

TRANSFORMATIVE PLANNING: REFRAMING AND REFORMING THE YOUTH JUSTICE SYSTEM  
THROUGH THE JUVENILE DETENTION ALTERNATIVES INITIATIVE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN  
URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

AUGUST 2019

By

Tai-An H. Miao

Dissertation Committee:

Karen Umemoto, Chairperson  
Dolores Foley  
Ashok Das  
Sharon Moriwaki  
Susan Chandler

Keywords: transformative planning, collaborative planning, institutional change,  
system change, justice reform

## DEDICATION

I open with gratitude for my family and communities of origin, marriage, faith, and hope.

Mad love for and thanks to my ever-supportive mom Saint Barbara, my dad Paul who kept me humble and never gave up hope that I would eventually go back to civil engineering, and my sisters Stacey and Cary who always rock steady. *Beaucoup to you* to my in-laws Tony, Hanh, Thang, and Queenie Nguyen, who have offered me unwavering encouragement in this process. Mahalo to Uncle Wayde and Auntie Adele Lee for living aloha and welcoming us into your hearts, and to our `ohana who helped raise our child, broke bread with us, and carried us in prayer: Brenda Wong and Moanike`ala Nanod-Sitch, Troy Phan, Brad and Penny Chun, LaurieAnn and Daryl Takeno, and Ryan and Ronnie Hee. I also owe a deep debt of gratitude to the community of hope that has taken root and grown in the course of our shared doctoral journeys: Annie Koh and Sang Pahk, Shahin Rahman, Molly Chlebnikow, and Kloudil Hubbard.

Saving the best for last: I dedicate this labor of love to my cornerman, my Rock of Gibraltar Mano and my towel girl, my Junior Mafia / Versace-shades-watching-ya Amara. We did it, guys! Now let's go beach...every weekend. Really. Hallelu Jah! God, we are grateful for your faithfulness every step of the way.

## Acknowledgments

... one thing that remains constant for me is that the system — the prison industrial complex — isn't broken. The system of mass criminalization we have isn't the result of failure. (Kaba, quoted by Duda, 2017)

I want to acknowledge and thank my dissertation committee for your support on this long journey to explore and work out for myself a fitting response to Kaba's contention above. In a certain sense, the seeds of this research were cultivated in my childhood – and I'm grateful for your mentorship, critique, and support over this most recent decade! In all honesty, I feel like I'm still just at the beginning. But I'm happy to close this "chapter" of the exploration – and deeply appreciative of the time and effort that you have so generously and graciously invested in giving guidance and feedback on my research. Mahalo nui loa to Dr. Dolores Foley, Dr. Ashok Das, Dr. Susan Chandler, Dr. Sharon Moriwaki (soon to be State Senator), and most of all to Dr. Karen Umemoto who has seamlessly served as my coach, chair, supervisor, colleague, friend, and sister in the long game.

In conducting this research, I have been blessed to meet amazing people who have graciously given of their spirit and time, to engage in the work that they do and to share it with me. Thank you to Carol Matsuoka, Judy Cox, Valerie Thompson, David Hipp, the Honorable R. Mark Browning, Uncle Bruce Keaulani and Kehaulani Lum, Uncle Wayde and Aunty Adele Lee, and a multitude of others who have shared the gift of their mana'o when it comes to reshaping systems to respond in ways that honor and support children and families as they overcome challenges. It's my hope that this research does justice to their work – and that our collective efforts will continue to be reimagined and expanded by young people who are all inherently worthy of justice, dignity, and support in their process of becoming.

## Abstract

This research on planning as social learning for systems change considers the metacase study of the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI), a social planning process undertaken with the philanthropic support of the Annie E. Casey Foundation. I consider the design of the model-site based approach to social learning through two case studies of local juvenile justice system sites participating in JDAI: the Santa Cruz County model site and the Hawai'i state non-model site. I explore the relationship between the JDAI social learning process and changes to actors' thinking, beliefs, and behaviors, as reflected through stakeholder interviews and participant observation of planning activities. Based on the model site case study, I draft a theory of change and construct a framework for systems change. I then apply the framework to the second case study of the Hawai'i JDAI site to assess the strengths and weaknesses, accomplishments and limitations of the approach to system change in a non-model site. I conclude by proposing recommendations to enhance the JDAI approach to system transformation. I focus on a central aspect of the JDAI theory of change that has not been consistently implemented within either of the case studies or the initiative as a whole. I integrate insights from planning theory and practice to address the current barriers to deeper system change. Finally, I discuss implications of this study for social learning and systems change.

Key words: collaborative planning, participatory planning, system change, institutional change

## Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgments</b> .....	i
<b>Abstract</b> .....	ii
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	vii
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	viii
<b>Preface</b> .....	ix
<b>Chapter 1: Introduction to this Study of System Change and Planning</b> .....	1
I. Race, Institutions, Systems, and Planning.....	3
II. In Pursuit of Transformation: The Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative	8
III. Research Focus and Research Questions.....	12
IV. Scope of the Study .....	14
V. Review of Literature .....	16
A. New Institutionalism: The Cognitive and Discursive Turns.....	17
B. Planning as Social Learning .....	19
C. Transformative Learning Among Adult Learners.....	21
D. Policymaking, Policy Learning, & Institutional Analysis .....	23
E. Organizational Learning and Identity .....	24
VI. Organization of the Dissertation.....	25
<b>Chapter 2: Methodology</b> .....	27
I. Research Design and Approach .....	27
II. Case Selection .....	30
III. Study Sample and Recruitment.....	31
IV. Data Collection .....	33
V. Data Analysis .....	36
VI. Limitations.....	38
<b>Chapter 3: JDAI as a Meta-Case of Systems Change</b> .....	40
I. Juvenile Justice System Overview .....	42
II. JDAI Design: Synergy of Center and Periphery? .....	46
III. Case Context and Strategy: Setting the Stage for Paradigm Shift .....	49
A. Precipitating Conditions: Policy Anomalies and Failures.....	51

B.	JDAI Demonstration Phase: Policy Experimentation .....	53
C.	JDAI Replication Phase: Shifting the Locus of Authority .....	54
D.	JDAI “Maturity Phase”: Normalizing Reform.....	59
IV.	Becoming a JDAI Site .....	60
V.	Learning Retreats.....	61
A.	Priming .....	63
B.	Participant Selection.....	64
C.	Model Site Visits: Sites of Experiential Learning and Imagination .....	65
D.	Inter-site Conferences: Sites of Identity Formation.....	71
E.	Applied Leadership Network: Site of Calling .....	74
F.	Investment in Learning to Support Paradigm Shift .....	80
VI.	Discursive Anchors: “My Child” to “My Role” .....	80
A.	“My Child”.....	81
B.	“My Role” .....	83
VII.	Cognitive Conversion: Mobilizing the social imaginary through JDAI.....	85
	<b>Chapter 4: Santa Cruz System as Model Site .....</b>	<b>87</b>
I.	Case Context: A Tale of Two Communities.....	88
A.	History of JDAI involvement for the Santa Cruz site.....	89
II.	Systems Change in Santa Cruz: In Pursuit of Racial and Ethnic Equity.....	92
A.	Using Data to Act on Racial and Ethnic Disparities.....	94
B.	Re-Imagining the Workforce.....	97
C.	Reimagining Responses: Alternatives to Detention .....	100
III.	Systems Change in Santa Cruz: Pathways for Role-Identities to Evolve.....	107
A.	Reluctant Reformers: Space for Skepticism .....	108
B.	Reform Advocates: Perpetuating Change Agency.....	115
C.	Liberated Practitioners: Leveraging Alternative Logics .....	118
IV.	Impacts of the Model Site Designation on Local System Change .....	122
A.	Self-Perpetuation through Expansion of Accountability .....	123
B.	Self-Perpetuation through Embedded Narrative of Success.....	126
C.	Unintended Consequences.....	127
V.	Turning up the Volume: Transformative Planning in a Liminal Space.....	132
A.	The Model Site Machine as a Barrier to Reimagination.....	133

<b>Chapter 5: Theories of Change and Framework for Systems Change</b> .....	136
I. Tweaking the JDAI Theory of Change .....	136
A. Developing Change Agents .....	138
B. Practicing Data-Driven Decision-Making and Social Learning .....	143
C. Mobilizing Resources to Expand Changes of Practice .....	148
II. Framework for Systems Change .....	151
<b>Chapter 6: The Hawai'i System as 'Periphery Site'</b> .....	153
I. Case Context: The incongruence of "present pasts" and justice reform .....	154
A. History of JDAI Involvement for the Hawai'i Site .....	157
II. Applying the Framework for JDAI System Change to the Hawai'i Case .....	159
A. The Journey toward a Learning Community of Change Agents .....	160
B. Building Blocks for Data-Driven Decision Making and Social Learning .....	174
C. Mobilizing Resources for Changes of Practice at the Periphery .....	184
D. Collaborating to Challenge and Rethink System Logics .....	189
III. Sustaining Change at the Periphery: Not by Accident .....	199
<b>Chapter 7: Beyond Reform to System Transformation</b> .....	201
I. Centering Critical Inquiry: Sowing seeds for regenerative learning systems .....	203
A. Limitation: Whose values, whose system? .....	205
B. Limitation: Assumptions and erasures in the JDAI "we" .....	210
C. Recommendation: Reframing JDAI within anti-racist justice movement .....	213
II. Collaborative inquiry and implementation of alternative logics .....	217
A. Limitation: System-centered collaboration .....	219
B. Limitation: Self-perpetuating logic of the model site .....	222
C. Recommendation: Model site as megaphone .....	224
D. Recommendation: Periphery as the radical center of system change .....	229
III. Implications for Planning to Transform Systems .....	241
<b>Appendix A: Expanded Glossary of Juvenile Justice Terms</b> .....	245
<b>Appendix B: Study Sample for Interviews</b> .....	248
<b>Appendix C: Interview Guide</b> .....	249
<b>Appendix D: Consent Form</b> .....	251
<b>Appendix E: Transformative Planning Example</b> .....	253
<b>References</b> .....	255





## List of Tables

Table 1. Santa Cruz County Juvenile Probation, DMC 101 Survey Results.....	94
--	----

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Hall’s typology of change.....	15
Figure 2. Standard Stages of Juvenile Justice System Processing.....	45
Figure 3. Basic center-periphery model and JDAI’s proliferation of centers design.....	47
Figure 4. Anomaly between rates of violent arrest and detention for youth in the U.S.....	52
Figure 5. Participation in JDAI learning retreats for Hawai’i site (2009-2011).....	62
Figure 6: Graduated response grid format.....	96
Figure 7. The accountability pathway.....	114
Figure 8: JDAI theories of change compared.....	138
Figure 9. Framework for system change based on JDAI theories of change.....	152
Figure 10. De-centered and re-centered JDAI learning network design.....	232

## Preface

A few months after giving birth to my daughter, I walked to the former juvenile detention facility that was two blocks from my Honolulu home, a nondescript building tucked between a Chinese restaurant and a neighborhood park most heavily used by homeless folks and basketball players. Sitting on folding chairs in an old classroom in the facility, I met with my advisor Karen and three individuals who I would also like to recognize and thank: Carol Matsuoka the Hawai'i site coordinator for the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI) and Judy Cox and Camille Henderson of the Annie E. Casey Foundation (AECF). We discussed lines of inquiry about how to facilitate transformational learning that catalyzes cognitive and behavioral change, and sustaining a trajectory of meaningful and critical change in systems and institutions. Carol and Judy went on to connect me with many justice practitioners and community partners who I have been honored to learn from.

JDAI has already marked more than a quarter century as a justice reform initiative within a broader strategy that AECF is developing to realize its larger vision “to create a brighter future for the nation’s children by developing solutions to strengthen families, build paths to economic opportunities, and transform struggling communities into safer and healthier places to live, work and grow.”<sup>1</sup> The 25-year report highlighted significant and sustained reductions in juvenile incarceration and crime in most JDAI sites. However, embedded within a litany of achievements, one statement demands our attention: that “despite sites’ best efforts, racial and ethnic disparities [in the U.S. juvenile justice system] have persisted or worsened overall.”<sup>2</sup> In response, I feel a renewed responsibility to sharpen the focus on institutional racism in our efforts to transform systems.

I embark on this study from multiple perspectives and with tremendous gratitude for the places that have allowed me to take root, heal, learn, and grow: As a witness who grew up in a working-class neighborhood with the systemic privileges afforded to a non-Black body on the streets and in the schools of Richmond, California; as an American seeking to contribute to the collective struggle to live into our democratic aspirations; as a guest and an always-learning ally to *kanaka maoli* nation-building; as a planner who is increasingly compelled to understand and depart from our discipline’s complicity in the design of social institutions responsible for “consigning [young people] to a life on the margins”<sup>3</sup> in myriad ways, regardless of whether or not they cross the threshold of the justice system.

---

<sup>1</sup> The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2017). JDAI at 25: Insights from the annual results reports. Baltimore, MD.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Obama, B. (2016). Presidential Proclamation – National Youth Justice Awareness Month, 2016.

## Chapter 1: Introduction to this Study of System Change and Planning

The essential promise that we make to our young people – that where they start must not determine how far they can go – is part of what makes America exceptional...Too often in America, young people are not afforded a second chance after having made a mistake or poor decision – the kind of chance some of their peers receive under more forgiving environments. Many lack institutional or family support and live in distressed communities...As a society, we must strive to reach these children earlier in life and modernize our...justice systems to hold youth accountable for their actions without consigning them to a life on the margins. (Obama, 2016)

To introduce this study of reforming and transforming public systems, I begin with Barack Obama's proclamation in honor of the 2016 National Youth Justice Awareness Month. The discursive frame that Obama utilized illustrates several important insights into system change that I examine in this study. Without calling into question the philosophies and practices of the existing justice system as fundamentally flawed, our first Black president exemplified a measured approach to change from within the power structure. Invoking the beloved myth of American exceptionalism, Obama (2016) aroused shared aspirations for life and liberty before appealing to our "shared responsibility to ensure all children are given a fair shot at life [and] equal opportunities to pursue their dreams." Obama framed a positive call to action, offering the "modernization" of our justice system as an ambiguous solution to address a problem that he characterized as a lack of institutional and family support. In the same breath, he coupled reforming the justice system with a vague call to "reach these children earlier in life," hinting that changes to provide all young people "a fair shot at life" would extend beyond the scope of the justice system. Obama's discursive framing allowed listeners to nod affirmatively without necessarily grasping the quality of upheaval that would be required for public systems to fulfill these professed American ideals. His advocacy for an incremental approach to system change was palatable and at the time, rare bipartisan support for justice reform legislation was mobilized, albeit driven less by moral compulsion than by market logic and pressing fiscal policy failures.

In the years following Obama's proclamation, a regressive tough-on-crime discourse has been promulgated by the current presidential administration and a resurgence of white nationalism and xenophobia in the U.S. has appeared as one ripple in a political surge of global proportions. In many systems, incremental reforms seem in danger of dissolving away completely and we face a heightened urgency to hold our institutions accountable and

to confront the rift between our discourse of the American Dream and “the repressed’ realities of extreme poverty and social destitution, ethno-racial divisions (linked to colonial history) and public violence” (Wacquant, 1996, p. 123). The volatility of political rhetoric and policymaking in the U.S. in this age is placing unusual pressure on career bureaucrats to take bigger risks, make principled stands, calculate strategic actions, and pursue the hearts and minds of agency staff – and the public – for support to sustain and enact policies that align with the democratic principles that we continually struggle to realize.

Motivated by these tensions, I undertake this dissertation research through the lens of a planner exploring the transformation of the institutions and systems that we inhabit. I conduct a situated case study of a planning initiative that aimed to reform justice system policies and practices that had the most egregious impacts on young people and communities of color in the U.S. I analyze the initiative’s planning-as-social-learning process as it is operationalized through a “model site” approach and the degree and quality of change that this approach to system reform has achieved. I also consider how the beliefs, thinking, and behaviors of actors within systems can catalyze and sustain the progressive transformation of our social institutions. I examine how the planning process aims to shape and support a goal of continual system learning and improvement among participating local sites, regardless of changes in the political and economic climate. As a planner oriented toward participatory and collaborative practice, I probe the institutional capacities and resources required to approach system change in partnership with those who constitute what Obama referred to as “distressed communities” – the people, families, and organizations whose lived experiences and cultural belief systems often point toward definitions of justice that challenge and confound prevailing institutional norms and arrangements.

The potential for cognitive and behavioral change to translate to policy and system change that this case study reveals is great. Simultaneously, the limitations of this same social learning process are substantial. Like Obama’s proclamation, this system change initiative has employed discursive strategies that cultivate tacit agreement among justice practitioners that system change is aligned with our greater goals and values, effectively deflecting awareness and critical analysis of the contradictory roles that our institutions play in maintaining structural injustices (Roy, 2006, p. 12). To this point, the system change process in this case study has largely steered clear of addressing “race as a systemic form of oppression, legislated through juridical apparatuses of the nation-state and normalized through social institutions” (Schueller, 2009, p. 17). When disparate impacts on different racial and ethnic groups are not directly addressed in the specific strategies of systems

change, the institutional logic of racism continues to influence the outcomes of interventions – and constrains our collective ability to imagine truly transformative policies and responses. While I did not originally set out with a focus on systemic racism, the salience of this issue to reforming any public system in the U.S. naturally emerged as a central concern. Grappling with system reform in this country without centering the demand to address structural racism seems disingenuous and out of touch. Thus, I give attention to race throughout the study.

Central to the work of changing our social system as a whole – and necessarily, to changing any of the constituent systems of justice, education, health, housing, to name a few – is a growing fluency in critical social learning. By this I mean a process of learning together where we assess our existing political, economic, and social realities against the fundamental values that we agree are needed for human beings to flourish. From each of our individual starting points, from the institutional positions that we each occupy, and with the formal and informal power we each wield – how we engage in learning and acting with others to realize the goal of a just system is crucial.

Before outlining the research focus and questions that guide the case study and its approach to system change, I discuss the relationship between planning in the U.S. and the formation of public systems and social institutions in general terms, and then take a closer look at the synergy between the approach of planning-as-social learning and the project of systemic and institutional transformation.

### I. Race, Institutions, Systems, and Planning

I begin with a brief consideration of the role of urban and regional planning in establishing and upholding systemic injustice. Since the inception of the United States, planning has played an integral role in embedding and normalizing injustices rooted in difference, particularly along the divides of race, ethnicity, and class, in diverse and seemingly distinct U.S. institutions and systems. The need to confront and to transform institutional and systemic inequalities has been placed at the heart of the new civil rights movement and has figured centrally in strategies advanced by indigenous movements for survivance and sovereignty (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2011, 2013; Vizenor, 2008; Richardson, 2011; Tuck & Wang, 2012). Scholars and activists aligned with the Movement for Black Lives and Tribal Critical Theory have renewed analysis of the systemic perpetuation of social, economic, and spatial inequalities along racial, ethnic, and tribal lines in the United States – and planning is squarely implicated (Brayboy 2005; Camp & Heatherton, 2016; Song, 2015; Zinn & Dill, 1993). Powell (2013) contends that “the racialized sorting mechanism of space” (p. 150) is

not a natural phenomenon. In his analysis, powell (2013) digs deeper into the sources of spatial segregation:

It is created by the effects of myriad interactions between many seemingly "race-neutral" policies: transit policies, development policies, educational funding policies, and other fiscal and zoning policies that...have their root in explicitly racist policies. (p. 150)

Landmark public policies and practices implemented over the past two centuries have sanctioned and perpetuated socio-economic inequities. The most egregious historical injustices enacted by the state are commonly acknowledged, such as the removal of indigenous people in North America and Hawai'i from ancestral lands for white settlement and cultural assimilation and the devastating economic and land use system that profited white slaveowners via the kidnapping and trading of African people as commodities (Bobo et al., 1997; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2006; Mullings, 2005). The far-reaching consequences of later policies include systematic obstacles to the accumulation of assets by non-Whites through segregation in labor markets and constellations of neighborhood wealth and poverty institutionalized by discriminatory practices of the Federal Housing Administration, such as "redlining" (limiting financial services based on the racial and ethnic composition of neighborhoods) and racially restrictive community covenants (Sugrue, 2005; Rothstein, 2014; Rusk, 1995, 1999; Cashin, 2004; Orfield, 2001; Mohl, 2002).

