance showed that SSAs and NYPD officers surveilled beyond the interior boundaries of school spaces and were placed in great numbers around the school building. We asked each other, when do you know that you are no longer on school grounds? How far do students have to move away from school grounds in order to know that their bodies are no longer accessible to school security? As schools are rapidly dragged into the ideological and physical spaces of the criminal justice system, our conversations pointed out that other public spaces such as parks and subway stations especially, seemed to get caught in the crossfire of ideologies and economic interests that define the school surveillance.

Third Space: Surveillance to Maintain the Status Quo

Even though based on a different (but yet a very similar) study of disproportionate surveillance practices in communities of color, the rationale of surveillance as offered by

John Fiske (1998) was enormously helpful in showing how security and surveillance of public schools was spatially lived by students as a socializing and self-disciplining system to maintain the status quo. Fiske exhibited:

> Video surveillance is reaching into every corner of our cities because it can claim real social benefits that range from traffic management, through reducing drug-dealing and street crime, to counter-terrorism. But its beneficence hides an icily oppressive side; it acts as an agent of the totalitarian, for the law-abiding citizens who are most subject to it have no say in its operation and no ability to influence its impact upon their daily lives. (p. 69)

Fiske's racialized his analysis of surveillance and this was useful in the context of public school space to illustrate how mechanisms of school safety participate in the maintenance of the status quo.

Internalizing Formulas of Discipline

According to Fiske, the discourse of surveillance divides local space into means of production and results in people abiding by rules and codes that may have been imported from discourses of national public safety and security to assuage the exploitative and violent character of their mechanisms. In the case of school safety, I noticed the frequency and ease with which my co-researchers told me about the safety procedure applied to each disciplinary issue. For example, my co-researcher Piper, an 18-year old Caribbean senior who attended a high school in Brooklyn, outlined for me the ladder of school discipline, and how a minor incident involving one student could escalate into punishing a whole group of students.

Patricia: What kinds of disciplinary action have you witnessed at your school?

Piper: Uh, before the suspensions, probably, usually it's the student and the teacher – or a teacher that sponsors a student or whatever, and the parents in the principal's office, and then they talk about – and if it's really serious, then there are those people in the principal's office that are NYPD people. And that's when it's really serious, like, outside of the principal's office and, like, around the lobby area where if students come downstairs and we want to know what's happening, he'd be like, move on, it's none of your business, you know, like they treat us like criminals. Like we didn't really come at you negatively. We just wanted to know something, and we were just looking. Calm down.

In addition to filling me in on their school's hierarchized discipline codes, my co-researchers also illustrated how discipline practices appeared as formulas; they are highly situation-specific and calculated to ultimately remove resisting youth:

Starshonna: I remember one time, I was in the bathroom and like, one of them [SSA] walked in there because I guess that's where some people hide out. And she was like, um, show your passes. And I – you have to show me your pass and if you didn't have a pass you have to go to the auditorium. It's this whole process where they sit you there, they take your ID and they write your name down and if you do that three times or something, you get a detention.

Patricia: If you do that three times during one week, during a month, during a school year, during what?

Starshonna: I think it's a week. Because then also if you do – if you get caught within the next week you get another day of detention and then three – three detentions or two detentions add up to a suspension. It's really weird. It's a lot of equaling up –

Patricia: Formulas like that, right?

Stashonna: Yeah.

The constant imposition of discipline codes on students might have led students to internalize unequal and top-down power relations that move between the binaries of the surveilled and the surveilling gaze of school safety. The work of Foucault is useful to acknowledge the presence of the "Panopticon" in our data (1977); an architectural design that was assessed by British philosopher Jeremy Bentham as facilitating the omnipresence of surveillance throughout the spaces of penal institutions such as schools, hospitals and prisons. According to Foucault, "the major effect of the Panopticon is to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assumes the automatic functioning of power" (p. 201). In translating Foucault's structure of discipline and punishment into current school safety practices that criminalize student non-criminal behavior, young people are sustaining constant surveillance and social control methods throughout the hallways of their school buildings. Their bodies and minds internalize the disciplinary gaze of the school safety officers. Similar to the surveilling architectural structures of the eighteenth century, centralized school security and surveillance mechanisms shape young people into docile bodies that are easily administered. Thus,

individually internalizing codes of disciplines strengthens the administrative apparatus of surveillance in that "it makes it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately" (p. 200) any disruptive behavior that falls outside the (spatialized) social formation of the Panopticon.

Whether labeled as "spaces of representation" (Lefebvre, 1991) or "Thirdspace" (Soja, 1996), by constituting school safety in the "trialectics of space," I have outlined student lifeworlds according to the historical/social, spatial and *lived* characters of space production. It is here in this lifeworld of multiple struggles over space and power that new meanings between space, its inhabitants and their social processes emerge. It can be a disheartening and terrifying space as it profoundly reveals how structural inequalities can have deadly effects on peoples' minds and bodies; but "thirding-as-Othering" also dismantles, restructures, and critically examines discourses and encounters that add materiality to the analysis of oppression. I will illustrate this in the following chapter.

Conclusion: (Re)Newing Our Vows to the Spacialized

The theoretical underpinnings for our research could easily be classified as being part of the social and cultural reproduction paradigm as articulated by Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), Giroux (1997), Apple (1990) and Willis (1981) and Bowles and Gintis (1976). While I agree that reproduction theory surfaced throughout the conversations with my co-researchers as well as across our data sets, I hope that the story we crafted was able to bypass one of the greatest pitfalls of reproduction function; that its outcomes are only located at the end of the reproduction mode. I did not want to wait until the "end" of this process, until those who are in charge of this mechanism decide to turn the power button off (I do not think that this moment actually exists due to the system's

defaulted settings to surplus production). Instead, with the help of our data I hope to create an intervention-like narrative that interrupts and complicates the debilitating effects of social reproduction function on young people's lives.

I view data from our survey, surveillance maps and interviews as having taken momentary snapshots of school safety's means of production to point at exactly where its reproduction function is leaving footprints on student bodies and minds. Furthermore, creating such a snapshot required a momentarily freezing of the social processes of school safety, a so-called "methodological slowness" (Horton & Kraftl, 2006) in order to capture school safety's contradictions for students and others in its causes and effects. Soja's idea of "Thirding" the production of surveilled and securitized school spaces was of tremendous help to dig out the numerous visible and invisible elements that young people attached to their numerous encounters with the multiple aspects of the school-to-prison pipeline inside their NYC public schools.

In summarizing our responses to "What are some visible and invisible elements of the school-to-prison pipeline that mark the learning environment in NYC public high schools," our youth-centered data showed that the pipeline's visible elements included a strengthened presence of schools safety agents, police officers, and surveillance technologies such as cameras and detectors inside schools. Their impacts on school space had been that of blocking and interfering with student movement. In addition, students experienced their school's daily state of lockdown in that most entry and exit points were completely supervised, controlled and blocked by SSAs.

Criminalizing and punitive school safety measures are also highly racialized and gendered by disproportionately removing Black, Latino and male students from their

learning spaces by way of using detentions and suspensions in disciplinary matters. Over time, this has caused school safety measures to spill into other sites that are part of young people's lives. The most palpable and alarming visible element of the pipeline was young people's internalization of safety protocols and codes that strengthen and legitimize structures of school security and surveillance.

The invisible elements can be at best summarized as the ideological and economic structures that support and perpetuate the need to further securitize public school grounds. As the country's largest public school district tending to the educational needs of more than 1.1 million students from predominantly Black, Latino, immigrant and working class communities, mayoral takeover of the city's public school system as well as the city administration's collaboration with the NYPD to coordinate school safety measures are all indicators of how there are exercising powers that may border practices of social control and containment. Our surveillance maps have provided a wealth of insights to how the ideology of security is stamping and reshaping the spatial designs of school and increasingly redefining what behavior and interaction is and is not filed as socially permissible.

In the next chapter I will dig deeper into the grounds and boundaries of Thirdspace. I will depict the lifeworld of youth inside their schools to discuss what high school students have done to navigate the surveilled and securitized landscape of their urban schools. Thus the next chapter is exclusively dedicated to showcasing youth-centered accounts on the historical/social, spatial, and lived character of space within the context of school safety and security. But most importantly, by opening young people's

trajectories through their school spaces and schooling processes, we invite the reader into building more youth-relevant praxes for space and spatialized epistemologies.

CHAPTER FIVE

Running Inside A Poisoned Maze: Young People's Lifeworlds in The New York City School-to-Prison Pipeline

"We are being deformed in order to be reformed, that's the pipeline."

- Kenith, former student at Island Academy, Riker's Island (2005)

Introduction

The findings that this youth participatory action research project (YPAR) generated about young people's encounters with intensified criminalizing and punitive school safety measures in New York City public high schools are situated within a theoretical framework that examines both deep and across multiple spatial-temporal school-based settings. Our data analysis was guided and mentored by the work of Cindi Katz (2001), Henri Lefebvre (1991), and Edward Soja (1996) whose critical perspectives pushed us to look beyond quantifiable evidence for how and where manifestations of the school-to-prison pipeline ("the pipeline") resided within my co-researchers' schools[*].

More specifically, the mini-geographies of our space maps of schools (we named them "surveillance maps") and the texts from our youth survey and interviews detailed young people's daily movement and their encounters with the securitized and surveilled spaces of their schools. Our critical examination of safety measures included the type, physical location, and frequency. By following and creating what Cindi Katz calls a

[*] Throughout this document I use "I," "we," "us" and "our" interchangeably to signify that my co-researchers have entrusted me to speak on behalf our research collective.

"counter-topography" we unraveled interconnections, interrelations, "tensions, contradictions, and affiliations" (p. 1228) within and across students' daily trajectories in schools occupied by an intensified presence of police and surveillance technologies. Our youth-centered analysis was fundamental in excavating how young people experienced and defined the social injustices that structures of criminalization and punishment produced in the lives of working class youth and students of color who primarily live and learn in urban areas.

Our narratives detailed and combined the historical, social, and spatialized characteristics of how space and school safety are perceived by teenagers. Moreover, we were delighted when we understood how much more relevant the social character of space was to how young people experience school safety, compared to the overwhelming and overpowering voices of school and city administrators who declare to this day that misbehaving youth deserve to be punished. With our inquiry we questioned "misbehavior," "discipline," and "purpose of schooling," and understood that if school space was also a product of historicized social processes, then safety and security mechanisms do not have to be the way we experience them today. We also understood that school safety does not have to be defaulted to metal detectors, school safety agents (SSAs), surveillance cameras, referrals to juvenile detentions, and body searches conducted by police officers. Thus our analysis was guided by the *lived* characteristic of space. We aimed to show the multi-faceted journeys of young people through the surveilled and securitized spaces in New York City (NYC Department of Education) public schools and how these are increasingly interrupted by an institutionalized relationship between the public schools system and the criminal justice system.

This chapter answers the second research question for our study: "What are young people doing to navigate through the physical landscapes of their schools?" Unlike the previous theory-driven chapter, this part of documenting our PAR journey is carried by the voices of those who traditionally and historically have not participated in conversations about space production, and more importantly, those who have been silenced and prohibited to speak about the unfair and oppressive practices that security and surveillance mechanisms have committed in the country's largest public school district. Nevertheless, their accounts are intimate and monstrous; complex and accessible; sometimes disturbing, but ultimately, urgent.

I begin this chapter by offering only a brief summary of Edward Soja's theory of "Thirdspace" (1996) and describe how useful it was for tracing the contours of young people's "lifeworld" with various school safety measures. Because I already dedicated the previous chapter to discussing Soja's theoretical contributions to space production, this chapter will be more "data heavy" to focus on what young people were saying about how they lived and learned under criminalizing conditions that school safety mechanisms produced. More significantly, I wish to share with the reader how the pipeline is living in young people's minds and bodies to show that it is more than a theoretical construct.

I will open the discussion of our data by sharing an excerpt from a conversation our research collective had during one of our weekly research meetings. To this day I am stunned by my co-researchers' brilliance and by how grounded their reflection was to critically analyze the toxic conditions of overused punitive disciplinary measures that schools apply to address student non-criminal and behavioral issues.

My co-researchers' personalized geographies of their trajectories within the physical spaces of their schools, the candid thoughts they voiced during their interviews, and some of the fearless texts we gathered on our citywide youth survey will then facilitate the remaining discussions on how young people navigate and move through schooling geographies that embody localized instances and settings of the school-to-prison pipeline.

Easying (Into) Thirdspace

Edward Soja's stimulating theoretical and methodological design of "Thirdspace" helped me add a cutting and relevant edge to our data analysis. Besides the material, historical and social dimensions of space production, his work in critical geography contested "space" by adding a lived component to space and spatialized manifestations of unequal power relations. According to him, qualities of "Thirdspace" include:

> "… a knowable and unknowable, real and imagined lifeworld of experiences, emotions, events, and political choices that is existentially shaped by the generative and problematic interplay between centers and peripheries, the abstract and concrete, the impassioned spaces of the conceptual and the lived, marked out materially and metaphorically in *spatial praxis*, the transformation of (spatial) knowledge into (spatial) action in a field of unevenly developed (spatial) power. (Soja, 1996, p. 31)

I saw the tremendous potential in the trialectics of space production for our data analysis because it allowed and privileged the foregrounding of young people's lived experiences with school safety over those who designed or surveilled them.

I adopted Soja's "lifeworld" to refer to students' journeys and their lived geographies throughout the physical and materialized landscapes of school security and surveillance. More importantly, conceiving school spaces with heavy policing and surveillance by way of focusing on the moving, the living, and the real, rather than the static and lifeless (I do not dare say "dead"), was a constant reminder that our research embraced real people, real issues, and real problems, thus it embraced real, existing material within a real given historical moment in our lives. Soja's theory of "Thirdspace" and "lifeworld" worked brilliantly for us in that we were reminded of the dehumanizing qualities of structural inequalities. With this analytical approach we hoped to expand the meanings of how students bear witness to the systematized removal of marginalized youth from schools into the spaces of the criminal justice system.

Student Lifeworlds Under Surveillance

One way we began with "thirding" our data was by asking ourselves what metaphor could possibly capture and truthfully represent the pipeline's racialized structures and ideologies. My co-researchers said it best, thus I insert the following excerpt of this conversation*:

> Piper: I am thinking, like kind of it [a metaphor] more of a maze, with an initially prize inside of it. I don't know if there is an ending prize you can reach for, but with the school-to-prison pipeline, I don't know what you are looking for exactly. Like we are the rat, we are the students, or whatever, whether or not, we are

* All youth narratives from our data sets appear unaltered and in their original content.

pressuring through. We have the metal detectors, the SSAs, or whatever, like that, we are still in the field of being influenced to go to prison. So I guess we are in this maze to find our ways out, that's why I thought of it as a maze.

MS: A maze with obstacles.

Piper: The thing is though with the pipeline, it seems hard to actually find the ending point. You don't know if there is a prize when you actually get there. Or if you are ever gonna get there.

MS: A lot of people eat the poison that is put in there. To slow down the rat.

Patricia: How would you translate this idea into every day life, what's the poison?

KD: The influence is the poison.

MS: Yeah, it's the influence.

KD: It's the neighborhood.

MS: No, it's the people in the neighborhood, it's the students, cuz somebody can only choose what they want or what they go for.

Patricia: What about all the other influences we have talked about, all the budget cuts that have shaped the pipeline, the policies, these are also some of the influences, not just the neighborhoods.

MS: If you see somebody who is vulnerable, they just like hurting us, they think that just because we live in these neighborhoods and those kind of things go down in the neighborhood, that they

might as well, just throw them in there.

Patricia: We have to be clear about they- who is the "they"?

Vileta: "They" is many people. You can't just say white people. We cannot just say cops.

Allemand: But we can say rich people, because they can afford -

Vileta: *(jumps in)* - so "they" is many.

Patricia: Maybe it's more about an issue of power and where power is located.

Vileta: But as far as power goes, everybody at city hall, it's white people. Seriously!

To think of a maze to describe young people's experiences and encounters with school safety in NYC schools may seem disturbing, maybe even shocking at first, especially since students selected "a rat" to refer to themselves and other young people who were trying to reach high school completion. But it worked; Piper's metaphor opened our minds up to a range of topics and concepts that illustrated a web of possible interconnections and interrelations between the structural, ideological, historical, and social scaffoldings that silently maintain racialized, classed and gendered schooling inequalities. In searching for what this short conversation could have possibly meant and implicated, we immediately latched on to the idea of a "prize" placed at the end of high school to reward individualized academic achievement. These rewards included being admitted to college, finding a well-paying a job, accessing the opportunity to travel, and maybe starting a family. This reward was of utmost importance because it constructed

education not only as the most desired goal, but it also socialized people into believing that schools were the primary places where education occurs (Illich, 1971).

According to our conversation, schooling was a maze filled with hurdles and speed bumps that could block a student's journey, and its poisoned interiors could make it impossible for a young person to find his or her way out of it. My co-researchers even claimed that the maze was purposefully filled with poison by those who did not wish to see success come from students who lived in poor neighborhoods. John Devine (1996) argues that violence-prone schools, so-called "maximum-security schools" are really a spatialized extension of the violence that resides within surrounding and under-funded communities. My co-researchers considered, albeit briefly, individual behavior to explain why schools are equipped with intensified safety measures. As their analytical lens expanded and veered away from such pathologizing explanations, youth researchers turned towards some of the more structural, ideological, historical and social underpinnings of the pipeline ("power"). As we read on and analyzed more of our data, the toxic grounds of schooling became more palpable, and it provided us with a plethora of evidence for naming the growing conditions of systematic and racialized miseducation of NYC's Black, Latino, poor and immigrant youth under surveillance. These "circuits of dispossession" (Fine & Ruglis, 2009) have serious consequences on young people's perceptions of themselves as well as their experiences with school safety.

What's Your Poison?

To initiate our analysis of some of the specific safety measures that are possibly turning schools into maze-like spaces, we raised some general questions, such as what high school students liked and disliked about their schools to excavate the toxicity of

school grounds. There were many poisons to choose from; data from our youth surveys, interviews, and our own surveillance maps provided us with many disturbing details about the multiple poisons inside public schools including: inappropriate behavior as displayed by SSAs, the racialized and gendered gaze of surveillance cameras and permanent metal detectors, and the gender regulating spaces of locker rooms and bathrooms.

Survey(ed) Lifeworld

"What do you like about your school?" was the exact survey question that 114 students (of a 114 total) from 19 different NYC public high schools answered (see appendices for our youth survey). High school students chose from 19 different traits to rank schools according to a five-item Likert scale. These items included educational resources, specific places inside schools, safety measures and people who work in school. With scale items ranging from zero to four, zero equated to "does not apply to me," the number one signified "I don't like at all," the number two was used to indicate "I'm not sure," three represented "I like," and the number four gave students the opportunity to say "I like a lot." Each survey taker checked more than one item to respond to this question.

I applied students' demographical information such as their race and ethnicity, gender and grade level to cross-tabulate each of their cumulative answers to examine whether race or gender differences could have impacted a young person's schooling experience. In addition, I combined Asian or Pacific Islander, African, Native American, South Asian, Middle Eastern, Caribbean, and White or Caucasian students into one category which I named "under-represented group" because each of their categories consisted of a number too small for statistical software to create cross tabulations of

significant and readable size (read non-White; only 3 of all surveyed students identified themselves as "White or Caucasian" – 2.63% of the entire survey population). In addition, "multi-ethnic and multi-racial" was an option for survey takers to check. It was not a merged category.

I dove into analyzing the survey data by holding on to our team's bias that conceived schooling as a maze. Thus I looked for evidence that would reflect and confirm my co-researchers' views. I paid particularly close attention to answers that fell under scale items "I don't like at all" and "I'm not sure" because neither one confirmed a young person's positive affiliation. The following table provides an overview of the results. I only included the results that had the highest frequencies, and bold printed those that caught my attention.

Scale Item	By Race/Ethnicity	By Gender	By Grade Level
School Safety Agents (SSAs)	a) I don't like at all (n=33) ▪ **Latino youth: 48.5%** ▪ Multi-racial/ethnic: 21.2% b) I am not sure (n= 33) ▪ "Under-represented-group:" 24.2% ▪ **Black youth: 36.4%**	a) I don't like at all (n= 33) ▪ **Female: 66.7%** b) I am not sure (n=33) ▪ Male: 51.5%	a) I don't like at all (n=33) ▪ **9th: 12.1%** ▪ 11th: 27.3% ▪ **12th: 48.5%** b) I'm not sure (n=33) ▪ 10th: 24.2%
Cameras & Detectors	a) I don't like at all (n=32) ▪ **Latino youth: 50%** b) I am not sure (n=20) ▪ "Under-represented group:" 30% c) Does not apply to me (n=42) ▪ **Black youth: 45.2%%** ▪ Multi-racial/ethnic: 19%	a) I don't like at all (n=32) ▪ **Female: 75%** b) I'm not sure (n=20) ▪ Male: 65%	I don't like at all (n=32) ▪ 9th: 9.4% ▪ 10th: 21.9% ▪ 11th: 25% ▪ **12th: 41%**
Bathroom	a) I don't like at all (n=46) ▪ "Under-represented group:" 17.4% ▪ Black youth: 34.8% ▪ Multi-racial/ethnic youth: 21.7% b) I'm not sure (n=30) ▪ **Latino youth: 50%**	I don't like at all (n=46) ▪ **Female: 58.7%** ▪ Male: 41.3%	I don't like at all (n=46) ▪ 9th: 10.9% ▪ 10th: 15.2% ▪ 11th: 32.6% ▪ **12th: 39.1%**
Locker Room	I don't like at all (n=43) ▪ "Under-represented group:" 16.3% ▪ Black youth: 25.6% ▪ **Latino youth: 39.5%** ▪ Multi-racial/ethnic: 18.6%	I don't like at all (n=43) ▪ **Female: 51.2%** ▪ Male: 48.8%	a) I don't like at all (n=43) ▪ 9th: 7% ▪ 11th: 23.3% ▪ **12th: 53.5%** b) I'm not sure (n=28) ▪ 10th: 39.3%

Table 5.1. Survey answers to "What do you like about your school?" -Part I

School safety agents.

