

1 **Supplementary Information**

2

3 **A possible nocebo effect in children following the Flint Water Crisis: Evidence from**
4 **schoolteacher perceptions and neuropsychological evaluations**

5

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8 ^ Denotes equal contribution

9

10 **This file includes:**

11 Tables S1 to S6

12 Texts S1 to S3

13 References

14 **Table S1.** Survey respondents count, Flint and Detroit

School District	Schoolteachers' email address source	Invite emails sent	Invite emails bounced or failed to deliver	Final respondent count
Flint	School website: all teachers (4 schools)	83	2	4
	Forwarded to teacher by school principal (sent to 8 schools)	Unknown	N/A	6
	Public LinkedIn search for teachers with filter "Work Company = 'Flint Community Schools'"	138	50	1
	Total			11
Detroit	School website: only teachers who teach Pre-K-4 th grade in schools with "Elementary" in title (28 schools)	354	58	24

15 The total no. of teachers in Flint and Detroit school districts were estimated to be 161 and 1,905
 16 respectively (Michigan Department of Education, 2020).

17 **Table S2.** Teacher perceptions compiled from online searches (expanded from Roy et al. 2023:
 18 Table S2). New additions obtained by using the search term in Google: “flint teacher” + “lead” +
 19 “crisis”

No.	Negative Perception Commentary (Reference)
FLINT TEACHERS ON FLINT SCHOOLCHILDREN	
1	An “evolving, educational emergency,” [...] “Threat of significant disability” to “Flint’s youngest students -- those not yet in school or the unborn” – Flint’s former public schools superintendent (House Democrats, 2016)
2	When Flint children who have been lead poisoned reach school age, the city will probably see a drop in student test scores. Once they reach their teenage years, we can expect to see an increase in teen pregnancies, violent crimes, and incarcerations. And this for a city that is already swimming upstream. [...] No Flint teacher should be evaluated on student score gains, because no Flint teacher or school is responsible for government neglect or a lead health crisis. We should do what we can to provide these children with support, but no amount of education reform will undo the cognitive damage this water crisis has done. - Education researcher on evaluating Flint teachers (Morsy, 2016)
3	Flint students [...] have been asking their teachers if they’ll die from drinking the lead-poisoned water. “How dare you poison our children?” - Flint teacher (Flannery, 2016)
4	“ <i>Everyone</i> was being poisoned” - National Education Association President after a Flint visit ([emphasis in original] Flannery, 2016)
5	“Fortunately, I did not bathe, wash my clothes and do other chores with the <contaminated> water. But my heart hurts for those who are already feeling the effects of this catastrophe. I worry we’ll be dealing with the effects of this water crisis for many, many years to come.” - Flint teacher (PBS, 2016)
6	“Josiah has been diagnosed with autism. We have been waiting on that diagnosis, so it’s a whole other ballgame for me now. There is no maybe. My son is autistic. [...] Justice, he’s doing better. He’s doing a lot better now that I’m not bathing him in that water. His rashes are cleaning up. So they’re doing better.” - Flint substitute teacher and mother of two (NPR, 2016)
7	“You walk the streets at night and something might happen, but you’ll probably be ok. If you drink the water, you know that’ll mess you up forever.” That’s how a teenager from Flint responded when we asked the group, “Do you feel safer walking the streets of Flint or drinking the water?” - Flint teenager (Ed Justice, 2016)
8	Flint children, following their “prolonged exposure to lead” during the FWC, are “at risk of developing a disability, or already have a disability” and “face an unprecedented