The explicitly racist language of exclusionary policies eventually came under fire through the efforts of the Civil Rights Movement. Ensuing decades witnessed the rise of policy mechanisms that continued the project of segregation, albeit via strategies that "tend to be covert...insofar as they exist ostensibly to accomplish purposes other than spatial segregation" (Weiher, 1989, p. 656; Downs, 1997; Logan and Schneider, 1984; powell, 2013; Song, 2015). Transportation and regional growth policies that favored sprawl and private vehicles over mixed use development and public transit infrastructure further fragmented government control over land use, concentrated poverty within jurisdictional boundaries, and solidified a visible and pervasive relationship between space, race, and class (Downs, 1997; powell, 1999, 2013; Rusk, 1995, 1999).

The racial subtext of *other* inscribed into our urban and suburban landscapes is likewise etched into our social cognition, permeating commonly accepted beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. As powell (2013) puts it, "we can speak of the effects of those policies still 'echoing around' in the system, whether or not the original racist inputs exist (p. 150). The effects and echoes of these policies reverberate throughout planning's concerns such as

inclusive democratic participation, social isolation, and system change, to mention only a few. As such, a core planning competency that enables critique and counter-action is fluency in the racialized texts of development and neglect: sites of infusion, plump with resources, growth, and “livability” designed for privileged bodies, in contrast to sites of omission, designated for *other* bodies. As a requisite for ethical practice, planners must be fiercely attuned to the context and critique of the role of planning in facilitating “a zeitgeist of urban restructuring, a master narrative in the emerging built environment movement of the 1990s” fueled by a racialized culture of fear and social insulation (Davis, 1998, p. 223). This complexity poses a great challenge to stretching the boundaries of our shared imagination to envision policies, institutions, and relationships that would constitute a more free and just society. The desirability of “like-minded” neighbors (Lynch, 2001) is but one of a multitude of dog-whistle sensibilities that justify de facto segregated community development.

When we blame private prejudice and snobbishness for contemporary segregation, we not only whitewash our own history, but avoid considering whether new policies might instead promote an integrated community. (Rothstein, 2014, p. 6, 31)

Rothstein’s challenge is a promising beginning, but only the tip of the iceberg for planners concerned with system transformation. We are compelled to consider not only the potential for new policies, but also the deep-seated changes in institutions and systems that will be required to serve the development of “an integrated community.” Reforming and transforming social and spatial systems has been argued to be the fundamental purpose of planning (Fainstein, 2000, 2010; Forester, 1989; 1992; Friedmann, 1987; Teitz, 2007) and the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) code of ethics and professional conduct recognizes that planners carry a “special responsibility to...promote racial and economic integration [and] urge the alterations of policies, institutions, and decisions that oppose such needs.”<sup>4</sup> Scholars invested in claims to a “just city” helped to re-articulate an agenda for planners to utilize “an urban theory of justice...to evaluate existing and potential institutions and programs” (Fainstein, 2010, p.5; Thomas, 2008; Marcuse et al., 2009) for their delivery of social justice. As xenophobia and criminalization of poor people of color are regaining currency in some corners of our contemporary national discourse, active fulfillment of this responsibility carries a renewed weight and urgency. This professional

---

<sup>4</sup> American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct. (2016). Retrieved from <https://www.planning.org/ethics/ethicscode/>



obligation is reinforced by the conviction that “laws and institutions no matter how efficient and well-arranged must be reformed or abolished if they are unjust” (Rawls, 1971, p. 4).

An institutional analysis brings into sharper focus the interplay of public opinion, political discourse, the institutional structures and arrangements that facilitate policymaking and implementation, and the challenges faced by actors seeking to change these same enabling structures and arrangements. Following the proposition that “norms, beliefs, and culture are the micro-foundations that build institutions” (Greif, 2000, p. 79), the social reconstruction of institutional actors’ systems of meaning to align with and support the direction of policy change is critical. The theoretically rich theme of embedded agency deals with the relationship between the changes that an institutional actor undergoes in her beliefs and behaviors and the corresponding power that institutional structure exerts to shape and re-shape these changes (Battilana et al., 2009; Seo and Creed, 2002; Holm, 1995; Clemens & Cook, 1999; Hirsch & Lounsbury, 1997).

Institutional logics guide the everyday action of individuals and groups and aid in the interpretation of “the influence of societal-level culture on the cognition and behavior of individual and organizational actors” (Thornton, Jones, & Kury, 2005, p. 5; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003; DiMaggio, 1997). Transformation of knowledge, attitudes, and allegiances held among influential actors who inhabit the institutions under reform can build critical support for the implementation of further change. Research on changes to institutional logic have tended to emphasize the transition from a pre-existing logic to an already accessible alternative logic (Kim 2015), while leaving the process of articulating and embodying an emerging logic undertheorized. Planning processes aimed at systems change must find ways to harness the logics that are dialectically created and taught throughout institutions and reinforced through discursive strategies. Processes are needed to “make visible” the institutional logics and guide participants in developing a shared language and framework of analysis leading to action. For example, in a participatory process designed to spur meaningful change in public systems, planners can identify and facilitate discussion and problem-solving in response to institutional logic that will need to be reimagined and intentionally redirected. In bureaucracies responsible for social service provision, sparking and sustaining system reform will require confronting and changing the attitudes, discourse, and practices that tend “to reinforce the dependence of their clients rather than liberate their clients’ capabilities” (Downs, 1997, p. 385; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993).

Planning as social learning promises a process for “re-formulating how problems have been thought about” (Healey 1997:245). The design of such processes that guides *how* people engage in learning and acting with others to realize the goal of systemic change is crucial. A growing fluency in critical social learning, complete with tools of anti-racist analysis is central to the work of transforming logics at an institutional level – and necessarily, to changing any of the social systems of justice, education, health, housing, to name a few. The potential for embedded agency to embody a regenerative process is found in Schön’s argument for the cultivation of “institutions which are ‘learning systems,’ that is to say, systems capable of bringing about their own continuing transformation” (1973: 3). This concept is predicated upon nurturing an ethos of learning and acting upon new knowledge, a hybrid identity of learner and agent of change, among individual institutional actors who populate the proposed ‘learning systems.’

In this study, I explore the potential for planning as social learning to engage institutional actors within a public system and promote new pathways of thinking, belief, practice, and policy. This line of inquiry also allows me to explore the potential for planning processes to support the development of learning systems that can identify and address deeply flawed institutional logics, most significantly those that perpetuate structural inequalities.

## II. In Pursuit of Transformation: The Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative

In my most optimistic moments, I see in our detention reform movement as one manifestation – just one, but an important one – of the much-needed effort to reconcile our nation’s long-stated commitment to freedom and liberty with our tragic history of racial injustice and oppression.

Does the notion that what we do may somehow contribute to this centuries-old struggle for equality and freedom in our country seem too lofty an ambition for something like JDAI or for any other similar system-improvement initiative? Perhaps. But for me, ultimately, this is why we do this work.  
(Lubow, quoted by Gately, 2014)

Launched and sustained by more than two decades of AECF’s philanthropic support, the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI) branded itself as “the single greatest reform ever undertaken in juvenile justice programming” (AECF, 2009). In the quote above, JDAI founder Bart Lubow cast vision for the impact of a targeted reform initiative on the systemic transformation of this nation’s “original sin” of racism. How does a process ostensibly aimed at technocratic changes of policy and practice to “safely reduce the use of juvenile detention” (i.e., the practice of temporarily detaining young people awaiting a court hearing) take on such a radical project as dismantling institutional racism?

On the journey to answering this question, it’s crucial to understand the grounds from which JDAI claims credit for its part in transforming the U.S. juvenile justice system from “laughingstock to leading edge of reform” (Lubow, 2014a). JDAI is a national-scale social planning initiative that engages juvenile justice practitioners in planning for and implementing reforms in their local justice systems. As a case study, JDAI offers rich observations about how a collaborative planning process can catalyze changes of thinking, belief, and action among actors inhabiting local institutions. JDAI began with five pilot demonstration sites in 1992 and as of 2017, the initiative maintains five model sites across the nation that host social learning processes for close to 300 non-model sites that also participate in JDAI. The data collected from pre-JDAI baselines to 2016 demonstrates a collective reduction of the annual admissions to juvenile detention facilities of 49%, representing approximately 90,000 youth who were “diverted” from detention across the nation per year. According to AECF, these dramatic results with a very real human impact have been achieved without comprising public safety, as demonstrated by the decline in documented juvenile crime over the same time period, a decrease of upwards of 40%

(AECF, 2017a). JDAI's decades-long track-record of strong positive outcomes lends credibility to its claims of success.

The theory of change that undergirds this reform movement has been articulated in this way: "...if you could get [local justice systems] to be more data-driven, to operate more collaboratively, and to really challenge the assumptions behind the reliance on detention that it would shift their culture and stimulate a broad new array of thinking" (Lubow, quoted by Gately, 2014). Unpacking this theory of change, the driving force for transformation is the capacity and willingness of institutional actors to challenge the assumptions that govern their everyday practices as they work with young people. As one probation officer in the study reflected on his position, he expressed a grave awareness of the role of personal and systemic assumptions in determining decisions that carry tremendous weight on the lives of youth and their families:

You have so much room to make a difference. What really is troublesome is how much authority, discretion, power you have. Not much process, wave your hand and just like that, you can make a decision that someone's child is going away, not coming home. (Latino model site probation leader<sup>5</sup>)

Given the still-rising disparities between youth of color (primarily Black, Indigenous, and Latinx) and white youth in the justice system, this sober observation from a system "insider" returns us to the question of what a detention reform effort can contribute to the wicked problem of institutional racism. AECF has characterized the JDAI planning process as one aimed at changing the 'thinking and behavior' of adults working in the juvenile justice system, particularly the way that they 'see' kids and make decisions about that child's future. Pairing the social learning approach with technical changes of policy and practice such as tools for objective decision-making, JDAI has been able to deliver quantifiable improvements to hold the justice system accountable for its impact on children's lives. A less measurable, yet arguably more important outcome of the social learning process is of helping justice system practitioners form an identity as a 'change agent' to support system reform and institutionalize the practice of social learning through individual and collective reflection and critique in the ongoing pursuit of a better system.

With impacts multiplied across a national learning network of more than 300 sites, JDAI has been attributed with "transforming the national discourse" around juvenile justice and has

---

<sup>5</sup> Given the salience of the ways that race, ethnicity and gender mediate actors' experiences and perspectives, in most cases I follow the convention of including these signifiers in the blockquotes from interviews that I conducted. In cases where signifiers might make the speaker identifiable, I depart from this convention.

aspired to positively shape public imagery and attitudes toward young people. As a case study of system transformation, AECF's multi-decade investment in JDAI and AECF's application of effective practices from its other systems change initiatives seems to promise powerful lessons for planners interested in *how* effective social learning might be designed and mobilized. Through its model site-based design, JDAI has made an ambitious attempt to blend the provision of technocratic planning instruments in the form of data collection templates and procedural manuals with the art of communicative action through a facilitated process of co-inquiry informed by participant storytelling and analysis of local data. Participating sites are required to enact technical changes to align with the initiative's standards for data collection, reporting, and staff training. At the same time, sites are expected to establish planning committees to engage in "adaptive change" (Heifetz 1997) through the JDAI social learning process.

Adaptive change is aimed at expanding the realm of what is imaginable in the minds of institutional actors who play influential roles in shaping the rules, arrangements, and cultures of their communities of practice: local juvenile justice systems. Sustaining change beyond a pilot or launch phase relies on ongoing human transformations that breathe life into the technical changes and continue the adaptive change process. Collaborating to enact adaptive change requires a different way of working together as partnering individuals, agencies, and institutions seek to coordinate and co-create responses that reach beyond a division of labor and liability into socially shared imagination and consensus about the goals and philosophies that nourish shared responsibilities.

The effects of JDAI's approach to systems change can be understood at three levels of analysis:

- 1) the human or 'individual level' of justice practitioners as participants engaged in collaborative planning for systems change;
- 2) the 'site level' of local juvenile justice systems as institutions or systems that are expected to undergo transformation as a result of the planning process; and
- 3) the 'initiative level' of the national network of local sites, where the broader institutional field or system milieu is impacted by planning activities

Planning for systems change is operationalized through partnerships between AECF and the institutions that comprise and collaborate with local justice systems. The Foundation has taken on aspects of a dual role as both a planning and a funding institution for systems change. Five "JDAI model sites" function as national learning laboratories, where the actors who inhabit those local juvenile justice systems are re-trained and re-framed as participants

in an ongoing planning process for systems change. The model sites plan for and enact legal and procedural changes; their planning committee members make presentations and lead discussions with visiting teams from other (non-model) local juvenile justice systems. AECF's support ensures the reproduction of a continuing social learning process seated at the model sites. To support planning activities, AECF has provided technical assistance and support for the infrastructure and resources needed for data collection and analysis, and for the accompanying changes to institutional culture and structure, such as routinizing collaborative review of data with a representative body of system actors and partners that are involved with the planned changes.

Teams of local justice system planning participants from other JDAI sites engage in 'model site visits' and annual inter-site conferences to connect to a national peer-to-peer learning platform that reinforces a new institutional norm steeped in continual social learning and planning for system improvement. The visiting teams made up of planning committee members from 'non-model' JDAI sites are encouraged to emulate and adapt both the technical mechanisms for change and the collaborative social learning approach to identifying what parts of the systems need to change – and how. Non-model sites can receive tailored support from JDAI trainers and technical assistance providers and can access a broad array of online planning resources from an interactive online JDAIconnect "community café."<sup>6</sup>

The goal of JDAI is to establish an ongoing social learning process that catalyzes and supports the transformation of identity, ideas, and behaviors among individual actors and groups within local-level justice systems, ideally leading to the development of place-based learning systems that can cross-fertilize ideas and innovations via the national JDAI network. In this vision, JDAI cultivates and nourishes an ethic of planning as social learning within the juvenile justice system on a national level, leveraging isomorphic institutional tendencies that increase the legitimacy of change as JDAI sites proliferate across the nation, each one imitating and adopting JDAI strategies and logic at the local level.

In this opening chapter, I introduced the significance of this case study to explore the connections between institutional and system change, planning as social learning, and juvenile justice reform. These concepts provide context for this study and make clear how this dissertation research is relevant to planning practice. I will now explain the focus of

---

<sup>6</sup> The beta version of JDAIconnect, an online platform of the Annie E. Casey Foundation's Community Café was launched in early 2017.

this dissertation research and outline the scope of my inquiry. Next I will review the relevant literature to clarify what has been considered at the intersection of institutional analysis, systems change, and social learning. Finally, I provide an overview of the structure of this dissertation with a preview of each chapter.

### III. Research Focus and Research Questions

In the late 1980s, long-term philanthropic commitments to U.S. communities impacted by public policies of disinvestment led decision-makers at AECF to articulate an agenda to address systemic change directly. Over the following decades, AECF unleashed a set of system change efforts, including JDAI, a “planning as social learning” process aimed at reforming the juvenile justice system. System change requires the skills, techniques, and approaches practiced in participatory and communicative planning: convening diverse stakeholders to question the assumptions and logic that reflect the existing milieu; collectively imagining a preferred future; and mapping out the steps to journey toward that future together.

“Models for change” have become a broadly accepted method of demonstrating the effectiveness of alternative policies and offer a potent social learning opportunity to see and taste new institutional arrangements, practices, and thinking. The JDAI planning process has relied heavily on the use of model sites to stimulate system reform in other non-model local justice system sites. I contend that the accompanying planning processes, mechanisms, and resources that facilitate the absorption of philosophies and best practices gleaned from a model site for application and integration in the wholly different context of a non-model site remain largely un-examined. Within this larger study of planning as social learning, I give attention to the prospects and challenges of the specific tactic of using a “model for change” approach to system change.

Following Healey’s (2007) prescription for studying transformative planning, I draw lessons from case studies of a situated initiative that has led to observable and sustained change. I have investigated a social planning initiative engaged in juvenile justice system reform that yields observations at multiple levels from a study of local-cases-within-a-national-case of systems change. In my critique of the case studies, I also adhere to Healey’s charge to examine if and how ‘transformative potential’ has failed to be released and the ways that planning efforts for all their good intentions may have instead served to further entrench existing sensibilities and behaviors. These case studies provide examples of actual mechanisms for change, grounded in real-life places and contexts, subject to geopolitical forces and local histories and idiosyncrasies alike.

Transformation of a system through the re-creation of its constituent institutions as learning systems is an endeavor that fits well within the discipline of planning, given its rich history of social learning and participatory democracy. In this study, I search for effective social learning strategies to stimulate cognitive-emotional changes and role identity formation among institutional actors to re-think and re-make their systems as transformative learning systems that bring about greater justice and freedom. As a collaborative planner deeply invested in participatory practices, I seek insights into the design of learning processes to plan for, implement, and sustain this complex process of human and system transformation. The specific design of the juvenile justice reform case study offers insights about a social learning strategy that has been utilized in different planning initiatives over the past century, with the designation of 'models' that serve as learning centers and are intended to inspire and catalyze change in 'non-models,' whether they be systems, communities, cities, or sites. The research questions for the case study follow this line of inquiry:

1. *What theory of change emerges from JDAI's model-site based social learning approach to planning for system change?*
  - a. *What aspects of the social learning process prompt and/or support changes in the thinking, beliefs, actions, and identities of institutional actors to align with system change?*
  - b. *What conditions or factors contribute to capacity for system change in local sites?*
  - c. *What strategies are employed to institutionalize the site-based social learning process to encourage regenerative change?*
2. *What are the prospects and limitations of the JDAI model-site based approach for facilitating system change?*
  - a. *What institutional transformations are imagined and enabled in local systems?*
  - b. *What effective practices emerge to mobilize the social learning process at non-model sites?*
  - c. *What barriers or challenges to system change emerge from the cases?*
3. *What insights does the JDAI case offer for social learning processes that aim to transform system logics and realize greater social justice?*
  - a. *To what extent does the JDAI social learning process cultivate actors' awareness of institutional logics that prevent or work in opposition to system change?*



- b. To what extent are alternative logics introduced and circulated through the social learning process to prompt further transformation of institutional philosophy, policy, and practice?*

In the following sections, I lay out the parameters and organization of the study to explain how these research questions can be answered.

#### IV. Scope of the Study

Grounded in the details of the case studies, I first seek an in-depth understanding of approaching systems change through planning as social learning, taking the impacts of the specific model site-based learning design into consideration. I acknowledge the technical changes of policy and practice achieved and examine the extent to which the social learning process has stoked adaptive change, as reflected in system actors' individual experiences of and meaning-making related to changes in belief, attitude, behavior, and role-identity. At both the level of local sites and the national initiative, I draw implications about the impacts of this planning process on actors' capacity and willingness to identify and question the existing institutional logics and any signs or sources of new logics being imagined or emerging. Finally, I observe the prospects for and obstacles to sustaining social learning in support of the development of regenerative learning systems that can continue to interrogate and transform structural injustices that have been embedded in juvenile justice policy, practice, and discourse.

To do so, I engage in a two-stage investigation, first taking an inductive approach to generate a framework based on how changes were enabled in the model site case study and then applying this framework to the periphery site for a deductive assessment of the goodness of fit to explain the reform processes at a non-model site. The gaps between the framework based on the model site and the process of change observed at the non-model site reveal other salient factors that allow an enhanced understanding of an effective social learning approach to systems change.

To assess the extent of system change in the two local site cases, I employ Hall's (1993) typology of change, developed from Kuhn's (1970) concept of paradigm shift. In Figure 1, Hall's three phases of change are represented graphically: "first order" change (i.e., improving and fine-tuning prior policy interventions); "second order" change (i.e., modifying instruments of policy without altering the goals of policy); and "third order" change (i.e., a genuine paradigm shift; the up-ending of the assumptions, ideas, and standards that set the context for current social relationships, responsibilities, and policies).