The percentage is high among Latino students who did not like SSAs and Black youth who were not sure about liking or disliking them. Their uncertainty could be read as a sign of not trusting security guards due to how regularly SSAs treat students with favoritism. My co-researcher KD, an African American student at high school in Manhattan suggested to me during his interview that SSAs' favoritism could be connected to students dropping out of schools:

Patricia: Do you think school safety could affect somebody's motivation to do well in school?

KD: Yeah. Sometimes they say they don't like that person. They don't want to be bothered. They don't want to hear you. Sometimes you keep that up and they don't want to go to school no more.

Labeled as "dropout factories," a study at Johns Hopkins University showed that NYC schools operating with permanent metal detectors have produced a dropout rate as high as 70% (Losen, 2006). For the class of 2001, this study documented that only 32% of all Black students in NYC graduated with a high school diploma on time.

The mistrust of SSAs among Black youth could also be related to the overuse of suspensions and detentions that schools use to discipline students. A separate question on our survey asked students "Do you think there are any fair disciplinary actions in your school?" Among students who said that their schools did not work with fair disciplinary actions, the overuse of suspensions and detentions was one of the leading reasons. Some of the answers specifically included:

- "It's not fair because guards let the students whom they like to do whatever and other students get detention or suspension."
- "Because students get detention for no reason just for sitting on a table, and if you don't go you get suspended. What if you have to take care of kids after school. It isn't fair."
- "Because sometimes you have good reasoning and they still give you detention or suspend you."

In addition, the overuse of detentions and suspensions was certainly a frequently discussed topic during my interviews with co-researchers. Starshonna, an African American sophomore from a different school in Manhattan shared the following story about the use of detention by a particular SSA at her school:

> Starshonna: And she gave a girl detention for sitting on the lunch table. And then she told me one time, I wasn't even inside of the lunchroom yet. She's like, if you're coming into the lunchroom, you have to take your hat off. I'm like, but my hair isn't done yet. She's like well, you just take your hat off or don't come in the lunchroom. So I didn't go in there because I knew if I went there I was gonna get detention. She gives people detention for no reason.

Her friend and co-researcher Vileta, an African and Native American freshmen from the same school confirmed their school's reliance on detentions and suspensions to address student behavior:

> Vileta: I don't like the way they do things. I don't like the fact that you get suspended for not doing a detention. That's a waste of your

week when you could have been in school. It's like giving detention for probably, like, being in the hallway; for yelling at a teacher because teachers deserve it.

Patricia: Mm.

Vileta: Um, yeah, you really get suspended for, like, the dumbest stuff. Because it's like okay, you get detention, you have to serve the detention in three days of getting the detention, or you get another detention. So you have two detentions to make. That's a – that means you're going to be in school till 5:30.

Patricia: Really?

Vileta: But high school, you know, a lot of people have a lot of responsibility, uh, and that's not fair to be in detention till 5:30

During our year of data collection, Vileta's and Starshonna's school was equipped with two permanent metal detectors, various surveillance cameras on multiple floors, armed police officers on the first floor, SSAs throughout the entire building, two bag scanners and two search tables (or "frisking places" or "pat down tables" as they had labeled them in their surveillance maps). Their stories about the overuse of suspensions and detentions confirmed the data we read about the disproportionality high suspension rates in schools with intensified security and surveillance technologies (Mukherjee, 2007). According to this study conducted by the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU), "high schools with permanent metal detectors issued 48% more suspensions than similar schools without them" (p. 22).

The disliking of SSAs was especially represented among the female students who answered this question on our survey (66.7%). Data from our personal interviews pointed me towards a few possible answers for this gendered disproportionately. Some of my female co-researchers talked to me about SSAs flirting openly with female students and whose body language was also sexualized towards young women. Dimples, a Latina senior from a high school in the Bronx, recalled the sexually inappropriate behavior by one of the SSAs at her school:

Patricia: In your school, have there been any cases of SSAs flirting with female students?

Dimples: [Name of SSA] will.

Patricia: Has he been caught?

Dimples: No. But he just flirts with people. He won't ask me 'cause he knows I'll slap the shit out of him.

Patricia: But he flirts with other females?

Dimples: Um hum. There's some people you do it, some people you don't.

Patricia: What do students say when he flirts with them?

Dimples: I don't know, I don't be there.

Patricia: What have you heard about it?

Dimples: Nobody peeps it.

Patricia: Hm.

Dimples: It's like a predator thing.

Patricia: What do you mean?

Dimples: You know how a predator always knows what he's saying – like

it could be the nicest thing, but it means a whole other different thing in his mind. So yeah, that's how it is with him.

Additional studies have revealed how SSAs' have abused their roles of overseeing school safety as a mean to take advantage of students' vulnerable positions (Fine et al., 2003). Youth researcher Vileta told me about the behavior of one SSA at her Manhattan school who regularly stood next to the metal detectors when she arrived in the morning:

Patricia: Not too long ago you shared with the research team that when SSAs in your school start to feel comfortable with students by way of commenting, you choose to not talk to them or you avoid them.

Vileta: I don't talk to them.

Patricia: Um hm.

Vileta: On most days I go through the scanner and I just go through the scanner and nothing happens. There'll be some days where it don't matter who I got, one – either it'll be this female or the little short guy because he's always on the scanner thingie now. And he'll be like, "Go back around." "What? Why?" "You're bleeping off; go back around. I was like, "I wear the same jewelry every day. If I'm bleeping off, I'd bleep off every day." It's just certain days where he'll just mess with you for no reason. Hold up the line and all this. There are too many people to do that. Like, I don't see the point of doing all this extra planning and stuff.

Similarly, other studies have documented how female students' interaction with SSAs contained sexist language, sexualized undertones, and are loaded with gendered expectations that regulate female bodies (Ferguson, 2000; Harris, 2004; McGrew, 2008).

With regards to the over-representation of twelfth graders who informed us about not liking SSAs, I did not come across any supportive material to explain their overrepresentation. It could possibly be a result of having sustained surveilled education and criminalizing safety measures the longest among all grade levels. However, their critical standpoint towards SSAs might not necessarily be related to the number of years students spent in school; the harsh and unforgiving character of zero tolerance discipline policies may be the overarching factor.

Cameras and metal detectors.

Fifty percent of students who said that they did not like surveillance cameras and metal detectors were Latino youth. This rate seemed to confirm what we knew from existing literature that had documented aggressive surveillance technologies in NYC as found in schools with the highest percentage of African American and Latino students, the most overcrowded classrooms, and the highest suspension rates (Drum Major Institute for Public Policy, 2005; Mukherjee, 2007; Sullivan & Keeney, 2008). However, we were surprised by the 45.2% of Black youth who indicated that cameras and detectors did not apply to them. With the consistent increase of both cameras and metal detectors in schools from 1999 until 2005, we were not able to explain why they did not affect Black students. According to Brady (2007), the use of surveillance cameras in NYC schools has increased from 39% in 2001 to 58% in 2005. Although with a less salient percentage rate but showing an overall increase in use, metal detectors as a school safety

measure augmented from 9% in 2001 to 11% in 2005. Unfortunately we were not able to create a useful explanation for this rather significant finding.

Seventy-five percent of students who indicated that they do not like metal detectors and cameras were female. I am speculating that the aforementioned data on SSAs' sexist and sexualized behavior towards female students can be used to explain the high frequency rate here.

Bathroom and locker room.

We were prepared with the help of existing literature that discussed how bathrooms and locker room could be extremely dangerous and threatening places for some students. According to The Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN) "there is an endemic problem of harassment and discrimination in education across the nation, and the hallways, classrooms, locker rooms, buses and bathrooms of our schools are still a sanctuary for this type of behavior" (2005). Especially for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer youth (LGBTQ) gender normative, gender segregated and sexualized places such as bathrooms and locker rooms can be extremely threatening (Linville, 2009). We were convinced that unbearable locker- and bathroom conditions could be a significant factor for the alarmingly high drop out rate among LGTBQ students. According to the Human Rights Watch, nationwide, LGBTQ students drop out at a rate three times faster than other students (2001).

Although our survey takers did not provide us with any insights to their sexual orientation, 58.7% of students who did not like their school's bathrooms were female and 43.3% of all answers came from male students. Bathroom likings were also racialized; 34.8% of all students who did not like school bathrooms were Black, and 50% of all

students who informed us that they were not sure how they felt about their school bathrooms were Latinos. Students from across all grades shared with us that they did not like school bathrooms at all.

During our own research meetings co-researchers shared with me that SSAs opened their school's bathrooms only during certain hours during the school day. Even if students carried the required hall pass to access bathrooms, SSAs who surveilled student trafficking inside buildings as well as outside made students feeling uncomfortable with using the bathroom.

Our survey data for locker rooms confirmed the aforementioned data by local and national organizations. The data on how students viewed their school locker rooms produced similar rates. Black and Latino students who provided us with answers to this question (25.6% and 39.6% respectively) checked that they did not like locker rooms. Of all responses to this question, 51.2% came from female students who did not like their locker rooms. And again, students from across all grade levels indicated that they do not like their locker rooms except for the 39.3% of tenth graders who said they were not sure. In summing up, safety measures that students who took our survey did not like included SSAs based on their inappropriate, sexist and sexualized behavior towards students, especially towards female students. Surveillance cameras and metal detectors displayed similar rates, especially among female students who might have experienced sexist behavior by SSAS who operated surveillance technologies. Lastly, there were also safety measures that were spatialized within specific school sites such as bathrooms and locker rooms. Their manifestations seemed to be extremely gendered, although students of color as well as from all grade levels indicated that their heightened surveillance within

these spaces caused students to experience discomfort, regardless of demographical difference.

Lived Geographies (Surveillance Maps)

I am returning to the metaphor of a maze that my co-researchers chose to represent their individual trajectories with safety measures at school. Some of the images on their surveillance maps captured, albeit visually, students' lived experiences with the pointlessness and aimlessness they had attached to the (surveilled) process of high school completion.

Lived geography one.

My co-researchers and I had created a set of map keys to be included in the story telling of our surveillance maps:

Security and Surveillance	**Spaces and Places**
SSAs (unarmed) = orange or purple dot NYPD officers (armed) = black around orange dots Permanent SSAs = purple square Metal detectors = outlined in green Surveillance cameras = yellow dot NYPD office/Security office = outlined in red	Places where you feel the safest = dotted green line Places that you do not use/access = dotted red line Most trafficked areas = dotted blue line Least trafficked areas = dotted orange line Places where you hang out friends = dotted purple line Bright areas = highlight yellow/large circle Dark areas = highlight green/large circle

Dimples, a Latina senior from a high school in a Bronx, created this first surveillance map.

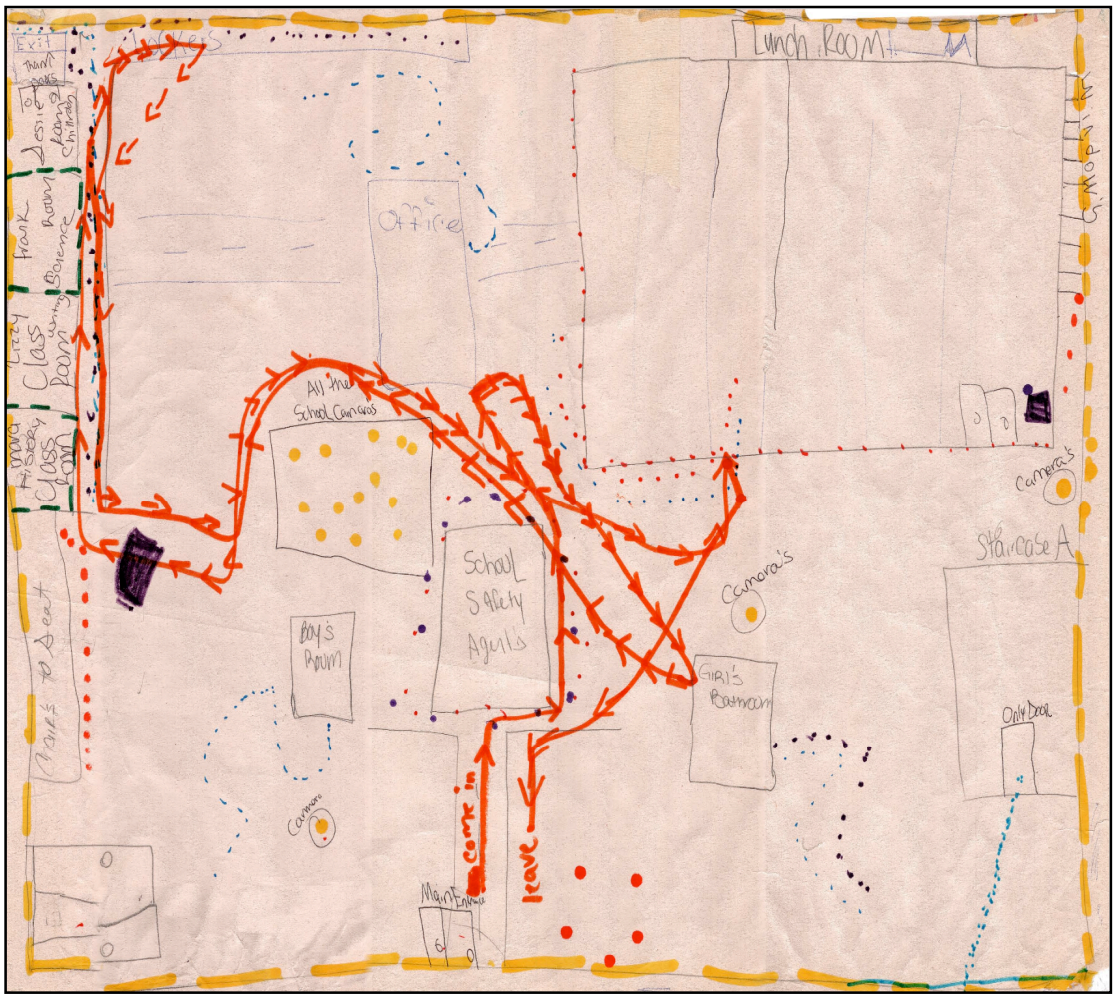

Figure 5.1. Surveillance map drawn by youth researcher Dimples, a Latina senior from a high school in the Bronx.

The red solid line represents her daily movement that looped around the spaces on the first floor of her school. Upon entering her school building, she walked into the central area of the first floor, which is occupied by the main desk of SSAs. When we analyzed her map we noticed that the SSA desk was strategically placed here because it physically blocked anybody from proceeding to other parts of the building. From this position,

SSAs were able to overlook and supervise most parts of the first floor. She added a red dotted line around the main security desk to indicate that this is a place she did not use or access. However, she also circled the desk with a purple dotted line to inform us that this is an area where she hung out with her friends. We asked her if she socialized with any of the SSAs there and she explained that most of them knew her and talked to her. This might have been the reason why she considered the security desk a place for social interaction.

The first floor is also filled with numerous surveillance cameras. Immediately to the left of the security desk, Dimples filled a box with multiple yellow dots to show that this part of the first floor operated under heavy surveillance. She identified an additional camera that was installed in the far right space of her map in between staircase A and the two doors that lead to the lunchroom next to the permanently stationed SSA (darkened box). We noticed immediately each of the two surveillance cameras in front of the boys' and girls' bathrooms. During the presentation of her map, Dimples detailed to us that unlike the boys' bathroom the camera by the girls' bathroom was installed immediately above the door. From the standpoint of security staff, the installation of both surveillance cameras might have been explained by the school's need to prevent students from physically or verbally fighting within these two busy locations (see blue lines). Similar to the aforementioned young women in our survey who had indicated not liking the bathrooms at school, Dimples was not happy with the installation of this camera. Moreover, she was very angered by this and told us that the camera was invading a very private and intimate space for girls. According to her, the placement of this camera was very inappropriate because "nobody got to know when I take care of my business."

Consequently, she decided to no longer use the bathroom. Her surveillance map does not give insight to any additional bathroom she might have been able to access. In addition, she filled the area immediately in front of the girls' bathroom with a purple line to inform us that is where she hung out with friends.

Her daily movement included also the hallway in the top left corner on her map where all of her classrooms were located. To reach it she bypassed the seating area she did not use (red line) in front of the permanently stationed SSA (darkened box). Filled again with blue and purple lines, this hallway was an area that was trafficked the most and it was a space where she hung out with friends (purple and blue lines). On top of the exit door in the top left corner on the map, or at the end of the hallway, she placed a surveillance camera that looked right down the classroom hallway as well as over the student locker area where she had some interaction with her friends (purple line). Her surveillance map is framed by a yellow line to let us know that her first floor was a bright area.

Lived geography two.

Ja, a South Asian senior attended a small high school in Brooklyn that shared the building with three other small schools. Students from two of these schools used the same entrance and exit as students from Ja's school. Even though he designed a map for each of the four different floors that he used during the school day, I decided to only include this first floor map because so many of the previously analyzed safety measures are contained and paralleled within the space of this floor.

Of all participating schools, Ja probably attended the most policed and surveilled school. We were struck by the 13 armed NYPD officers (orange dot circled in black) and

the 12 SSAs (purple dots) who were stationed on a daily basis in front of the school building. In addition, a NYPD van, or "a precinct on wheels" as we called it, was parked there also. The arrowed blue line symbolizes Ja's daily movement. Upon entering the building through the main entrance, he passed the main security desk that was operated by two SSAs. He then turned left to walk through a few intensive safety measures consisting of two metal detectors and two search tables (outlined in green). Four

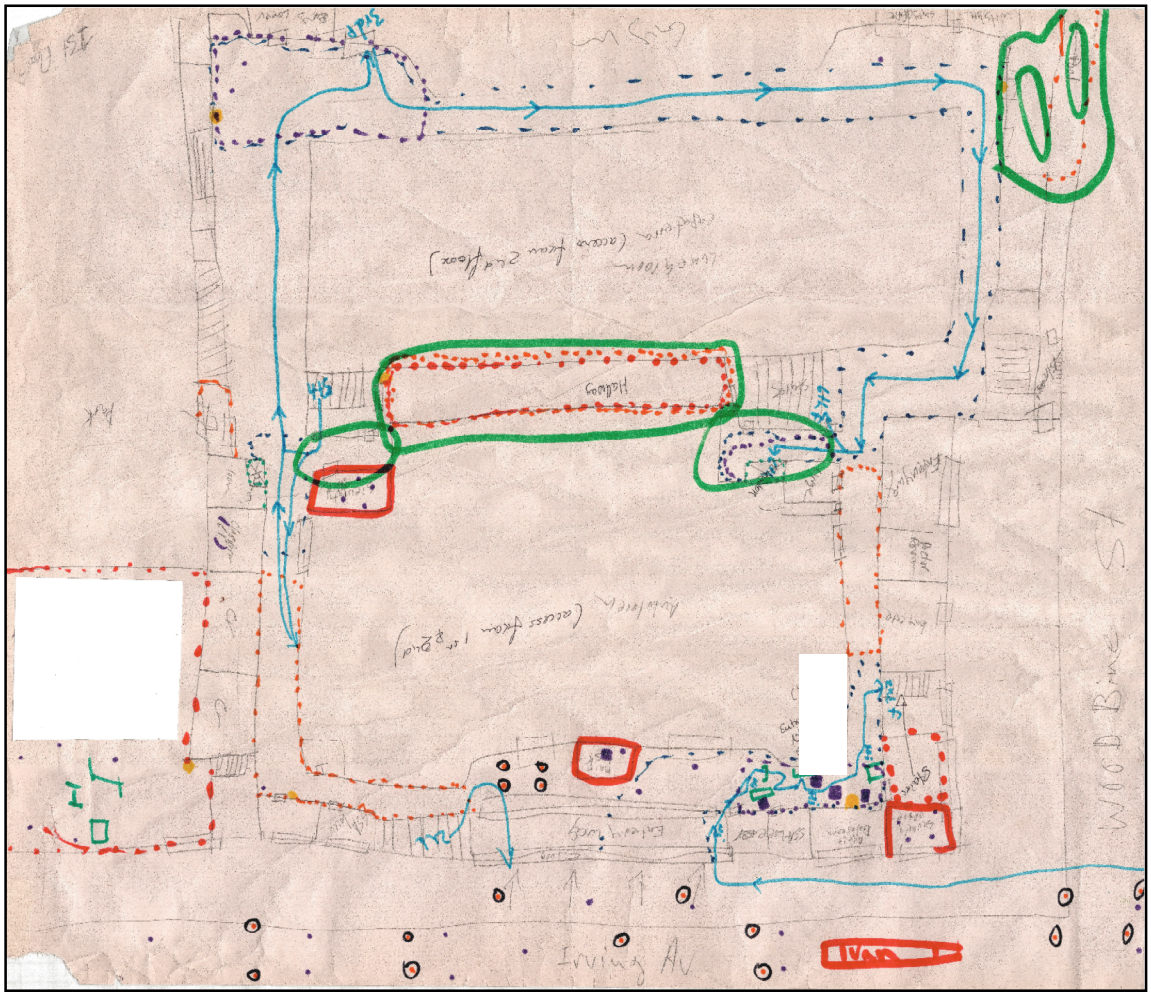

Figure 5.2. Surveillance map of Ja, a South Asian senior from a small high school in Brooklyn.

SSAs were permanently stationed within the space of this area (purple box) as well as one surveillance camera (yellow dot) in front of the security office (red box). As Ja

explained to his co-researches and illustrated on his map, at each "safety stop," including the metal detector, permanently stationed SSAs and search table, Ja strategically greeted safety personnel (indicated by "hi" on the map) to become a "familiar face" to them in order to avoid unnecessary questioning and interrogations. Overall, his daily schedule did not require him to use many of the places on the first floor because all of his classrooms were located on the above floors. In other words, once he cleared the securitized entrance area he proceeded to a nearby staircase to move upstairs.

However a few noteworthy points on the first floor remain to be discussed because they were of interest to our study. In visually moving our eyes through the hallway on the right side of the map, we acknowledged the long hallway that horizontally spans the mid-section of the map. Ja circled this hallway in green to inform us that this is a dark area that is part of a space that is kept cleared (orange line). To the left of this hallway there is a security office (red box), which he filled with purple dots to indicate a place where SSAs are regularly located (purple dots). On the right side of the hallway, there is a narrower area which he filled with a purple and blue line to show that this is a busy area (blue line) and also a space where he hung out with friends. In addition, he accessed the elevator from this space. He once told us that he was friends with the elevator operator, the person in charge of controlling the elevator's movement during the entire school day. Consequently and unlike many of his peers, Ja had privileged access to the elevator and thus considered it as one of the places at school where he felt safe (green dotted line).