	educational and civil rights disaster” – Class action lawsuit initial filing (D.R. v. Michigan Department of Education, 2016)
9	“There’s a special education crisis that’s about to get worse [due to the Flint Water Crisis]” – Complaint filed on behalf of Flint families (Covert, 2016)
10	“We have no idea what effect this will have on the children who were poisoned by the water. What will the second half of my career entail as my colleagues and I work to teach students who may have severe learning or behavioral difficulties. An entire town was poisoned.” -- Flint high school teacher (NEA, 2017)
11	“We don’t have quantitative data with respect to that yet, but we do know there will likely be some adverse effects based upon the water crisis on the educational outcomes of our youngsters” – Flint’s then school superintendent (Fonger et al., 2019)
12	“We have a school district where all that’s left are damaged kids who are being exposed to other damaged kids, and it’s causing more damage” - Flint school teacher for over 23 years (Green, 2019)
13	“The behavior issues, they’re way up. We never dealt with these behaviors.... [Previously] you might have one, two explosive kids in a couple years span. Now it’s widespread.” – Flint school teacher for over 20 years (Wells, 2019)
14	“[Special education] statistics have changed the way [our university’s] instructors train rising educators ... they must be prepared for classrooms where high numbers of students have special learning needs arising from lead exposure” – Chair of education department chair at local university that trains Flint school teachers (House, 2021)
15	The trauma inflicted on students by the Flint water crisis cannot be overstated. One Flint teacher spoke to us about her class of second and third graders. When the classroom pet, a bearded dragon, died from the lead in the water, children asked, “Will we die too? We also drank the water.” (Heck, 2021)
16	“There may be no amount of money that would fully recognize the harm the residents of Flint have experienced, including their anxiety, fear, distrust, and anger over the events of last seven years.” - US federal judge approving \$641 million settlement in 2021 (Travis, 2021)
17	“The topic we don’t talk about is the lead poisoning. It’s not considered as a factor in the learning gap. As of now, 80 percent of our 6-8 graders are reading at a third grade level or lower. It’s horrific. ... When it’s raised, ‘Let’s not forget about the lead,’ we are told, ‘Oh, right,’ and then we move on. We know the mental and physical effects. - STEM specialist in Flint schools (Hanover, 2022)

21 **Table S3.** Most common symptoms of learning difficulties observed by teachers and attributed
 22 to lead exposure (aggregated and sorted in decreasing order by number of mentions)
 23

Rank	Flint (44 responses from 11 teachers)		Detroit (82 responses from 24 teachers)	
	Symptoms	Count	Symptoms	Count
1	Attention Deficit	11	Learning difficulties	13
2	Memory	7	Memory	11
3	Behavioral issues	4	Hyperactivity	8
4	Impulsivity	3	Attention Deficit; Speech	7 each
5	Aggression; Anxiety; Fatigue; Hyperactivity; Learning difficulties; Perseverance issues	2 each	Behavioral issues	6
6	Emotional outbursts; Eyesight; Headaches; Math; Nausea; Reading; Skin rashes	1 each	Cognitive or developmental Delays	5
7			Fatigue; Headaches; Irritability	3 each
8			ADHD; Appetite Loss; Body growth; Brain damage; Coma; Death; Feeling ill; Impulsivity; Lower immunity; Motor skills; Bodily functions; Seizures; Sleeping; Writing.	1-2 each

24 Note: Total count may contain symptoms reported more than once by the same respondent.
 25 Some code definitions may overlap.

26 **Table S4.** What does “lead poisoned” and “brain damage” mean to you in terms of learning
 27 outcomes? Any details not captured in the principal category are reported in parentheses.
 28

Rank	“Lead poisoned”		“Brain Damage”	
	Flint (11 of 11 teachers)	Detroit (16 of 24 teachers)	Flint (10 of 11 teachers)	Detroit (13 of 24 teachers)
1	Learning difficulties (5) <i>(due to effects on neurotransmitters [...] takes longer to learn if at all; increased over the past 4-5 years; hard time tracking when reading)</i>	Learning difficulties (9) <i>(need additional time [...] tasks broken down into step-by-step instructions and frequent reminders of behavioral and instructional content learnt)</i>	Learning difficulties (4) <i>(affects performance on tests, need help most of the time; years behind educationally, special education testing referrals; severe inability to meet learning milestones)</i>	Learning difficulties (7) <i>(hard time retaining or absorbing new information)</i>
2	Behavioral issues (4) <i>(short temper; cannot sit still, poor impulse control, violent behavior against other children and school property)</i>	Cognitive impairments (3) <i>(focus; hearing and speech; damage to brain)</i>	Behavioral issues (3) <i>(anxiety; poor impulse control; emotional support referral)</i> Received formal diagnoses (3) <i>(with a learning disability; teachers usually last to know)</i>	Behavioral issues (2) <i>(extreme differences in ability and behavior day to day)</i> Cognitive impairment (2) <i>(memory, little recognition of familiar things)</i> Developmental delays (2) <i>(90% of my students are 2 to 3 years below in Grade Level)</i>