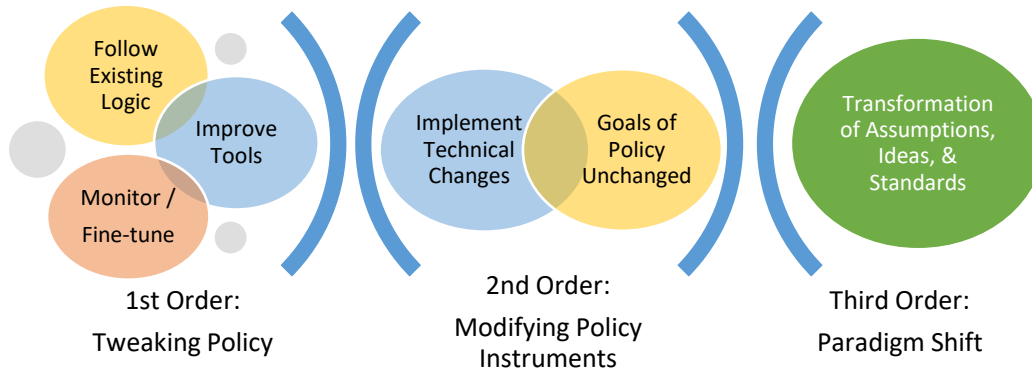


Figure 1: Hall's typology of change

In terms of first and second order changes, modifications to policy and practice are implemented and institutionalized at both sites to differing extents. The adaptive, actor-based changes that support technical changes are identified and discussed. Systems change appears to become powered with regenerative potential at the model site as time goes on and the pursuit of continual improvement becomes enculturated. The extent to which the development of a model site 'learning system' converges with third order paradigm shift is examined. The application of the model site framework illuminates some of the prospects and limitations of this approach for non-model sites pursuing systems change. I discuss specific opportunities for improving the translation and adaptation of tactics to enhance both model and non-model sites' development as learning systems engaged in continual transformation.

I further explore the extent to which system actors recognize and explain changes to their own thinking and beliefs and in some cases, how they reach beyond the cognitive boundaries set by their existing institutions to access and/or construct alternative logics. I draw conclusions across the two sites about the process of social learning in service of identity formation among institutional actors who are positioned to sustain and expand systems transformation. Finally, I offer reflections on the potential of such an approach to social learning to support a more profound and far-reaching project of reimagining policies and practices that can more effectively address deep-rooted social injustices that are a part

of the legacy of planning in the United States. This research explores the potential for social learning to facilitate a shared reimagining of our relationships and responsibilities to one another and a collective exploration of new institutional arrangements and policies reflective of this paradigm shift. Transformed relations and transformed institutions are vital to our development of systems and societies that can be truly described as both free and just.

## V. Review of Literature

In this section, I synthesize the bodies of literature that directly inform this inquiry into the potential for systems change, beginning with an acknowledgment of power and the value of institutional analysis to inform planning and implementation processes. Theories of institutional and systemic change are outlined and the theoretical foundation of this study is formed by the relationship between 'new institutionalism' with attention to its cognitive and discursive turns and the tradition of planning as social learning. The treatment of learning is expanded to include insights from educational research on transformational learning for adult learners. By blending this institutionalist research with theories of planning as social learning and transformational learning processes for adult learners, we can examine the mechanics of how meaningful learning leading to cognitive-emotional change occurs for these actors.

Friedmann (1993) charged planners to anticipate resistance to "the new" as a given in planning practice, due to its threat to existing arrangements. Planners can learn from processes that address likely challenges and prepare key stakeholders for implementation. Planning for systems change is at the heart of the matter, a challenge to power. Even a compelling moral and fiscal argument accompanied by a meticulously conceived plan are not sufficient for leveraging the necessary political support or winning the broad-based public interest required to implement changes that shift existing power relationships. The concept of coordinative planning (Alexander 1998, 2007) illuminates the ways planners concerned with the split reins of planning and implementation must internalize an institutional approach in order to navigate and respond to the challenges inherent in stewarding planning processes through different phases over time. An institutional lens can help develop strategies for systems change that are informed by current and anticipated movements of the state, the market, and prevailing public opinions and accepted practices. Understood as durable entities such as the public or private sector, as well as the philosophies, attitudes, and norms that undergird common culture, planning scholars argue that "institutions make planning possible" (Verma 2007), underscoring the importance of fluency in institutional analysis to foresee future concerns that may impact planning projects.

### A. New Institutionalism: The Cognitive and Discursive Turns

Planners' grasp of the nature of institutional creation, maintenance, and change can greatly impact our ability to understand and plan for the future (Alexander, 1998, 2007; Kim, 2012; Neuman, 2012; Healey, 2007; Verma, 2007; Lloyd & Peel, 2012). An institutional lens can help us anticipate and account for the effects of institutional structure, arrangements, rules, and culture that may profoundly shape the implementation of any planning project. As mentioned in the preceding section, theories of institutional change commonly engage the "mutually constitutive nature of structure and agency" (Seo & Creed, 2002, p. 223; Giddens, 1984; Bourdieu, 1988; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996), going beyond institutional embeddedness or transformational agency to navigating the relationship between the two. This study focuses on "new institutionalism," a concept characterized by a departure in the 1980s from the neoclassical economic theory of institutionalism. New institutionalism helps to focus attention "toward cognitive and cultural explanations" emerging from political science and sociology to illuminate the socially constructed and subjective human influence over institutional structure and rules (DiMaggio, 1991, p. 8; Giddens, 1984; Immergut, 1998; North, 1991; Ostrom, 1990).

Within new institutionalism, three predominant streams have been recognized: rational choice, historical, and sociological. The three streams offer different interpretations of the challenges, limitations, and sources of resistance to institutional change. For instance, the historical stream offers the concepts of path dependence theory and "institutional stickiness," referring to the pull that present-day and historical arrangements exert to determine current practices and resist changes to existing relationships and policies (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The related phenomenon of "non-decisions" or non-actions that often accompany institutional stickiness can be further explained by theories from the rational choice stream. Non-decisions or failure to act on proposed changes result from the fears of institutional actors who consciously or unconsciously stall change as they weigh the cost of exiting the current system. The exit costs can be understood as having political, social, and economic vectors with impacts that are felt both separately and cumulatively (Davies & Trounstone, 2009).

Two theoretical 'turns' cutting across the streams of new institutionalism have relevance for this study: the cognitive turn and the discursive turn. Both turns assume that institutional change is 'endogenous,' brought about by actors who are part of the institutional sphere. The 'cognitive turn' considers the process by which institutional actors' cognition, actions, and beliefs can change through meaningful learning and shift systems of meaning at the

institutional level (Denzau & North, 1994; North, 2005; Kim, 2012). Cognitive institutionalism focuses on change resulting from institutional actors who are engaged in learning that reshapes their systems of meaning, whether formally or informally, where systems of meaning are derived from symbols, cognitive scripts, and moral templates (Meyer & Hammerschmid, 2006; Swidler, 1986; DiMaggio, 1991; March & Olsen, 1989; Scott, 1991). While organizational and institutional studies have generated much scholarship around the incremental nature of change, in political theory, the idea of 'punctuated equilibrium' has been posed to explain more rapid and dramatic change processes. Systems of meaning can be called into question when there is a punctuated window for learning or 'cognitive opening' (Greif, 2000), representing an interruption to institutional thought and behavior similar to the concept of 'critical juncture' coined by those studying new institutionalism through a historical lens. This opportunity presents itself when an individual is faced with the prospect of a shift in the system they have inhabited. As the routinized responses formed through habit may fail in the face of uncertainty, there is a period when new responses may be developed through reflective learning (DiMaggio, 1997). Recent planning research has highlighted linkages between cognitive and institutional change, including the power of image and metaphor for institutional design (Neuman, 2012) and consideration of the process by which institutional actors' cognition, actions, and beliefs can change through meaningful learning (Kim, 2012). This convergence may inform the design of planning processes that leverage cognitive, emotional, and behavioral change, thus opening the door to the transformation of institutions to support a new vision of the future as imagined by the actors that inhabit them.

The 'discursive turn' followed a general trend in social theory giving attention to "the work that narrative performs in institutions to reproduce the institution, reproduce or challenge its power structures, induct new members, create the identity of the institution and its members, [and] adapt to change" (Linde, 2015, p. 518). This focus on discourse builds on the work in critical social analysis to explain the reflexive and 'conceptually mediated' nature of social reality: how the representations and interpretations of events and practices shape the meanings for those who see and participate in these acts (Marsden, 1999, Fairclough & Graham, 2002). The discursive turn in new institutionalism contributes theory to the work of persuasion, framing, reflection, and critique that come into play as actors engage in testing their beliefs and making connections to their values. As discursive techniques privilege and shape attention to certain values during a social learning process, actors are encouraged to reconceive of their roles, abilities, and responsibilities for recreating

institutions to more fully align with these values. Through the activation of influential actors, changes can be diffused more broadly to revise or rewrite institutional scripts or “schema” that underlie actors’ expectations and assumptions about everyday life, re-mapping the logics that guide the content and order of actions within systems (Emmott & Alexander, 2014; Tannen, Hamilton, & Schiffrin, 2015). In his work on policy discourse, Hajer (1995) argues that institutional transformation requires that the practices and discourses supporting new policy efforts penetrate and become embedded in the institutional field (cited by Healey, 2007, p. 69).

Research on institutional discourse reveals the under-appreciated power of “talk,” ranging from silly to strategic and often deployed in disarming combinations. For example, break room or water cooler conversations can be simultaneously performed and received as both idle joking and strategic reinforcement of institutional norms and codes of conduct (Ahmed, 2017). Talk can “inform, amuse, update, gossip, review, reassess, reason, instruct, revise, argue, debate, contest, and actually constitute the moments, myths and, through time, the very structuring of an organization” (Boden, 1994, p. 8). While system actors may be unaware of the significance of the content and tone of everyday conversations, Boden’s (1994) work demonstrated the impact of seemingly casual discourse on organizational decision-making. Greater attention to the power of discourse in institutions is instrumental in the design of “meaningful learning” in service of systems change. In the next section, I integrate these insights with theories of planning as social learning.

## B. Planning as Social Learning

Planning is grounded in the relationship between knowledge and action. Innes (1990) theorizes a symbiotic relationship between the two, based on her observations of the influence of implicit and unarticulated knowledge, an apt description of institutional dynamics. Social learning has been a focus in both planning and policy literatures for over fifty years (Hirschman, 1963; Friedmann, 1973, 1987, 1993; Hecl, 1974; Schön, 1971). It has been touted as a process that integrates learning between those impacted by plans and those responsible for implementation, facilitating adaptation and improving “the transferability of ‘best practices,’ and [bolstering] public support and engagement in public affairs” (Holden, 2008, p. 1; Korten, 1980). Communicative planning theory (CPT) emerged from the tradition of planning as social learning to bring together individual responses to form a new shared understanding of norms and rules at the institutional level and a new collective vision of purpose and future at the societal level (Forester, 1992; Habermas, 1984; Healey, 1992, 1999; Innes, 1994; Minter, 2002). Communicative planning and later

collaborative planning theory gained currency for its ideal of “living together differently through struggling to make sense together” (Healey, 1992, p. 152), to be achieved through the sharing of stories and reasoning by diverse participants. Communicative planning has faced extensive critique for its failure to adequately address practical constraints of engaging in democratic dialogue, including the power asymmetries present in collaborative settings where state, private, and civil society stakeholders interface (Allmendinger & Tewdwr-Jones, 2002; Huxley & Yiftachel, 2000; McGuirk, 2001; Yiftachel & Huxley, 2000; Fainstein, 2000; Hillier, 1998; Tewdwr-Jones & Allmendinger, 2005). Nonetheless, the goals of CPT remain evocative of planning’s purpose to realize greater social justice.

Collaborative planning processes aimed at systems change commonly pursue the first two of three ‘cognitive interests’ identified by Habermas (1984) in his work on communicative action: technical (problem-solving) and practical (communication and action) interests. The third interest of critique (emancipatory) tends to be restricted by the cognitive boundaries of institutions engaging in change. Parallel to the obstacles that render unattainable the high “aspirations” for social justice writ in the professional planners’ code of ethics, in any effort to transform systems, institutional self-interest looms as an unspoken, invisible opponent to an emancipatory interest. The promise of breakthrough for transformative change often presents itself in the heroic archetype of communities impacted by systems themselves participating in the collaborative social learning process in increasingly meaningful ways (Innes & Booher, 1999; Sandercock, 1997, 2003; Talen, 2000; Baum, 1999).

While community can operate as a trope in such scenarios, Korten’s (1980) work offers lessons on successful collaborative planning initiatives involving both institutional actors who set and execute policies and practices as well as constituents who represent those directly impacted by the system under redesign. His study of social learning processes designed to share knowledge and resources to address the “needs and capacities” of both parties are instructive. Engaged social learning processes of this kind have been hailed for their potential to close the long-lamented gap between the spirit of planning and the reality of implementation.

The tension of institutionalizing active collaboration is evidenced by the common practice of adhering to a checklist or “tick box” to go through the motions of engaging stakeholders (Ahmed, 2012). Born of good intentions, this procedural adaptation tends to devolve into ‘going through the motions.’ The measures that were developed to protect and gather input from the collaborators who are enacted on by the system become abstracted from the

original purpose and take on a purpose of merely signifying compliance. Through this study, I seek to contribute theory on how such collaborative planning and learning can become regular and engaged practice of local systems dedicated to continual transformation. Knowledge about processes of transformative learning, policy learning, and learning organization theory help to guide this inquiry as applied to the case studies.

### C. Transformative Learning Among Adult Learners

Theories of social learning in the field of education have congruence to planning as learning together. Key concepts from education have relevance to participatory planning, such as attention to the importance of critical reflection, reflective discourse, and acting upon learning in order to foster “group ownership and individual agency” (Taylor, 2000, p. 155; Mezirow, 2000). These three elements contribute to what educational scholars describe as ‘perspective transformation,’ a “process of becoming critically aware of how and why our assumptions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world” (Mezirow, 1991, p. 167; Taylor, 2017; Freire, 1972). Transformative learning is evidenced among groups and organizations as they adjust to new frames of reference for re-organizing structures, group identity and consciousness (Baumgartner, 2001; Kasl & Elias, 2000). Kasl and Elias (2000) theorize that transformational learning can yield a transcendent identity as groups engage in critical reflection to clarify organizational missions and articulate new worldviews. Their study of a group strategic planning process offers an example where the adoption of an identity as a learning community served as a stepping stone to the emergence of a more radical transformation of structure and identity as that of “a praxis collective” (p. 248).

Combining this concept with the critical juncture or cognitive opening referenced in new institutionalism can help shape the design of a mutual learning process to facilitate perspective transformation among institutional actors, with the goal that “as old cognitive frameworks are reworked...new behaviors and actions result” (Greif, 2000, p. 79). Elements of transformational learning theory that can be intentionally built into participatory planning process designs include experiential learning (Gallagher, 1997) and opportunities for learners to engage with alternative models and practice (Cranton, 1992). As learners engage with people or experiences that demand a re-examination of their operational assumptions, they are forced to create “new conceptual frameworks...as participants question and reflect on their own understanding” (Green & De Cruz, 2017, p. 60; Taylor & Cranton, 2012, p. 8; Weil & McGill, 1989).



“Emancipatory and transformational learning” as conceptualized by Mezirow (2000) aligns with systems change, with its focus on learners becoming critically aware of the frameworks and systems in which they are embedded. Meaningful interactions between learners result in a transformed sense of self, shifts in perceptions of self in relation to others, and increasing consideration of the perspectives of others (Taylor & Cranton, 2012).

Attention to the micro-processes of transformative learning can yield important lessons for planners interested in how policies and practices rooted in alternative logics can take root in actors with the power to change institutional arrangements and culture. The following set of questions about social learning posed by Kim (2012) indicate the need for further research in the design of social learning processes aimed at cognitive change in individuals to leverage transformations at the institutional level:

“Who is supposed to be learning exactly and to whom do they pay attention? What are the relationships present...through which people might learn vicariously? How would people in the project have the opportunity to observe and interact with one another?” (Kim, 2012, p. 80).

Kim contends that pursuing this line of inquiry can help planners avoid the trap of introducing new policies that end up reproducing the status quo. She points to the potential for a more meaningful learning process to facilitate the acceptance and absorption of new ideas into both individuals’ conceptions of the problem and into existing “social relations so that new behaviors and expectations result, reifying the change in institutions” (p. 80). These questions allude to the importance of the social and relational context of learning uncovered in educational research (Taylor, 2017). A deeper understanding of social relationships and the nature of interactive learning heightens the significance of which actors are brought together to learn and to “teach” in a planning process aimed at changing participants’ consciousness and capacity to act together.

Considering that policy is rarely produced by those most affected by its consequences, participatory planning offers an entry point for transformative changes to policy and practice. Changes to policy and practice that are reinforced and reified through social relations can spark the reinterpretation of these institutions in the social mind. Social movement theory concerned with identity formation suggests that ideas are formed and reformed as they circulate and diffuse, serving to re-frame the identities and philosophical approaches of both actors and the institutions they inhabit (Epstein, 2008).

Institutional entrepreneurs can play a critical role in such learning processes. As individual actors who grasp discontinuities and apparent analogies in institutional cultures and logics, institutional entrepreneurs can embed new ideas in social relations through their capacity to encounter schematic elements in one context and grasp the potential to transpose them to contexts that might appear incompatible (Sewell, 1992, p. 17; DiMaggio, 1988). The extent to which these “patched” schematic components are accepted and absorbed into the cognition of other institutional actors is dependent on a range of factors, including Kim’s (2012) concern about the scarcity of human attention (Weeks & Galunic, 2005) and the coherence of new cultural elements with already familiar institutional symbols (Douglas, 1986). Emerging logics are often hybrid in nature, constructed through a bricolage process of recombining elements. This process of assembling and mobilizing knowledge, particularly policy ideas from other places and contexts, is enhanced by the study of policy learning and transfer.

#### D. Policymaking, Policy Learning, & Institutional Analysis

A rich body of related literature has been generated in response to the question of the relationship between policy making, ideas, social learning, and policy transfer. Following the convention of historical institutionalism, policymaking is keenly influenced by “policy legacies” and the historically constructed institutional constraints exerted on the state, political actors and interest groups (Fischer, 2003; Weir & Skocpol, 1985; Immergut, 2008). Hall’s framework of policy paradigm shift that I introduced earlier provides some parallels to Habermas’ cognitive interests discussed in the previous section. Reforms to existing policy often reflect institutional constraints, with “first order” change addressing technical interests seen through adaptations in direct response to earlier policies and practices. In the same way, “second order” changes to policy instruments may address practical interests without fundamental revision of the ideas and assumptions that these instruments are rooted in. Hall’s elaboration of the model below suggests how a “third order” paradigm shift (aligned with Habermas’ ‘emancipatory interest’) might blend theories of policy learning and new institutionalism’s discursive turn to attend to the profound influence of cognitive scripts or schema on an institutional actor’s ability to critique the system they wish to change.

...the framework of ideas and standards that specifies not only the goals of policy and the kind of instruments that can be used to attain them, but also the very nature of the problems they are meant to be addressing...this framework is embedded in the very terminology through which policymakers communicate about their work, and it is influential precisely because so much

of it is taken for granted and unamenable to scrutiny as a whole. (Hall, 1993, p. 279)

Hall argues that policymakers are immersed in a “framework of ideas and standards” that inevitably shape the definition of problems and naturally the solutions to address them. In response to this challenge of developing policy “outside the box,” strategic policy networks develop as powerful institutional outsiders seek influence in the policy process and exert pressure for shifts in the status quo. These outsiders bring with them “fresh eyes” as well as their own sets of distinct interests, often among them financial markets, research institutions and philanthropic entities. Valid critique has been aimed at the tension between philanthropic resources powering discovery in the policymaking arena and the potential threats to democratic decision-making (Barkan, 2013; Horvath & Powell, 2016; LaMarche, 2014; Reich, 2016). The literature on policy assemblage and transfer consider how local policy actors negotiate the voluntary and/or coercive nature of the process wherein “key actors, ideas, and technologies are actively brought into productive co-presence in cities” as well as “how certain absences are also presences in policy-making, as actors in one place refer to models elsewhere” (McCann, 2011, p. 144). Policy mobilities research focuses on the flow of policy knowledge from one community or region to another, and the socially conditioned mechanisms for mobilizing and adapting ideas to construct ‘local’ policies and practices (Innes, Connick, & Booher 2007; McCann & Ward 2012, 2013; Peck & Theodore, 2010). This emphasis on how actors learn from models and ‘best practices’ in order to implement policy change in their local context leads to a review of organization learning theory.