In the far back, or on top of his map, another hallway stretches in front of his school's gym. The boys' locker room is located on the left side. Ja filled the area

directly in front of it with purple and blue lines because it is an area that is most trafficked as well as a spot where he sees his friends. On the opposite end of the hallway is the girls' locker room. He also placed dark green circles within this area because he considered this corner a darker area in school. In front of both the girls' and boys' locker rooms there is a surveillance camera installed (yellow dot). Based on his map we speculated that this camera was able to surveille the entire length of the hallway that fills the space between both locker room areas. Ja did not demonstrate a critical stance towards their placement nor did he state opinions regarding how other students might have interpreted them.

I remember when my co-researchers first presented their surveillance maps to the entire team. I was struggling with identifying the direction of their movements; all I saw were looping lines restricted to the central hallways of a given floor. Little did I know then how similar students' direction-less and circular movements through their policed and securitized school spaces would trigger us to think of other real and imaged places, such as the physical settings of a maze. As we were getting to know each other's schools' maps in more detail, we often wondered about not being able to recognize any particular destination of individual journeys. We spotted the direction of movements as indicated by arrowed lines, but yet they did not "enter" into any classrooms, offices, or lunchrooms, for example. Maybe the arrowed lines that were running in front of specific places implied individual stops, nonetheless we concluded that most youth researchers were corralled and their movements were contained within the few spaces they used. More disturbingly and thus speaking directly back to the physical settings of a maze, while all ten maps included specific entry and exit points (i.e. main entrance doors and

emergency exits), only two of my ten co-researchers drew a solid and arrowed line in such way to signify that their daily individual movement started in front of school and finished by signaling a moving away from their school building. The other eight had no beginning or ending points outside the spaces of their schools. At the end we were left with no ending points and Piper's words seemed terrifyingly real: "The thing is though with the pipeline, it seems hard to actually find the ending point. You don't know if there is a prize when you actually get there. Or if you are ever gonna get there."

Lived Geographies of Dispossessions

Why do NYC public high school students feel trapped inside their school spaces when the same education system is supposed to provide students with "a sound basic education" (Campaign for Fiscal Equity, 2003) to facilitate their transition into the working world? How is the mission of NYC public education connected to the heavy policing of public schools and the school-to-prison pipeline? We were under the impression that vital resources, not just money, were funneled away from public education and pumped instead into other more prioritized, and perhaps more profitable areas. We immediately thought of ongoing U.S. warfare throughout the world and bitterly acknowledged the exploded 2008 budget of the U.S. Department of Defense to $481.4 billion and the additional $147.7 billion allotted to the U.S. "Global War on Terror." Thus, the financing of all U.S. military programs and activities totaled an unbelievable $670.3 billion in 2008 (U.S. Department of Defense, 2007). Meanwhile the federal budget for the Department of Education in 2008 was set to operate with $56 billion (U.S. Department of Education, 2007).

We worked hard to articulate the logic for this militarized fiscal madness: for the federal and city government to continue to invest in public education, the productivity of schools had to materialize according to dominant ideological structures of the current U.S. globalized neoliberal market economy (Gabbard & Ross, 2004; Lipman, 2004; Saltman, 2000). Since federal legislation of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2002, this has meant an intensified push for standardized testing on the national level. On the local level this testing mentality adds enormous pressure to the agendas of school administrators to ensure that schools produce high enough test scores to avoid financial penalties from their state government in the form of budget cuts. Other penal mechanisms have included the rapid dismantling of under-performing public schools and their subsequent replacement with specialized small schools. In NYC, since the initial stages of the Small School Movement in 2002, spaces of formerly overcrowded and underperforming schools located mostly in the city's African American, Latino, and low-income communities have been filled with small, specialized and thematic schools whose multi-million dollar funding comes primarily from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (Bosman, 2007). To this day the Gates Foundation has opened more than one hundred small schools in NYC (Miner, 2005). NCLB has accelerated the privatization of public schools by using for-profit educational supplemental services such as charter schools to provide more academic and extra-curricular resources for under-performing schools on the grounds that they were failing.

In other parts of the country we have witnessed an accelerated privatization of public schools under the leadership of the charter school movement. In 2004 in Chicago, an organization consisting of chief executive officers of leading corporate and financial

organizations called the Commercial Club introduced a controversial for-profit school reform initiative entitled Renaissance 2010. Their proposal explained the need to close down 60 - 70 failing public schools and open 100 new schools, mostly charter schools. According to Pauline Lipman, Chicago has a total of 600 public schools. "One hundred schools represent one-sixth of the system privatized" (Lipman, 2007, p. 90). Many educators, students, and teachers have been fighting Renaissance 2010 because closing down schools to re-open them as new private schools would attract middle-class families to take over neighborhoods that have been inhabited and taken care of by poor, working class and families of color. Renaissance 2010 strengthens the legacy of state-sanctioned financial and material disinvestment and further pushes under-served communities from the local social margins into globalized neoliberal geographies of dispossession.

An additional exemplification of the systemic dismantling of public education comes from New Orleans after hurricane Katrina in 2004. Ceasing the opportunity to reap benefits from displaced and destroyed communities the natural disaster had left behind, under an "ideology of benign neglect" (Buras, 2007) corporate businesses reformed the public education system into a for-profit school ground. Educational contractors and educational management organizations (EMO) poured into the city and surrounding communities to place bids on the construction of new schools. Many educators believe that "New Orleans public schools were not rebuilt for those in most need" (Saltman, 2007, p. 5). Instead, business was open to a network of charter schools that was created "for a privileged few."

Whether it is the push for opening small schools under the leadership of NCLB, the for-profit driven movement of charter schools, or the appropriation of human

vulnerability during post-hurricane community re-building, corporatized school reforms offer broken solutions for an already broken public education system that has historically carried the brunt of racialized structural inequalities. Structures of social inequalities are further fortified by capital accumulation through systematic disinvestment in financially weak neighborhoods. The formula for corporate and privatized educational reform can be best summarized as a systematized state and capital disinvestment to disvalue public education, then selectively reinvest with the power of private capital to further dispossess socially unwanted communities and those who are financially unable to participate in the globalized U.S. consumer marker economy. These ideological settings for "a politics of disaster" (Saltman, 2007) feed off natural or human-made disasters in the interest of profit. David Harvey has coined this systemic process of unequal capital development "dispossession by appropriation" (2003), and Pauline Lipman has described the intimately related politics of public school privatization as "a politics of feasting on disaster" (2007).

Possible answers to our questions began to crystallize on February 13, 2008 when the NYC Department of Education (DOE) released an urgent memorandum to all NYC school principals announcing the budget allocations for the 2008 fiscal year. More specifically, the DOE prepared school administrators for the newly introduced budget cuts, and stated:

> As our nation's economy falters and as the City receives less tax revenue than anticipated, we, like others across our City, must spend less. All city agencies are required to cut 2.5% form their budgets for the 2008 fiscal year and an additional 5% for the coming fiscal year. … To achieve the Department's overall reduction

> of $180 million in the 2008 fiscal year we must also cut from schools' budgets. (Office of the Chief Financial Officer, 2008)

This resulted in a 1.75% across-the-board budget cut that was imposed on all schools in districts 1-32 to reach a $100 million citywide tax levy. Most of my co-researchers' schools were affected (some of their schools were disinvested in by as much as $200,000) and soon after the DOE had made this announcement, their school principals began to prepare students for reduced after-school programming.

We continued to question and wondered, if actual, real money was being removed from the accounts of public schools, then who was receiving these enormous deposits? We understood that we most likely were not going to be able to produce a satisfying answer to this complex and politicized question given the tight control that the NYPD and DOE have over the release of any information on the annual allocations of school safety measure expenses. Without possessing the wanted evidence, we offer a more speculative answer: from the 3,000 SSAs who were working in public schools in 1998 to the more than 4,500 employed during the 2005-2006 academic year, the NYCLU had informed us that NYC has currently more SSAs than any other school district in the country (Mukherjee, 2007). We read in the same report that per pupil expenditures in the largest metal detector schools were by far lower than in citywide schools:

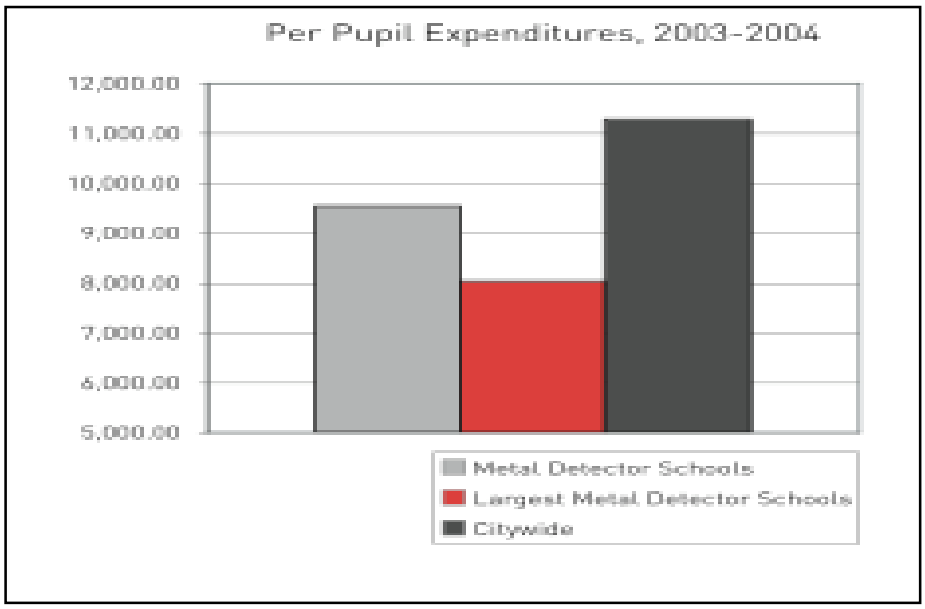

Figure 5.3. "Per Pupil Expenditures, 2003-2004" (Mukherjee, 2007, p. 21)

With the enormous increase in security personnel as well as the rising use of metal detectors in schools that are currently spending the least amount per student per year, it is almost impossible to resist the urge to draw the following conclusion: intensified criminalizing school safety measures are not connected to the unforgiving budget cuts with which NYC public schools are currently struggling.

Furthermore, we agreed with the aforementioned scholars who illustrated the systemic disinvestment in public schools and the long-term consequences this has on poor and nonwhite communities in particular. Similarly, zero tolerance criminal justice-oriented educational policies in NYC are contributing to the disproportionate disciplining and punishment of youth of color. Racialized structures and ideologies of the pipeline control, regulate, manage, contain, move and drive to change the bodies and minds of Black and Latino low income youth whose communities had already been foot printed by the ideology of white supremacy of these same economic structures. Moreover, the pipeline is one of the distinct local instances that participate in the larger socio-political

structures of the systemic disinvestment and dispossession of urban youth in public schools. Public funds that were once invested in building sustainable futures for low income, working class, immigrant, Black and Latino youth are now poured back into the private and corporate interests of the carceral system.

The underlying research question about how young people are navigating through the physical landscapes of their schools has only been answered partially in that we provided the reader with examples of how young people *physically move* through schools and school safety measures. However, and really more importantly, our data also presented us with an infinite number of insights into how high school students are deeply and painfully aware that their schools are part of a larger structural landscape that disinvests in their academic well being. This knowledge, or rather this *critical state of mind*, nourished both their physical movement and self-maintenance.

Disinvestment in NYC Youth

With less theoretical discussion but with more data samples from our interviews and survey answers, the following paragraphs describe some of the themes that emerged from our data and reveal what constituted young people's lifeworlds within the spatialized ideologies of a disinvested and dispossessing school system: the purpose of schooling and the purpose of the pipeline, feelings of alienation, school safety measures leaving students with fewer options while in high school, and youth researchers blaming themselves and other young people for schools needing intensified school safety measures. I close this section with an important piece of our data, the so-called "islands of safety" that NYC youth have identified and valued amidst the poisoned maze of the criminalizing school system. I do not apply a heavy analytical lens to each of these

themes. They are part of our larger youth-centered narrative and carry the reader through the intricate and really unbelievable moments of the pipeline.

Purpose of schooling.

I asked youth researchers at the end of our data collection to define the purpose of schooling. A lot of what they shared mirrored how structural inequalities influence schools' ability to remain committed to student growth. The purpose of schooling also defined the level of student preparedness for future employment and building better socio-economic living conditions for oneself. For example:

Patricia: What do you think is the purpose of schooling?

Piper: I think it's to educate people.

Patricia: About what?

Piper: About history, and math, and, yeah, we might feel that, um, like, using derivatives and all that stuff will be, like, used in every day life, but you never know what career path you're taking. It's – so schooling is to help you determine what you want to become in the future. It's to educate you. It's not just to make you this one person. It's to make you rounded, go out there into the world. That's what a school *should* do. Not every school does that, but every school should do that to make you ready for the world.

Patricia: Why do you think does not every school do it?

Piper: Some schools are not dedicated. I can say this out of experience. Some teachers and the administrators – the help is there, but the

drive is not. You know? Like, they have their resources and everything, but still some of the students are not getting by, and there are schools that have the drive and want to do this, they don't have the resources, so where the funding is, it's different, but there are opportunities, I guess, for the schools to be better.

KD placed the importance of schooling into building better living conditions for himself:

KD: To have a good life and grow up so you don't have to go through the worries that people are in now. The more you learn and the higher you get, the easier life will get for you.

Askia Samuel responded to this question differently. He took a critical historical approach to connect schools and prisons by way of a changed labor market:

Askia Samuel: Um, I think it's to, um, develop critical thinkers. And I know – at least I know from my schools because, like, that's their mission statement, to develop critical thinkers and to create, like, global citizens that will help change society. But I think, uh, generally speaking, like, other schools, the, like, purpose of public education was to create factory workers and vocational workers because they – they – they train at the bare minimum. Like the Regents, that's the bare minimum. And, like, even on the scores, like the Regents scores that they require for you to pass are the bare minimum, and it just – the exam itself is the bare minimum. So when you combine those two elements, it's like students don't really learn much.

Patricia: You're right, schools prepared students to be future factory workers.

Askia Samuel: Yeah.

Patricia: How would you say has that changed over the years? Because all the factories have moved away from New York City, right?

Askia Samuel: I mean, uh, I think it hasn't really changed. I mean, as we can tell from this project, it's changed from the factory worker to, like, the prison worker and the – the – the worker who's, like, affected by globalization. Like, um, the – the bare minimum –

Patricia: Mm.

Askia Samuel: – basically teaches them they can't really do much, and that they don't have the skills to do much.

Patricia: Um hm.

Askia Samuel: So then they – they have – they don't have much option.

Patricia: Mm.

Askia Samuel: Outside of jail and, you know. It's for the low-wage sector.

Purpose of the pipeline.

Equipped with an extremely clear understanding of how schools and the carceral system are embedded within the same ideological structure of dispossession, youth researchers also voiced the larger socio-political purposes of the pipeline. Some of their explanations included:

Patricia: What do you think is the purpose of the pipeline?

Dimples: That schools are prison.

Patricia: What does that mean?

Dimples: It's changing people.

Patricia: How does the pipeline change people?

Dimples: I don't know. How people changed. I don't know – I wouldn't know.

Patricia: Do students change when schools become more like prison?

Dimples: Students don't change. Some students will. Some students just don't.

Patricia: Do you think the learning environment changes when schools look more like prisons?

Dimples: Yeah.

Patricia: How?

Dimples: Cause they don't think much of us.

Patricia: Who do you mean?

Dimples: Everybody. Staff. SSA. Everybody. Everybody but the students.

MS agrees with Dimples and explains that the pipeline is backed by an entire system, not by just a few individuals:

Patricia: What's the purpose of the pipeline?

MS: It's another way, but it's a wrong thing to do. It's just another way for students. That's what it's for.

Patricia: What is it for? Why does it exist?

MS: I guess they figured that they pretty much gave up on the students.

Patricia: Who gave up on students?

MS: The whole system. They have it for – when they just can't take it no more or whatever, all they got to do is just sign it off for them to go to that pipeline.

Patricia: If at all, how does the pipeline live, in your school?

MS: I would say that the whole thing that it lives within the mentality of the dean and some of the agents. It's almost like an ideology. It's like how they see it.

Patricia: What do you mean with ideology?

MS: It goes by what they believe in. They believe that what you do is so bad that you need to be sent – you need to be home for 30 days. They don't send you home, really. They just send you to a suspension. All they do – you don't even do nothing.

Patricia: From what I heard from your colleagues, students are often not even allowed to do homework, or schoolwork in general.

MS: All they do is just chill. I once went to pick up my cousin because my cousin was in one of those. They was just chilling the whole day. All my cousin did – he was like – he was suspended for 30 days. He was just playing his PSP and just played the whole day and end the game and then go buy another game.

Patricia: What does ideology have to do with it?

MS: The way they believe – if what they believe, it's like almost like a

destiny thing. They believe that. Destiny is to be sitting in that room, and they want to be mean because they do it like that.

My co-researcher Starshonna grounded the systemic dispossessions of youth within the for-profit mission of the pipeline.

Patricia: How do you define the school to prison pipeline?

Starshonna: So like putting students into jail by like degrading them sort of, in school. By like saying that they're bad all the time and that they would never amount to things and like giving them detention for little things because then when they grow up they probably just feel like, you know, I really can't do anything. I was told that like all my life where I felt that way because that's how people treated me.

Yeah.

Starshonna: So like they're gonna go into the streets doing things that just ain't – wrong and they're gonna go to jail.

What does this do to people, to society?

Starshonna: Prisons just *getting money.*

Uh huh.

Starshonna: They get money because they're – they have to – they try to build a super detention or something. I forgot what it was called. [*She remembers the documentary* Books Not Bars *we watched together that portrays a successful youth-led campaign in California against the construction of the biggest youth jail in the*

country]

Yeah, that maximum security youth jail.

Starshonna: So like the more students they try to do that to, they just get more money because they just get to build like bigger ones for more space and stuff like that.

Patricia: Uh huh.

Starshonna: Which is a lot.

Students who took our survey also reflected on the purpose of school safety measures in their schools by answering an open-ended question, "What does school safety mean to you?" Out of a total of 105 responses to this question, almost one-third of all answers (26.3%) made direct references to the pipeline or identified the pipeline's criminalizing mechanisms, such as:

- Metal detectors, school officers, late to class, no freedom, jailhouse;
- I'm sorry, but it means nothing to me. Only that they abuse the laws;
- The right to one's education without feeling like a criminal or being afraid;
- Rules placed that always seem to be broken. Things enforced that constrict students;
- It means that I got harassed everyday in school.

Less options.

Given the intensified presence of punitive and racialized school safety measures, my co-researchers explained to me that going through high school could only result in leading students into one of two separate directions. On one hand, students could make it successfully out of school and move on to college, for example. On the other hand,

schools were placing students on a fast track into the prison system. To be squeezed into the intersection of where higher education and the carceral system collide closes all roads to alternative routes.

Although Vileta did not place her own experience with her high school at that intersection, she was very clear about how for many of her peers this was a reality:

Vileta: For me, high school, these four years, so I can go to college. Like, I don't – I – it goes by so quick anyway, I don't care. For, other people? It can be jail for other people, it can be misery.

Her co-researcher DC Schwartz began with a similar interpretation of the intersection, stating that it seemed to be making the decision *for* students, rather than being made *by* students:

DC Schwartz: High school would be the fork in the road. You can either choose, no, you could either be sent to the negative route, which would be juvenile detention centers, jails, prisons, and all that other stuff.

Patricia: Uh huh.

DC Schwartz: Or you can be sent the positive route, the positive route, which would be college and graduate, undergraduate school, graduate school, a well paying job or whatever you have, like whatever you feel like doing.

He then switched his angle of analysis and explained that reaching the point of a fork is the product of multiple years of schooling.

DC Schwartz: I see it as them, if you have some like, okay the way that, the

way that it's seen I think, nursery is just a holding pen and like a way of you getting accustomed to things before you go into prekindergarten. And then prekindergarten is just a holding pen until you get to kindergarten. It's like that. It's just a working of, just like you working your way up. So by them, if the security agents and the security in the school itself is too oppressive and if it's too like strict and all that other stuff, then it's just like a holding pen. It's just breeding the children to go into an area such as jail, such as prison because it's like the next step up is what they're growing into.

Well, according to, according to statistics, for me, high school is supposed to be the holding pen before I go to prison. And, well, no, not prison. Before I go to, uh, juvenile detention center, and then I would go from there to a jail. And then from there I would end up in a actual prison. It will be a minimum security.

Patricia: Ok.

DC Schwartz: And then another grade above that would be the maximum security. It's all just, it's all just like variations of the next step.

Patricia: These are really intense images.

DC Schwartz: Like once you get into a maximum security, um, like prison, then there's only two places that you could go from there. 1.) Is the mental ward for going insane, and 2.) Is the soil for dying because like they don't really have anything else. People

normally die in those places. Like once you get into a maximum-security prison, like the chances of you getting out are slim to none, so. They hold you here for 15 years –

Patricia: They don't do anything; they don't take care of people, yeah.

DC Schwartz: They hold you there in this hell for 15 years and expect you to be sane when you get out.

Patricia: Aye.

DC Schwartz: Yeah, you can't really be expected to function like a quote unquote normal human being in like outside of these jails after you've been there for so long.

According to him, it seemed that if a young person is trafficked into the prison system, the options are slimmed and possibly non-existent to access alternatives for exiting this institutionalized web.

Alienation.

An educational journey that leaves students with few viable options for creating sustainable futures for themselves can also lead to individual disinvestment in one's own education. In addition, state-sanctioned dispossessions of youth can cause even more serious damage by alienating young people from the daily manifestations of the injustices that the pipeline produced. Our data showed that the institutionalization of injustice was often "experienced as an objective reality" detached from its historicity (Berger & Luckmann, 2004, p. 387). Consequently the institutionalization of socialized processes can be voiced as undeniable facts. I certainly came across an externalized reality of the pipeline during the interviews with my co-researchers and interpreted this originally as

"numbness" because most of them talked about criminalizing safety measures as something that was "just there" without including how surveillance cameras and NYPD were impacting their lives and their daily encounters at school. I knew from previous focus group discussions that youth researchers were extremely angered by school safety treating them like criminals. However, and unfortunately under-recognized by many sociologists, imposed mechanisms of social control do not provide young people with options of whether or not they will be surveilled or scanned or both; they have no choice. And this explains their "just-deal-with-it" state of mind.