3	Cognitive impairments (2) (<i>memory, reasoning; focus</i>) Developmental delays (2)	Behavioral issues (2) (<i>group work is very hard</i>) Developmental delays (2)	Cognitive impairments (2) Developmental delays (2) (<i>"brains were hurt or did not develop correctly"; in motor skills like coloring and writing</i>)	Other responses (4; 1 each): <i>Permanent damage due to poisoning [...] struggles can be remediated, but at great expense and time; Challenging; Informed by parents during enrollment</i>
4	Other responses (4; 1 each): <i>Drank Flint water; ingested lead [that] damaged bodies and brains; blood lead above allowable level; teachers require training to help and teach such students; now recovering from affects, seizures, nausea, etc. from lead poisoning</i>	Other responses (4; 1 each): <i>Lead exposure from living in Greater Detroit Area (lead paint in old homes, water from lead pipes, etc.); speech referrals needed for 3 students, one student attending [occupational and physical therapy] and another went for an [Electroencephalogram test]; difficult to achieve teaching goals; blood lead significantly above acceptable levels during 0-7 years [...] will always struggle but develop coping skills as they mature</i>	Other responses (1; 1 each): <i>Need more time to complete their work and more patience from teacher</i>	

30 **Table S5.** Information sources for teachers on children being “lead poisoned” or having “brain
 31 damage” from lead (in decreasing order of importance). Multiple sources at the same rank (equal
 32 mentions as first response) are separated by a semi-colon.
 33

Rank	Information Source(s) (No. of mentions as first source, unless described otherwise)			
	“Lead poisoned”		“Brain Damage”	
	Flint (10 of 11 teachers)	Detroit (15 of 24 teachers)	Flint (8 of 11 teachers)	Detroit (12 of 24 teachers)
1	Parents (4)	Parents (7)	Parents (4)	Parents (4)
2	Personal assumption; School (2 each)	Personal assumption; Medical Records (3 each)	Student IEP^; Media; School; Testing by ISD (1 each)	Medical Records; Student Records (3 each)
3	Media; Personal observations; Testing (1 each)	City of Detroit; Media; School; Student Records (1 each)	(<i>>=1 mentions as second or lower sources</i>) Doctors; Dr. Mona; Social Workers; Student 504 Plans; Water Department	Student IEP^; Psychologists; Testing for special education (1 each)
4	(<i>>=1 mentions as second or lower sources</i>) Dr. Mona; Health Department	(<i>>=1 mentions as second or lower sources</i>) [Child Protective Services] Involvement; Doctors; Personal Observations; Student IEP^; Teachers; Water Test Results	/	(<i>>=1 mentions as second or lower sources</i>) Counselors; Doctors; Student Behavior; Teachers; Standardized Test Scores.

34 The data are ranked based on no. of unique teachers reporting an information source as their first
 35 choice. If the first source relied on another source (e.g., “Doctor's reports shared by the student's
 36 parents”), both sources are considered as the primary source (i.e., “Parents” and “Medical
 37 Records”).

38 ^ IEP = Individualized Education Plan.

39 **Table S6.** Social or environmental factors besides lead that contribute to learning difficulties in
 40 your students
 41

	Flint (36 responses from 9 teachers)		Detroit (79 responses from 19 teachers)	
Rank	Factor	Count	Factor	Count
1	Parents or Family	9	Poverty	11
2	Home environment Poverty	5 each	Parents or Family	10
3	Poor diet or nutrition	3	Poor diet or nutrition	9
4	Poor healthcare Low school attendance Drugs	2 each	Home environment	8
5	Others: Behavior, Genetics, Homelessness, Learning Exposures, Peers, School district, Student relocation, Trauma	1 each	Environmental factors	6
6			Low school attendance Drugs	4 each
7			Lack of sleep Lack of support	3 each
8			School district	2
9			Others: Anxiety, Behavior, Discrimination, Distracted, Feeling safe, Feeling accepted, Genetics, Health, Homelessness, Lack of exposure to text, Lack of proper diagnostic testing, Language, Learning Disabilities, Location, Not having conversations with adults, Screen time, Societal inequality, Stress, Violence	1 each

42 Survey question: “In your experience, what other social or environmental factors besides lead
 43 contribute to learning difficulties in your students? Please list at least three in order of decreasing
 44 importance”

45 **Text S1.** Survey Questionnaire.