## E. Organizational Learning and Identity

Scholars of learning organizations and systems have recognized that effective learning requires specific organizational characteristics such as “a well-developed capacity for responsive and anticipatory adaptation” signified by the embrace of error, inclusion of constituents in planning, and translating knowledge building into action (Korten 1980, p. 498). When an organization or system encourages continual learning, cultural norms reinforce actors’ ability and confidence in identifying error, reflection on probable explanations, and acting to correct course. Far more common is ‘structural secrecy’ (Vaughan, 2005) or intentional fuzziness (Baum, 1987) that reinforces or rewards responses to error that ignore, hide, or externalize the blame for error. The context of the intellectual safety created within a learning organization opens up the possibility of acknowledging the

stress and threat that change brings and to discuss strategies that are commonly employed to resist change to institutional arrangements and structures (Gawronski, 2012).

Organizational identity theory also lends a valuable lens for analyzing institutional change. Literature on identity movements has centered around the pressure to constrain organizational identity based on acceptable parameters for isomorphic conformity within an institutional field (King, Clemens, & Fry, 2011; Pederson & Dobbin, 1997). Institutional change and divergence have been explored through the construction and performance of organizational identities (Creed et al., 2010; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Rao, Monin, & Durand, 2003) and the adoption of “institutionally-deviant” identities (Glynn, 2008; Greenwood & Hinings, 1996; Kim, 2014). Learning organizations can establish a culture where productive questioning is welcomed in service of new ideas and directions for institutional change.

By synthesizing insights from the literature, I identify areas where this research can contribute new knowledge about the relationship between planning as social learning and systems change. Through this study, I generate theory on how planning processes can support the identity formation of system actors as learners and agents of change. I also explore the role of planning as social learning in supporting the development of a regenerative learning system that continues to question and reimagine institutional and systemic logic.

## VI. Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation research is organized in the following way: Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 focuses on the study methodology and specific methods, describing the research design and approach, selection of cases and sampling, data collection and analysis. In Chapter 3, I set up JDAI as the “meta-case” for this research on planning as social learning for systems change. The design of the social learning process and the most critical aspects of preparing for paradigm shift through changes to actors’ thinking, beliefs, and behaviors are discussed.

The findings of the research are presented in the next three chapters. In Chapter 4, I present the findings from the model site case analysis. In Chapter 5, I explore what theory of change is illuminated and construct a framework for systems change based on this first case study of a JDAI model site. In Chapter 6, I apply the framework to the second case study of Hawai’i site as a non-model JDAI site to assess the strengths and weaknesses, accomplishments and limitations of the JDAI approach to system change in the Hawai’i case.

In Chapter 7, I conclude by proposing recommendations to enhance the JDAI approach to system transformation. I focus on a central aspect of the JDAI theory of change that has not been consistently implemented within either of the case studies or the initiative as a whole. I integrate insights from planning theory and practice to address the current barriers to deeper system change. Finally, I discuss implications of this study for planning as social learning and systems change.

## Chapter 2: Methodology

In this chapter, I explain my research design and approach in this dissertation to set up the structure of the study. I discuss the selection of cases, the sampling methods utilized, my process of data collection, recording, and analysis. Finally, I acknowledge the limitations of the research.

### I. Research Design and Approach

Qualitative research is characterized by the “goal of eliciting understanding and meaning, the researcher as primary instrument of data collection and analysis, the use of fieldwork, an inductive orientation to analysis, and findings that are richly descriptive” (Merriam, 1998, p. 33, 11). This qualitative study follows a constructivist paradigm of inquiry and explores the telling of multiple and socially constructed truths. I have investigated the socially constructed understandings of diverse system actors as they describe the ways that the JDAI social learning process has impacted their beliefs and thinking about their work and the process of change in the institutions that they inhabit. In this constructivist paradigm, I have engaged and refined the constructions of these actors, toward the larger goal of co-creating and sharing “more informed and sophisticated constructions” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 113) that can guide collective action to change systems. Following Giddens, I believe my participation in social activities in this research generated “mutual knowledge, shared by observer and participants whose action constitutes and reconstitutes the social world” (1982, p. 15).

The goals of this study are: (1) to gain an in-depth understanding of the JDAI model-site based process of planning as social learning aimed at catalyzing systems change; (2) to examine the pathways that the cases took toward re-forming their local institutions and developing as learning systems; and finally, (3) to draw implications for how existing system logics that limit or thwart the desired change can be displaced and replaced by logics that enable deeper transformation of philosophy, policy, and practice. To achieve these goals, my research design combined two primary approaches to qualitative inquiry: case study and action research. I engaged in a multiple case study of two local level juvenile justice systems participating in the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI). Case study offers concrete and richly contextual knowledge; taking such an approach allowed me to conduct research “as close to the subject of interest as possible...partly by means of direct observation in natural settings, partly by...access to subjective factors (thoughts, feelings, and desires)” (Bromley 1986, p. 23). I investigated the JDAI social learning process for systems change as the phenomenon of interest within its real-life

context using multiple sources of evidence (Feagin, Orum, & Sjoberg, 1991; Yin, 2003; Hancock & Algozzine, 2016). Conducting a multiple case study allowed me to observe and describe each of the two sites as a separate case of the implementation of the JDAI approach to planning as social learning for systems change. I describe my rationale for case selection and my data collection methods in greater detail below. In brief the first case offers insights about this social learning design for systems change as it is enacted and experienced at a “model site” and the second case provides knowledge about the process as experienced and employed by a “non-model” or periphery site. Data collection for case construction included participant observation, interviews of key informants, and review of documents and resources for the two sites, as well as a meta-survey of materials pertaining to JDAI as a national initiative, such as publications, media coverage, and conference presentations.

I also undertook this inquiry as action research, a method which emerged from the education field wherein practitioners study their practice in order to improve it (Cochran-Smith & Lytle, 1993; Dana & Yendol-Hoppey, 2008). Action research shares some overlap with other distinct methods such as feminist research (Lykes & Crosby, 2014), reflective research (Ghaye, 2008), and appreciative inquiry with its focus on organizational change (Wicks, Reason, & Bradbury, 2008; Cooperrider, Whitney & Stavros, 2008). My professional context as a planner, facilitator, and researcher in juvenile justice system reform became the site for this inquiry. The focus of this investigation is an initiative that intersected much of my practice in Hawai'i and from these overlaps, I formed close working relationships with other practitioners where “the boundaries between research and practice [would] often blur, creating unique opportunities for reflection on and improvement of the practice” (Liston, Whitcomb, & Borko, 2009, p. 6). While my approach was not *participatory* action research in the sense of research co-designed by practitioners, the process of interviewing, discussing preliminary findings, and reflecting on the JDAI social learning process “[brought] people ‘into’ the research process...[as] informants use their own words or vernacular to describe their own experiences and perceptions” (Dunn, 2000, p. 80).

In the second stage of this research, I focused on the model site case study to mine insights about social learning for systems change and its potential to develop regenerative learning systems by identifying key constructs, theorizing their relationships, and influence of context and process (Morse & Richards, 2002; Ragin 1987, 1992; Ragin & Becker, 1992). I developed a framework for systems change through a model-site social learning process based on the exploratory and descriptive case study of the model site, its approach to social learning, how a model site operationalizes systems change in its own context and its role as

a “learning center” for non-model sites. I moved into deductive research by applying the framework generated from the insights drawn from the model site and its contextual setting to the non-model case to determine its usefulness in understanding system change for a non-model site. In this engagement of deductive research with the non-model site, some of the ways that this framework failed to account for a non-model site’s process of institutional reform were uncovered.

These discoveries continued to generate observations and questions of how a non-model site might leverage such a social learning process in service of systemic transformation. Theoretical development about systems change and social learning continued through the emergence of “relationships and connections that previously had not been suspected, relationships that change actions and perspectives” (Weick, 1989, p. 524). Similar to abductive analysis, alternative explanations presented themselves in this process and were used to refine theory. In my analysis, I rubbed my field observations of the non-model site against the proposed framework for the model site-based learning process and identified dynamics that were not fully explained by the framework. I then tried to explain these discrepancies by borrowing from different disciplines in a process of refining this construction of social learning for systems change.

The nature of my ongoing engagement with transformation of the youth justice system where I live has allowed me to take an ethnographic approach to describing and interpreting the Hawai’i case. In contrast to my interactions with actors from the Santa Cruz case, which could be characterized as “fleeting encounters,” I continue to work shoulder-to-shoulder in long-term partnership with a number of the research participants from the Hawai’i case. Qualitative research in general and ethnography in particular is well-suited for “showing complex social relations, exposing the intersection of history, institutional forces, culture, and structure as they affect everyday interaction and the meanings of social life to individuals” (Vaughan, 2005, p. 417; citing Hammersley 2004, p. 443). Ethnographic description can shed light on patterns and help in recognizing and explaining the connection between agent and structure, the personal and the public. As I sought to understand how learning occurs through face-to-face relationships, site visits, committee meetings, and other planning related activities, I drew from the techniques and methods recommended by researchers of policy assemblages and mobilities. I studied the “atmosphere” of spaces where knowledge is shared; “paying attention to the way stories about places and policies are told to delegations; exploring participants’ reflections on the utility of these



communications; analyzing how stories about lessons learned are communicated 'back home'" (McCann & Ward, 2012, p. 48).

My goal in this dissertation research is not to establish a high-level theory of systems change that can be easily abstracted and generalized. I have focused on describing contextualized knowledge on the JDAI model site social learning process through which systems change is being effected in juvenile justice, with varying levels of impact and sustainability at different local system sites. I go beyond description of the JDAI phenomena to construct a framework to examine the conditions for social learning and the accompanying processes and supports for implementing learning that facilitate systemic transformation at a model site. The application of this framework to a non-model site leads to recommendations to inform planning as social learning aimed at system change, with consideration of factors that block change from taking root and being sustained or expanded. In my recommendations, I attend to the challenge of expanding the boundaries of imaginable change for institutional actors and suggest further implications of this research for transforming spatial and social systems.

## II. Case Selection

In this section, I explain my strategic selection of cases (Ragin, 1992; Rosch, 1978) for this research. JDAI provides an opportunity to study a planning process that employs social learning toward a goal of systemic change. Among the 300 JDAI sites nationally, certain sites have demonstrated significant improvements to their local juvenile justice system beyond the initiative's initial starting point of detention reform. This study draws from two situated cases, Santa Cruz County, one of five JDAI model sites that serve as learning centers across the nation; and Hawai'i, a statewide site positioned at the periphery of the initiative. The detailed descriptions of the two cases will be presented in later chapters; a brief profile of relevant characteristics is provided here to justify the case selection.

The Santa Cruz County juvenile justice system is an "extreme" case for this study of social learning and systems change. A mature site that has been immersed in reform activities through JDAI for nearly two decades, Santa Cruz is the premiere JDAI learning destination, consistently the most frequently visited model site, averaging two site visits per month. The site negotiates the tensions between the outright dangers of transformative paradigm shift and the powerful seduction of paradigm maintenance, the dynamics of structure and agency within its own institution, and the balancing act of embodying a "model of change" against a backdrop of kaleidoscopic public opinion, political support, collaborative arrangements, and financial resources. A review of the Santa Cruz experience yields rich

insights on processes of facilitating social learning among both visiting system actors and those inhabiting an institution that is charged with constant reformation, regardless of the barriers to change that exist.

The second case, the state-wide juvenile justice system in Hawai'i, was selected as a "critical" case, following the logic that "if the JDAI social learning process supports systems change in this case, then the approach should apply to all (many) cases." Entering its ninth year of JDAI involvement, the Hawai'i juvenile justice system is without a strong locus of change and the leadership and continuity of systems transformation poses an ongoing challenge. Geographically isolated and culturally distinct from all of the other JDAI sites, these divisions also exist to a lesser extent within the statewide system between the four main counties based on different islands and the agencies and organizations supporting youth in different jurisdictions. Yet Hawai'i is not an extreme case of resistance to change; it has been characterized as a rapid adopter of reforms in the past 5-7 years. JDAI has been credited for opening the door to and sustaining the momentum of related reform initiatives that span multiple systems that respond to children in need. Several streams of reform have taken hold and progressed and the language of reform has become widespread. Its position as a critical case reflects its potential contribution of insights on enabling and sustaining the transformation of a local system that functions with significant philosophical, procedural, and policy-level inconsistencies.

### III. Study Sample and Recruitment

A total of 39 participants were interviewed in this study, including 36 system actors from the two sites and 3 participants from the larger initiative leadership and evaluation efforts. In all, the sample included 20 females and 19 males, with an ethnic breakdown of four Latinx, three African American, ten Asian American, seven Hawaiian, two Other Pacific Islander, four Mixed Race, and nine Caucasian stakeholders. The range of sectors and professions represented was varied, with several individuals who spoke from a cross-section of multiple experiences and roles in relationship to the juvenile justice system, including but not limited to those who disclosed being directly involved with the system in the past personally or through close family members (5); community-based partners who worked intensively with parents and/or youth affected by the system (9); judges hearing youth's cases (5); probation chiefs, supervisors, and officers (12); those working in law enforcement (2); leaders and line staff in the detention and correctional facilities (6); school employees (2); and JDAI site coordinators responsible for the facilitation of the social learning process (4). A full accounting of the study sample can be seen in [Appendix B](#).

I utilized two sampling techniques to recruit research participants for the interviews: purposeful and snowball. Purposeful sampling was used at the outset of the research to identify key stakeholders from whom I could learn the most; actors who possessed relevant, firsthand knowledge and experience with the phenomenon (Merriam 1998) of JDAI social learning and systems change. As I interviewed participants identified through purposeful sampling, I then conducted snowball sampling by asking individuals interviewed to identify other potential participants whose perspective on the JDAI learning and systems change process could be valuable. Snowball sampling is valuable for identifying hidden informants who were not immediately recognized as holders of significant knowledge. Applying snowball sampling, I pursued new contacts who were mentioned by at least two research participants and thus added several informants whose views were less “mainstream” than those drawn from the first purposeful sample.

The study participants were recruited from two settings: initiative-based actors and site-based actors who were directly involved with the two local juvenile justice systems cases. Initiative-based actors were those whose primary roles were “meta” in nature, overseeing multiple sites or aspects of the initiative nationally. The initial interviews that I conducted were with initiative-based actors; including practitioners from the original demonstration sites; technical assistance leaders who worked for or were contracted by AECF; and JDAI site coordinators, employees of the local justice systems participating in JDAI whose job responsibilities included acting as the site liaisons to AECF. These individuals brought extensive experience with JDAI’s social learning process and offered insights about some of the factors and conditions that influence systems change based on their experience with the two study sites and other JDAI sites that they knew well. In the next round, I recruited site-based actors who had direct experience with JDAI activities associated with the Santa Cruz or Hawai’i justice systems and firsthand knowledge about the nature of change in their agencies, organizations, and sites. These were generally “micro” level actors whose work was focused on the daily operations of agencies and/or immediate context and experience of youth or their families in either juvenile justice system. I began with a list of site-based actors recommended by the two study JDAI site coordinators. These individuals included juvenile justice practitioners such as judges, attorneys, line staff and administrators from probation and juvenile detention facilities and/or youth prisons, educators, and partners in youth service and youth development from state agencies and community-based organizations.

#### IV. Data Collection

Data has been collected through three main sources: interviews, participant observation recorded in the researcher's journal, and review of documentation and archival records. Using multiple sources of data to construct an understanding of each case allows triangulation of sources to explore the same research question and provide evidence to support the findings (Patton 2002). By triangulating data, I can also respond to the concern of construct validity using "multiple sources of evidence [to] provide multiple measures of the same phenomenon" (Yin, 2003, p. 99). Qualitative data served this study through providing insights into the specific experiences of individuals in order to determine some of the strengths, challenges, and barriers to the use of the JDAI planning process to implement changes in policy and practice in local level juvenile justice systems. Qualitative data collection is advantageous for research that seeks to explore people's interpretations and the meaning that they construct from their experiences (Merriam, 1998).

I collected data for this study through three years of field work, although my nature of my engagement with the two case study sites was very different. I started my research with the question of how cognitive and emotional change occurs in system actors through a facilitated learning process and how this in turn influences changes of practice and policy at an institutional level. In the course of the data collection for the Hawai'i site, I realized that the kinds of changes that I expected to see were often not clearly observable in a non-model site setting. Through this discovery, my focus has expanded from this initial investigation of cognitive change through social learning to an inquiry of how a model-site social learning design can be leveraged to catalyze and sustain systems change in non-model sites.

The two cases are constructed based on an extensive review of relevant documents; my role as a participant-observer, which differed significantly between the two sites, as I will describe below; and in-depth interviews with system actors. I reviewed documents and archival resources throughout the course of the study as they became available to me. I began with a survey of public information available on AECF website and the now-discontinued online JDAI helpdesk, a clearinghouse that spanned 25 years of reform efforts. These formal documents included JDAI newsletters and evaluation reports, policy briefs, model site visit presentations and hand-outs, media coverage, inter-site conference materials, and leadership development curriculum and tools. Upon selection of the two case study sites, I deepened my review as I accessed site archives such as copies of policy memos and legislation, job descriptions, juvenile probation and detention staff documents

such as policies and procedures handbooks and training materials, versions of risk assessment instruments and response rubrics, and JDAI subcommittee meeting agendas and minutes. In addition, I searched for contextual information, reports, and media coverage of the two sites at the local and national levels.

In the early stages of data collection, I consulted with “meta” level technical assistance providers for the initiative to develop my research questions. These informants played a critical role in helping me to develop a beginning understanding of the history, context, and reform landscape of JDAI at a national level, as well as insights on the possible theoretical contributions from different local level sites. They also shared some big-picture questions and directions for shared leadership of the initiative under discussion by the JDAI implementation team. The Santa Cruz County and Hawai‘i site coordinators were instrumental in connecting me to a first-round of individuals to recruit for interviews at the two sites who could speak candidly and critically about the JDAI social learning process, efforts to realize systems change, and the strengths and shortcomings that they experienced and observed.

In Santa Cruz County, I spent approximately five weeks as a participant-observer and interviewer over the course of two trips in July-August 2014 and October 2015. I participated in the full two-day model site visit hosted by Santa Cruz for a visiting delegation from another state, including an after-hours activity that the visitors were invited to attend; and toured the site’s detention facility, the main juvenile court, the North and South County probation offices including the Adult probation department, and the South County Evening Center. I met with and interviewed a range of stakeholders in their organizational and institutional settings and conducted several follow-up phone interviews in later stages of the research, including recurring interviews with the Santa Cruz site coordinator. I also participated in activities for a “reverse site visit” when a technical assistance team traveled to Hawai‘i from the Santa Cruz model site to learn more about local context and provide training support to probation staff in Hawai‘i in May 2016.

In Hawai‘i, the nature of my research has been ethnographic engagement over an extended period of time with a focus on this line of inquiry for more than three years, allowing me to interpret the local juvenile justice system culture through direct experience and intense observation (Van Maanen, 2011). Specifically, from May 2014 to January 2017, I have joined regularly in the JDAI Executive Committee meetings and participated in JDAI related activities and meetings. My involvement with JDAI pre-dates this research period, beginning in 2010 through both contract work and volunteer activities such as committee

meeting planning, note-taking, and data analysis, as well as serving on review committees for the JDAI Detention Facility Self-Assessment process. In addition, I have been actively in juvenile justice system reform meetings and activities that were indirectly related to JDAI on other planning contracts from 2011-2016 and as a Committee Chair for the Ethnic & Cultural Diversity for the Hawai'i Juvenile Justice State Advisory Council since 2012. Through all of these activities, I have spent time in police stations, courtrooms, the detention and correctional facilities, court rooms, probation offices, and community-based organizations that serve youth involved with the justice system. To supplement the observational data, I also conducted interviews with site-based actors in their offices, program settings, and local coffeeshops, including recurring interviews with the JDAI Hawai'i site coordinator.

e JDAI-related activities that site-based actors participated in encompassed site visits, national conferences, committee work, and planning or implementation of reforms in their site's policies, practices, or procedures. Interview participants described changes of philosophy, policy, or practice that had been implemented in their local juvenile justice system during the site's participation with JDAI and reflected on changes in attitude, thinking and belief that they had experienced personally and/ or observed in others.