Stashonna: When I used to live in Queens, it took me an hour just to get to the train station. Then, once I'm in the train station, I still have to get to school, which is, like, a whole other hour. Then I still had to go through the metal detectors and all of that. So I just was like ugh, gotta get this over with if I want to like amount to something in my life. Go to school, pass my classes, do what I have to do just so I can get out of here and go to college. Then finish through college, you know, I think that's gonna be really hard, getting through college. And then you finish through college and it depends on what you're going for. Then you could just be finished.

Vileta: I think the presence of SSAs really does put an effect on overpunishing kids for minor things because I know to me, when you have so many people of authority who – even though I don't

have problems with them, I know I'm not the only person who doesn't like SSAs, either. So I know that'll make me – that can make me wanna rebel and act out because, like, why? Why are you here in my face, bothering me for no reason, telling me to go to class? If I don't wanna go to class, that's my business. It really is.

Patricia: Mm.

Vileta: So I don't see the point in that. Okay. All the dang metal detectors. Why do – like, you really do have to – like to me, I'm numb to it. I just do it because I have to, I have no choice.

Blaming the victim.

As an extension of the above mentioned data on "alienation," youth researchers were also very critical of their own behavior and that of their friends to explain schools' persistent use of policing safety measures.

Ja: I don't think these are pushing students out. It's just students are pushing themselves out because the students should be here for education, so it doesn't matter what other challenges. They should overcome. So if it's something that's happening and they've got to think that education is important and hard work. They do not even care about education. Education has to have some importance. If they don't care about education then they won't do it.

On the contrary to Ja, youth researcher Piper broadened this individually centered standpoint and claimed that the pipeline is rather a product of multiple social processes; of the many that were originally involved in building it.

Piper: I think everyone contributes. I think it's not – we can't just blame Bloomberg, NYPD, SSAs, our principles. You can blame the students. You can blame the parents. You can blame the people in the neighborhood. You can blame the people before. It's just everybody has a different part to play in the school to prison pipeline system, like it's – you want to blame the general people, the man, and all that stuff, but at the end of the day, you kind of have to come down to yourself, and you make the choice, you know? So it's a bit of a mixture of feeding into the school to prison pipeline system.

"Islands of safety."

I will dedicate more paper space to the discussion of this data because I believe this last stop on the journey through students' lived geographies of dispossessions can be of utmost importance to educators and researchers. I did not wish to leave the reader with the much clichéd "finishing on a positive note," but I certainly believe in the necessity of sharing some of the existing spaces in school where young people have felt safe, where they are respected for their individuality and intelligence, and where they have built sustainable relationships between themselves and adults in the school building.

My co-researchers explained to me that their definition of "safety" moved beyond its physically manifestation. According to them, "safety" signified both a mental and an

emotional state from where they could freely speak their minds, articulate their fears and doubts, reflect on love and desire, and question power. The classroom, as well as student relationships with teachers and guidance counselors embodied the parameters of such safety.

I returned to our survey question that asked 114 high school students about what they liked or disliked the most about their schools. For the purpose of this discussion I focused on its "what you like" part. The analysis method remained the same. With the exception of one case (counselors), across all variables of race and ethnicity, gender and grade level, all students indicated to like their classes, teachers and student-teacher relations a lot:

Scale Item	By Race/Ethnicity	By Gender	By Grade
Classes	**I like (n=56)** ▪ "Under-represented group:" 17.9% ▪ Black youth: 32.1% ▪ Latino youth: 39.3% ▪ Multi-racial/ethnic: 10.7%	**I like (n=56)** ▪ Female: 57.1% ▪ Male: 42.9%	**I like (n=56)** • 9th: 5.4% • 10th: 17.9% • 11th: 25% • 12th: 48.2%
Counselors	**a) I like (n=39)** ▪ Black youth: 30.8% ▪ Latino youth: 38.5% **b) I like a lot (n=27)** • Under-represented group:" 25.9% ▪ Multi-racial/ethnic: 22.2%	**I like (n=39)** • Female: 51.3% • Male: 48.7%	**a) Not sure (n=27)** • 11th: 33.3% **b) I like (n=39)** • 9th: 10.3% • 10th: 23.1% • 12th: 43.6%
Teachers	**I like a lot (n=57)** ▪ "Under-represented group:" 17.6% ▪ Black youth: 24.6% ▪ Latino youth: 45.6% ▪ Multi-racial/ethnic: 14%	**I like (n=57)** • Female: 54.4% • Male: 45.6%	**a) I don't like at all (n=9)** • 9th: 44.4% **b) I like (n=57)** • 10th: 19.3% • 11th: 22.8% • 12th: 47.4%
Student-teachers relations	**I like (n=54)** ▪ "Under-represented group:" 13% ▪ Black youth: 31.5% ▪ Latino youth: 42.6% ▪ Multi-racial/ethnic: 13%	**I like (n=54)** • Female: 57.4% • Male: 42.6%	**I like (n=54)** • 9th: 5.6% • 10th: 16.7% • 11th: 27.8% • 12th: 48.1%

Table 5.2. Survey answers to "What do you like about your school?"-Part II

Guidance counselors were generally liked across all student demographics except for the eleventh graders. The third year in high school is a very decisive year with regards to students beginning to take the required standardized college entry exams, navigating through an overwhelming amount of information about college and universities, and

feeling enormous academic pressure to maintain a high grade point average for their college applications.

Teachers received almost an all-round "I like" except for when cross-tabulating student answers with grade level. A small freshmen demographic (n=9) informed us about not liking their teachers at all. This may be attributed to a general unfamiliarity with high school, its teachers, and other educational resources. Classes and student-teacher relations received "I like's" by all participating student.

Additionally, our survey included a question to inquire about where students felt the safest in school. Specifically, the question stated "What place(s) in school do you feel the safest?" Survey takers chose from more than one of the following options: classroom, hallway, staircase, library, cafeteria, outside school, off school grounds, and nowhere. This data strengthened our existing data (from the question I analyzed in the previous paragraph), proving that the classroom holds a significant role within surveilled and securitized school spaces: students felt the safest in one of the places they liked the most in schools – the classroom.

By Race and Ethnicity	**By Gender:**	**By Grade Level**
"Under-represented group:" 75% Black youth: 66% Latino youth: 79% Multi-racial/ethnic: 56%	Female: 67% Male: 76%	9th: 50% 10th: 70% 11th: 42% 12th: 91%

Table 5.3. "The Classroom" as one of the places in school in where students feel the safest. Frequencies organized by student demographics.

I am not including an analysis of the remaining places in schools that students identified as safe. I do not wish to divert from the sense of safety and security that teacher-centered space and relations created for students.

In addition to our survey, we also looked at our surveillance maps, specifically for any green dotted lines as these signified the areas where youth researchers felt the safest in school. We then created a taxonomy because they allowed us to construct "linkages and relationships among various items in a domain" (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999, p. 74). The common domain was "places where I feel the safest" and with this method we looked across all different school settings to compile a cumulative list.

The final list of places where my co-researchers felt the safest consisted of 14 different areas in school. They were marked with green lines on their maps. The number in parenthesis at the end represents their frequencies.

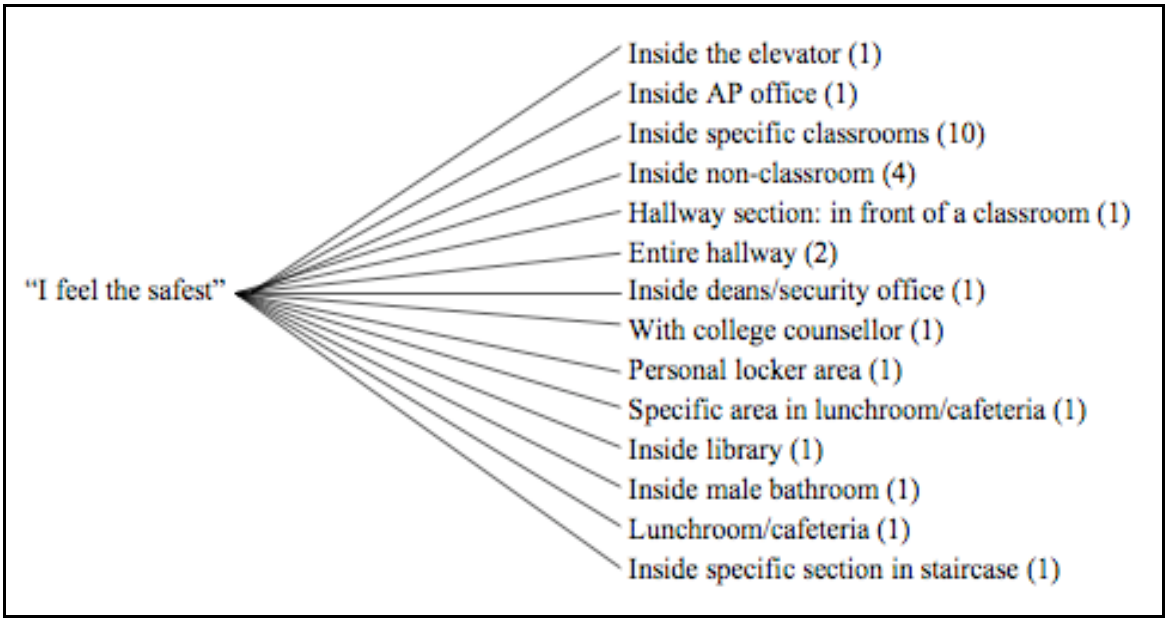

Figure 5.4. Taxonomy for where "I feel the safest" in school.

As the taxonomy showed, all ten youth researchers felt the safest inside a specific classroom. Four of my co-researches felt safe in "non-classroom" spaces which was a label for the office areas of extracurricular or after school programs in which they participated.

I will finish this data set with a final quote by one of the youth researchers to reconnect all numbers, boxed lines and shadings to students' lifeworlds:

> DC Schwartz: Yeah, 'cause they care about us. Like, I'm gonna look through my phonebook right now, my personal cell phone, and look up how many teachers' numbers I have. *[Looks through phonebook]* One, two, three, four, five, I have her house number. Whoa. Six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven. I have, there's another one. I have twelve numbers of teachers in my phone. Like obviously they call, like I call them if I have problems with anything. And they, like they pick up. If I have a problem with anything they pick up, they, they speak to me. Any, like I have a teacher, Ms Z, she's so awesome. She still, like she sees me, she's like yeah, you told me that you had a problem and you still haven't called me. Call me, like – it's, it's, it's just cool. Like you could have somebody that you could speak to.

When students can like their teachers, special connections flourish beyond the classroom setting. Moreover, when students can trust their teachers, they will speak their minds. With all of our different data sets, we had the following thoughts about the significance of "islands of safety:" good, caring, and committed teachers and other adults who work in school are needed. Furthermore, educators who are teaching, mentoring and guiding young people beyond the classroom setting can potentially save youth from being swallowed up by school surveillance and the pipeline's criminalizing architecture. I hope educational researchers and teachers agree with me and find this insight of utmost

importance. As a research team we posed the follow question: if teachers are able to create a welcoming, trusting, and safe space within their classrooms, then why should other parts in school not be able to do the same? In other words, school safety measures do not *have to* be alienating and racist. Their spatialized representations do not have to stand in the service of the systemic disinvestment in public education and the dispossessions of low-income students and youth of color. But most significantly, there are constellations to choose from in order to build an effective and conscious resistance against school safety measures that abide by racialized, classed and gendered structures of subordination and oppression.

This is precisely what critical geographers, psychologists and sociologists have argued and whose work and words were fundamental in piecing together the design for this study (Harvey, 2003; Katz, 2001; Lefebvre, 1991; Rose, 1991; Soja, 1996). According to them, space is socially and historically produced. I agree. Space is not dead, empty, or neutral. Space is a social product and just like human beings, space is not immune to hierarchizing ideologies and socio-economic structures. It is constantly being remade and reclaimed, and reacts sensitively to political discourses. Space, like history, is always open.

Conclusion

The calling of our research question "What are young people doing to navigate through the physical landscapes of their schools?" should be restated to ask *how* are young people navigating through schools under surveillance. The *what* implied and assumed that high school students were using something specific, measurable, and tangible because it was seen, heard, and touched. But the data we gathered and shared in

this document detoured our eager researching minds and signaled us to examine the underlying (thus invisibly seeming) ideologies of the current globalized neoliberal U.S. market economy. The school-to-prison pipeline is one of the many local instances that materialize the militarizing and corporatizing gaze of a racist system that disinvests in public education to reinvest in the carceral system that is now in charge of establishing social order and control. Consequently, historically dispossessed communities such as low income, immigrant, Black and Latino youth find themselves with fewer remaining options to survive, especially within the spaces of public schools operating under heavily equipped criminalizing school safety measures.

The stories and personalized geographies that our YPAR collected and created framed these rapid and palpable changes in public education and have contributed to the constitution of the systematized dispossession of marginalized youth. We constructed a youth-centered re-definition of the purpose of schooling and that of the pipeline, detailed insights into students' lived experiences with impoverished educational resources and opportunities, explicated a state of mind that externalized the institutionalization of criminalizing school safety practices, and showed that there is still hope to this madness by turning our attention to the safe space that can still be found within the classroom setting as well as between student and teacher. These findings led us to believe that the rigor of class schedules that demand students move quickly from one classroom to another, rather than the scrutinizing eye of the school safety agent and the surveillance camera, will ultimately be their lifesaver.

Students' lived and spatialized experiences with a socio-economic system that "feasts on disaster" (Lipman, 2007) taught us that young people's navigational skills have

to be versatile and agile enough to clear the ideological obstacle course that spans across school grounds. With the urgent messages from within our data we were reminded that space is thus constantly being redefined, restructured, reshaped and re-challenged.

It is by reaching this daring and questioning moment of looking at lived experiences that critical examination, dismantling and construction sites are possible. Equipped with the power of our stories and inspired by our ongoing commitment to social justice, we moved into the most important and really, the most exciting part of our research journey: the next chapter is entirely dedicated to displaying and discussing some of the recommendations our own research collective has made to create less demonizing and criminalizing and thus more youth-centered on school safety practices.

CHAPTER SIX

Trusting the Disaster: Piecing Together Alternatives to the School-Based Mass-Criminalization of Disinvested Youth

Patricia: Besides the cameras, the detectors and the safety desks, was there anything else you saw in the videos that showed you how the pipeline lives inside school space?

KD: The caged windows. The no clock thing – Vileta said she don't have any clocks inside.

Patricia: What do you think does this have to do with the pipeline?

KD: Like I think – I forgot his name.

Patricia: In our collective? One of the students at Ujamaa High School? Askia Samuel?

KD: Yeah. It's what Askia Samuel said, he said it's just like jail, and you have time. They won't tell you the time no matter what because it doesn't matter because you're not going anywhere, so why would you care about the time? Why would they show you the time?

Introduction

In the United States, every year about 100 children are abducted by strangers (Katz, 2009). These horrific experiences of loss and trauma have assisted the burgeoning child protection industry which is part of the $1.1 billion home surveillance industry

(Katz, 2007). Increasingly, private homes are fortifying their children's sleep and play areas with special monitoring software, surveillance cameras, and parent-child communication systems. While the cases of 100 annually missing children are certainly and undeniably disturbing and heartbreaking, the numbers of young people who attend some of the country's most securitized and surveilled public schools and who are removed from their educational settings into spaces of the carceral system are even more startling.

The following statistics will illustrate this point further. Nationally, students of color are more overrepresented in school suspension and expulsion and the overuse of "exclusionary school discipline" is much higher for students from low-income backgrounds (Russell J Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). Moreover, Black students account for 17% of the total national student population but account for 36% of out of school suspensions and 31% of school expulsions (Sullivan, 2007). Schools with predominantly low-income students and youth of color tend to operate with more security and surveillance technologies (tazers, surveillance cameras, metal detectors, scanners, police officers, etc.) than schools that are attended by White students (The Advancement Project, 2005). Furthermore, Black and Latino students are more likely than their White peers to be arrested in school (Brown, 2003). More specifically, the arrest rate for Black youth is 74% higher than for White youth. Nationally, nearly one third of all students and half of Black, Latino, and Native American students who enter ninth grade do not graduate high schools (Ruglis, 2009). Additionally, Black children are 50% more likely than White children to drop out of school (Children's Defense Fund, 2007).

The incarceration rates are equally racialized and class-based as school disciplinary procedures. With a total inmate count for state, federal and local prisons at the beginning of 2008, the U.S. has currently the largest prison population in the world, with 2,319,258 people imprisoned (Warren, 2008). For Latino and Black men imprisonment is a far more prevalent reality than it is for White men; one in every 15 Black males aged 18 or older is in prison or jail.

The money spent on incarceration versus the money spent on public education is a strong indicator of fiscal priorities; in New York City, it costs $170,820 a year to keep a young person in a juvenile detention facility while the cost of sending her or him to a New York City public school high school is $11,282 a year (Office of the Mayor, 2006). Similarly, the money spent between 1987 and 2007 on incarceration soared above the money spent on higher education: corrections spending rose to 127% while higher education received 21% more in funds (Warren, 2008).

Why is this country so alarmed by the relatively few child abductions but so seemingly quiet about the disturbingly high numbers of what I claim are state-sponsored abductions of youth of color and low-income students who are systematically moved into the carceral system? What are young people disciplined and criminalized for? What are private homes protecting themselves from? It is this complicated ideologically, socially and culturally constructed correlation between school discipline, race and class, as well as the fear and demonization of people of color and low-income communities that show how deeply engrained white supremacy and institutionalized racism are within the social fabric of everyday life in this country. It is the systemic disinvestment and institutionalized abandonment of the nation's social wage and of the populations who

need services the most (i.e. public education) in addition to the oversecuritization of private property that stand in the service of structures of the globalized U.S. neoliberal market economy. Not only are profits secured during times of (natural and social) disaster but also, private accounts increasingly manage and thus limit the sustainability of the national social wage. As illustrated in the previous chapters, the neoliberal structures that support the ideology of "disaster capitalism" (Saltman, 2007), "dispossessions by appropriation" (Harvey, 2003), the "feasting on disaster" (Lipman, 2007), and the "biopolitics of disposability" (Giroux, 2006) have crystallized how public insecurities have private solutions that extend the power and control of the state into the many local and simultaneous manifestations of racialized oppression.

However, a bigger, overarching question remains: how did we get to this point of fearing youth of color (who comprise a limb of the larger body of feared people of color in this country)? And how did we get to this point in public education where we are accepting the mass-incarceration of non-white youth and low-income students as a defaulted school discipline mechanism? Throughout this dissertation I argue that the rationale for the oversecuritization of public schools and the systemic dispossession of disadvantaged youth by way of the school-to-prison pipeline ("the pipeline") is profoundly grounded within a structurally (socio-historically), ideologically, and culturally constructed epistemology. Once we dissect the different components that have architected a mainstreamed knowledge about the pipeline, the more reason we have to believe that it can also be deconstructed for critical analysis and solution building.

A Critical Epistemological Landscape of the Pipeline

I have selected a number of scholars who have contributed greatly to the socio-historical, ideological and cultural groundings of a critical knowledge base on the pipeline. My selection an discussion of them may be limited, but I hope they provide the reader with a concise overview of why the interrelation between public schools and the carceral system is such a hot-button topic. To open this discussion, I borrow from Gloria Ladson-Billings (2003) who illustrated brilliantly how the production of knowledge both is and represents a struggle against power and domination:

> An epistemology is a 'system of knowing' that has both an internal logic and external validity. … Epistemology is linked intimately to worldview. … Thus the conditions under which people live and learn shape both their knowledge and their worldviews. The process of developing a worldview that differs from the dominant worldview requires active intellectual work on the part of the knower, because schools, society, and the structure and production of knowledge are designed to create individuals who internalize the dominant worldview and knowledge production and acquisition processes. The hegemony of the dominant paradigm makes it more than just another way to view the world—it claims to be the only legitimate way to view the world. (p. 257)

Billing's epistemological standpoint provides enormous clarification with regards to the pipeline. At work is a hierarchical power structure that determines and conditions how people live and even what they know. Knowledge is thus an interface that connects people across generations, time, and space. More significantly, by internalizing, or by blindly accepting and not questioning the structural, ideological and cultural

manifestations of knowledge, a dominating, hegemonic worldview can be maintained and preserved.

Structural Epistemology

Kenneth Saltman (2003) explains the structure of the pipeline in terms of "education as enforcement," during which the principal focus is disciplining young people and their communities around the market metaphors that "redefine public schooling as a good or service that students and parents consume like toilet paper or soap" (p. 8). In addition, Saltman describes that the financing of U.S. public schooling has always been connected to local property wealth. Once we understand public schooling as an unequally distributed resource, we can then situate schools as contested sites over which people struggle and fight. In addition, neoliberal market forces pushing for corporate globalization have converted public schools into securitized commodities that serve the private sector. Saltman claims,

> To speak of militarized public schooling in the United States, it is not enough to identify the extent to which certain schools (particularly urban nonwhite schools) increasingly resemble the military or prisons, nor is it adequate to point out the ways public schools are used to recruit soldiers. Militarized public schooling needs to be understood in relation to the enforcement of globalization through the implementation of all the policies and reforms that are guided toward the neoliberal ideal. (p. 8)

In other words, the state uses compulsory education as a ritual for enforcing a market ideology. Students learn to internalize from an early age that they "need" school, where they are exposed to lessons of discipline and ideological messages that explain that only

the fittest will survive. Standardized teaching and learning as well as testing create a learning environment that ensures that students acquire use values that are applicable to survival in a society whose consumptions are defined according to a capitalist market economy. The more use and exchange value students have, such as diplomas and degrees, the more befitting they will be to the market's logic of commodification. In other words, these values determine one's deployment of use-value in the market. In turn, noncompliant students, or rather students who were unable to access or develop the necessary skills to enter the economy as desirable means of production, "will never attain their full values as human beings" (p. 68). "Deviant youth," or students predominantly from poor and communities of color, are consequently pushed out of schools into society's margins, and eventually into the prison system. Henceforth, enforced market ideology of use-value acquisition is accompanied by strict social control. Its policies promote a panoptic order of intense monitoring and surveillance in schools located in low-income communities of color.