46 **I. CONSENT FORM**

47 Hello,

48

49 You are invited to participate in this research study on teacher perceptions of lead exposure and
50 its impacts on the academic performance of schoolchildren. This research study is being
51 conducted by Virginia Tech in coordination with Ellievate and University of Auckland.

52

53 The survey should take **less than 15 minutes to complete** and you will receive a \$20
54 Amazon.com gift card within 5 business days of completion. The gift card code will be emailed
55 directly to you from Amazon.

56

57 Your participation in this research study is voluntary. You may choose not to participate. If you
58 decide to participate in this research survey, you may withdraw at any time. Furthermore, the
59 “Anonymize Response” setting is active for this survey, which ensures Qualtrics will “NOT
60 record any personally identifiable information,” and remove all association between your email
61 address and your responses. Therefore, your responses will be anonymous. The results of this
62 study will be used for scholarly purposes only, including publishing peer-reviewed journal
63 articles and presentations at conferences.

64

65 Should you have any questions about this study, you may contact the study PI Dr. Sid Roy
66 (sidroy@vt.edu / XXX.XXX.XXXX). This research has been reviewed according to Virginia
67 Tech IRB procedures for research involving human subjects. Should you have any questions or
68 concerns about the study’s conduct or your rights as a research subject, or need to report
69 research-related injury or event, you may contact the Virginia Tech Human Research Protection
70 Program at irb@vt.edu or (540) 231-3732. The IRB protocol number for this study is #20-292.

71

72 **ELECTRONIC CONSENT: Please select your choice below.**

73

74 Clicking on the "agree" button below indicates that:

- 75 • you are a teacher in Detroit or Flint public school district
- 76 • you have read the above information
- 77 • you voluntarily agree to participate

78

79 If you do not wish to participate in the research study, please decline participation by clicking on
80 the "disagree" button.

81 Agree

82 Disagree

83

84 **II. SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC**

85 1. Please indicate your school district:

- 86 Detroit Public Schools Community District
87 Flint Community Schools

88

89 2. What is your area?

- 90 General Education
91 Special Education
92 Both

93

94 3. Please enter the type of your school (e.g., Elementary, Pre-K, Online, STEM Academy,
95 etc.): _____

96

97 4. What grades do you teach? _____

98

99 5. How long have you taught in the <<Detroit>>/<<Flint>> school district? _____ years

100

101 6. How long have you been a schoolteacher? _____ years

102

103 7. Please enter your age: _____ years

104

105 8. Please enter your gender in full (e.g., write “female” instead of F): _____

106

107 9. What is your race or ethnicity? (Select all that apply)

- 108 American Indian or Alaska Native
109 Asian
110 Black or African American
111 Hispanic or Latino
112 Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
113 White

114 **III. SECTION B: TEACHER PERCEPTIONS ON LEAD EXPOSURE (MULTIPLE**
115 **CHOICE)**

116 1. Please rate the following in terms of your perception (i.e., your beliefs) about primary
117 sources of lead exposure for children in your class:

118 **Lead paint**

119 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
120 Not important extremely important

121 **Lead dust or lead in soil**

122 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
123 Not important extremely important

124 **Lead from drinking water**

125 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
126 Not important extremely important

127

128 1a. Would you let children in your class drink tap water at school today?

- 129 Yes
130 No

131

132 1b. Would you let children in your class drink tap water at their home today?

- 133 Yes
134 No

135

136 Note: These questions are about your perceptions of how lead exposure has affected the
137 children you teach, and therefore, **we are not looking for exact figures but for your**
138 **impressions.** The following questions relate to your teaching experiences in the last five
139 academic years (2014-15 to present).

140 2. How many students in your classes do you think **have been “exposed to lead”**?
141 Sliding scale from 0% (no students) --- 100% (all students)

142

143 3. In your view, how much does lead exposure affect their educational achievement?

144 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
145 no affect at all severely affects
146 their education

147

148 4. In your view, how much does lead exposure affect their behavior?