In the interviews with these JDAI stakeholders, I sought to learn about:

- (1) their own experience with JDAI and personal impressions and observations about the process of change that led to changes of practice and philosophy beyond detention reform at their site;
- (2) how they explained changes in attitude and practice in themselves and others they observed;
- (3) changes to institutional culture and arrangements; and
- (4) their own theory of change/observations about what really works to change the juvenile justice system.

The JDAI participants interviewed represented a range of positions, from staff members of juvenile justice agencies such as the local judiciary's family court judges and probation officers and the service providers contracted to work with court-involved youth to community-based organizations serving youth and families in geographic areas highly impacted by contact with the juvenile justice system.

See [Appendix C](#) for a copy of the interview guide with the questions that were covered in the course of the interviews, appropriate to the participants' role in their site. The semi-

structured interview guide helped to “ensure that the same basic lines of inquiry [were] pursued with each person interviewed” while allowing me the freedom to speak naturally and follow the flow of the conversation (Patton, 2002, p. 343).

Given the nature of my active involvement in justice reform during the course of this study, my role in the research and my relationships of trust with system actors has evolved over time. This evolution has enabled me to develop an in-depth (and still growing) understanding of the perspective of system actors and the culture of different institutions that form the juvenile justice system in Hawai'i. As an institutional outsider, I occupy the gray space of ally-ship and critic, working in the interstitial space to advance my own positions on youth justice, youth development, policy change, and systems transformation. This research is part of the practice of linking lived or local knowledge with “expert” or professional knowledge to help us make a path toward an envisioned system that we all prefer over the current conditions and arrangements. In this way, I try to take the interactive approach of combining technical or “knowledge-producing activities” with communicative action (Forester, 1989; Innes, 1990) to reconsider old paths and imagine new ways to respond to the challenges and goals that lie before us.

This prolonged data collection accounts for the participant-observation of approximately 70 one-to-eight hour meetings/events of three types (site visits, Executive committee meetings, subcommittee meetings, training presentations) and 45 one-to-three hour interviews of two types (4 interviews about JDAI at a “meta” level as a national initiative, 36 interviews with site-based actors on their own experience with the JDAI social learning and systems change process, and 5 follow-up interviews for clarification and in-process updates). Synthesis of observations from documentation and archival resources have been recorded in my field notes. I kept a journal of field notes that included detailed records from the days spent as a participant observer. Data collected via interviews was for the most part, captured by digital recorder and then transcribed or paraphrased in my field notes. Written assent and consent was obtained for all audio recordings in accordance with the guidelines of the University of Hawai'i Institutional Review Board (IRB). Please refer to [Appendix D](#) for the participant consent form. Once transcribed, any identifiable information in the raw data from the interviews was coded or removed to protect the personal identity of participants.

## V. Data Analysis

The intent of this qualitative analysis was to discover: (1) how system actors experienced the social learning process that they engaged in through their site's participation in the JDAI

planning process; (2) if they identified any changes to their own thinking, beliefs, and perception of their own role in response to the learning process; (3) the relationships they perceived between aspects of this social learning process and changes to culture, policy, procedure, and practice in their agency, organization, or the overall local juvenile justice system. Changes to institutional culture, policy, procedure, and practice were distinguished between those that were *enacted* and those that interviewees perceived as *needed but not acted on*. I have analyzed the data first through development of a “detailed description of [each] case and its setting” (Creswell, 2007, p. 163).

In the first step, I transcribed interviews and surveyed my field notes for each case. I then reviewed the texts to determine if iterative patterns emerged, with attention to the sources of the data. In this research, identifying patterns and themes was an interpretative act on my part which consisted of bracketing recurrent statements, words, or concepts, and creating a label that captures or represents the meaning embedded in the data (Charmaz, 2006). I created different labels for patterns or themes to reflect aspects of the data, such as tagging discursive frames used by the initiative in written and verbal materials and reinforced through facilitators, trainers, or mentioned in interviews; identifying patterns regarding how system actors identified JDAI as connecting them to community of practice; and themes that emerged from ways that actors’ thinking had changed or understanding had expanded.

As a second step, I compiled patterns and themes into categories for each topic area for further analysis. These groupings began to form the building blocks that could explain what elements of the social learning process were most impactful to changing thinking and practice; what factors and conditions helped to catalyze and sustain systems change; and other insights such as the perceptions of those “left behind” by JDAI for different reasons and the sometimes surprising source of resistance to reforms. For the model site case, I began to construct a framework to theorize relationships between these categories or themes and to explore possible connections between the learning process and changes to practice and policy – and where gaps in the explanations appeared or where themes seemed unconnected altogether.

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, as I constructed the Hawai‘i case, I realized that my expectations for the way that the inquiry would unfold for needed to be revised. I then made the decision to take a third step in re-analyzing the non-model site case through a deductive process of applying the analytical framework developed from the model site case. In applying the framework of the model site learning process for systems change, certain



aspects and elements had resonance for the non-model site while other “ingredients for success” appeared to not apply at all or the fit was very clumsy. This deductive process allowed me to test and identify the weaknesses or assumptions embedded in the model site design of the JDAI social learning process, where non-model sites may encounter obstacles to planning and implementation that could be addressed and restructured to better support systems change. I was also able to further “churn” the data to interpret themes and meanings from the Hawai’i data that had not emerged clearly in the earlier stage of analysis. In this process, I had the opportunity to examine discrepancies between the cases and compare these observations to existing theories, such as policy transfer and assemblage.

In an iterative process of analysis, I constructed propositions and then compared and revised these explanations based on the evidence of each case. Following Yin’s (2003) guidance, I considered “plausible or rival explanations” to reinforce the building of theory in response to the original research questions. I built interpretations and formulated conclusions as it became clear that while the social learning design was effective for certain actors, the JDAI approach and corresponding changes of practice were implemented in very different ways to facilitate system change at non-model sites. Based on the findings that converged from the model and non-model site cases, I proposed recommendations for an aspect of the JDAI theory of change that has not been consistently implemented across the initiative. I argued for a transformative planning approach to address this gap between theory and practice, drawing on communicative and collaborative planning theory and examples from within the cases. Finally, I presented implications of this study for contemporary theories of social learning and systems change.

## VI. Limitations

The main limitations or challenges to this research are common to case study design. The first limitation is the selection of a site as a case for the study. With limitless resources, I would have conducted a multiple case study including all five JDAI model sites and at least one non-model site that has demonstrated changes beyond the reform of detention in order to gain a fuller understanding of the conditions and factors influencing the expansion of institutional change. Given the resources available, I sought to develop a thorough understanding of the case proposed as an example of a robust case in which institutional reform beyond the point of detention has been among the most long-standing of the model sites according to AECF.

The second challenge lies with the construction of the case descriptions, including historical and other contextual conditions, a common struggle for the case study method. Utilizing case study methodology brings with it the challenge of isolating the impact of the interventions implemented by JDAI from the larger context and other factors that enabled system change. I cannot definitively say that the JDAI social learning process was the sole cause of system change in any of the participating local sites. JDAI reforms alone cannot be credited outcomes such as decreasing the number of youth detained. Given the limitations of definitively capturing the cause(s) of system change in each local case, I structured my research questions toward the experience of cognitive, emotional and behavioral change in actors. I also asked them to reflect on connections between these individual experiences, the group experiences in their learning cohorts, and changes of policy and practice in their local systems.

A final limitation is my reliance on interviews with the JDAI technical assistance consultants to contribute to my understanding of each site's contextual factors. The role of technical assistance consultants as key informants is both a strength and a potential weakness for my research. Their expert opinion provides valuable insights, particularly in comparison across sites. However, their influence in the selection of participants from the site to interview and the impact of their own biases about the circumstances and factors affecting institutional change at the site will inextricably shape the study and its findings. To address these effects, I triangulated my data sources and sought to confirm findings from interviews with other documentation. I discussed the participant selection criteria in detail with the consultants and site coordinator to guide the recommendations for recruitment of research participants. I also expanded the pool of participants based on my observations of stakeholders at the model site visit and through the suggestions of individuals interviewed over the course of the study.

### Chapter 3: JDAI as a Meta-Case of Systems Change

The Honorable Brian Huff, a family court judge involved in JDAI in Alabama, characterized the reform initiative as “fundamentally...a change in philosophy and attitude. Most importantly it is a change of behaviors” (AECF, 2009). In this chapter, I begin by laying a context for juvenile justice reform in the U.S. and the history of AECF in this work along with other key players at the national and local levels. After situating the case and the role of AECF within this larger policy and discursive landscape, I go on to describe JDAI as a meta-case for studying systems change. In telling the story of how AECF has approached juvenile justice transformation through JDAI, I highlight some basic precepts of theory of systems change and related fields, such as policy implementation and social learning, that have been integrated into the model site design. I describe the conditions under which JDAI emerged and its evolving approach to reform over the course of its early demonstration phase and later replication phase. I analyze the JDAI social learning process with attention to its emphasis on identity formation, with attention to JDAI’s use of discursive techniques to transform system actors’ sense of identity and agency in the work of reform. Data is primarily drawn from JDAI-related publications and media coverage and supplemented by interviews with initiative-based and site-based actors.

From a national perspective, a new approach to and understanding of juvenile justice has been emerging in many jurisdictions across the U.S. since the turn of the century. While the federal Department of Justice under the Trump administration has proposed a return to the punitive zero-tolerance policies in the past 18 months, the national discourse among juvenile justice practitioners continues to reflect broad support of the reforms that were launched in the wake of the ballooning social and government costs resulting from the reliance on law enforcement, the court system, and institutionalization of youth that began in the 1990s. We stand in a pivotal moment, where long-term system actors can compare the unintended consequences of such symbolic legislation as the 1994 Gun-Free Schools Act and the Omnibus Crime Bill with today’s policy debates over school shootings and the fear-mongering tactics that seek to conflate anti-immigrant sentiments with overstated accounts of the dangers of gang-affiliated youth.

In that same era that witnessed the ramp-up of youth detention and confinement, sensational media coverage and volatile political rhetoric contributed to the growing public criminalization of youth of color. In response, philanthropic entities like the MacArthur Foundation launched initiatives such as the Models for Change Program to shape attention to alternatives that centered youth and connected families to social services in their

communities. The Vera Institute for Justice has provided technical assistance and research support to more than 30 jurisdictions across the country for justice system reform since 2001, with a focus on diverting youth charged with status (non-criminal) offenses away from formal court intervention and toward immediate assessment with referral to effective and accessible services in local communities. Such support from charitable organizations for on-the-ground pilot programs demonstrating the promise of reform helped to mobilize government partnerships over the course of two decades. In a report released in 2013, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) in the U.S. Department of Justice commissioned the National Research Council (NRC) to assess the policy implications of adolescent neuroscience and behavioral research for juvenile justice reform, taking into greater account the developmental stages that young people typically experience and the impact of environmental factors such as peers, schools, and communities on the risk and seriousness of their behavior (NRC, 2013).

Within this national context for reforming the youth justice system, the work of AECF is significant. Based in Baltimore, Maryland for the past two decades, AECF's support of young people facing systemic disadvantages began in 1948. The Foundation's mission to enhance child well-being is framed within a logic of strengthening families and supporting communities to help youth grow and flourish. The paradigm of holistic child well-being grounded in family and community health stands in contrast to the logic of traditional juvenile justice with its narrow focus on the individual child who comes under the system's care as a result of his or her "delinquent behavior."

AECF joined OJJDP and the MacArthur Foundation in sponsoring further research on adolescent development to inform national-level policy change for the U.S. juvenile justice system. These guidelines for system change reflect an institutional logic that AECF and partners such as MacArthur have worked to promote for decades, summed up in the following seven "hallmarks" of a developmental approach to juvenile justice: (1) holding youth accountable for their actions without criminalizing them; (2) providing alternatives to justice system involvement as a consequence of youth's actions; (3) ensuring assessment of individual youth results in a tailored response; (4) limiting confinement to cases where public safety is determined to be at risk; (5) a "genuine" commitment to fair treatment of youth, which corresponds closely with (6) sensitivity to racial and ethnic disparities in justice system processing; and finally, (7) the engagement of family (NRC, 2014). In this study I did not set out to focus on, but I do acknowledge the heightened relevance of the long-term reform efforts by different philanthropic entities to create cognitive footholds now

being tested by the current U.S. administration's explicit return to a racialized "tough-on-crime" discourse.

## I. Juvenile Justice System Overview

Here I define key terms that are salient to the reader's understanding of the U.S. justice system as it is imposed on young people. An introduction to the juvenile justice system reveals the intersection of at least three distinct institutions operating at a local level: (1) law enforcement (commonly administered by the city or county); (2) the juvenile or family court (populated by prosecuting or district attorneys, public defenders, judges and probation officers, often under statewide oversight and organized by circuit, which may approximate county boundaries); and (3) secure detention and correctional facilities (operated by the city, county, and/or state). Each of these institutions functions according to its own logics, culture, rules, and structures - and often lacks awareness of the impact that these norms and arrangements have on those outside of their institutional boundaries. Together, these disparate institutions engage with young people in a somewhat haphazard process that has been aptly described as a "chaotic non-system...[where] each authority acts on the youngster's case as it sees fit" (AECF, 1999a).

Although young people are at the center of the impacts of the systems transformation considered here and meaningful youth representation in decision-making is gaining traction in the initiative, adult system actors have been the primary participants in JDAI planning efforts to this point. Young people under the age of 18 were not interviewed for this research and any data pertaining to youth were drawn from secondary sources. In this study, I will use the generic term of as 'juvenile justice practitioners' or 'justice system practitioners' to refer to individuals working in the three institutions listed above.

An in-depth understanding of the juvenile justice system is not necessary for readers to engage this dissertation research. I have provided standard terms and explanations of the stages in a youth's involvement with the juvenile justice system below, corresponding to the flowchart provided to give the reader some context for the discussion of the system at hand (Figure 2). For those who are interested, an expanded glossary of terms related to juvenile justice is listed in [Appendix A](#). However, local level governance, development patterns, demographics, and historical factors result in a variety of institutional arrangements and structures for the administration of juvenile justice across the country.

Figure 2 represents a generic process for a young person who comes into formal contact with the juvenile justice system for either a perceived violation of a law or a "status offense"

(which refers to the status of the person under the age of 18 years as a minor, for whom certain behaviors such as skipping school or leaving home without a guardian's permission can trigger the intervention of the state). At the point of **arrest**, a law enforcement officer typically releases the child to a guardian if the charge is a minor law violation or status offense and the arrest record or referral is typically forwarded to the juvenile or family court system. A court officer who receives such a case may choose to **divert** the child's path away from further involvement with the justice system. A young person can be "diverted" by the court officer simply closing the case after a phone call or meeting with the child's guardian; or even after an unsuccessful attempt at contacting the guardian.

For an arrest case where either the young person has "a history of prior involvement," meaning that they have been arrested in the past or the current arrest was made on suspicion of a serious law violation, police officers may transport the young person directly to the juvenile detention facility for immediate court intake. At the detention facility, intake staff choose among options which include: assessing that the risk of the young person causing physical harm is low enough to **release** the child to a guardian until a hearing (or trial) is set; determining that the young person may benefit from additional services or monitoring until the hearing and assigning an "**alternative to detention**" that may allow the child to be released home under certain conditions; or the most severe decision of **detention** – that is, detaining the child in the secured facility to await a hearing within 48-72 hours. Following this detention hearing, a young person could be immediately released or remain in secure custody for as long as several months awaiting the completion of the hearing process or until another appropriate placement can be made. The negative impacts of detention have been widely documented; among the findings is evidence that once detained, a child is more likely to be regarded as guilty of the pending charge, more likely to identify as anti-social or deviant and more likely to engage in future behavior that is regarded as "delinquent," and more likely to be detained again and/or incarcerated in the future<sup>7</sup>(Holman & Ziedenberg, 2011; Frazier & Cochran, 1986).

Beyond this point, young people who are not diverted from the system at intake will eventually have their case heard by a judge in court. At the hearing, the judge will consider information, including the recommendations of the court officer assigned to the case, the public defender and prosecuting attorney, and in some cases from the young person

---

<sup>7</sup> Office of State Courts Administrator. (2003). Florida Juvenile Delinquency Court Assessment. Tallahassee, FL: Office of Court Improvements. Retrieved from: [http://jud18.flcourts.org/gen\\_public/family/bin/delinquencyassessment.pdf](http://jud18.flcourts.org/gen_public/family/bin/delinquencyassessment.pdf)

directly. The youth will then receive a decision or **adjudication** from the judge finding them not guilty or guilty of the charges that have been filed against them.

A **not guilty** decision is dismissed from further involvement in the system, although the collateral consequences of the contact with the justice system remain. Of particular concern are the young people who have been detained with the trauma and stigmatization that corresponds with having their freedom and control over their immediate environment taken away, being held against their will and subjected to the treatment of detention guards, having their innocence called into question, being presumed a criminal, living with other young people who are identified as delinquent and taking on this identity as a detainee, and a multitude of other negative experiences that come with institutionalization.

On the flip side, a **guilty** decision carries with it the (at least) threefold consequences of: (1) the negative experiences of institutionalization described above for youth who have been detained; (2) an immediate set of sanctions determined by a judge; and (3) another degree of increase in the likelihood of deeper system involvement. One of the most common sanctions is placement of the young person on **probation** (also known as court supervision or monitoring) for a finite or indeterminate length of time, with conditions that must be strictly followed such as regular appointments with a probation officer and adherence to curfew, school attendance, and in some cases, drug testing. Although not directly illustrated in Figure 2, a significant consequence of probation placement is the increased risk of being sent to residential placement or otherwise penalized for a violation of the terms of probation. Even a minor infraction such as skipping school, returning home late, or missing a meeting with a probation officer can lead to a child being removed from his or her home and in the worst-case scenario, incarcerated.

The most severe sanction for a youth whose case has been adjudicated takes the form of a **residential placement** which removes the child from his or her home and family setting and could range from incarceration in a youth prison to court-ordered participation in a residential program such as a secured mental health facility, a substance abuse treatment program, a group home or military-type academy. Youth who do not have a placement option readily available to them may be locked up in a juvenile detention facility pending an opening in a youth prison or residential program. Varied studies across multiple states spanning the past twenty years have consistently indicated that incarceration significantly increases the odds that a child will “recidivate” or be found guilty of a re-offense within three years of release. For example, a statewide study in Arkansas reflected that 60% of incarcerated youth returned to court and were re-adjudicated within three years of release

(Benda & Tollet, 1999); a more recent study in Hawai'i found a figure of 75% for the same parameters (State of Hawai'i, 2010).

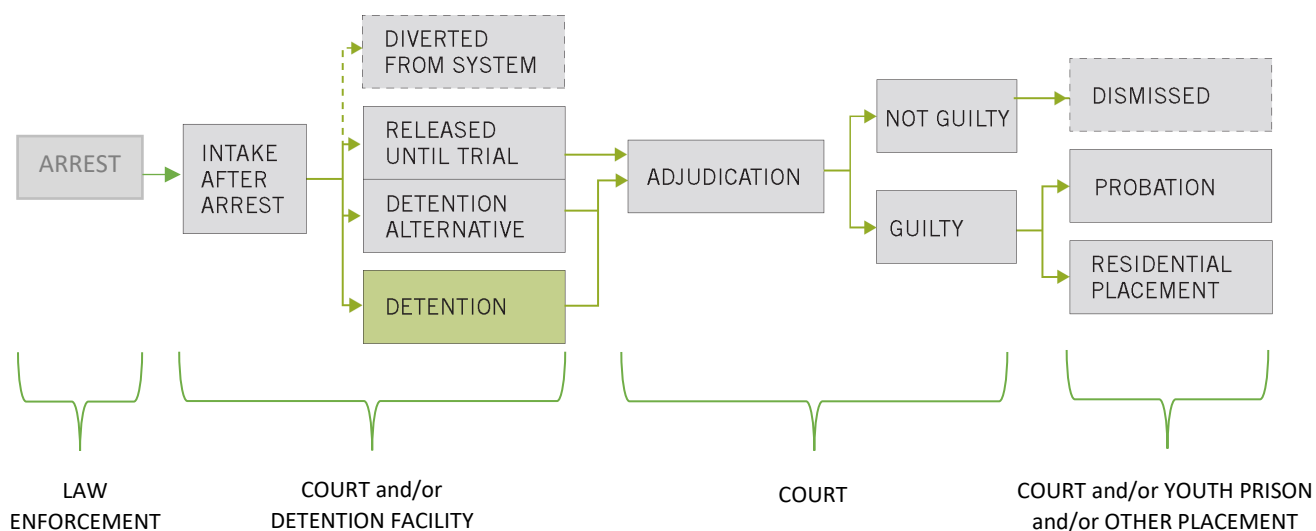


Figure 2. Standard Stages of Juvenile Justice System Processing<sup>8</sup>

Outwardly, the most salient points of this process for this study occur in these first two stages of processing. JDAI explicitly focuses on the steps leading up to detention with a goal of building consensus among planning participants that detention is inappropriate for the majority of young people arrested; standardizing the process, procedures, and mechanism for determining which options are appropriate on a case-by-case basis; and strengthening the viability of alternatives to detention for young people who are deemed to need this option. As I will discuss further, the larger impact of the social learning process that JDAI conducts encompasses changes of thinking, belief and behavior that influence the later stages and extend beyond justice system involvement to call into question the policies, practices, and institutional structures of other social systems that respond to the needs of young people.