Prisons are known for warehousing unwanted and unusable populations. Michel Foucault (1977) outlined the social structures of their disciplinary and punitive mechanisms. While his description was based on eighteenth century societies in the U.S. and England, Foucault's work is extremely useful to show how these have built today's institutionalized discipline and punishment practices. Foucault wrote that institutionalized power to punish consisted of three mechanisms. First, a technique of coercing the individual trains the human body to shape habits and behavior that are easily administered. Second, the existence of an "administrative apparatus" (p. 131) permits the institution to be in charge of determining and selecting the degree of discipline and

punishment. And third, the individual is subjected "to immediate coercion, the tortured body is subjected to training." In this light, school discipline, by extending its reach to the carceral system, has become an instrument for "normalizing" disruptive behavior. As a result, students have frequently internalized their school's safety and discipline protocol and thus are very clear about the consequences that each infraction carries. Furthermore, most public schools are no longer lenient with student misbehavior and are implementing a "three-strikes-and-you're-out" approach that has resulted in the increased numbers of juvenile arrests. Skiba (2001), Noguera (2003), and The Advancement Project (2005) concur with Foucault's complete institutionalization of the individual because juvenile arrestees continue to be targets of police supervision upon release from the prison system. Community policing and racial profiling practices have built a vicious cycle in which youth with a juvenile record are regularly sent back to prison.

Sociologist Lois Wacquant (2002) offers a brilliant analysis of three "peculiar institutions" that "have successfully operated to define and control African-Americans in the history of the United States" (p. 1). According to Wacquant, the institutions of slavery, the state-sanctioned Jim Crow laws, and the urban ghetto as a "socio-spatial mechanism for ethno-racial domination," have all ensured that Black Americans are systematically left to be exploited with little to no cultural capital and thus not treated as valued wage labor in a capitalist economy. Wacquant suggests that slavery and the mass-imprisonment of African Americans are genealogically linked. The mechanism of the pipeline is therefore an additional connection to these peculiar institutions, as it exercises power to control and confine the bodies of non-white and low-income youth in urban schools. Similarly, Russell Skiba (2002) draws attention to the specific characteristic of

institutionalized racism that is inherent in the pipeline's structure. He writes, "Racial bias in the practice of school discipline is also part of a broader discourse concerning the continuing presence of institutional racism" (p. 18). His study confirms that the disproportionate overrepresentation of people of color is sanctioned by both school and prison system authorities.

The given social structure behind school discipline and security practices could not be implemented without the labor of administrative specialists and a highly educated group of experts. David Garland (2001) calls this practice "high modernism," which consists of "an ideology that believes social problems are best managed by specialist bureaucracies that are directed by the state, informed by experts, and rationally directed towards particular tasks" (p. 34). Advocates and followers of high modernism believe in a technologically controlled and hierarchized mechanism that involves very few people to maximize professional expertise for its operation. For example, former NYC Mayor Giuliani nominated William Bratton as Police Commissioner in 1994. Bratton was someone who believed in scientifically managing the New York City police force with the help of a computer software called "Compstat" (Computer Statistics) to build a centralized crime data information system. To this day, police officers, public school districts, and the criminal justice system gather students' personal information from this database (New York City Department of Education, 2003).

By applying a more radical standpoint to this discussion, Thomas Skrtic organizes social structures along the lines of domination and exploitation (1995). Skrtic looks through the lens of conflict theory to explicate how the interest of many educational policies and their practices "are shaped by conflicting interests among various racial and

social class groups." According to him, many of our educational policies have benefited and maintained those in power or those "who are white and wealthy more than those who are of color and/or poor" (p. 157). Current practices of school policing and surveillance in NYC schools are examples of how predominantly and also disproportionately students of color are systematically distanced from educational opportunities by being labeled "Impact Schools." Specifically since Operation Impact in 2004, schools with higher rates of violent incidents receive special attention from the Department of Education and the New York Police Department (NYPD) and are consequently equipped with intensified police personnel, metal detectors and surveillance cameras. All of the city's Impact Schools are located in some of the city's most under-resourced areas (City of New York, 2004).

Similar to Garland (2001), Skrtic connects the explosion of administrative and managerial professions to the dominating state of high modernism. However, he argues further that this was "a capitalist remedy for the defects of capitalism" (1995, p. 3). According to him, this professionalization was originally placed to address social problems such as poverty, crime and diseases. This means that "every sphere of American life now [falls] within the power of the…professional to set apart, regulate, and contain" (p. 31). This is also true for school surveillance; new experts, namely psychiatrists and school safety officers, are especially trained to address school-based incidents varying from student insubordination to assaults.

In exploring systematic oppression further, Troy Adams (2000) uses the lens of systemic violence to further outline the larger and structural purposes of school discipline practices:

> Systemic violence is any institutional practice or procedure that adversely impacts…disadvantaged individuals or groups by burdening them psychologically, mentally, culturally, spiritually, economically, or physically. It includes practices and procedures that prevent students from learning, thus harming them. This may take the form of conventional policies and practices that foster a climate of violence, or policies and practices that appear to be neutral but result in discriminatory effects. (P. 142)

Similar to Skrtic, Troy's perspective shifts the focus away from students to structural forces that may be the underlying reasons for student behavior.

Lois Weis and Michelle Fine (2000) offer a useful summary of the many findings given by the displayed scholars in this section:

> If national policy and social science refuse to recognize and address state-initiated violence, community violence, and domestic violence—all three—then we must cynically conclude that federal, state, and local legislation is being written in ways that reflect prevalently the terrors, needs, and projections of white males while silencing the voices of men and women of color as well as white women in their cries for violence-free homes and communities. (p. 6)

The pipeline strengthens state violence and the silencing of young people of color, given the fact that policies and institutions have administrative and legal support to remove marginalized youth from public learning spaces and place them in the carceral system because they are often viewed as a threat to the system's domination. Skrtic's theoretical framework of special education and Waqcuant's historical perspective offer especially insightful details to connect the pipeline to the larger mechanism of neoliberal structures.

All scholars have pointed out how low-income and non-white youth are pushed further into the social margins and closer to becoming a future cadre of cheap and exploitable labor.

Ideological Epistemology

In shifting from a structural to an ideological interpretation of the pipeline, David Garland (2001) explains, "structures … are emergent properties that result from the recurring, re-iterative actions of the actors who occupy the social space in question" (p. 24). In this case, the social space in question is the pipeline, and it is through the actors and agencies in its field, namely, the school safety officers, school administrators, teachers, students, and juvenile court officials, along with their particular experiences and interests that a particular consciousness and the reproduction of the pipeline routine is produced.

The work of Henry Giroux (1997) begins with a definition of ideology. He explains, "ideology refers to the production, consumption, and representation of ideas and behavior, all of which can either distort or illuminate the nature of reality" (p. 75). Giroux claims that schools are not neutral sites of ideology. Moreover, "schools are regarded and treated as agencies of social and cultural reproduction," (p. 71) which advocate for the characteristics and interests of the dominant classes as well as the institutions they control. Therefore, schools are both ideological and instructional sites. Based on this fundamental principle, Giroux would consider the following starting point to explain the ideological interests behind Operation Impact: it serves a capitalist society that is concerned with maintaining the status quo. Intensifying the presence of the police force and associated set of discipline practices within urban public schools facilitates the

social reproduction and maintenance of the status quo as the systematic isolation of youth of color is not only strengthened but also repeatedly enforced. Furthermore, Giroux describes the ideological effects of zero tolerance policies on youth and their learning environments as a "war against youth," and argues that it "must be understood as an attempt to contain, warehouse, control, and even eliminate all those groups and social formations that the market finds expendable" (2001).

Angela Davis (1997) connects ideology, racism and fear and writes,

> Fear has always been an integral component of racism. The ideological reproduction of a fear of black people, whether economically or sexually grounded, is rapidly gravitating toward and being grounded in a fear of crime - this ideologically produced fear of crime. (p. 269)

According to her work, media is guilty of sustaining and dispersing an ideologically fueled fear of people of color especially in popular movies by continuously casting Black and Latino actors for the roles of perpetrators of violent crimes. The so-called fiction in movies tends to be internalized among movie consumers, and has led to the wide-spread belief that in real life, Blacks and Latinos, especially men, represent the demographics of violent criminals. Most disturbingly, media has been central in criminalizing people of color, just as the pipeline has manufactured a criminalized image of youth of color as those who primarily cause violent acts in schools.

In addition, Angela Davis explains how the school and prison systems have also created a semi-fictional meaning of discipline and security. Davis juxtaposes the simultaneously occurring absence and presence of the prison system. On one hand, modern society is taking the prison system for granted by imagining the impossibility of

life without it. On the other hand, "there is reluctance to face the realities hidden within [prisons], a fear of thinking about what happens inside them" (2003, p. 15). The same can be said about the public school system; since the nineteenth century it has been an integral part in U.S. society. It is challenging to picture life without seeing groups of young people crowding bus stops or the cities' sidewalks on their journey to school in the morning hours. This idyllic image of the school day is rarely interrupted by news updates on school policing measures. Thus, the prison system, along with the school system, and ultimately the pipeline are all kept disconnected from public life. Davis refers to the prison system as an abstract site "into which undesirables are deposited" (p. 16). This is precisely the product of efficient ideological work, meaning, the general public no longer concerns itself with the underlying issues of the pipeline that have caused enormous afflictions in urban poor communities. The constructed ideology around the pipeline "relieves us of the responsibility of seriously engaging with the problems of our society, especially those produced by racism, and increasingly, global capitalism."

Cultural Epistemology

Angela Davis (1997) also offers also important insight to a culturally constructed epistemology of the pipeline. She states:

> When the structural character of racism is ignored in discussions about crime and the rising population of incarcerated people, the racial imbalance in jails and prisons is treated as a contingency, at best as a product of the 'culture of poverty,' and at worst as proof of an assumed black monopoly on criminality. The high proportion of black people in the criminal justice system is thus normalized and

> neither the state nor the general public is required to talk about and act on the meaning of that racial imbalance. (p. 265)

Davis' explanation of a cultural epistemology is extremely useful to display how the manifestation of the pipeline is further strengthened when it is stripped of its structural character. By blurring a critical analysis of how the pipeline is primarily situated and affecting low-income and non-white communities, its existence is reduced to a product of the so-called culture of poverty. High rates in violence are explained in terms of being inherent to poor neighborhoods or as something that is unavoidable in poor communities.

The data produced in a research project by Talley, Talley and Tewksbury (2005) (2005) confirm a popularized view on the culture of poverty. For this project, the researchers interviewed various officials who worked at major decision-making levels in the juvenile justice system in Kentucky. Most interviewed officials argued that African American juveniles from low-income areas depicted behavior as a result of being a product of a specific culture. Officials explained that this is usually illustrated by the way African American youth dress, or the way they show their demeanor or attitudes. One county official offered the following explanation:

> The minority kids that are living in a predominantly black neighborhood where there is a lot of drug activity and their friends are using, their mama's using and you are trying to get them clean and you've got mama's in the house using in front of them and again, it's a cultural thing. (p. 71)

The need and support for the pipeline is justified similarly; race and gender are immediately attached to misbehaving youth who are then portrayed as inherently criminal. Ann Arnett Ferguson (2000) illustrates clearly how culturally based

explanations make detrimental contributions to the systemic dispossessions of students of color. She writes, "African American boys are doubly displaced: as black children, they are not seen as childlike but adultified; as black males, they are denied the masculine dispensation constituting while males as being 'naturally naughty' and are discerned as willfully bad" (p. 80). Given the (racist) limitations of offering cultural explanations for the need for the pipeline does not ask public schools, the criminal justice system or society in general to question the invisible contributions that structures of inequalities and dominant ideologies have made to construct the mass-criminalization of students of color. Instead, a culturally driven analysis only strengthens and legitimizes the increasing support and funding for the pipeline.

Summary of Findings and Contributions

This mixed method participatory action research (PAR) project was designed to gather young people's perspectives and narratives around the structural, ideological and cultural components, or the invisible and more visible manifestations of the pipeline within the spaces of New York City public high schools. Two central research questions guided us during our data collection and analysis time:

- What are some visible and invisible elements of the school-to-prison pipeline that mark the learning environment in some of New York City public high schools?
- What are high school students doing to navigate through the physical landscapes of their schools?

The young people who joined this PAR were both researchers and informants, and collectively we looked at the data from our youth survey, co-researchers' interviews and

the surveillance maps that each of them created to document specific school safety measures as well as their individual trajectories through school space. Our data analysis was mentored by the theoretical framework on the different modes of space production as articulated by Henri Lefebvre (1991) as well as the analytical methodology of "Thirdspace" by Edward Soja (1996). These were enormously helpful for us in examining and articulating the historical, the social and the lived character of surveilled and policed school space. The youth narratives and statistics in our data identified multiple visible and invisible characteristics of the pipeline.

Visible Elements

The data from both our youth survey and our surveillance maps provided us with a wealth of quantitative data on the physical materialization of school policing and surveillance. This included the number and specific locations of school safety agents and search tables, for example. Furthermore, we found that intensified safety and security measures have a strong impact on students' encounters and experiences with school space and the type of relationships young people are able to foster with their peers and adults at schools. Guided by the analytical methodology of "counter-topography" (Katz, 2001), we re-framed securitized school space as contested sites and further explained the raced, classed and gendered impact surveillance and security mechanisms have on students and their perspectives of school space as well as the extent to which these maintain the social status quo.

Invisible Elements

Some of the invisible elements of the pipeline constituted the ideologically opposing standpoints of those who are in charge of school safety and those whose bodies

are surveilled and scrutinized. We named these with the help of our data from interviews and surveillance maps. In addition, we established a youth-centered definitions of the purpose of schooling and the pipeline. These were central to identifying and outlining many indicators of the current systemic disinvestment in public education.

Student Navigation

As mentioned in chapter five, our second research question of *what* young people are doing to navigate through their surveilled school space should have been stated as: *how* are young people moving through the space at schools? By approaching our study with *what* young people are doing assumed that students were doing something visible (and thus recognizable) that could explain any decisions they had made with regards to their daily encounters and experiences with school safety. Using the word *how*, on the other hand, widened our analytical lens and allowed us to include observations about how young people were internalizing some of the pipeline's power structures to complete high school, for example.

Youth researchers have compiled the following list to summarize our findings on some of the invisible manifestations of the pipeline:

1. Students possess a profound knowledge of the physical settings of their schools as well as of the exact locations and procedures of safety and security mechanisms and technology.
2. Students are very clear about safety and discipline protocols (i.e. which actions are punished with detention versus those with suspensions).
3. Most intensive surveillance and security mechanisms are located on the main floor. Once students clear the main floor, student journeys throughout

remaining school spaces and places during the school day are determined by individual class schedules, *not* by location of safety and security mechanisms.

4. Students attach multiple use-values to the classroom: it is the safest place ("island of safety"), the most trafficked area, and where students hang out with their friends.
5. "Blurred lines of school grounds:" students are supervised by SSAs off school premises and suspended, i.e. on blocks away from campus, in nearby parks and subway stations.
6. Student spoke about feeling alienated from their schools and school safety procedures. A "just deal with it"-state of mind indicated students' emotional "numbness" towards intensified school policing and securitization.
7. Students have a clear understanding of how the school-to-prison pipeline is connected to the purpose of schooling; their interrelation is situated along the lines of class, race and fear of youth of color.

"What Do We Do After We Have Turned Society Inside Out to Show How Ugly It Is?"

Co-researcher Vileta posed this very timely and important question when we approached the end of our data analysis. However, it is imperative to acknowledge that throughout the entire duration of this study, youth researchers were actively engaged in self-initiated activism as well as in other citywide student collectives to create youth-led action against NYC public education budget cuts and criminalizing and punitive school safety measures. For example, youth researcher Dimples composed a petition which students and staff signed to fire a particular school safety agent whose behavior and attitude towards students was consistently oppressive and abusive. Vileta, Starshonna,

Ja, and MS joined a citywide youth collaborative and organized an all-day youth-led rally against the enormous budget cuts the DOE had proposed. In addition to participating in a news conference about the pipeline, youth researchers joined a street theater production to display the long-term detrimental impacts of criminalizing school safety measures on students' lives and futures. Youth researchers also visited other NYC middle and high schools to facilitate workshops they had designed about the pipeline, and spoke to many students about the social injustice that is embedded within intensified school security and surveillance practices. Finally, our research team presented our methods and findings to educators and administrators at various national academic conferences.

Nevertheless, our data analysis and our desire for creating opportunities for activism were guided by the following question: What would schools and school safety practices look like if young people designed them? To respond to this question, we first turned to some of our survey data and more particularly, to the question "How can school safety be improved?" Ninety-three of 114 students answered this question, and 24.7% of these answers pointed to the need to improve SSA favoritism towards students. This also confirmed our own internal preoccupation with SSA favoritism, but more specifically, youth researchers prioritized wanting to participate and contribute to developing and designing SSA professional training to make SSAs more aware and in tune with student needs.

Revising Grounds for SSA Training

Additionally, we asked students who took our survey to think about whether or not school safety officers were trained to do the job. Of all the students who answered, 38.3% indicated that SSAs were not trained to do the job, while 45.2% said that SSAs

were trained to do their work. Of the students who believed that SSAs were not doing their job properly, 36.4% of students explained that SSAs acted unprofessionally, including answers that pointed at SSAs who were engaging with female students in sexual activities. Twenty-five percent of student answers used the word "unprepared" to refer to SSAs' lack of professional preparedness. An additional significant 15.9% of students also explained that SSAs mostly "hung out" and socialized while on duty.

Given this convincing yet alarming student dissatisfaction with SSAs, my co-researchers elaborated on a lot of these concerns and added a few of their own recommendations. For example, Piper voiced her concerns about the lack of in-depth training:

> Piper: They – from the way we see it, it doesn't look that way to us. We just be like somebody came in and was like, is there a job opening? Yeah. You can just sit at the front desk, and put on this uniform, and you'll be good. Walk around the halls a couple of times, tell people to get to class, and you're hired. That's what it looks like to us. There – there's not really any training there because we haven't seen anything that exemplifies that they've been trained.

In addition, Vileta spoke to me about how disturbed she was with the seemingly young looking SSAs at her school:

> Vileta: They're too young. That bothers me, how young they are.
>
> Patricia: How old do you think are they?
>
> Vileta: They're, uh, around – I – I swear, this – this new – really new one,

creepy, the little short one. I swear he's, like, 19. He looks like he's, like, 19. I don't know, but he's just so freaking creepy. [Laughs] And I'm just like why is he – like, he – he's, like, between 19 and, like, 21. He couldn't be no older than that.

Patricia: Why is it creepy for a 19-year-old to be in school as an agent?

Vileta: Because he, like, just got out of high school. Why are you, like – why? Like, it just seems like – just like they don't wanna grow up, or something. And then the younger they are, the more they need – they feel the need to socialize, and I don't think they should socialize with the students. Because that's when the favoritism comes in, and that's not fair to everybody.

Patricia: What do you suggest needs to be done?

Vileta: We're gonna start with that, we gotta make these SSAs, like, a little bit older. I'm not saying they should be, like, 50 because 50 is a little too old. But they should not be 19 and 20 years old. I think Officer X is like 30, so I guess he can stay, yeah, they should be around 30.

We then read over the NYPD School Safety Division's website to clarify some of these uncertainties around the required age. According to their "employment requirements" (http://www.nyc.gov/html/nypd/html/careers/school_safety_application.shtml), candidates need to be 21 years of age and must have a high school diploma or a GED. Given the current economic crisis and rising national and local unemployment rates, the starting salary of a SSA may entice a young person to apply for this line of work (annual

salary is $30,057). In addition, SSA candidates are assigned to the Police Academy for a training period of 14 weeks. Some of the training topics include Law, Police Science, Behavioral Science and physical training. SSAs also receive up to six college credits for completing their training.

All youth researchers agreed and thought that 14 weeks was not enough training for someone who just had completed high school to step into the position of overseeing school safety and security. My co-researchers also spoke about SSAs who were working in the same schools they had recently graduated from.

In order to close the age gap between SSAs and students and diminish the ongoing SSA favoritism towards students, we suggest extending formal SSA training by an additional month with a student-centered component. Furthermore, students and teachers should be involved in designing and also facilitating workshops for future SSAs. These workshops should include close readings of social justice documents, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations, or pedagogical texts that can be applied to creating a more critical and less oppressive methodology for school safety procedures, such as "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" by Paulo Freire (1970). In addition, students, teachers, administrators, and SSAs should have regular meetings, perhaps weekly assembly hall meetings or student advisories, to discuss how an entire school community needs to be involved in establishing discipline practices that are not defaulted to punitive measures.

Mentoring Services to Guarantee Student Success

Another question on our survey asked high schools students to identify any of the safety measures their schools applied. We supplied them with multiple choices ranging

from criminalizing technologies such as metal detectors, to more student-centered resources and services such as conflict resolution programs that were invested in student safety. Of the 114 total student answers, 25.4% indicated that their school had a conflict resolution program, 16.7% of students shared with us that their school was equipped with a Student Success Center that involved students in discipline-based decision making, and 37.7% of all answers indicated that their school offered students mentoring programs. We believe that all of the above student-centered safety measures are crucial in breaking the spell that mass criminalization has over low-income and non-white students.

In addition, youth researcher Ja recommended that schools should offer incoming students a class during the first half of high school education to equip them with the necessary skills and tools to graduate. He told me that he designed such a course for his school:

> Ja: I proposed a class for next year where people are going to learn to be positive, so our graduation rate increase. Actually, I did a project because of that. I think more forwardly. Last semester we had only 20 graduates, and we have 68 graduates this graduation. There's an increase. I proposed a class for sophomores so it's early and not too late to make decision because students not going to really look for future. They're looking for present and because students have those dreams it's all based on cartoons and stuff because in cartoons they don't show real life. They show fairy tales. When student see real life, they break down. So they need something to feel strongly, and they have to have that hope on

them, I know it's hard, but we can do it. We can see the end.

According to Ja, departing from a deficit model that relies on student failure can be most crucial for building new pathways towards school completion. Furthermore, institutionalizing initiatives such as Ja's proposed Student Success Class can ultimately establish school-wide accountability for student noon-completion.