149 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
150 no affect at all severely affects
151 their behavior

152

- 153 5. How long do you think these educational and behavioral effects will continue?
 154 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 155 a very short time forever
 156
 157
- 158 6. How much do you think remedial education and support can help repair the effects of
 159 lead exposure?
 160 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 161 not at all extremely
 162
- 163 7. How well do you feel you understand the effects of lead exposure?
 164 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 165 don't understand at all understand
 166 very clearly
 167
- 168 8. How concerned are you about the effects of lead exposure in the students you teach?
 169 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
 170 not at all extremely concerned
 171 concerned
 172
- 173 9. How many students in your classes exhibit learning difficulties that you think came from
 174 lead?
 175 Sliding scale from 0% (no students) --- 100% (all students)
 176
- 177 10. In your view, are learning difficulties from lead likely to be permanent?
 178 Yes
 179 No
 180
- 181 11. In your view, has there been an increase in learning disability diagnoses in the last 3
 182 years or so?
 183 Yes
 184 No
 185
- 186 12. In your view, will lead exposed students in your class recover from the effects of lead
 187 exposure?
 188 Yes
 189 No
 190 I don't know
 191
- 192 13. How many students in your classes do you think **have been "lead poisoned"**?
 193 Sliding scale from 0% (no students) --- 100% (all students)
 194

195 14. How many students in your classes do you think have “brain damage” from lead?
196 Sliding scale from 0% (no students) --- 100% (all students)
197

198 **SECTION B: TEACHER PERCEPTIONS ON LEAD EXPOSURE (OPEN-ENDED**
199 **QUESTIONS)**
200

201 1. Please list at least three most common symptoms of learning difficulties you see that are
202 caused by lead exposure: _____
203

204 2. Do you have specific examples over the years, of what students in your class believe
205 about the harmful effects of lead exposure, and how it has affected them? Please share as
206 many examples as possible: _____
207

208 3. What kinds of learning disability diagnoses have kids in your class received because of
209 lead? Please list all: _____
210

211 *If answer to Q13 is greater than 0%:*

212 4. You indicated <<X%>> of students in your class have been “lead poisoned”
213

214 4a. What does “lead poisoned” mean to you in terms of achieving learning outcomes?
215 _____
216

217 4b. How did you find out that your students were lead poisoned? List sources in order of
218 decreasing importance: _____
219

220 *If answer to Q14 is greater than 0%:*

221 5. You indicated <<X%>> of students in your class have “brain damage” from lead.
222

223 5a. What does “brain damage” from lead mean to you in terms of achieving learning
224 outcomes? _____
225

226 5b. How did you find out that the students have brain damage? List sources in order of
227 decreasing importance: _____
228

229 6. In your experience, what other social or environmental factors besides lead contribute to
230 learning difficulties in your students? Please list at least three in order of decreasing
231 importance: _____
232

233 7. If you have any other comments about lead exposure and/or children’s learning
234 difficulties, please share your thoughts below: _____
235

236 **IV. SECTION C: COMPLETION**

237 *If filling out survey from recruitment email with unique link for each teacher:*

238 We thank you for your participation. Your \$20 Amazon.com gift card will be sent to your
239 official school email address. If you do not receive your gift card code in five business days,
240 please contact Dr. Sid Roy (sidroy@vt.edu) from your official school email address.

241

242 You may close this window now.

243

244 *If filling out survey from recruitment flyer with generic link for all teachers:*

245 We thank you for your participation. To get your \$20 Amazon.com gift card, please send this
246 unique ID to Dr. Sid Roy (sidroy@vt.edu) from your official school email address: **0123456789**.

247

248 Note: **We cannot send you your gift card if we do not receive an email from your official**
249 **school email address.** If you do not receive a gift card in five business days, please contact Dr.
250 Roy on the email address provided above.

251

252 You may close this window now.

253



COLLEGE OF ENGINEERING
THE CHARLES E. VIA, JR. DEPARTMENT OF
CIVIL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ENGINEERING
VIRGINIA TECH.

WHAT: Participants are needed for a Virginia Tech research study (IRB # 20-292)

WHY: The purpose of this research is to gain a better understanding of teacher perceptions on lead exposure and its impacts on the academic performance of schoolchildren

WHO: You qualify for this research if you are a current teacher employed at a public school in Detroit or Flint

HOW: Eligible participants will complete one online survey. The survey should take less than 15 minutes to complete and your responses would be kept confidential.