Providing further information on the juvenile justice system, Appendix A lists some key terms and definitions in an expanded glossary. I conclude this chapter with an overview of the organization of my dissertation research.

<sup>8</sup> Modified from the Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2014.



## II. JDAI Design: Synergy of Center and Periphery?

The design of the JDAI social learning approach to planning for systems change has simultaneously engaged two related yet distinct objectives: (1) to implement reforms to an existing system in the immediate term [technical change], while also (2) building the capacity of the institutional actors within a system to question institutional logics and engage in an agenda of systemic transformation in an on-going sense [adaptive change]. While the case studies yield ample evidence of progress toward the first objective, the second objective is the focus of this research.

The approach is informed by multiple theories of systems change and interwoven with responses to the limitations identified in some streams of theory. Although the national “learning network” has become the primary metaphor for JDAI’s approach to systems reform, the ‘fingerprint’ of the center-periphery theory of change is evident in JDAI’s basic structure. In its essence, center-periphery theory proposes that actors from the center of innovation communicate new ideas to actors from the periphery, who then implement the knowledge gained in their local context. A more complex iteration of center-periphery theory has become a dominant model for change, allowing the center to further extend its influence and control into the periphery. The “proliferation of centers” approach gained prominence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, notably as a mode of the Christian missionary movement and Empire building, with supportive technologies and philosophies of industrial expansion enabling an expansion of physical presence and intensity of communication from center to periphery (Schön 1971:81-84). The JDAI design follows the proliferation of centers model, wherein AECF and its JDAI leadership team act as a ‘primary center’ that oversees training and support for the overall network, as well as management of the model sites, which serve as ‘secondary centers’ that relay innovation to actors from the ‘periphery’ or non-model sites (Figure 3).

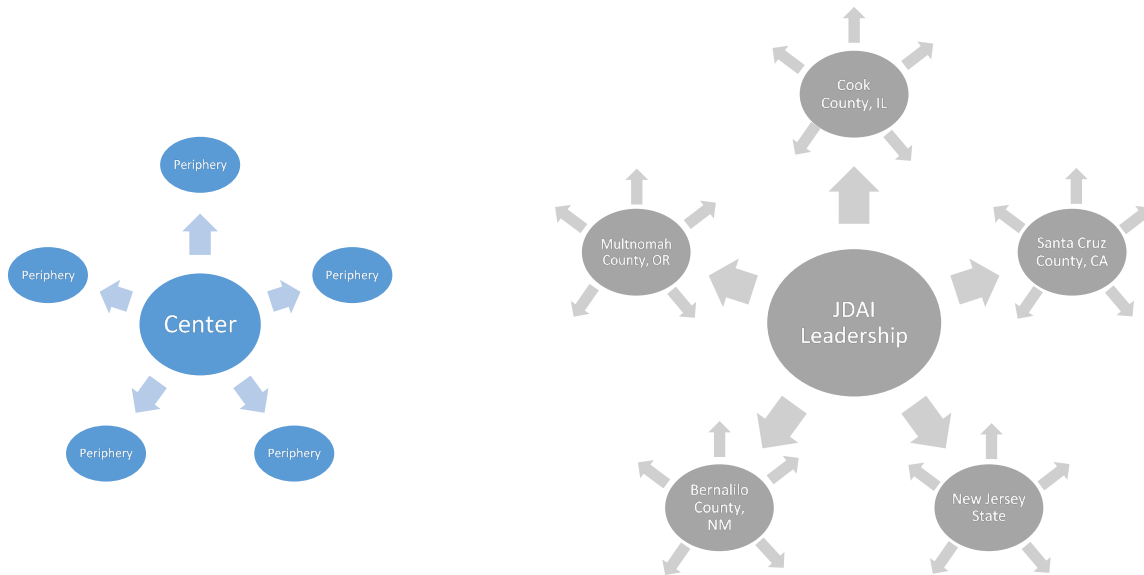


Figure 3. Basic center-periphery model and JDAI’s proliferation of centers design

In step with theory, JDAI leadership as the primary center determines the core message of the initiative and establishes the guiding principles, known in JDAI-speak as the “eight core strategies.” A set of standard indicators to measure progress for each strategy has been developed and JDAI leadership monitors and tracks progress through regular reports collected from the network of model sites (secondary centers) and non-model sites (periphery). Rather than dispatching agents into the periphery to inculcate a new system, JDAI model sites as secondary centers follow in the tradition of Western universities and seminaries, functioning as ‘learning magnets’ to attract students from the periphery. At the secondary centers, sojourning agents absorb new principles and practices and return to their home sites to diffuse the innovations to the periphery.

Over its twenty-five years, JDAI itself has strived to become a model learning system. In the early 1990s, the initiative set out with specific design elements to address weaknesses observed in other failed models and has emphasized capacity-building to respond to new information and developments. Case in point, the JDAI leadership itself has exemplified a willingness to persist on a pathway marked by pursuit of sustaining a trajectory of change through adaptation and inquiry – and importantly, an expansive interpretation of failure as a natural outcome of and valuable input for a reflective learning process. The “origin story” of model sites often highlight the bumpy road to reform, acknowledging episodes where negative media coverage influenced public sentiment toward youth in the justice system, agency heads have engaged in divisive power struggles over changes in practice, and

periods when the number of detention admissions and other measures have been slow to drop – or have even moved in opposition to expected results for a season. Rather than ending support for or shutting down any JDAI site that has failed to produce measurable improvements, the ongoing participation of all sites in the JDAI learning network has been elevated as a central focus of the initiative. At the same time, leadership has sent a tacit message by shaping the attention of the learning network toward the sites that persist in their reform efforts – and promoting strong and consistent messages about JDAI identity as a movement of change agents in juvenile justice across the nation. Greater energy and support are allocated by AECF to JDAI sites that demonstrate promising results and/or strong motivation for reform, as evidenced by sites’ requests for technical assistance and mobilization of local stakeholders and non-JDAI resources for system improvements.

As a microcosm for the constellation of local sites, a shared national JDAI leadership model has been in development over the past decade, seeking to simultaneously narrow the role of AECF while expanding the role of technical assistance providers and infrastructure partners from the Burns Institute, the Center for Children’s Law and Policy, and the Pre-Trial Justice Institute. For example, the JDAI leadership team began with Foundation employees deployed as Technical Assistance Team Leaders to the periphery, providing magnified support for an initial period to individual sites solidifying their commitment to JDAI and eventually tapering down to regular phone check-ins and annual visits. However, over the past 5-10 years, the Technical Assistance Team Leaders responsibilities have been increasingly transferred to organizational partners on the JDAI leadership team such as Burns Institute. With this increased exposure, Burns Institute has become a go-to resource from whom periphery sites can request more intensive technical assistance in specialized areas such as reducing racial and ethnic disparities and enhancing community engagement.

Along a parallel trajectory, AECF has focused investment of resources into the construction of a robust and ever-growing learning network and continues to hand off more of the management of the network to the emerging shared leadership team, with Pre-Trial Justice Institute taking over first the online hosting of the JDAI resources which have migrated to a comprehensive, interactive platform called JDAIconnect. While theory has identified the importance of the feedback loop that allows information to flow between center and periphery, JDAI leadership reached beyond to support communication flows between the different nodes of the network that encompasses sites at the periphery, model sites as secondary centers, and a more dispersed collective JDAI leadership team as a primary center. The progress toward a more robust learning system at the initiative-level will be considered in greater depth in the concluding chapter.

In the next section, I will provide a brief history of JDAI's approach to systems change and making note of where the process has aligned with or departed from existing theory. For instance, scholars of paradigm shift have theorized that factors leading up to a change of this magnitude include "the accumulation of anomalies, experimentation with new forms of policy, and policy failures that precipitate a shift in the locus of authority over policy and initiate a wider contest between competing paradigms" (Hall 1993:280). Understanding the JDAI "origin story" is aided by a grasp of the external forces and dynamics within the institutional field of juvenile justice and the political, economic, and discursive landscape that gave rise to JDAI as an experiment in policy change in response to anomalies and policy failures. While I maintain that JDAI has not yet realized third-order change on the level of paradigm shift in juvenile justice, the process leading up to paradigm shift have great relevance to this process of system change. I borrow the stages of paradigm shift here to explain JDAI as a reform initiative and continue to qualify that the JDAI process thus far is still short of achieving an actual transformation of policy paradigm that would require the re-ordering of social relationships and institutional arrangements.

### III. Case Context and Strategy: Setting the Stage for Paradigm Shift

A review of publications on JDAI available by web search reveals that AECF has flexed the muscles of its considerable marketing budget to promote JDAI's reputation as a successful system change initiative. While AECF's self-promotion must be taken with a grain of salt, coverage of JDAI within the handful of juvenile justice journals and policy briefs in national circulation has largely upheld a view of JDAI as an initiative that has played an instrumental role in nudging the juvenile justice system toward a new paradigm (Gately, 2014; Kelly, 2008). By paradigm, I refer to the "shared professional norms and ways of thinking...the glue that holds together a policy community" (Baumgartner 2013, p. 251). In this case, I examine the claims that JDAI has achieved remarkable change by approaching it as a planning process at multiple levels: at a local scale through the changing norms of activated juvenile justice sites as system actors identify problems and solutions, implement reforms, and change institutional culture in the spirit of Schön's learning system; and at the national scale through the engagement of social learning among practitioners to form a JDAI community of practice and reconstruct the standards and narrative of the field to reflect key principles in their own work and thinking. Systems change is operationalized through JDAI's interactive social learning processes that mobilize stakeholders around new ideas, beliefs, and practices. The learning process serves as a social incubator to strengthen a sense of agency and the needed capacity among system actors who will continue to create and enact changes in practice, policy, and culture. Through the reinforcement of new institutional

norms and juvenile justice standards at the national level, JDAI seeks to support strong agents of change in local-level sites to develop systems capable of regenerative transformation.

In its design of JDAI, AECF responded to a troubling trend in juvenile detention practices by partnering with the local agencies directly involved. By engaging justice practitioners, JDAI sought to embed reforms within system functions and practices, accompanied by the redirection of existing resources toward alternative responses, utilizing funds that would have been allocated for maintaining or expanding detention facilities. AECF's official JDAI mission is innocuous, articulating a first and second order change agenda to establish "a safer, fairer detention system while championing the use of more effective, efficient alternatives to secure confinement" (AECF, 2014a). At face value, the JDAI process tackles detention reform, focused on decreasing the unnecessary or inappropriate detention of youth through two key changes that work in tandem: (1) the implementation of an objective risk assessment instrument to determine whether youth should be detained; and (2) the provision of alternatives to detention for young people deemed in need of some supportive oversight, but who can remain in their homes and/or communities.

The planning tasks that accompany the first change to detention criteria and admission are seated within the court, most often in the probation department and the detention facility. The work of conventional justice practitioners such as law enforcement, prosecutors, and public defenders is impacted by this change of policy and practice, so their involvement in planning for reform is critical. But it is in the second change to develop and utilize alternatives to detention that the vision of JDAI as a true systems change project comes to life. The charge to explore alternatives to detention can take justice system practitioners beyond the boundaries of business-as-usual, opening up opportunities for different actors, agencies, and organizations to now play a part in shaping system responses, and for the system boundaries and logics to be redrawn and interrogated.

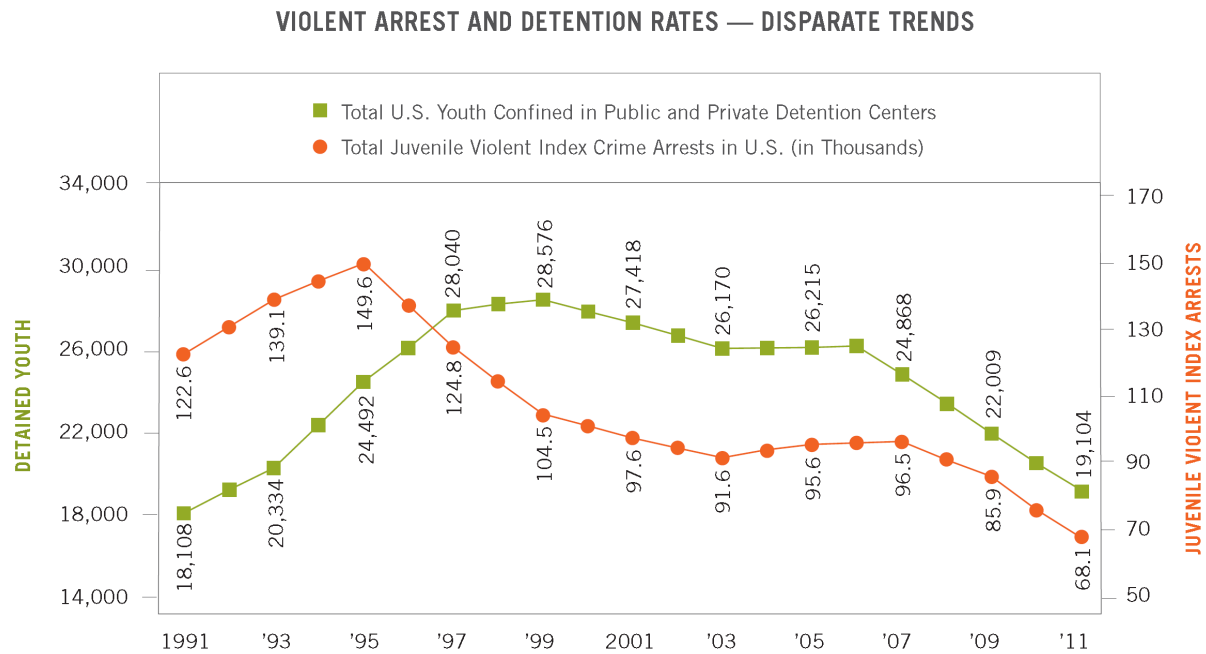
It is in this element of the JDAI planning process design that seeds that can begin to take root in hopes of motivating "third order" change – paradigm shift. These seeds of possibility can be sown as data is examined and an expanded circle of system actors engage in collaborative planning as social learning. Planning participants can deepen their understanding of which youth are considered for detention and clearly map out the reasons to detain children; as well as what kinds of alternatives to detention would best serve youth and where those alternatives may already exist and/or where new alternatives could be situated. Implementation would require plans with funding to support and evaluate these

alternatives, and if found to be effective, mechanisms to sustain the costs of operation. These planning activities, engaged in earnest as social learning, can and should lead to a collective questioning of the circumstances that bring young people into contact with the justice system, what the ideal responses and outcomes would be for youth who become involved with the system, and the nature of the system “infrastructure” (including institutional culture, norms, and arrangements) that would help realize this vision. As I will flesh out in later chapters, this aspect of the JDAI design holds the most significant promise for system transformation. Based on my study of JDAI implementation in the two case studies, this potential has yet to be fulfilled.

#### A. Precipitating Conditions: Policy Anomalies and Failures

In the decade between 1985 and 1995, the average number of youth detained daily across the U.S. increased by 72% (AECF, 2014b). An unusual surge in arrests for serious juvenile crime from the late 1980s to mid-1990s contributed to this uptick, but crime statistics alone could not explain the explosion in admissions to juvenile facilities. Less than 30% of youth in detention were admitted for a serious violent offense, with the majority held for non-violent law violations, status offenses or other violations of probation or court order (AECF, 2001). With the steady decline in the juvenile violent crime index after 1996 (a trend that has continued over the past twenty years), the rate of youth entering detention facilities continued to grow. Policy and practice responses frequently lag behind changes in the realities that they purport to address and changes to juvenile detention practices were severe in this regard. Even after peaking in 1999 with more than 28,000 youth detained on an average day, detention levels remained significantly inflated for more than a decade (see Figure 4). As this detention numbers rose, inhumane conditions of confinement became increasingly salient. The proportion of youth held in facilities operating over-capacity increased from 20% to 62% between 1985-1995. The racial and ethnic distribution of youth detained underwent a reversal as the institutionalized population shot upward, from white youth making up 56% of the juvenile detention population in 1985 to youth of color comprising 56% in 1995, fueling a wave of disparities that has continued unabated since that time (AECF, 2017a).

Figure 4. Anomaly between rates of violent arrest and detention for youth in the U.S.



Source: Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative Progress Report, 2014.

The anomaly between youth crime statistics and juvenile justice policy continued virtually unchecked for years thanks in no small part to the public discourse. Paramount to understanding the context for JDAI are the discursive frames that were promoted in public consciousness and the cognitive and emotional patterns ingrained in juvenile justice practitioners working in local systems over these years. Political discourse and revanchist Clinton-era crime and welfare reforms punishing the poor (Wacquant 1995, 1996, 2010, 2014) were powerful drivers of youth detention and incarceration. The effects of the tough-on-crime, lock-em-up political discourse that had gained currency in the mid-1960s and become ingrained in the social imaginary rose to a fever pitch in the 1990s, buoyed by sensationalist media portrayals of isolated violent incidents as indicative of a generation of remorseless and dangerous “super predators.”<sup>9</sup> Scholars describe a public pedagogy that is set in motion when “...mass media are sutured to public policies and form...a teaching machine” (Duggan, 2003, cited by Meiners, 2010, p. 550; hooks, 1994). Public discourse and hyper-representation of crime in the media reproduce instruction on the dangers of the streets, public spaces, and youth of color. In this narrative of fear, youth of color are cast

<sup>9</sup> “Super Predator” became a catchphrase following the 1995 televised report on 20/20 by John Dilulio of Princeton University claiming an epidemic of youth violent crime.

and re-cast as *other*, the perpetual outsider (Balibar, 1991; Bobo, Kluegel & Smith, 1997; Gilliam & Bales, 2003; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2005; Goidel, Freeman, & Procopio, 2006; Goldberg, 2009). The entrenched nature of the racialized schema was – and remains – one of the most durable and deeply rooted challenges that JDAI has reckoned with. Resources produced at any point in time in the 25 years of JDAI echo the intractability of social cognition and structural racism, with more recent communication dedicated to centering this issue squarely in the work of systems change.

Failing policies continued to be justified by the prevailing discourse until the chronic overcrowding and deteriorating conditions of confinement in local juvenile detention facilities became a flashpoint for community outrage. The overcrowding crisis triggered a flood of legal inquiries into abusive treatment and the violation of the rights of young people who were held in these facilities. The high-profile investigations drew some splintered attention to the social and systemic anomaly of detaining young people for minor incidents or for unexplained reasons, with striking over-representation of Black and brown youth.

#### B. JDAI Demonstration Phase: Policy Experimentation

The juvenile justice system in Broward County, Florida was a forerunner of these troubles and the response of local decision-makers to a lawsuit on overcrowding in the 1980s was the catalyst for the Annie E. Casey Foundation's creation of JDAI. AECF supported Broward County's detention reform effort, which hinged on four areas of policy experimentation: intensive collaboration between youth-serving agencies; implementation of objective decision-making instruments so that only youth rated at high risk of serious re-offense or "flight" (failing to appear at their scheduled court hearing) could be detained; development of viable alternatives to detention in communities; and reductions to the processing time that elapsed between a youth's arrest and the resolution of his case. By 1992, the outcomes from the first five years were extremely promising: a 65% reduction of youth detained without any indication of negative impacts on public safety (AECF, 1999).