Committing Adults to Students

Re-investing in student success by providing mentoring and other academic services needs to be accompanied by fostering healthy and positive relationships between students and adults in the school building, including teachers, staff and SSAs. Our data informed us that teachers have especially resorted to punitive discipline measures when they felt intimidated or threatened by students or were loosing control over the classroom. For example, Vileta told us the following story about a substitute teacher in her class:

Vileta: My class OD'ed on a substitute teacher we had recently, I mean, completely – Here's a fight; they – they fought, and the – the fight was over, and then these were some good students, quote, unquote. These girls –they start flipping desks and tables and screaming really – and it's frightening this little white lady. It was kind of funny, but it was kind of sad at the same time, which is, like – like, come on, y'all OD-ing! And she calls security, and, like, we got, like, three deans in the room, and I think it was the – the performing arts dean whatever, he's like, oh, he's gonna suspend the whole class. I was like, "You suspend me, I swear to god, I'm going to hit you." Because I'm just like, "You cannot

> suspend the whole class." I mean, technically, he can, but the whole class didn't have anything to do with that, right? But he's like, he's gonna suspend the whole – the whole class because he had to stop for – um, stop in the middle of his meeting to come up here. No, you didn't; you had two other deans behind you. You did not have to stop. You chose to stop. And the teacher, this idiot, I'm sorry, I do not like her. She's going, "Well, um, I couldn't handle them, they're acting out, they're very riled up because of the fight."

Being fearful of students can often be a sign of teachers' unfamiliarity with students, their schools and their communities. More importantly, this unfamiliarity with students and loosing control over the classroom can dissolve into teachers' racist tendencies towards students of color.

One of the high schools, Ujamaa High School, that three of my co-researchers attended inspired us enormously with the ways its students maintained sustainable and positive relationships with their teachers. In addition, their school also used very few punitive safety measures and was only equipped with a security desk on the first floor and a few SSAs who patrolled all hallways during the school day. There were no surveillance cameras or metal detectors. We often wondered if less security and surveillance allowed teachers to commit to building personal and close relationships with students. My co-researchers who attended Ujamaa High School shared the following information about their school:

Piper: I get a support system from my teachers – they support you a lot

in what you want to do. They help you a lot. They give you career opportunities and they, like, they network a lot. There's teachers who say, you know what? I have this friend who knows this friend who has a job opening. I thought of it immediately – I thought of you immediately for that position, so I told them. They know it's like, you get a job next day, and there's support from your peers. Your peers at Ujamaa High School, they don't – I mean, there are a few bad people, but they don't necessarily wish you bad. When there's something that they know can help you, they get right of it. They write down something about it; they tell you later. They call you up. Everybody has everybody's phone number.

Askia Samuel connected the few safety measures his school uses as well as the close relationships with his teachers to his school's Afrocentric leadership, design and pedagogies. He explained:

Askia Samuel: I think, um, it also – since it's run by, um, people of color who are very educated, um, you also get that, – that experience in the curriculum, which a lot of people don't get. The – like, some of the things that I brought up to the research team, a lot of people don't know. And that's the true benefit of Ujamaa; that you get, like, you get your accelerated education because you get, uh, an Afro-centric education, which is really beneficial. I know a lot more about society and the elements of society, and this actually

goes back to, like, the center of Ujamaa, which is, Afro-centric, um, like, structure. And in that structure, there's the – the hierarchy, like with the elders and that encompasses the administration and the teachers. So like the elders in the community, like with Mr. K and Mr. R, they're – they're seen almost as the parents, so, like, the students automatically know that, you know, you're supposed to respect your – your parents and your elders so that, in a sense, they also act as school safety, uh, which you stated. And then since the majority of the school is people of color, they all have that, um, sort of, like, hierarchy known to them, so that's why everything is in order, pretty much.

While his excerpt is filled with infinite insights into the advantages and strengths of Afrocentric education, for the sake of this study I will only mention the success of a autonomous school-centered safety system in which staff and teachers are in charge of overseeing and maintaining a safe learning environment, unlike most NYC schools whose safety decisions and procedures are completely placed within the jurisdiction of the NYPD.

Youth researcher DC Schwartz put the icing on the cake for those of us who had been suspicious of the ability of increased surveillance to create safer schools. He stated:

DC Schwartz: I think that a lot of school safety is for preventing fights and disciplinary methods. Like one, if you have a presence, it doesn't have to be a big presence. But if you have a presence there, the chances of children doing anything are a lot smaller.

> They don't have to be scary. Like the fact that they are not scary, the fact that we don't have the big, like heavy-set, strong looking security guards means a lot. I personally think that if there was some big heavy-set strong guy, I would feel like okay, now they really, like something really bad could happen here. But the fact that we have these old feebly people, like, it gives me a, a feeling like I, I'm secure here. Less security makes me feel more secure.

Even though we are recommending the need for more personal relationships between students and teachers, this approach can also be extended to SSA interaction with students. SSA-student relationships can be just as nourishing and supportive as those with teachers. Youth researcher MS was able to develop such a rapport with one of the SSAs at his school:

MS: If she sees that you – like me, she knows that I be trying to make it to school early, but I end up not making it to school early, but she see at least I'll be going. It isn't like I come late and come at lunchtime like some people that they end up coming at that time. But if she sees that you're doing, you're trying to do something for yourself, then she'll help you out.

Patricia: How would she know that you're doing something for yourself?

MS: My report card**,** she always checks.

Patricia: Oh, she checks it.

MS: But she does it, and if it's bad then she'll go, "Hey, you better

work on that."

Even though it may only be the occasional individual, he explained to us the difference a caring SSA can make amidst the generally abusive and oppressive structures of school safety.

Contradictory Aspects of Our Data

I would like to acknowledge a series of contradictions that reside within our data and that could use further discussion and analysis to fully illustrate the complex landscape of current school safety and security practices in New York City public schools. This includes an examination of what extent these affect the relationships between students and teachers and how they parallel national school safety trends. More specifically, one of these contradictions is the close age between SSAs and students. As aforementioned, youth researchers were angry that SSAs are the same age as they are yet wished to participate in SSA training to make its content and structure more student-centered. The following questions emerged and which we did not address during our discussion of this data set: how do SSAs understand and negotiate power and authority within their position in the given power structure of school safety? Is it possible to produce equality between students and SSAs given that both groups are situated at the receiving end of current power relations?

In addition, in chapter four, two of my co-researchers shared their frustration with a particular area in one of their school's hallways and which non-Spanish speaking students had labeled the "Spanish Corner" because Dominican students gathered there in between classes to socialize. The discussion of this finding did not address how definitions and manifestations of "safety" can be specific to different groups. In other

words, what feels safe to one group at one time can be unsafe to others during the same time. Examining the extent to which fears and dislikes of other student groups inform individual claiming of space remains a task to be included in our analysis for building the argument that "safety" is not inherent in space.

In addition to illustrating how school space can be dominated by language and nationality, in chapter four we also shared with the reader how young people were suspended by SSAs while off school premise for something they had been involved in during the school day. These are the "blurred lines" of school grounds, because incidents that happened at schools traveled with students to areas off school premises. Hence, school safety practices can also be interpreted as a series of embodied experiences among students. Could the blurring of school grounds be connected to other processes that exceed the pipeline and security practices in school? Perhaps the blurring of school grounds represented characteristics of school safety, security, and student management that are not connected to the pipeline.

And finally, during their individual interviews youth researchers articulated how the school-to-prison pipeline and the purpose of schooling are intimately interconnected. Further, students stated how this interrelation is tightened along the lines of class, race, and fear of youth of color. At the time of developing our data analysis I did not provide any analytical discussion of how student understanding of these interconnections could be interpreted as individual acts of agency and resistance to evade the mechanisms of the pipeline. Nonetheless, I recognize in their turning to structural and ideological manifestations of the pipeline to explain the numerous social injustices the pipeline causes in their daily lives, students were also critical of themselves and of the

responsibilities they have within the landscape of school safety practices that could either help or hinder the strengthening of the pipeline.

Future Research

Our data analysis incited many other questions and methodological ideas that this study did not implement. I propose that these could be included in future research about the interrelation between the physical school space and the school-to-prison pipeline. Our questions for future research include:

- In chapter four we introduced our findings on the so-called "blurred lines" of school grounds. My co-researchers informed me during their interviews that they knew of students, including themselves, who were suspended by SSAs while off school grounds after school, such as in a nearby park or at a subway station. We asked ourselves, when and how do students know that they are no longer on school grounds given the mobility of punitive discipline measures? I believe the "blurred lines" of school grounds are one of our most significant findings because they indicate how the physical terrain of school discipline has expanded into other public spaces, thus fortifying and accelerating the criminalization of young people. However, this finding needs further analysis and theorizing in order to explain what implications the expansion of school safety has on young people, urban space and school safety practices. Who else benefits from this expansion? Who else gets hurt?
- Critical Race Theory (CRT) can be of enormous help to further document and illustrate the systematic disinvestment in public education. Furthermore, I am very interested in including CRT in an analysis of human geographies, mental

and space mapping to further challenge the spatialized construction of whiteness, institutionalized racism, and the underlying "politics of supremacy" (Lipman, 2004).

- Place mapping was a tool to document the various practices and policies that have contributed to the systemic disinvestment in public education. However, in the future I would like to move beyond solely critiquing school safety, and instead I wish to offer alternatives and solutions. In other words, maps can also be created with the help of the following prompt: what would student-centered school safety practices look like in your school?
- One of the school spaces that students identified as where they feel the safest is the classroom. Future research should engage with questions such as how do students characterize the safe spaces in the classroom, or what makes it (a place) safe? Our data showed that relationships between teachers and students are what make them feel safe, thus we continue to question, how do you produce safety? And in translating this into a methodological question, we ask how can our taxonomies be inverted to a spatiality of safety or safeness?
- In addition to capturing youth-based alternatives to current school safety practices, it would be interesting to juxtapose students' maps with those that teachers and administrators create to build a more holistic collection of perspectives and alternatives to current school safety measures.
- This study was driven by the research collective's belief in the need to dismantle oppressive and punitive school safety mechanisms. We would like to invite fellow educational researchers to think with us about how studies and

interventions in mainstreamed space constructions can possibly lead to creating social justice. How can studies of lived space participate in the construction of a praxis that liberates public education from structural inequalities?

- And finally, in thinking about teacher training and curriculum development for the urban classroom, how can space-based inquiries benefit pedagogies for civic education and life-long learning?

Closing Thoughts

These closing thoughts are directed to policy makers and all other institutions that pay attention to the recommendations that educational policy makes. During our weekly research meetings we found ourselves frequently dreaming about how school safety measures could be so much less oppressive if the DOE would allow individual schools to make school space more aesthetically pleasing. Instead of turning them into security fortresses, schools should be planting gardens, developing horticultural after school programs, creating more pleasant learning environments, turning schools into a place where students want to be, and making school grounds greener overall to symbolize investment in student growth and not in young people's systemic dispossession.

However, regardless of how pretty or how welcoming we wish our schools to be, true change will only happen if structures of public education are liberated from the oppressive, privatizing, for-profit, ultra conservative economic interests of the current neoliberal market economy. Structural work is tedious, as it requires complete dismantling, changing, and building from the ground up. The current work of The Student Safety Act Coalition in NYC represents a form of structural change by which the

DOE will be held accountable for any misconduct committed by SSAs towards students in public schools. More specifically, the New York City Student Safety Act, which is sponsored by the New York Civil Liberties Union and spearheaded by a coalition of local educators, lawyers, students, community-based youth organizations and teachers, is currently fighting for requiring the Department of Education and NYPD to make quarterly reports to the City Council on school safety and disciplinary issues, including incidents involving arrests and student suspensions. The Student Safety Act, if passed by City Council, would also extend the jurisdiction of the Civilian Complaint Review Board (311 on the telephone dial) to including complaints of misconduct levied against SSAs and NYPD personnel assigned to public schools. There have never been any meaningful mechanisms that parents and students could access to report safety agent misconduct.

I lean on the legacies of indigenous struggles to place a call for decolonizing school space (Smith, 1999; Tuck & Fine, 2007) from a politics of occupation that systematically deprives students of their sovereignty for free personhood. Given the poisoned grounds of public education in this country, Ruthie Gilmore rightfully asked, "What makes you want to live?" (personal communication, April 20, 2009). Her question is not disconnected from one of the questions we asked of each other, "What makes you want to go to school?" Whether for living or learning, we are in dire need of a less deadly world.

Pains insane as membranes crack under slavery textbooks
Pipelines drain brains until stone time capsules inhaled into minds
Times continue to bind ecclesiastically.
Look past visuals and visualize frozen, darkened windows
Eyes can't breathe if lungs can't see.
Capitalist idiosyncrasy
Prison bars and chains
Police cars and gains

Who gains when children become successful failures?
Paper chasers
Not after blue lined but the green lined
Defining death sentences destroying destinys, detrimental
Prison bars and chains
White and blue stars + stripes
Red +red bars and chains

- Poem written by youth researcher Askia Samuel

APPENDICES

Receiving IRB Approval

While my university's IRB office had given me approval to start meeting with youth researchers on a weekly basis, as a research team we still needed permission from the DOE IRB in order to take our survey and video camera onto school grounds. Activating memories of the eight-month-long approval process with the DOE immediately releases recollections of the physical and emotional toll the process had on all of us. None of my co-researchers ever communicated directly with the DOE. I felt that, as the graduate student for whom this study was fulfilling a dissertation requirement and as a veteran of many years of community organizing, I needed to be the buffer between the DOE and my co-researchers. During this time of in-depth conversations with the DOE I suffered from visible symptoms of anxiety and insomnia. I only found comfort in the stories from my colleagues and friends who either had similar first-hand experiences or who had heard from others about this time-consuming and emotionally draining process.

I call the ongoing and intense negotiations that took place between the DOE and me 'the battle.' After encountering many non-negotiable requests from the DOE IRB official, I was pressured into making significant edits to our study design so that our research plan would be turned into a document that abides by the standards of the DOE ethical code. The battle began two months after sending a physical copy of the research proposal, when I still had not received any form of acknowledgement from a DOE IRB official, regarding whether or not their office had received my documents. Thus I started with a series of phone calls and email inquiries in which I requested a response to a second copy of my proposal that I had sent to their office in the meantime. After another

two months had passed, I agreed to have one of my mentors place a phone call to leave a message on the DOE officer's voicemail. To my relief, an answer came immediately.

The DOE officer's attentiveness can only be attributed to the position of my mentor who is well known for the years he spent in administrative positions in higher education and his privilege as a white male. Accepting the multiple gendered and patriarchal meanings that were now attached to this male-to-male conversation, I appreciated the magic of this much awaited communication and feedback. But it was a clear reminder that members of large power structures of public institutions continue to have varied reactions to different inquiries from the public; they are deeply motivated by social status and the gendered traditions of who does and who does not have access to decision making powers. In other words, my position as a female and a graduate student did not situate me among the same demographic of a well-renowned educational administrator and faculty member at a prominent university. Nevertheless, the following step-by-step description represents all the interaction between the DOE, my mentor, and I.

As a result of speaking to my mentor, the DOE official asked me to call him to discuss concerns he had about the videotaping activity incorporated into the study design. He had never heard of using videotaping outside the context of teacher education. More specifically, if any type of videotaping had been approved in public schools before it was only because it helped to assess classroom practices and teaching quality. I explained the importance of visually capturing the experiences and narratives that young people have had in relationship to school safety and surveillance. I emphasized that something like this had never been done and thus our data could provide groundbreaking information for

the improvement of the physical environment of public schools. After a brief moment of hesitation, the officer stated that I needed to speak with the Office of School Safety to receive the ultimate permission for my videotaping.

I called the Office of School Safety immediately and found that my expectations that I was about to endure more resistance were unfounded. Unexpectedly, the staff member at the Office of School Safety responded with much enthusiasm to the description of my study and the idea of using videotaped images, but explained to me that their office had neither influence nor any power over what type of research projects are allowed to be conducted within New York City's public schools. She sent me right back to my DOE officer at the research office.

Back to square one, I called the officer at the DOE, but it took an additional month to reconnect with him. I described to him the situation to which he responded that he could only approve the videotaping under the four following conditions: One, I had to ask all participating school principals to fill out a special DOE form that states that they agree to be part of the study and lists the total number of their students who would either take part in the survey, the videotaping, or both. Two, I had to draft a separate principal consent letter on my university's letterhead for each of the participating principals to sign. Three, he also requested a special statement in which I had to make explicit the purpose and conditions of the videotaping. As part of these conditions I had to overtly declare that none of the youth researchers would deliberately videotape faces or any other identity-revealing body parts of anyone who was not listed as a participant in this study. In the case of recording anyone by mistake, I was now ethically bound to use special computer software or other tools that would allow me to edit and delete these prohibited

images. Four, this statement had to be signed by both my chair and me on departmental letterhead and was to be included in the revised proposal along with all of the new consent forms.

Instead of facilitating a two-way conversation on helping me to improve all proposed ethical codes of research conduct during the survey and videotaping, the DOE official maintained a top-down stance to micro-manage our research methods. All additional consent forms did not strengthen our ethical research practices as they did not stand in the interest of protecting the young people involved in our study. Instead, all new consent forms indexed and filed our research project further within the spaces of the institution that already controls and commodifies what and how much knowledge is disseminated about students who are learning under surveillance. Cahill, Sultana and Pain (2007) argue that having to collect participants' consent to research participation can illustrate further the contradictions that exist between "a top down institutional ethics which in the name of 'protection' gives control of the process to the researcher" (Feagin & Vera), and simultaneously facilitate institutional domination over critical knowledge production such as PAR. According to the words of Bryon-Miller and Greenwood (2006) we should not shy away from asking, "When does protection become paternalism, and concern become control?" (p. 122). Giving consent, henceforth, may be a small, individual act but is certainly connected to a larger hegemonic structure that ultimately has the power to decide who is being informed and to whom consent is being given.

I spent the next two weeks traveling to all six schools the youth researchers attend and was able to collect all principal signatures for all of the required consent forms. The principals and I had lovely conversations about their participating students, and I

addressed some specific questions they had about the study. For example, they expressed sincere interest in wanting to know how their students feel about the numerous surveillance cameras mounted throughout their school buildings. Others thought this type of research work certainly would build on students' college readiness. Then there was one Bronx principal who voiced his curiosity about future plans we had for our collected data, or rather, what we aspired to do once we completed all research activities. Being open about his accountability and commitment to his students and colleagues, one principal in Brooklyn shared his very personal concern with what he would have to do in the case that our videos capture something negative about student experiences with safety practices in his school. But surprisingly and tellingly, **not one** principal withdrew his or her participation from the project. I assured them that they would have access to all of our data, including receiving copies of the videotapes. This was a poignant lesson for us as well as a strong indicator of how little influence individual school administrators have over what and how decisions are made. As mentioned in the section on the larger social context of school safety in New York City, mayoral takeover of all school safety-related practices took effect in 1998. My brief but very insightful conversations with these few school principals hinted at this re-structuring of New York City's public school system; to a certain degree, school principals have become outsiders in the school they administer.

With all of my signatures taken care of, I went back to revising the proposal and within 24 hours I had sent an updated version to the DOE. Another month went by. My mentor had to place another call. In the meantime, I attended a special event the DOE research office had hosted at a local college that explained the protocol for receiving

research approval to other emerging scholars. I decided to attend this event in order to meet the DOE officer in person with the hope that a face-to-face meeting could improve, and hence shorten, our communication. He had no trouble remembering my name when I introduced myself to him, but he was not willing to speak to me right then about some of the other questions he still had about my study. Once again I was asked to call him back.

I did, and it took another month until I had him on the other end of the phone line. He confirmed that he had received my revised proposal. However, this time he was surprised with finding a youth survey in it. Walking the fine line of not accusing him of not having read my proposal in its entirety the first two times, I explained that the survey would provide the research team with some very significant quantitative data. I also gave him an overview of survey procedures: all ten youth researchers would distribute ten surveys to peers in their schools so that as a team, we would gather a total of one hundred surveys. He then explained to me that he couldn't give me approval without seeing the survey. The survey was one of our research activities, and the youth researchers, in following the principles of PAR, were going to create it collectively after completing the initial series of exploratory thematic workshops. All questions on the survey were going to be selected based on the gaps we found in the current literature on the pipeline and school surveillance.

Even though my stomach churned over the DOE official's lack of understanding of PAR and his commitment to bureaucratic policies, I knew that if I wanted to prevent our study from being completely dismissed by him, I had to come up with a preliminary survey to give him a taste of what types of questions we would potentially be asking other young people. In addition to the missing survey, he challenged me with the

following question. Do you have parental consent for each of the survey takers who would be under the age of eighteen? I had not thought of this but assured him I would take care of it. I also had to give him my verbal promise that we would not start distributing the survey until we had the DOE's final approval.

I spent the next few days composing a survey. I used different types of questions, and specifically included images and creative questions in order to stimulate young people's interest in engaging with us and with our study (i.e. "If the Department of Education would give you one million dollars, on what single part of your school would you spend it? Why?"). I also wrote a parental consent form for the survey and mailed both documents to the DOE. In the process, colleagues calmed me down when I was feeling upset about having been forced into being the sole author of the survey. They assured me that there are ways to still include the voices of all co-researchers once we started with our research meetings. Nevertheless, I started to feel panicky about how we could possibly administer the return of the survey's parental consent without losing any surveys in the process, and more importantly, without any additional setbacks to our timeline.

Then one of my colleagues at my doctoral institution came to my rescue. She suggested creating a so-called "Survey In/Out Take Form" and to equip each youth researcher with a folder filled with ten surveys, ten parental consent forms, as well as with a copy of this survey in/out take form that listed the researcher's name on top. The form included the following columns: the survey taker's first name, the date for when the parental consent was given out to them, the date of its return, the date of survey distribution, and the date of survey return. With this survey in/out take form we would be

able to keep track of each survey taker's complete process without getting lost in the complicated and overwhelming steps of survey administration. Since all ten youth researchers had to take the online human subjects research training course for my university's IRB office, they understood that all collected information was to be kept confidential and safe. We agreed that in order to ensure the confidentiality of each survey taker, the survey in/out take form was to be returned to me upon completion. I would then destroy all of them. My colleague's idea was a tremendous success. When the time came we were incredibly organized, ready to collect all 113 surveys within a month and a half.