Go here to start the survey: [Take the survey](#)
or copy and paste this link in a new browser window:
https://viriniatech.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_1Gm8Gx949nru_zlz

FOR MORE INFORMATION: contact Dr. Sid Roy at sidroy@vt.edu or [REDACTED]

COMPENSATION: Participants will be compensated with a \$20 Amazon.com gift card for their time and effort within five business days of completing the online survey



256 **Text S3.** Attempts at reaching Flint schools’ superintendent, principals, and teachers –Timeline.
257 The following timeline summarizes repeated attempts by our team to maximize participation of
258 Flint teachers in our survey by direct engagement with the Flint Community Schools (FCS)
259 superintendent and principals within the school system. The survey proved extremely difficult to
260 administer in Flint despite being short (~10 minutes), anonymous, and bundled with a financial
261 incentive of \$20 Amazon gift cards, because

- 262 a) only four of 12 Flint schools had their teacher email addresses listed online and could
263 be contacted,
264 b) principals of remaining eight Flint schools did not respond to repeated phone calls,
265 voice mails and emails to forward the study flyer to teachers (although at least one
266 principal appeared to have forwarded the study flyer email),
267 c) the Flint schools’ director of learning support services (special education) did not
268 respond to emails requesting a short interview,
269 d) the Flint school superintendent, a graduate of FCS, former FCS principal and asst.
270 superintendent (Ford, 2020), did not initially respond to several phone calls, voice
271 mails and emails, then had her assistant request our survey questions, and, after we
272 provided a copy, declined to let the teachers participate without offering us any
273 reasons.

274 2020

- 275 ❖ May 9 – Sid Roy (SR) sent emails to Directors of Human Resources of Genesee Intermediate
276 School District (for Flint public schools) and Wayne Regional Education Service Agency
277 (for Detroit public schools) requesting information on review requirements, if any exist,
278 before conducting the survey.
279 ❖ June 14 - SR sent emails to 12 Flint school principals requesting lists of current teachers and
280 email addresses. No response received.
281 ❖ June 25 – SR sent emails to 8 Flint school principals requesting the attached flyer advertising
282 our survey be sent to schoolteachers currently teaching at FCS. No response received.
283 ❖ August 20 – Ellie Jacques (EJ) called FCS Superintendent for initial contact, waiting to hear
284 back if survey distribution is approved.
285 ❖ August 25 – EJ called FCS Superintendent again, left voicemail, and sent an email. The
286 Superintendent’s assistant replied to the email “please give us a bit more time.”
287 ❖ September 3 – EJ called all main offices of FCS schools (details below), called FCS
288 Superintendent, left email, sent email - no response.
- 289 • FCS Superintendent: no response, 3 tries call/email mwood@flintschools.org
290 • Accelerated Learning Academy: left message w/ secretary, expecting call back.
291 • Brownell STEM Academy: directed me to principal [email: sbays@flintschools.org](mailto:sbays@flintschools.org)
292 • Doyle/Ryder: directed me to principal [email: djackson@flintschools.org](mailto:djackson@flintschools.org)
293 • Durant-Tuuri-Mott Elementary: secretary asked me to send her an email: Ms Madison
294 - rmadison@flintschools.org

- 295 • Eisenhower Elementary: no pickup, recorded prompt suggests
296 emailing erobinson@flintschools.org and/or dwitman@flintschools.org
297 • Freeman Elementary: directed me to principal [email: ajohnson@flintschools.org](mailto:ajohnson@flintschools.org)
298 • Holmes STEM Middle School: directed me to principal [email:](mailto:shenwood@flintschools.org)
299 shenwood@flintschools.org
300 • Neithercut Elementary - this was the school where the secretary told EJ, she had to go
301 through the superintendent - so she skipped them.
302 • Pierce Elementary: no pickup, recorded prompt suggested emailing principal
303 at sgrace@flintschools.org
304 • Potter Elementary: secretary asked me to send her an [email lturnbow@flintschools.org](mailto:lturnbow@flintschools.org)
305 • Southwestern Classical Academy: no pickup, recorded prompt suggests emailing
306 principal at cochodnicky@flintschools.org
307 *After that last round of calls, SR sent an outreach email to all FCS principals.*
- 308 ❖ October 1 - EJ called FCS Superintendent again, left voicemail, and sent an email.
309 ❖ October 6 –FCS Superintendent’s Assistant responded by saying the former declined to
310 forward the survey link.

311 **References**

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