AECF integrated these learnings into their design of JDAI and approached several beleaguered local juvenile justice systems across the nation to partner on reforming detention policy and practice. The prospect of AECF's investment and backing presented an unknown pathway but an attractive alternative in the face of mounting backlash to proposals to alleviate overcrowding by expanding existing detention homes and build new facilities. Multnomah County in Oregon was already under federal consent decree due to their policy failures and both Sacramento County in California and Cook County in Illinois were under investigation at the time. These juvenile justice systems were part of an initial



cohort that received JDAI planning grants to develop their demonstration sites to serve as real-life learning laboratories for changing system policies and practices. AECF committed up to an additional \$2.25 million over three years at each site to support the implementation of reforms. Three of the five sites persisted to complete the demonstration phase that ended in 1998. Indicative of the challenges of building political support and demonstrating the effectiveness of changes undertaken, the demonstration sites in Milwaukee County in Wisconsin and New York City were unable to systematize their efforts and AECF withdrew its funding support during the trial period.

The demonstration phase indicated positive although not breathtaking progress toward the goals of system reform in the three remaining sites. The number of youth detained and case processing time for youth in detention was reduced at each site and at two of the sites, these gains were not constrained to detention; case processing had become more efficient for youth throughout the system. Strikingly, the uptake of alternatives to detention and other changes to practice in Cook County decreased the number of youth who failed to appear for court by half. Given the still-climbing rates of detention around the nation and an overall policy climate slated toward more serious and severe responses to youth behavior, the modest results of the demonstration sites were magnified. Through the rupture of institutional equilibrium caused by the overcrowding crisis, JDAI positioned itself as a policy experiment that documented and delivered promising outcomes. Interest in the experiment fueled the replication phase of JDAI; an expanding base for advancing new practices and philosophies among a network of practitioners in local-level systems developed a new shared identity as part of the “JDAI nation.” Over time, local justice system actors’ growing identification as JDAI reformers initiated a shift in the locus of authority for juvenile justice practice and policy, as I discuss in the following subsection.

### C. JDAI Replication Phase: Shifting the Locus of Authority

Between 1999-2009, more than 110 JDAI sites began across 27 states and the growth of new sites accelerated until about 2012. Over the past five years, the rate of expansion has slowed and the focus has been on “going to scale” by working with states willing to pursue statewide expansion, drawing leadership from active JDAI sites at the county level. By 2017, nearly 300 JDAI county sites have been established 39 states and the District of Columbia, in aggregate boasting a 43% decline in the average number of youth in detention daily in comparison to the pre-JDAI baseline count (AECF, 2017a). Five model sites have been established, with Santa Cruz County in California; San Bernalillo County in New Mexico; and New Jersey state joining the ranks with two of the original demonstration sites,

Multnomah County in Oregon and Cook County in Illinois. The model site approach to social learning is discussed in detail in a later section; here I describe the critical shift in the locus of authority for juvenile justice policy and practice in local level systems advanced by JDAI. Blyth's (2013) declaration reflects the literature on power and institutional change.

...it is *authority*, not facts, that matter for both paradigm maintenance and change...the sociological can trump the scientific *precisely because the locus of authority did not shift despite the facts*. (p. 210-211, emphasis added)

Caught between overcrowding and dwindling political support for the expansion of detention facilities, the expertise of AECF through JDAI technical assistance was welcomed by administrators of local justice systems under fire. From its inception, JDAI targeted changes to detention practices and policies as a "gateway reform" to facilitate movement toward the broad scale transformation of juvenile justice system policies and practices. An early Foundation publication succinctly described JDAI's goals as streamlining and rationalizing local juvenile detention systems (AECF, 1999c). Therein lay the trick. Detention reform objectives could not be realized in isolation and at this critical juncture, the larger justice systems that detention facilities operated within were being exposed as largely irrational and inefficient non-systems. AECF's president Douglas Nelson characterized the starting point in the 1990s in this way: "no area of domestic policy—not even welfare—has been so thoroughly abandoned to misinformation, overstatement, oversimplification, emotion, and disregard for consequences as has the arena of juvenile justice" (AECF, 1999b, p. 10). After operating with virtual autonomy for decades, the system's established authority was reeling from a crisis of legitimacy when JDAI emerged to set the direction for juvenile justice reform that would become a national standard.

AECF orchestrated a shift in the locus of authority over juvenile justice policy development in two ways. The first step effectively leveraged JDAI consultants' role in guiding reforms; the second step was implemented with partial success in some sites but hampered by a more check-box approach to mandating the formation of a locally-based collaborative to take on leadership of their site's planning process. By hiring experienced justice reformers to direct and provide technical assistance for the initiative, the JDAI leadership seated in AECF wielded legitimate and persuasive authority. To lead JDAI, AECF appointed Bart Lubow, a seasoned reformer in adult probation leadership for New York State who brought fresh insights from a decade of rolling out alternatives to incarceration in the jurisdiction. Under Lubow, change was powered by JDAI Technical Assistance Team Leaders (TATL), expert consultants who commanded respect from local juvenile justice system

administrators. Armed with the evolving JDAI approach for systems change, the TATL team began with a prescription for who should be at the decision-making table to develop consensus for the purpose of juvenile detention and to shape reforms at a local level. The JDAI “eight core strategies” clearly identified specific areas of focus for planning for systems change:

- 1) collaboration between agencies and community partners;
- 2) using data to inform decision-making;
- 3) implementing objective risk assessment instruments;
- 4) developing and utilizing community-based alternatives to detention;
- 5) expediting case processing;
- 6) reforming responses for ‘special detention cases’ such as probation violations;
- 7) improving conditions of confinement; and
- 8) reducing racial and ethnic disparities

Conscious of the need to systematize coordination and embed local leadership that could assume greater authority to sustain transformation, the JDAI core strategies led with the first and most important objective of collaboration. In theory, the requirement to form an interagency steering committee to lead systems change through collective learning and problem-solving was a radical first step in shifting institutional culture. At each site, the steering committee reported to and consulted with their assigned JDAI TATL; these committees became the main vehicle for imagining and enacting adaptive change as the members learned to work together. The ambitious and democratic goal was to develop the locus of authority within a broader collaborative body composed of not only the disparate state and county agencies that comprised the formal juvenile justice system, but also other youth-serving partners who may not have been readily recognized as system stakeholders (e.g., mental health, child welfare, schools, and community-based partners). Although the degree of authentic participation and depth of partnership varied across the different JDAI sites, the structure of steering committees had the potential to “institutionalize” significantly different perspectives in the redevelopment of policies and practices and to increase the accountability of the local system. As one TATL reflected in an interview, JDAI holds great promise as a “platform” from which greater changes can be imagined and pursued.

The entry point of detention for JDAI makes probation a key stakeholder, but JDAI was shaped with the idea that the core strategies help to whet the appetite of other child-serving agencies to see this as a continuum. It’s not separate to look at deep-end or arrest diversion. This is developmental for those involved – to begin to see JDAI as a platform piece [to reform the continuum of care for young people]. (Latina JDAI leader)

JDAI's emphasis on collaborative decision-making had the potential to create a hybrid space; a platform that could reach beyond detention reform and into coordination to support a more holistic vision of child well-being. In a system described by interviewees as intrinsically isolating, inherently adversarial, and fundamentally fragmented, JDAI attempted to establish collaboration as a core mandate. The third-party accountability to AECF through JDAI provided impetus for agencies to stay at the table and begin to break the deep-seated institutional logics of self-protection and self-interest that dictated decision-making. Due to their interagency, cross-sector composition, the steering committees were "thin spaces" where the forces of institutional culture and arrangements exerted weaker control over system actors (Sheehy 2000; 2004) coming from different contexts. This novel environment offered different possibilities for thinking and learning outside of the justice system milieu and raised awareness of the need for greater capacity to collaborate. For example, in response to the JDAI pressure to engage in collaboration, some agencies shifted their incentive structure to promote individuals perceived as "bridge builders" either across agency boundaries or within the vertical boundaries of stratified agencies such as the prosecutors' office or the police department. Changing the culture of the system and learning to share decision-making power was repeatedly framed as an ongoing endeavor by JDAI participants. This messaging was reinforced through national JDAI publications such as this early account of *The JDAI Story* relayed by a family court judge from Cook County:

I don't think it's a done process. Every time we make a new decision, we have to again develop some degree of coalescence around that particular goal. But the more you work together with individuals who understand that all of our aspirations can be realized more quickly if we work consistently together, then more you tend to have faith in that process. (AECF, 1999c)

As faith in the process was built around the collaborative table, the JDAI process pushed to change the agency norms further, toward greater transparency and collective problem-solving. The shift toward collaboration necessitated that each of the partnering institutions articulate their policies and procedures to coordinate action. By making the work of different agencies and organizations legible and bringing it to the collective table, then the steering committee members could identify possible redundancies, opportunities to streamline, and places where change and compromise were possible. This clarifying process brought to light more anomalies and failures that had been hidden from view in the protective siloed mode of doing business. For instance, the lack of structures and procedures for collecting data became glaringly apparent as the steering committees tried to establish a baseline from which to measure the impacts of new policies and procedures. Similarly, forces contributing

to the decisions to detain youth and keep them in detention that were not commensurate with their behavior came to light. Across jurisdictions, common themes emerged, such as long waiting times for entry into substance abuse treatment programs; unnecessarily long detention stays for youth when judges' calendars did not prioritize detention hearings; and unquestioned "business-as-usual" practices such as 21-day detention as an automatic consequence for violating probation.

As such anomalies and failures became reframed as opportunities to develop better responses, the "real magic" of social learning could be unleashed and the steering committees became a space for alternative paradigms to be introduced and new identities to be formed and enacted by actors. An early model site coordinator reflected that the JDAI mandate to collaborate stimulated deeper questions of identity and agency for change that reached beyond the initial bumper sticker mission of "fixing juvenile justice."

The magic is it brings all the system partners together: POs, police officers, bureaucrats, the money, families surviving on the fringe. We get a bigger lens, a more inclusive lens...instead of pointing fingers at the juvenile justice system to say, "You're not doing your job," we can sit down and say, "This isn't a social problem that we can arrest our way out of." JDAI is about all of us as members of society assuming responsibility to grow, change, be more effective and more transparent. (White male model site leader)

The perspective of this seasoned, self-identified "juvenile justice reformer" captured the essential goal for shifting the locus of authority to sustain system transformation. Actors undergoing individual changes in thinking, belief, and behavior can locate themselves in new ways in a changing institutional landscape. While literature on loss of identity abounds, there is also ample evidence that certain entrepreneurial actors can take on a new mantle of authority in the time of tumult. This justice system practitioner described a process of "coming into the light" or coming to terms with the chaos and contradictions of the system that he and other actors had inhabited prior to their participation in the JDAI social learning process. In his account, the force to collaborate that JDAI exerted on his local site created a space for those around the table to identify and embody their roles as actors with agency and an obligation to make sense of the justice system, but also as members of civil society working alongside others who are invested in better outcomes for young people and the common good.<sup>10</sup> I will note here that the JDAI model site where he served as a coordinator

---

<sup>10</sup> Importantly, the two site-level case studies do not deal with the model site that this coordinator references. In my discussion of collaboration and the engagement of families in the context of both the meta-case of JDAI as a

was not one of the two site-level case studies in this research; based on the case studies that I will describe in great detail in Chapters 4 and 6, the approach to collaborative social learning that he spoke of here that engaged families alongside system practitioners and funders was largely aspirational in the actual practices of local level JDAI reform.

In this section, I have described the approach taken by JDAI to shift and broaden the locus of authority for system change from the exclusive domain of local justice system administrators. Increasingly, JDAI leadership (composed of AECF, technical assistant consultants, and selected local system leaders who have risen in the ranks of reform) came to be viewed as experts and voices of authority in juvenile justice policymaking and system change. The collaborative ethic of the JDAI planning process expanded the identification and enlistment of system actors to help lead reform, extending beyond the conventional institutions of the justice system to recruit champions from other public systems such as mental health and child welfare. In the final chapter, I will discuss the potential for these trusted JDAI leaders to use the influence that they have gained to advocate for and advance a larger shift in authority – to not only make space for representation, but to recognize and share power with youth, families, and community-based partners for planning, funding, implementing, and evaluating changes to the core functions of the youth justice system.

In the following sections, I analyze different components of the JDAI social learning model that aims to facilitate paradigm shift by normalizing a systemic expectation for growth, change, effectiveness, and transparency. Through the planning as social learning process, new institutional norms can help to facilitate the reimagination of juvenile justice policies and practices – and even push the boundaries of the system’s purpose and function.

#### D. JDAI “Maturity Phase”: Normalizing Reform

By most accounts, the technical changes commonly enacted by JDAI sites have become the ‘gold standard’ for juvenile justice practice across the US. In recent remarks, the current director of the initiative declared that “JDAI [is] reaching maturity, solidifying its transition from a renegade, against-the-grain reform idea to the standard for detention practice nationwide” (Balis, 2017). Through the development of a national network of local level sites enacting system reforms, sharing effective innovations, and creating a new collective

---

national initiative and the two local site case studies, the quality of family engagement that he speaks of here was not evident. Through the course of interviews and content review, three JDAI sites not included in this study were more frequently mentioned as “doing collaboration right” – taken to mean, partnering with families and other non-system actors in meaningful ways that shaped collective decision-making and actions. Future research might yield significant lessons from those sites’ approach to collaboration.

culture of learning, the JDAI model has gained currency in the past quarter century. The ongoing, multi-phase social learning process creates an infrastructure for the initiative to continue to normalize emerging discourse and the accompanying changes to policies and practices. Key infrastructure to support a learning system has been laid; with the appropriate catalysts for inquiry, the potential exists to fuel and support future transformations. In the next section, I outline what a local juvenile justice system's participation in JDAI might look like and then go on to examine how social and spatial sites of learning are designed and employed by the JDAI planning process as vehicles for cognitive change among system actors.

#### IV. Becoming a JDAI Site

To gain entry as a JDAI site, the leadership of a local level juvenile justice system must commit to implementing JDAI's eight core strategies<sup>11</sup> for detention reform. The initiative provides local sites with access to tailored training and technical assistance, as well as participation in ongoing learning opportunities through model site visits and annual inter-site conferences. A local system's JDAI journey begins with appointing a site coordinator to act as the local liaison for the initiative and convening a collaborative steering committee to oversee the reform efforts. Information about the site's current detention process is gathered through a system assessment that includes a review of policies, procedures, and data as well as stakeholder input via surveys and teleconferences with the assigned JDAI TATL, a regional consultant from the initiative's national leadership team. Based on the assessment, specific training needs and interests for the site are established and a model site is identified that has successfully addressed similar challenges to system reform.

The first model site visit made by a local site "delegation" is a developmental milestone in the JDAI social learning process. Following the model site visit, delegates return from their travels and report back to the steering committee and then subcommittees are launched to work on different priorities such as: implementing a risk assessment instrument to determine admissions to detention; developing alternatives to detention; and addressing racial and ethnic disparities. The data capacity of the local site is improved so that it can capture progress reports that track the Average Daily Population (ADP) of the detention facility, Average Length of Stay (ALOS), and the presenting offenses and demographic data of youth in detention. These reports are submitted to the JDAI TATL and the local site's

---

<sup>11</sup> Also listed in the prior section, the JDAI eight core strategies are: collaboration; data-based decision-making; objective screening criteria and instruments to determine admissions to detention; alternatives to detention; case processing reforms; special detention cases; reducing racial and ethnic disparities; and improving conditions of confinement in detention facilities.

steering committee each quarter; summary reports of planning and implementation activities are made on an annual basis.

Through JDAI, participating sites' ongoing learning and training needs are supported by a standardized process. The assigned JDAI TATL typically visits each site once a year and consults with the site coordinator through a regular (monthly or quarterly) telephone call to coach, recommend existing resources, and tailor training materials to the site. An extensive electronic library of Foundation publications on reform is publicly available and an interactive online JDAI community café serving the national network was launched in 2017. Annual inter-site conferences convene delegations from all JDAI sites for "cross-fertilization" of learning as local sites from across the national network make presentations and conduct trainings on the innovations and questions that are coming up in their system's reform process. In addition to the initial model site visit, more established or engaged JDAI sites may opt to schedule model site visits to deliver targeted training (e.g., an "all judge delegation" focused on judicial leadership for reform); or to reinforce the JDAI framework when key players are replaced; or when the overall leadership and vision for a site needs to be refreshed. In the next section, I describe multiple modes of JDAI "learning retreats," a scaffolded strategy employed at different timepoints to seed, bolster, and reinforce the vision and commitment of potential and enlisted change agents for local JDAI sites.

#### V. Learning Retreats

I use the term 'learning retreat' in this study to refer to three types of experience that learning teams or delegations from JDAI sites participate in: (1) a model site visit; (2) the annual JDAI inter-site conference, where JDAI sites with a level of demonstrated progress are invited to present their local reform efforts to the national network; and (3) for a select set of emerging leaders, the JDAI Applied Leadership Network (ALN). In a typical year, active JDAI sites will send a delegation ranging from 8-20 members to one model site visit and a smaller team of 6-8 local stakeholders to the national inter-site conference. Participation in ALN is restricted to more seasoned JDAI sites; after several years of JDAI involvement, a two-member team from a local site may be nominated to join ALN. Each year, ALN accepts teams from eight local sites. ALN members from past cohorts participate in annual gatherings and activities. Figure 5 illustrates the frequency of participation in JDAI learning retreats over a three-year period for one local site in this study (Hawai'i), noting the selection of a site-based team for ALN at the end of the third year.



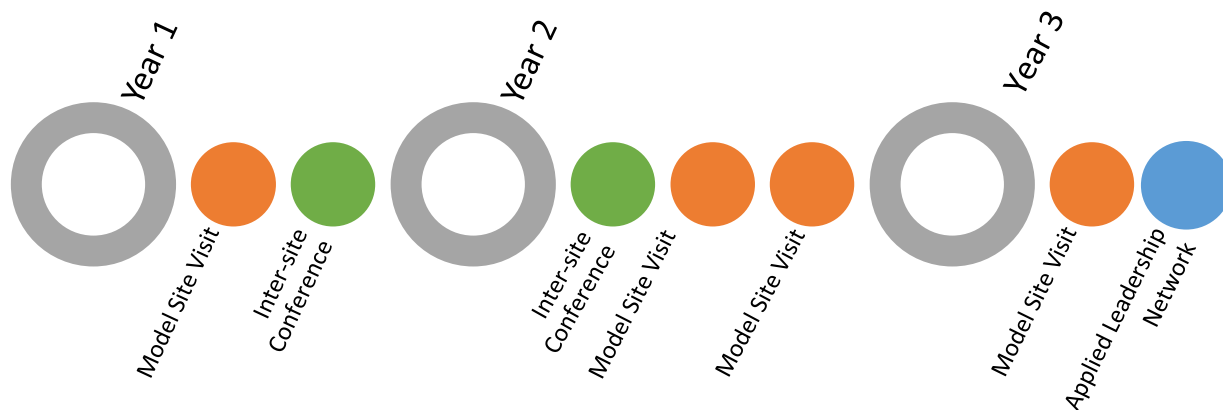


Figure 5. Participation in JDAI learning retreats for Hawai'i site (2009-2011)

While the design of the three learning retreats utilized by JDAI vary, each draws from theories of knowledge exchange, such as Schön's (1971) theory of the diffusion which posited that learning 'magnets' can serve as social and spatial sites where visiting learners absorb new ideas and then return to their home sites to facilitate the circulation of innovative thinking and practice. The attraction of these magnets can be understood as a tightly coupled experience of both 'retreating' and learning together, with attention to the surrounding environment, the tone of social relations, and the order and content of the learning agenda. JDAI learning retreats blend the formal learning agenda and the informal learning process that takes place after-hours and "on the road" among participants. Such retreats provide respite from the "thick spaces" where institutional structures and arrangements powerfully shape communication patterns and power dynamics among system actors. In the "thin space" of a novel learning environment and unfamiliar social interactions, the strength and logic of institutional patterns exert less pull on individuals. This thinness of the space at once creates both uncertainty and the opening for cognitive and emotional space to stretch into new ways of thinking and being.