The real problem walked into my life about a month and half later, after having submitted the preliminary survey. I called the DOE to inquire about my approval status. Within the next 24 hours the officer called me back with a tough and unforgiving voice. He had much to say about the content and the design of the survey and argued that both were very problematic and that they added unnecessary controversy to the already highly debated topic of our study. With regards to the design, he probed the frequency of open-ended questions to which survey takers were encouraged to respond with short answers. He claimed that students won't necessarily have the literacy level to be able to answer all of them. As a result, he asked me to delete the following questions:

a. Do all students in your school have the same interaction with school safety? Explain.

b. Do you agree or disagree with your school's safety practices? Explain.

Furthermore, I had chosen an illustration from one of the most recent reports written by the New York Civil Liberties Union on the current criminalization practices in New York

City's public schools to be part of the survey to allow survey takers to attach their own meanings to now widely used school safety procedures. The graphic depicts students walking through a metal detector under close supervision of police officers in full riot gear. Students are wearing their own clothes before they step into the detector, but as soon as they move through its gates, their bodies are covered with the orange fabric of prison uniforms.[*] A number of questions were attached to this visualized representation of the pipeline:

a. What message is this image sending to you?

b. How true is the image to what is happening in your school? Explain.

c. Where else have you seen what is depicted in the image? Explain.

The DOE officer decided that it would be necessary to delete both the picture and all connected questions from the survey because it was unacceptable to influence survey takers with the highly questionable message the picture sent. According to him, the picture was too controversial and it would silence students; they would not feel comfortable articulating any positive thoughts they may have on school safety.

He had one last request. Two of the questions in the "About Your Views" section of the survey had to be removed because he wasn't able to figure out how they were connected to the overall research topic:

a. In my school, students from poor families have the same chance to succeed as students from wealthier families.

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[*] Due to copyright regulations, I am unable to include the illustration in this article.

b. In my school, immigrant students have the same opportunities as US-born students.

Survey takers would be able to respond by choosing from the following options: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree. For the last time, I agreed to give into his final set of demands and I changed the survey into the document he would be willing to approve. A few weeks later, by now eight months after I had submitted my original research proposal, we were approved and our data collection could begin.

Even though I only interacted with one institutional agent and not with the entire DOE, I contribute all these requests for omissions and deletions to an overall position of the DOE. The agent with whom I worked was able to flex the institution's hegemonic, censorship muscle under the rubric of overseeing, regulating, and enforcing research ethics. Moreover, under this form of censorship we were left with very little space to contest hegemonic ideologies that nourish and legitimize a school's structure of inequality. We were equally unable to contest the dominant presence of institutionalized codes of research ethics, thus paralyzing everything that drives PAR. In contrast to PAR's commitment to collectively define what research ethics should look like in practice and grounding it in a theoretical understanding of ethics as one of the continuously evolving means to an end, the DOE showcased its authority over research ethics as a fully established, non-negotiable, top-down censorship operation. The result was a silencing of critical research ethics and politics that could possibly have defied the DOE's dominion of being a vital gate-keeper and knowledge broker to young people's epistemologies with school safety.

Even though I had accessed the DOE's codes of research ethics prior to writing my proposal to avoid mistakes and aggravation, in their outreach materials to researchers the DOE refrains from offering clear definitions of what they deem interruptive and unwanted education studies. Their manual for researchers lists the following proposal guidelines that researchers need to adhere to if they wish to be approved:

> While we are eager to open our doors to researchers from outside our school system, we must ensure that their investigations do not compromise the privacy of our students and their parents, or disrupt the work of our students, teachers, and administrators. We can only approve proposals that meet professional standards for research design and ethical practices, and have merit and relevance for the school system (New York City Department of Education, 2007, p. 2).

The DOE offers an ambiguous account of what type of research deserves to be acknowledged for having "merit and relevance." After my eight-month DOE approval process I gathered enough insight to argue that the DOE is prepared to preemptively discard any research project that is able to challenge and question their institutionalized reign over all public school-based knowledge production.

In addition, their research guidelines close with a brief but eye-opening section called "Are there special considerations for certain types of studies?" in which the DOE explains:

> We welcome studies in the area of test development and norming. We urge test publishers to include New York City students in their item tryout procedures and then in their norming studies. We seldom participate in equating studies for tests in which we have not participated in the item tryout or norming procedures (p. 5).

It appears the DOE reduces conducting scientific research to gathering numbers instead of embracing qualitative insights such as spoken and written voice, art, and video to explain why school safety is experienced unequally among students. The DOE thus advocates for strengthened support for a knowledge production that is built on a very narrowly defined paradigm of empirical research (Donmoyer, 2002). I understand now that my interaction with the DOE really embodied a full-frontal collision between ethics as a surveillance and censoring politic and ethics as an underlying politic for critical research and logic of inquiry.

While on the one hand the IRB office at my university understood our youth survey to be part of critical educational research that occurs while being *in process*, the DOE office on the other hand required that scripts, lists of all methods to be used, and timelines all be completely defined *before* any of the research activities began. This, as we learned, stands in conflict with PAR processes, as its tools and activities constantly revisit and rethink its relevancy to the political action it hopes to create collectively with all researchers involved. Manzo and Brightbill (2007) parallel my critique of this highly micro-managed control, stating that "this assumes that research can be fully pre-planned and will progress in a relatively predictable and linear fashion" (Manzo & Brightbill).

PAR is not composed of linear step-by-step procedures. Rather, it is a circular process of revisiting the activities, codes, analyses, and conclusions as many times as co-researchers deem necessary. The IRB office at my university was prepared to work with this paradigmatic change that PAR studies manifest. PAR cannot be orchestrated, nor can it be controlled by those who sit afar and wish to not get their hands dirty with the

intense research labor that PAR demands. PAR cannot be controlled by someone else's master plan, as the master plan resides in the bodies of everyone involved.

Lessons Learned

As difficult as it was for me to communicate with the DOE official and as much as we as a PAR team had to work on accommodating the DOE's requests by following bureaucratic and time-exhausting protocols – filling out distinctive forms, drafting special statements, returning phone calls, deleting some of the most central questions of our study – we were eventually allowed to conduct our study. Ultimately what was most upsetting was that I, as the principal investigator, was positioned in such a way that I was forced to violate some parts of the ethical contract I had made with PAR and with my co-researchers. After having been approved, we were finally able to think more deeply and much more calmly about the meanings of these processes. Specifically, we were struck by how institutionalized ethical codes for research procedures involving human subjects at the DOE wanted to shape us into an obedient cadre that would stand in the service of using "research ethics" to further the DOE's authority over our bodies and processes of knowledge production. For example, after learning about the additional parent consent form we needed to collect from our survey takers, some of my co-researchers expressed the doubts they had with some of the given approval procedures. More specifically, one youth researcher questioned to what extent the DOE would really honor young people's confidentiality (personal field notes). Another youth researcher commented, "How do I know that my identity really remains anonymous?"

I understand that IRB offices follow the script of an official authority that ensures that participating individuals do not get hurt during any scientific research work. I am

also acknowledging that IRB procedures were created originally as vital parts to an institutionalized mechanism to avoid violating or endangering the well-being of human research subjects. Medical researchers especially have had a long-standing history of recruiting marginalized people for atrocious scientific experimentations without informing their subjects about the dangers their projects entailed (Washington, 2006); the bodies of human subjects were commonly understood as the necessary and unavoidable collateral damage for building the treasured knowledge base of some of today's most successful (and lucrative) academic disciplines.

However, I am wary of how this authoritative power is exercised. The hurdles that we indeed did overcome to reach approval status confirmed two central elements of this misaligned research process. First, as they ought to, both the IRB at my doctoral institution and the research office at the DOE exercised their ascribed institutional power to scan over the body of our proposed research to ensure that our project would not harm the well-being of any human subjects involved. I am certain that our proposed study received heightened scrutiny by the DOE for both falling outside the dominant understanding of empirical research and for its thematic content.[*] Manzo and Brightbill (2007) argue that "ethics as conventionally interpreted tends to buttress existing power relations in research and society and neglect the possibility that research, and research praxis, can contribute to challenging undesirable social phenomena" (Manzo & Brightbill). For me this meant that the content and processes of our PAR collective were

[*] See the stories of scholars who endured similar struggles in the special thematic issue of ACME on "Participatory Ethics," *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies,* Volume 6, Issue 3 (December 2007).

both too fundamentally counter-hegemonic to the DOE institution that is currently committed to the centralized mayoral control of the city's public education system and equally committed to NYPD control of all school safety-related operations. The DOE's rather conventional approach to conducting educational research illustrated its resistance to permitting data-driven research activities that are accompanied by deep reflective questioning of school security mechanisms. More significantly, the refusal to consider how questions of race, class, privilege or power interact with school safety and security confirmed the current nationwide educational trends that commodify public education (Molnar, 2005). These trends are obvious in the test-driven achievement mentality of current federal education policy of No Child Left Behind (Lipman, 2004), in the practice of paying school principals and teachers for increased test scores, and in a strengthened charter school movement (Saltman, 2005).

Secondly, throughout the course of our approval process there was also the presence of some very visible elements of censorship, as if to punish us for stepping outside of the permissible extent of the well-lubricated positivist knowledge-making machine. The DOE asked that we erase "immigration" (which is directly tied to race) and "class" from the survey. In retrospect, we read this as an institutional denial that the pipeline actually impacts the lives of young people unequally, even though the literature review had provided a plethora of insights into how practices of school safety and surveillance racially profile students in schools. This includes some of the statistics that the U.S. Department of Justice (2007) had produced to point at the highly racialized and disproportionate incarceration rates among the Latino and Black youth in this country.

The deletions that the DOE official requested framed a parallel process of the censorship critical researchers have to endure as well as the silencing of young people's perspectives on surveillance in public schools. We as PAR scholars have to wonder about whose lives and questions are being exiled in both processes, be it a matter of metal detectors in schools legitimizing surveillance, of violations of student rights in the name of 'security,' or of DOE IRB legitimizing censorship in the name of "ethics." According to my co-researchers, "race and class is what the pipeline is really all about" (personal field notes). I think the young people in this study correctly speak back to the current shortcomings of established codes of research ethics and the default mechanisms of school safety as they both protect the state institutions that stand behind the malfunctioning of our public school system.

At the end I have to question some of the larger ethical forces that we as PAR researchers of the pipeline have to face. How legitimate is it for institutionalized codes of research ethics to step into the role of censoring surveys when the manifestation of the pipeline is unethical to begin with? What codes and protocols are PAR researchers left with when wanting to document narratives that reveal how unjust, unsafe, and destructive some of the everyday experiences young people have with the pipeline? What is the desired and thus highly hierarchized knowledge of the pipeline that is allowed to be circulated? What data is the DOE avoiding and which insights are silenced? To what social phenomena are PAR researchers allowed to speak?

Final Thoughts

Whereas I tell a story that ends positively after battling against the institutionalized ethical codes we encountered during our approval process, I am well

aware of the many critical researchers who have not been allowed to speak back to our malfunctioning and broken public school system. As scholars, researchers, educators, and activists we need to know if we are able to step into a position from where we can question the intimate relationship between public education and the criminal (in)justice system that systematically traffics unwanted bodies of the poor away from public learning spaces directly into the alienating and remote units of juvenile detention and incarceration. Not knowing if we are allowed to tell the story of the invasion of public schools by the criminalizing and disciplining surveillance and security systems determines to what extent we are able to negotiate codes of research ethics. Ultimately I still want to know: What kind of research can we do so that injustice matters?

Through this story I question if established codes of research ethics lead to practices that are indeed honoring and protecting the lives, the experiences, and the human rights of the young people who are systematically moved between schools and prisons. For example, instead of providing educational researchers with alternatives to consent forms, alternatives that could assist researchers in identifying and advocating for the needs of "socially unwanted" youths, institutionalized codes of research ethics actually ensure that we busy ourselves with setting up our studies in such a way that the reputation of our universities and authorities of our public school system are protected. I wonder: how would "research ethics" manifest had parents, community boards or young people been involved in their set-up?

With the given codes of research ethics we are stripped of the ability to document the uneven class and race-based distribution of surveillance practices and their consequences. But there is another detrimental message about state-sanctioned research

ethics. Rules in research ethics also serve the purpose of setting boundaries for what critical researchers are and are not allowed to imagine. This hinders not just the contributions they wish to make to their academic discipline, but rather and more significantly, the collective vision of what kind of place this world could be if justice had a place in our research.

PAR has the potential to rupture the networks of traditionally and narrowly defined empirical research methods and institutionalized codes of ethics because it is committed to dismantling the structure of social injustice. Furthermore, by involving multiple researchers in knowledge production, PAR provides opportunities for the voices of the mis-served to take center stage during the multiple acts of the research performance. Throughout its manifold processes PAR provides its audience with the lived experiences of those who have not been able to escape the spectacle of social and political inequalities. In other words, PAR forces the social sciences to look into the eyes of structural and ideological injustice. I have no doubt that PAR scholars will eventually be in the position to shift IRB procedures towards a research politic that embodies ethics for the responsible rebuilding of the many misconstructions of our lives. But until we get there, PAR will have to keep on pushing.

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Recruitment Flyer

Attention NYC High School Students!

Have you always wanted to…

- Join an afterschool youth group AND build job skills?
- Be part of a research team with other young people and learn about different research methods?
- Have your voice be heard?
- Make your own documentary and interview people?
- Meet new people who care about the quality and safety of public schools?

Are you interested in…

- Speaking up about how school safety issues affect you and your school?
- Design research methods that are youth friendly?
- Learning how to read and analyze data you collected?
- Be part of focus group discussions about issues that matter to you?
- Contributing to social justice and youth development?

Join a Participatory Action Research Project With High School Students From All Over NYC!

This research project seeks 10 NYC public high school students to be part of a youth research team to examine the physical spaces of public schools and safety practices. Starting in December 2007, you can sign up to participate in a month-long workshop series that meets twice a week to find out what other young people have to say about school safety in NYC public schools.

All youth researchers will receive a stipend.
Snacks and transportation are provided!

In this study on SCHOOL, SPACE AND SAFETY, you will have FUN! You will…

- Design and distribute a survey to ask young people what they think about school safety
- Have the opportunity to volunteer for a focus group that meets for an additional two months
- Be part of analytical discussions on important topics in public education
- Create a map of your school and how you move through its space
- Learn about how the rearrangement of space in public schools may affect student academic motivation
- Analyze tons and tons of exciting data!

For more information about this research study, or to volunteer for this study, please contact: Patricia Krueger (347) 249.1972 or by email at pkrueger@gc.cuny.edu.

You can also fill out the attached application form.

Student Application Form

Fall 2007

DIRECTIONS: Please fill out this form and answer all questions on the following pages.

Name: _____ Name you like to be called: _____

Address:

_____
(Street) (Apt. #)

_____
(City) (State) (Zip Code)

Home Telephone #: _____ Cell #:_____

What's the best time to call you?

_____

Name of your Parent/Guardian:

_____

E-mail (write clearly!):_____

In case of emergency, contact:

_____
(Name) (Relationship to you)

_____
(Phone number)

Your age: _____ Grade Level _____

Public High School You Attend

_____

---

1. Will you commit to be part of this research study project for the required full one month series of workshops, twice a week, starting in January 2008?*

□ **Yes** □ **No**

*If there are any scheduling changes, I will let you know when we receive your application**

Your Name _____

2. On which days of the week are you available to attend required workshops? Check yes or no **for each option**.

a.	Mondays and Wednesdays	□ **Yes**	□ **No**
b.	Tuesdays and Thursdays	□ **Yes**	□ **No**
c.	Wednesdays and Fridays	□ **Yes**	□ **No**
d.	Thursdays and Fridays	□ **Yes**	□ **No**
e.	Mondays and Tuesdays	□ **Yes**	□ **No**
f.	Mondays and Thursdays	□ **Yes**	□ **No**
g.	Tuesdays and Thursdays	□ **Yes**	□ **No**
h.	Wednesdays and Thursdays	□ **Yes**	□ **No**

3. Are you interested in volunteering for the focus group activities scheduled to start in March 2008? (Focus group will continue to meet twice every week for an additional two months –until the end of April 2008- on the same days. Focus group activities include special discussions, creating school maps, a collective concept map, and making a documentary of your school space.)

□ **Yes** □ **No**

FOCUS GROUP FOR THIS STUDY:

4. Why do you want to participate in this study, *"What's Your Secret? Student Navigation through School Spaces of Containment?"*

5. What do you hope to learn during you participation in this research project?

Your name: _____

6. Have you ever participated in a school or community research project before? If yes, explain.

7. What other time commitments (job, clubs, caring for children, church group, etc.) will you have during the fall?

8. How would you define the word “safety”?

Thank you for applying to *What’s Your Secret? Student Navigation Through School Spaces of Containment.*

Please return this application to:

1. Email it to: Patricia at pkrueger@gc.cuny.edu, OR
2. Mail it to: Patricia Krueger
   400 E 17th Street #302
   Brooklyn, NY 11226

* For more information, contact Patricia at 347.249.1972 or by email at pkrueger@gc.cuny.edu *

Youth Researchers' Mini-Biographies

The following are brief portraits of all youth researchers and provide an amplified window into who we were as a research team and what particularities each researcher brought to the collective whole. I composed the first draft of each portrait with the help of the information that each youth provided on his or her application form prior to joining the research team. In addition, over the course of listening to our audio taped research meetings, I plugged some of their own statements and opinions into these portraits. I then emailed each co-researcher his or her mini-biography for edits and corrections. At other times, when a few of us were gathered, we read over student biographies and edited them for truthfulness and relevancy. Each portrait is a co-constructed product of collective drafting and rewriting.

The names I use to refer to their schools are fictional. All participating principals signed consent forms for some of our research activities to take place on their school premises. Some principals asked that I use specified nicknames for their schools; if they didn't make an indication of it, as a research team we collectively re-named their schools. In addition, students enjoyed choosing their own pseudonyms not just for the purpose of their portraits, but rather for the purpose of creating different citation types for writers whose labor speaks on behalf of their communities. In other words, they thought of themselves as ambassadors of creating a youth-centered knowledge about school safety. They also stood in the service of protecting the communities in which they reside and learn, and wanted to be the shield between the outside eye of the readership and the youth stories that appear in this document, so as to repel intruders of their narratives and experiences who could possibly appropriate and misconstruct their voices to further

institutionalize and criminalize students for being poor, immigrant, black and brown. Hence, the reader will get to know each one of them via their self-chosen "researcher name." The mini-biographies include information about students' race, nationality and ethnicity. They are not based on my personal perceptions and assumptions of them. Instead, I listed students' ethnicity and nationality *the way they* checked and wrote it on our youth survey.

I struggled over a long period of time about whether or not I should include this detail about my co-researchers (their race and ethnicity). Part of me was wondering if it mattered. Another part wanted to protect them, as if these insights into their lives and families could have any tokenizing effects in the eyes of the reader, thus victimizing young people of color by turning them into case studies rather than understanding and perceiving them as strong, civically grounded, informed, and engaged young adults. Some of them are already making more mature and serious decisions for themselves than other teenagers their age. At the end I opted for going ahead with it. While I have decided to add my co-researchers' information about their nationality, race, and ethnicity, my intention is to show how our group represents almost a microcosm of the literature we read about young people's daily journeys and encounters with the spaces that are occupied by the structures and policies of the pipeline nationwide.

These portraits are only limited representations of all the specialized interests, extraordinary wealth of knowledge and areas of expertise that each youth researcher brought to the project and that enriched our conversations enormously. If the reader were to have the opportunity to speak to each youth researcher individually, the content of each conversation would undoubtedly spill into the spaces of separate books. On a final

note, student portraits are listed in alphabetical order and all information about students' grade level and age is based on the 2007-2008 academic year, the year we collected our data.

Allemand, 18, sophomore, female, Egyptian at Central High School in the Bronx, one of the four small schools that occupy one floor in a historic high school building and whose teachers are dedicated to work with immigrant youth. She is the daughter of Guinea-born parents, and although soft-spoken, Allemand has never shown us to be unconformable or impatient with herself while learning English. On the contrary, at the early stages of our weekly meetings she stated that "I feel happy and free," and her great sense of humor and ability to speak numerous languages made her much loved by her co-researchers. Her Afrocentric views and beliefs equipped her with a strong awareness of herself and of school safety agents' (SSA's) perceptions of her. For example, she quickly grew alert of SSA's racial profiling of students based on looks and language ability. More specifically, while having to move through her school's metal detector, by the search table, and numerous surveillance cameras, she explained to us that SSA's thought of her to be Dominican and were at many times nicer to her than her African friends.

She was interested in joining a group of like-minded young people who were also concerned with how school safety practices are being used across different high schools in NYC. Similar to her co-researchers, prior to joining our research project she had been part of other student-led projects. In the past, while living in Guinea, Allemand had been a student leader and coordinated many fundraising initiatives for local public schools. In addition, Allemand had led a coalition between students and the Ministry of Education to bring local politicians' attention to the systematic under-funding of various surrounding

schools. Allemand is currently in her junior year at the same high school and wants to pursue a career as an international diplomat.

Askia Samuel, 18, senior, South Asian, male, attended a high school in Brooklyn. He is the son of Pakistan-born parents, and as a politicized spoken word artist he composed and often performed his written pieces at various local poetry slam competitions. He is conscious about the criminalization of South Asian and Muslim youth in NYC since the September 11 events. In addition, as valedictorian of his graduating high school class he broke many oral traditions by delivering his speech as a spoken word piece, thus demonstrating his commitment to making students lived experiences more accessible and building alternative models of student leadership.

He possesses an incredible ability to make the personal political and vice versa, by always attaching his personal encounters to the larger social contexts and structures of political and cultural institutions. This he exhibited as early as on his application to participate in our study when he wrote, "Absolute safety cannot occur because its elements depend on many variables, such as location and even government policies." In addition, he has a deep passion for international politics, and he used his critical mind for his daily activism within the larger NYC setting.

Askia Samuel joined our study because he wanted to investigate how students at his high school perceive and define school safety, and how their views compare to other NYC public high school students. More importantly, he expressed a profound curiosity towards analyzing the different physical school environments that permit the manifestations of NYC intensified school safety procedures. He is currently attending a private liberal arts college in Boston.

DC Schwartz, 17, Black, male, senior, attended a high school in Brooklyn. His positive energy as well as his outspokenness were contagious. DC Schwartz is a great storyteller who added gestures, movement and a tremendous amount of details to his narratives about his experiences with school safety. He identifies strongly with his family's cultural roots in multiple regions within the English-speaking Caribbean. He joined our research project because he wished to be involved in making public schools safer for his younger relatives by creating more youth-centered approaches for school safety procedures. He explained to us that our project would only be beneficial to any existing statistical information if we added youth narratives to so-called expert voices about the pipeline.

DC Schwartz is exceptionally familiar with current global events and encouraged us to be the same, especially in terms of remaining updated about the many social inequalities around the world. He used creative methods to teach us about different perspectives around specific topics. For example, he loved to step into the role of "devil's advocate" to purposely oppose our standpoints, thus pushing us to more clearly articulate our views and practice our critical thinking.

Equally important, DC Schwartz frequently expressed his empathy for students who attend schools that operate under an overwhelming presence of surveillance, very much unlike his own school. During the time of viewing everyone's video narrative, DC Schwartz was deeply impressed with the disproportionate application of school safety and surveillance practices in the city's public high schools.

He enjoys all art-related activities that we used during our data collection, and created numerous drawings of the pipeline. He especially added many architectural

details to his surveillance map to display locations of windows, storage rooms, and displayed his unique skill for consistency as he applied the same labels to each staircase on all floors. He is currently a first-year college student at a private university in Boston.

Dimples, 17, senior, Latina female, Bridges High School in the Bronx, had already been involved in numerous youth leadership programs and organizations around the city prior to joining our PAR. She decided to join the group because she was curious about what other safety and security mechanisms were being used in some of the other city's public high schools. Her own school uses multiple indoor and outdoor surveillance cameras, a metal detector, NYPD officers and SSA's.

Throughout our time of working together, Dimples showed us her profound awareness with young people's vulnerability towards school authority. She frequently expressed her frustration and disapproval with how SSA's seem to take advantage of their power. According to her, SSA's stop students for ungrounded reasons. For example, in her schools there was one particular SSA who consistently stopped the same students to interrogate them about their destinations and reasons for being outside the classroom even though students possessed the required hall pass. Dimples showed us how fearless she can be to speak out on behalf of her peers. Moreover, during the year of our data collection, she gathered student signatures to petition the removal of that particular SSA, who was also notorious for racially profiling students for disciplinary action. Since our data collection, she has graduated from high school and is currently attending a liberal arts college in the Baltimore area.

Ja, 18, male, South Asian, senior, Urban Careers High School, the oldest son of Bangladeshi parents has been in charge of watching over his younger siblings since his

arrival to the United States. Throughout high school he worked numerous construction jobs while maintaining an excellent grade point average in school. His teachers continuously commented about how extremely proactive he had always been throughout his high school years with identifying and utilizing a variety of resources to help him overcome any linguistically and culturally perceived barriers, such as taking a preparational course to successfully complete the SAT, learning how to become a leader for student government, being valedictorian for his graduating class, and receiving scholarship monies for college.

Ja brought a tremendous amount of skills and knowledge about mapping to our project because his high school specifically prepared students for professions within the field of urban development. For example, when it was time for us to create our surveillance maps, Ja was extremely helpful with setting up a step-by-step procedure that allowed him and his co-researchers to document their vastly different encounters with school safety. He also enjoyed writing poetry to capture his experiences with intensified police presence and surveillance practices in his school and even composed a few for our group.

Having spent his childhood outside the U.S. heightened his awareness of the United States' centralized position within international economic relations. His global outlook allowed us to anchor many of our in-depth analytical conversations about the meanings of the systematic criminalization of urban youth within a framework of collective lived experiences of the global poor, immigrant families and people of color.

Ja continues to work hard to finance his college education in Boston and is majoring in construction engineering.

KD, 16, African American, male, junior, Gordon Parks Academy. For the past five years, his school has been operating out of a newly constructed building with state-of-the-art facilities. Compared to the schools of his co-researchers, his school employs very few school safety practices. Although students at his school do not walk through any metal detectors or are asked to stop at any search tables, a police precinct nearby maintains a regular presence within his school by providing students with internship opportunities. There are surveillance cameras mounted only on the outside of his school building. Not more than three SSA's monitor the main entrance area and hallways at the same time.

He is witty and a quick thinker, and enthused about youth organizing. KD literally sweetened our research meeting as he frequently arrived equipped with an ever-lasting amount of candy that he shared with the entire team. More noteworthy, KD spent an enormous amount of time on creating some of our initial codes for the data from our youth survey. Without him we would have not been able to identify any of the emerging themes that our qualitative data yielded. Along with Vileta, he joined a local youth collaborative to strengthen our alliances with other local youth groups who also directed their community-based actions around school safety issues. In addition, KD was one of the youth representatives at a local media conference where he spoke on behalf of thousands of high school students who experience the over-policing of public schools. He cares deeply for his friends who have been victims of SSA's abusive power.

Before joining this PAR, KD participated in other research projects. He had examined how gentrification processes in the city have systematically pushed poor families and people of color out of the communities in which they grew up, including the

neighborhood where he and his family reside. He is currently in his senior year at the same high school.

MS, Latino, male, 16, junior, attends the same high school as KD in Manhattan. MS always found great pleasure in all of our theoretical conversations during which we searched for possible theories to frame our findings, such as Critical Race Theory (CRT) and the Hidden Curriculum as articulated by scholar Michael Apple. According to him, these theories provided him with a window into the world and allowed him to build connections between his daily encounters with school safety and with those that other young people were experiencing elsewhere in the United States and even around the world.

His colleagues always described him as extremely kind, easy going, flexible and patient with everyone in the group, especially during moments of disagreements. Confirming the main concern of his co-researchers, he is alarmed by how SSA's use and misuse their power in his school. Thanks to MS we had our first youth guest speaker from a large high school in Manhattan that is under close police surveillance as it houses a NYPD precinct on its premises. The discussions that day enabled us to compare school safety practices across our schools and we quickly realized how vastly different they are.

MS was also one of the leaders at a citywide youth-led rally that we co-coordinated against the proposed budget cuts for the following year for NYC public schools, some of which were implemented as early as April 2008. During this rally MS also volunteered to be one of the youth actors for a street theatre production to show how these budget cuts would impact citywide student life and learning. He is currently

finishing his last year at the same high school and continues to feed his passion for performing, singing and producing his own creations of popular Latin music.

Piper, 18, senior, Ujamaa High School in Brooklyn, and female originated from an English-speaking island in the Caribbean. She traveled the furthest of all of us to join our weekly meetings. Piper, while bubbly and funny, is also profoundly reflective and critically thinking. She worked with other youth and social action organizations as early as her first year in high school. During her junior year she began to organize community service trips to New Orleans for students at her school to assist local organizations there with rebuilding hurricane-impacted communities.

Piper had shared with us one of her most recent encounters with school safety practices in her high school during her senior year: her school administration surprised students with one of the city's roving metal detectors at the beginning of one school day., Students were not allowed to enter the building unless they cleared the metal detector, which forced classes to begin late. Piper was angry and appalled with this unannounced procedure and with having to have her bag and body unnecessarily strip-searched. She admitted to us that she felt completely criminalized and treated like an animal, and arrived at the conclusion that intensified safety practices do not honor students' rights to an education. Instead, the temporary implementation of the metal detector contributed to the tension and friction students were already feeling about increased school safety practices in citywide public high schools.

Piper is a well-trained facilitator and has led various workshops at many local youth conferences. During our own meetings, she shared her expertise facilitation skills to assist us with constructing summaries and reaching conclusions. Furthermore, her

amazing time-keeping skills and her straight-to-the-point approach for identifying analytical questions helped us to be productive during our tight meeting times.

Piper was one of the three researchers in this project to design and present a workshop about the pipeline for a class of middle school students in Brooklyn. She is currently attending a private college in NYC and is exploring various academic disciplines to declare her major.

Starshonna, female**,** 16, African American, sophomore, High School for Teaching Health Professions in Manhattan, expressed her deeply felt frustrations with some of the mal-functioning school safety procedures at her school that services nearly 2,000 students. More specifically, she quickly identified one of our central researched themes; SSA's are often very young and nearly as old as seniors at her school. She had witnessed numerous times how male SSA's demonstrated inappropriate behavior that bordered on sexual harassment of female students. She consistently urged us to get involved in designing an SSA training curriculum that would prepare those in training to respect students' human rights.

Starshonna is a very calm and patient person. She regularly watched after her younger brother and frequently brought him to our research meetings. She left us completely amazed with her ability to multi-task; she never turned inattentive towards the given tasks of the research team while remaining completely in tune with her brother's needs and demands from her. In addition, she has a great eye for detail and was thus the person overseeing all of our survey data entry into computer software programs. She administered our survey data and shared with us her excitement about running data

frequencies and variable correlations. At her high school, she has worked at the childcare center where students can leave their toddlers during the school day.

Since our PAR, Starshonna has transferred to another public high school in Queens that specializes in preparing students for the high-school-to-college transition. She is currently interested in applying for an undergraduate program that will prepare her for the field of teaching.

Vileta, 15, female, freshman, African American and Native American, attended the same high school as Starshonna in Manhattan. She decided to join this PAR due to the many negative encounters students at her school had had with SSA's. She explained to us that her high school implements intensive security measures to discipline students for misbehaving. For example, every morning at the beginning of the school day students walk through one of the two metal detectors, endure the gaze of mounted surveillance cameras, and sustain body searches at one of the two frisking tables while forced to share the physical spaces of their school with numerous armed and unarmed NYPD officers. She voiced her frustration with increased attention by local newspapers who in the past eagerly reported on disciplinary actions between students and NYPD from a perspective that protected the adult authority but demonized students as violent and extremely uncontrollable aggressors. She believes that her school is now stuck with a mostly negative reputation in the city and has also experienced how only hearing the name of her school conjures reactions of disapproval and dismissal among people, young and old.

Despite being the youngest of all ten youth researchers, Vileta demonstrated that she is a brilliant critical thinker. She readily applied race- and class-based perspectives to her analyses. After having eagerly shared our research with other communities of young

people in the city, it was she who suggested that we should form our own youth-centered community-based organization (CBO) to disseminate and organize other young people around the systematic criminalization of high school students. She represented our research team at a citywide youth collaborative to plan and coordinate a youth action against the heavy policing of public schools.

Vileta continues to attend the High School for Teaching Health Professions in Manhattan. She also works with a well-known local youth organization against the U.S. military's aggressive recruitment strategies in public schools.

Piper, DC Schwartz and **Askia Samuel** all attended the same school, Ujamaa High School in Brooklyn. Their school was an unexpected but refreshing surprise to the rest of us in terms of the few safety practices they encounter during the school day. Students at their school do not have to pass through any metal detectors, cameras or search tables. The only safety practices that their school uses daily are scanners for student identification cards, a security desk for visitor check-ins, in-school suspensions, and school safety agents who patrol all hallways before, after, and during classes.

Research Contract

Name:_____

School:_____

I fully accept the following responsibilities as a member of the research team in the study "Student Navigation through School Spaces," including:

Meetings and Attendance

I understand that I will be expected to attend six research meetings on the following dates: Jan. 12, Jan. 19, Jan. 26, Feb. 2, Feb. 9, and Feb. 16 unless I was notified of a change in meeting schedule by the research director. The research director will also inform me about each meeting location. Each meeting will last two hours during which I will be able to have a snack. My attendance in this project is of great importance. If, for some reason, I cannot make it to any of the meetings, I will be responsible for contacting the research director. I agree to *not missing more than one meeting* throughout the course of this project.

Punctuality

I understand that all research meetings are designed to last for a specific amount of time, and therefore, it is of optimum importance that I arrive on time for all meetings. Should I arrive late, I will try to join any ongoing activity as promptly as possible.

Preparation and Commitment

I accept the importance of coming fully prepared to all research meetings. This includes offering all of my energy, respect and attention to my colleagues. I also understand that I am free to leave the research project at any time. In addition, I will not break my commitment of bringing my prepared materials to each meeting as it is necessary to make them available for team reviews and evaluation.

Researcher Stipend

I agree to receive a research stipend of twenty dollars ($20.00) at *the end of each workshop meeting*. I will not get paid for any missed or uncompleted workshop meeting. All payments will be made in cash.

Willingness to Face Challenges

It is clear to me that being an active researcher includes my willingness to step out of my routine and comfort zones. By taking on new roles and tasks, I am committed to assist in ensuring one of action research's founding principles: the belief in community building to strengthen our collective success.

Practice My Professionalism

This research project will provide me with the opportunity to build or strengthen various skills in research, literacy, and social action. In addition, I will also be able to take on the roles of being a youth leader and community advocate. I understand that this includes appropriate behavior and language. I agree with the team's guidelines, that if necessary, I may be instructed to change my choice of expression. Furthermore, if I fail to meet any of the group's guidelines, it is up to my colleagues to decide on any possible consequences.

Participation in Outside Activities and Events

I understand that my participation in this research project connects me to various other related research and youth-centered events in New York City. I am completely free to choose my participation in them as they are not connected to my work in this project.

I have read all the stipulations listed above and agree to fully comply with them as a research member in this study.

Signature_____ Date_____

Article Summary Form

Title of Article:

Name of Author:

Year of Publication:

Name of Publication:

Volume:

Issue:

Pages:

What is the main argument in this article?

What insights does the author(s) offer to support the main argument?

1.

2.

3.

What is the author's conclusion?

What is your opinion of this article?

Youth Survey

Circle Grade: 9 10 11 12 School Name: _____

Public___ Private ___

Student Opinions about School Safety and their School

We want to know what **YOU** think about school safety practices and your school. A research team of high school students from different New York City public high schools and The Graduate Center at the City University of New York want to find out what high school students think of current school safety practices and how they might impact the physical spaces of their school.

Why is this important?

Because educators, administrators, and policy makers need to hear from students, not just from adults, about the experiences young people have with school safety.

This is a survey, not a test!

Your name is not on the survey. You won't be connected with the answers. Don't worry about being judged on your answers because there are no right or wrong answers. Your participation is voluntary: you don't have to answer all questions. But we hope you answer them all because we really want people to know what you think.

Thank you so much for your participation!

A. Tell us about yourself:

1. Have you ever been ….

   __ a. in an in-school suspension __b. in an out-of school suspension __ c. expelled from school?

2. You identify as: ___ Male ___ Female Other: _____
3. How old are you? ____
4. What is the zip code of where you live? ___ ___ ___ ___ ___
5. Young people identify with different backgrounds and cultures. Some of these are listed below. Please check **all** that best describe you and your family.

___Asian or Pacific Islander
___Black or African-American
___Native American
___Latina/o or Hispanic (Spanish speaking)
___Multi-Ethnic/Multi-National
___South Asian
___Middle Eastern
___Caribbean
___White or Caucasian
___Who did we forget?

B. About your views on your school:

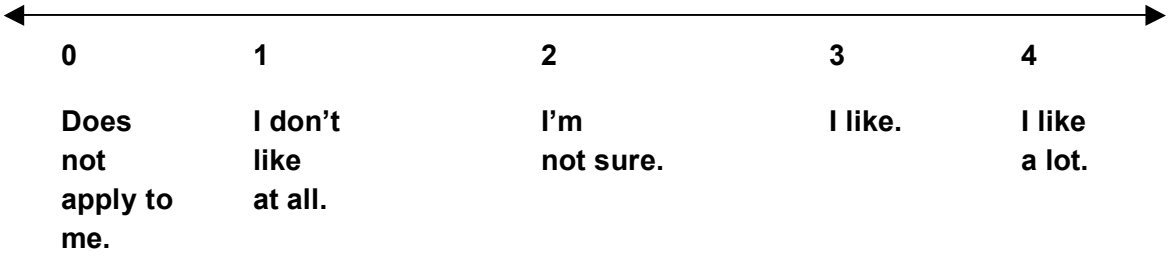
1. Young people have different opinions about their schools. Check the box next to each statement that best shows your opinion.

QUESTION	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Neutral
a. All students get fair treatment in my schools - no matter who they are.					
b. In my school, immigrant students have the same opportunities as US-born students.					
c. There is no racism in my school.					
d. In my school I feel I can disagree with adults if needed, and without penalty.					
e. I feel safe in my school.					
f. School safety treats all students equally.					

1.1. Who do you think does **not** get treated fairly by school safety officers?

_____

2. What do you like about your school? For each item below, please place the number that describes your opinion on the line next to it.



__ a. Students
__ b. Classes
__ c. Wall colors
__ d. Guidance counselor
__ e. Bathrooms
__ f. Lunch room
__ g. Sidewalk area in front of the school building
__ h. Teachers
__ i. Afterschool programs
__ j. Building design
__ k. School safety officers
__ l Locker rooms
__ m Cameras & detectors
__ n Principal
__ o. The library
__ p. Sports & facilities
__ q. Student-teacher relations
__ r. Suspension room
__ s. Hallways

3. Is there anything else that you absolutely **DON'T** like about your school that is missing on the list?

_____

4. Is there anything else that you absolutely **DO** like about your school that is missing on the list?

_____

5. If the Department of Education would give you one million dollars to improve your school, what would you spend it on?

_____

_____

C. The spaces in your school…

1. Choose one word that best describes the physical spaces in your school (i.e. bright, dark, welcoming): _____

2. For each question, check all that apply:

QUESTION	Class-room	Hall-way	Stair-case	Library	Cafeteria	Outside School	Off School Grounds	Nowhere
a. What place(s) in school do you feel the safest?								
b. What place(s) do you feel the least safe?								
c. Where do you hang out with your friends?								
d. What spaces in school do you use the most?								
e. What spaces in school do you use the least?								
f. What spaces do you avoid?								
g. In what place(s) are you able to avoid school safety officers?								

D. About school safety:

1. Does your school use any safety measures? If so, which ones:

__ a. Permanent metal detectors
__ b. Temporary metal detectors
__ c. Surveillance cameras
__ d. School safety officers
__ e. Suspension
__ f. Expulsion
__ g. NYPD officers inside the school building
__ h. NYPD officers outside the school building
__ i. A conflict resolution program
__ j. Juvenile detention referrals
__ k. Arrests
__ l. Confiscation of cell phones
__ m. A Student Success Center
__ n. Mentoring
__ o. Parental/Community involvement
__ p. Other: _____
(please describe)

2. What does "school safety" mean to you?

_____

_____

_____

3. What interaction have you had with school safety? Explain.

_____

_____

_____

4. Check the box next to the statement that best describes your experience.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Neutral
a. I do well in school because school safety helps me to stay focused.					
b. I don't do well in school because school safety practices don't let me focus on school work.					

5. Do you think there are any fair disciplinary actions in your school? ___ yes ___ no
Please explain:

_____

_____

_____

6. How can school safety practices be improved?

_____

_____

_____

7. Do you think schools safety officers in your school are trained to do the job?
___ yes ___ no

Why?

_____

_____

_____

Thank you for your time!

Please contact Patricia Krueger at pkrueger@gc.cuny.edu if you are interested in finding out about the survey's results.

Video Worksheet

Name of School:

1. Location of SSA's

2. Position and location of cameras

3. School size and color(s)

4. Evoked emotions & vibes

5. Accessible places

6. Inaccessible places

7. Minutes in between classes

8. On a scale from 1 to 5 (1 representing the most positive value, i.e. "great"), how do you rate the physical spaces of this school? Circle one number:

1 2 3 4 5

Explain your decision:

Interview Protocol

Beginning:
If you were in charge of recruiting new students for your school, what kind of ad would you place in the New York Times Classified section? What would it say?

About your school
Where is your school located?
Describe its neighborhood.
Does your school offer a free lunch program?
How many AP classes does your school offer? Which ones?
What extracurricular activities and afterschool programs are available to students in your school?
Does your school offer special education?
Where is special education located in your school?

Questions about School & Safety
1. What do you like about your school?
2. What do you dislike about your school?
3. How do you think is your school different from the others that are represented in our research team?
4. What safety practices does your school use? Do you know why?
5. Why do SSA's ask students to leave school grounds at the end of the day?
6. Do you know any of your SSA's by their names?
7. How do you describe the relationship SSA's have with students in your school?
8. What kind of disciplinary action have you witnessed/were in involved in your school?
9. Do students in your school feel safer with these safety practices?
10. Do you agree or disagree with your school's safety practices? Explain.
11. What do you believe is the largest threat to safety in your school?
12. In your school, who has the most influence over safety and discipline policies?
13. If you could have a sit down with your principal, what is one thing you would say about maintaining your school safe in a different way?
14. What about in NYC, who has the most influence over these?

The Pipeline
1. How do you define the school-to-prison pipeline?
2. What is the purpose of the pipeline?
3. Do you think your school participates in the pipeline? Explain.
4. Are you personally affected the pipeline? Explain.
5. How does the pipeline "live" inside the spaces of your school?
6. Who and what do you think has the most influence over the pipeline?

Spaces of your School: Your Floor Plan
1. Describe to me your floor plan.
2. Do students have free access to all areas?

3. What places are the most trafficked?
4. What places are rarely used and why?
5. Are there any SSAs in these spaces?
6. What other practices does your school use to supervise the ways students move throughout school spaces?
7. Tell me about where and at what time of the day any suspensions, expulsions, detentions and student arrests are made in your school.
8. Do you think the way you move throughout your school is influenced by the presence of SSAs, cameras, detectors, etc?
9. Is your school that kind of building that makes it easier to follow student movement and whereabouts?
10. Do you think safety practices influence the physical spaces of schools? How?
11. Do the colors of your school walls have any influence on how you feel while at school?

Show NYCLU picture of the pipeline & subsequent questions

1. What is the meaning of this image?
2. How true is the image to what is happening in our school?
3. Where else have you seen what is depicted in the image? Why?

Student Motivation

1. Why do you go to school?
2. How do you stay motivated?
3. What do you think makes a young person your age get up every morning, travel one hour on the subway, stand in line to pass the metal detector in order to get to class/school? What is their motivation?
4. Why are high school students not motivated to succeed academically?
5. Why are students not doing equally well in your school?
6. Do discipline practices affect students equally?
7. Do you think school safety practices in your school impact students in how much they are motivated to succeed? Explain.
8. Do you think schools with high levels of security and surveillance have an impact on student motivation?
9. Do you think the physical spaces of schools have anything to do with student motivation?
10. What is the purpose of schooling?

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