Scholars of policy transfer and mobilization posit that cognitive and relational associations have profound influence over policy-makers utilization of new knowledge and application of policy learning from another place to their "home" context. Surveying the contexts where new policies are learned, assembled, and mobilized, McCann and Ward (2012) consider

together the formal curation of policy knowledge through conferences and expert panel presentations, site visits, and “fact-finding field trips” with the informal walking tours punctuated with random conversations between participants, exchanges of ideas over meals or “trips to cafes and bars.” He frames these interactions as “relational sites where the past, present, and potential future of a policy can coexist. Past ‘successes’, current ‘problems’, and future ‘scenarios’ are discussed comparatively, conditioning and shaping the paths or tracks along which policies will move. They are not just spatial situations but also social ones” (McCann & Ward, 2012, p.47).

The “relational sites” among the temporarily gathered group of learners holds the potential for intense bonding and a fertile learning opportunity as system actors are taken out of their familiar context and positioned as co-learners in a strange-yet-safe space. Technical planning tasks, instruments, and templates to support a structured approach to detention reform are extensively documented by AECF (1999c), but of arguably far greater importance are the soft processes of creating formal and informal spaces and routines that enable discursively and experientially rich learning. In one example, a model site coordinator recalled regretfully how an unpleasant overnight stay at a local hotel significantly disrupted the learning among members of a visiting delegation on the second day of their site visit. In several interviews, local delegates cited conversations at the airport or in flight where ideas were planted or questions were raised that resulted in significant changes of practice or policy when they returned from JDAI conferences to their home site. Theories of learning, transfer, and the flow of policies and ideas from one place to another are woven throughout the JDAI design, with attention to priming participants for meaningful learning and the places and spaces where meaningful learning takes root (González, 2011; Howlett & Perl, 2015; Kim, 2012; McCann & Ward, 2012, 2013).

#### A. Priming

Formal processes to prime for learning are articulated in JDAI protocols, although the extent to which they are implemented is uneven, as the case studies of local sites reveal in subsequent chapters. For example, in preparation for a model site visit, members of the visiting delegation are supposed to participate in a conference call with the JDAI TATL and model site coordinator so that the group can begin to identify what they want and need to learn to support their site’s reform efforts. During that conversation, different members of the delegation should be assigned specific issues (i.e., areas of weakness, challenge, and inquiry) to focus on during the model site visit.

A parallel process of informal priming for learning begins when a system actor is invited to participate as a member of the site's delegation. The invitation bestows a certain "chosen" status and correspondingly, for receptive learners, a certain level of obligation for putting the learning into action. The luxury of "coming away" to learn afforded by the support of AECF is an appealing proposition. Bound up in the learning retreat is the pleasure of embarking on a new adventure in a new place, enjoying comfortable accommodations and stimulating learning environments hosted by gracious facilitators. This is the JDAI carrot to entice system actors out of their familiar context to engage in a carefully curated learning experience designed to mobilize their new knowledge into action.

During the learning retreat itself, the agenda is sequenced to challenge learners with new information and move them with compelling stories and/or experiences in the first phase. This primes participants for the culminating phase of the retreat when a formal JDAI leader closes with a call to act on what they've learned, a commitment to a personal and practical response from every learner. For those who truly embrace this call to become an agent of change, this is often the first stepping stone to a deepening identification with JDAI and its vision to transform the institution of juvenile justice at a local and national level. JDAI's social learning process seeks to generate and sustain new philosophies, goals, and practices among system actors and supports the formation of new role-identities aligned with systems change, encouraging them to exercise their own formal and informal authority to apply their learning wherever they possess or can create latitude to act.

## B. Participant Selection

Claims of the importance of 'relational sites' of learning that mobilize knowledge within social groups raises the stakes for the strategic selection of participants to engage in the intensive learning experiences together. At play in the selection process is a calculation of a learner's openness to receiving new information and putting it into practice, the social dynamics of learners during the learning retreat and the responsibility for sharing new knowledge with peers and subordinates back at the home site.

Here JDAI's value for a broadly inclusive collaborative process can be at odds with a strategic investment in a targeted team that learns together for the purpose of implementing change together. Site coordinators and TATLs determine who will be awarded a seat on the plane as they attempt to balance distinct yet interconnected goals of stoking change at different levels of the system. Early in a site's JDAI participation, the initial model site visits are focused on wooing, convincing, and building affinity among influential leaders for system change. Heeding the wisdom that policy change is directly dependent

upon “what the most powerful members of a group (or society) consent to believe” (Innes, 2013, p. 210-211), the initial learning delegations are typically made up of key decision-makers with authority over resource allocation (e.g., agency directors, court administrators, and elected officials) and juvenile court judges who occupy a place of symbolic and legal leadership in the system. Later delegations may give more attention to stoking the imaginations of supervisors and managers who are positioned to translate the transformation of their own day to day thinking and behavior to the teams of actors that they oversee, thus beginning the incremental nudge to shift institutional culture.

In the following sections, I provide in-depth look at the three primary JDAI learning retreat experiences: model site visits as sites of experiential social learning, annual conferences as sites of peer-to-peer learning and identity formation in the JDAI movement, and the Applied Leadership Network as an official initiation rite into the ranks of system reformers.

### C. Model Site Visits: Sites of Experiential Learning and Imagination

A ‘reform veteran’ who had been involved in the early years of establishing one of the model sites characterized JDAI’s approach to social learning as a thoughtful “educational process to let people know that this is not a crazy idea.” The initiative employs a model site design to introduce visitors from other local systems’ communities of practice to the robust JDAI cross-site learning, training, and technical assistance network. The five JDAI model sites have been nationally recognized for their progress toward the goals of detention reform as well as implementing broader changes of policy and practice that impact other parts of the system, either ‘upstream’ with diversion from arrest or ‘downstream’ with alternatives to probation and out-of-home placements. Each site regularly hosts 1-2 visits per month for other sites to engage in experiential learning about the JDAI process and specific challenges such as collaboration, culturally responsive practices, and data collection systems.

Model site visits are a bracketed social learning experience for potential change agents from local juvenile justice systems where a critical mass of leaders is committing to a reform agenda. The design of the model site visit is aligned with research on attitude change through learning and finely tuned to the needs of learners to engage in multiple dimensions: cognitive, emotional, and relational (categorized here for heuristic purposes, while in reality these dimensions are fluid and overlapping). Theory on attitude change through facilitated learning emphasize three elements: 1) persuasiveness and credibility of message; 2) modeling of desired behavior by respected individuals; and 3) the introduction of dissonance among the aspects of attitude including cognitive, affective, and behavioral (Bednar & Levie,

1993; Smith & Ragan, 1999). Each of these elements is embedded in the model site visit, as described below.

The credibility and persuasiveness of new information in changing listener's attitudes has been found to rely less on compelling content and more on the "evaluative responses" of the learner in response to the message (Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991). This highlights the importance of how claims are framed, who the messenger is, and how this person is evaluated by the listener. The reciprocal power of message and messenger is central to the first two elements supporting an attitude change in the learner. The presence of AECF, usually in the form of the Technical Assistance Team Leader (TATL) consultant assigned to the visiting site carries weight in the learners' evaluation of new knowledge. AECF's backing of JDAI silently vouches for the rationality of all that is presented at the model site visit; AECF's investment in the model site itself and in the logistics that make the learning retreat possible are persuasive arguments for the importance of the learning content. The TATL and the model site facilitator play crucial roles as reform experts, setting a tone that is at once authoritative and relatable as they invite and provoke dialogue among visiting learners during the retreat. Their skill in quickly building trust and respect sets the stage for the cast of model site actors who present throughout two days of a carefully choreographed learning agenda. In a later example, I describe the interplay at a model site visit between the facilitator as she prompted delegates to reflect on what actions that they would take in response to the learning and the TATL offering suggestions to support action based on her familiarity with the visiting site's context.

In optimal learning environments, absorption of new concepts has been correlated with their gradual introduction and the scaffolding of information at a pace appropriate for the learners to synthesize the knowledge and construct new meanings (Winkielman, Huber, Kavanagh, & Schwarz, 2012). The intensive JDAI model site visit compresses this temporal aspect of learning; new information is "activated" and made legible through reassuring verbal, physical, and social cues. These cues include the consistent warmth of a facilitator's speech and body language; the repetition and reinforcement of target concepts so that the terms begin to ring familiar as a shared language among this learning community; and the establishment of new rituals in a temporary space (Collins & Loftus, 1975; Winkielman Huber, Kavanagh, & Schwarz, 2012). The creation of this temporary, novel-yet-familiar place within a strange space is a crucial act in opening the door for transformational learning.

In the course of conducting interviews, two model site visit facilitator's names came up repeatedly. People's faces brightened at the memory of their impressions of and interactions with these facilitators, even if they struggled to recall other memories from the model site visit. One visiting learner found it refreshing how relatable and down-to-earth the facilitator was, in spite of his role as an expert at the model site. "[He] was so enthusiastic, nice, not someone who's 'up there.'" A probation supervisor that I've known for years, usually reserved and distant, broke out into a wide smile and leaned forward confidently as he recalled his experience at a model site visit.

I just love [that facilitator]. She is so upbeat, she makes you feel like you can do anything. You are so lucky that you got to spend all that time with her when you did your observation. I would give my left arm to have her mentor me.  
(Asian male, non-model site probation leader)

The positive vibe of these gifted facilitators is contagious, and they create a collective identity, transforming this assembled crew of learners into a learning community of "us;" human and imperfect, yet committed to making changes for the sake of kids in the justice system. Their presence can turn the tide in the room when the energy of the learners is waning. Humor is a tool that they wield deftly, often laughing at themselves and their own "knee-jerk" reactions, then smoothly extending the critique to poke fun at outdated and foolish beliefs and practices that live on in local justice systems. One facilitator engaged in a little rhetorical self-mockery: "Why are we so bent out of shape? Are we really going to run and tell the judge when a kid makes us mad? Let's slow down, cool off, get a grip." Everyone in the room tightened up a bit and then relaxed; recognizing themselves in her example and then chuckling along with her and resolving to do better. These touchpoints are subtle yet significant for connecting the abstract learning to lived reality. One of the model site coordinators illustrated his self-deprecating style that invites learners on the journey of reform. "When people come to visit, I try to spend more time talking about my failures than my successes – those are miracles! Might as well save others angst and money and time."

JDAI's model site visit is designed with a keen awareness of who learns from whom. The value of role models for institutional change dovetails with Kim's contention that "our attention is shaped by our peers and the socially esteemed...one of the most powerful ways that we adopt new information and practices is by watching other people whom we are predisposed to pay attention to and who are within our social circles" (2012:80). Respected individuals from the model system are welcomed by the model site coordinator and given

the floor during the site visit. Probation chiefs, judges, prosecuting attorneys, and community leaders all take part in relaying the model site's narrative of reform. Implicitly, they model what acting as an agent of change might look like from different positions and roles within the system. In this way, JDAI's social learning is designed to address the potential obstacles to change highlighted by path dependence theory. Recognizing the power of both institutional history and actors' past personal experiences to shape worldviews and limit the imagination, the model site visit is masterful in creating tension as an opening for learning. While upbringing, institutional logics, professional training, and the social milieu converge to define what is possible among members of the visiting delegation, highly esteemed "pillars" of the model site's juvenile justice system confidently paint a picture of a radically different institutional reality that challenges these conceptions.

Complementary to this approach of authority figures embodying transformed beliefs and practices, the long-term view of learning together emerged as an important insight for most of the visiting learners interviewed in this study. Hearing from those further along the long arc of the reform process was one of the most significant takeaways from visiting delegates' participation in model site visits. Model site presenters' admission that reform work is far from an overnight process clearly resonated with listeners and helped to shrink the cognitive distance that visiting learners had to traverse to absorb innovations that were at times downright alien and preposterous to the regimes of practice in their local institutions. One visiting learner laughed as she described the disarming experience of hearing about the "lumps" and "hiccups" encountered when the Multnomah County model site first opened its Juvenile Reception Center, where police could bring youth picked up for non-serious offenses, including runaways (referred to as "runners" in the quote below).

When Multnomah said that law enforcement didn't like the [reception] center, that runners took off again as soon as the police left, I was surprised that their experience wasn't that different from ours. It stuck out that it took them 10 years to get it going. (Asian female, non-model site probation officer)

She participated in this model site visit after her local system had completed two years of JDAI reforms and she recalled the frustration of those early years of trying to inculcate new ways of thinking and implementing unfamiliar policies and practices. The model site visit came at a time when morale in her local site was low and disillusionment with the JDAI process was on the rise. Reflecting back, she added, "It was good to hear that even for a model site, it took long time to get everyone doing the same thing, on the same page."

As listeners struggle to make sense of inexplicable messages coming from relatable sources, the mental and emotional tension can catalyze attitude change. According to cognitive dissonance theory and social cognition research, actors search for cognitive consistency as they confront arguments for and examples of change that are simultaneously unfamiliar and compelling (Festinger 1957; Gawronski 2012). As visiting learners grapple with the contradictions to their established systems of belief and practice that are promoted throughout the model site visit, the discomfort motivates them to engage with new information in hopes of resolving their dissonance. Again, the ease or fluency with which actors can digest new information enhances their perceptions of the validity of concepts – and the model site visits are fluent in the multiple languages of head, heart, and spirit.

Another visiting probation supervisor expressed that “being there” at the model site and seeing a different reality was key. She described the impact of her experience going on a “ride-along” to observe a home visit conducted by a probation officer from the model site. On this field visit, she and another visiting delegate were curious to see how probation officers supervised youth who were deemed to be at a higher risk of re-offense but qualified for an “Alternative to Detention” rather than being detained. The child had been released to his family, under the condition that he wear an Electronic Monitoring “bracelet” around the clock that tracked his physical location until he appeared in court.

The kid was a Class A felony release; already had the bracelet on. Don't think [my probation department] would have that. Went into house and talked to grandparents, who were very committed. Where they lived was very far out, very rural. Well-do-do. Their house was beautiful. A combination of things we would consider too. (Asian female, non-model site probation leader)

In her interview, she processed her own conflicting views, first articulating skepticism about her local justice system implementing similar alternatives for serious offenses. Looping back, she revisited the context that the visit provided to inform decision-making, such as the impressions of “well-to-do” and “committed” care-givers in the child's life. While some of the socio-economic judgments and the normative lens apparent in her account remain problematic, her process of shifting views indicated an open-ness to continuing to change in her thinking and understanding of a more responsive and less punitive approach to probation practice.

The JDAI holistic learning approach is significant, given that the dissonance that emerges from learning about systems change is not limited to cognition, but includes the affective and emotional realm. When successful, the dissonance will also impact actions and



behavior. Throughout the model site visit, information is presented in an intentional sequence, with great emphasis on quantitative data driving “data-informed decision-making” and engaging real-life testimonies interspersed throughout the day to complement and add depth to the story that the numbers tell. The facilitators play a critical role in forging relational and empathic connections, drawing the learners into critical reflection at the close of each segment of the model site visit; calling for an active response to the learning through some concrete commitment to personal action. Theories of transformative learning suggest that punctuated prompts to critical reflection can lead to transformational learning when learners recognize and express a change in their own thinking and perspective (Taylor, 2000, p. 291). This practice of critique and reflection among learners has also been correlated with attitude and behavioral change in response to new information (Simonson & Maushak, 2001).

A ritual of reflection emerged within the structure of the two-day model site visit, skillfully choreographed between the facilitator and AECF’s Technical Assistance Team Leader (TATL) consultant assigned to the visiting site. At the mid-point and end of each day, the facilitator would tap the brakes on the flow of information and draw a deep breath, inviting the learners to pause to reflect and make meaning of what they were experiencing. She urged them – not rhetorically – to share and make a commitment to a realistic action that they could take upon returning home. The TATL would bridge and clarify the exercise and then tie it to concrete structures to support follow-up.

*Facilitator:* Think back, in the opening talk we learned that [this model site] had strengths and practices already present that mirrored JDAI values. Does this resonate? What practices are you already using in your site that you can bring together for reform? Can you see yourself and coming together with partners in your system? Name them; make the connection.

*TATL Consultant:* From your experience, your role, what ideas come to mind on how you can take action? Who will you invite to collaborate? Take these ideas, this momentum, you don’t want to wait and get lost. Call, email, reach out now. Your steering committee will meet on the 4<sup>th</sup> Wednesday of each month from 10am-12pm. This team will come back together at that meeting to share updates of what you’ve done.

The two-day model site visit aims to forge a collective commitment based on this shared experience and memory within a group of local system “stakeholders.” The members of the visiting delegation may embark on this learning journey with a loose affiliation but can emerge framed as a team, bonded and called to action. This intensive experience can provide a foundation for cognitive conversion and seeds for the development of a change

agent identity. The social learning design braids together three strands: the scrutiny and interpretation of data, an experience of transformational learning, and the acceptance of personal accountability for the role that each individual institutional actor can play in reform.

In the next section, I consider the experience of learning retreats via inter-site conferences. Within the visiting delegations, conference participation lacks the powerful sense of team bonding that can occur on a model site visit, but can connect learners to a wide range of ideas and models from across the nation. Further, in the following discussion on conferences and to a greater extent in the Applied Leadership Network, the JDAI learning agenda deepens its emphasis on enculturating the learning retreats as spaces of inquiry and critique for the justice system's functions and *raison d'être*. These retreats also provide discursive spaces to ritualize reflection among individuals, local sites, and the national movement. Themes of role-identity development are reprised at different levels, stoking affiliation with the initiative at a national level, branding and recognition for local sites as JDAI sites of innovation and reform, and a focus on individuals and their roles as change agents in the transformation of their own systems toward perpetual learning and improvement.

#### D. Inter-site Conferences: Sites of Identity Formation

...the secret ingredient of JDAI is the peer to peer exchange. It's about building relationships. It's exciting to get together with peers, learning from each other and showcasing what we're doing. (White male, model site probation leader)

As visiting delegates return from the model site to their home sites and act on the experience by planning and implementing reforms tailored to their context, the learning incentive is kicked up a notch with the future promise of retreating to an annual inter-site conference. The by-invitation-only JDAI inter-site conferences are touted by AECF as "a great opportunity for a select group of practitioners to exchange information and learn from their peers."<sup>12</sup> For those who embark on the work of reform in earnest, the opportunity to present at the inter-site conference is also an invitation to take a more active role in peer to peer learning. By presenting lessons from their local site's experience of innovation, JDAI participants take on responsibility for facilitating mutual learning (Simonson & Maushak, 2001). The local actor telling her site's story at a national conference is a discursive act that can "create identity, agency, and reputation" (Linde, 2015, p.519) for both the

---

<sup>12</sup> See the Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2017). Proposals Sought for 2017 JDAI Inter-Site Conference. Retrieved from <http://www.aecf.org/blog/proposals-sought-for-2017-jdai-inter-site-conference/>

presenter and her home site, putting them both on the JDAI map as sources of new knowledge and expertise.

Peer to peer learning resonates with a commonsense judgment about whose voice has legitimacy for specific learners. A sentiment echoed by actors across the initiative was the conviction that judges, prosecutors, and police officers will listen to their counterparts in other jurisdictions before they'll listen to anyone else." Approaching institutions as "collectively enforced expectations" that dictate the behaviors of actors according to category (Streeck & Thelen, 2009) the JDAI peer-to-peer-learning strategy was deployed to shift the expectations that define the roles and responsibilities of justice system practitioners. One interviewee credited the peer-to-peer learning opportunities at inter-site conferences for spurring culture change in the local police department and sheriff's office. She further articulated the broader impact of exposing system partners to the JDAI "big picture." In the Santa Cruz case, collaboration between probation and law enforcement evolved as police officers who participated in inter-site conferences made the link between the national discourse and the local reforms and became champions for change when they returned to their institutional settings.

We take [law enforcement partners] to our national JDAI conference and that's when they really see what we're doing here, that it's not just Santa Cruz but the whole nation is doing this. Then they are the best PR. When they see what we're doing and [get] involved, they tend to have more respect for our work and it filters back, which is way more powerful than us saying how great we are. (White female, model site probation leader)

The inter-site conference can serve as a site where actors' awareness of the national reform movement is heightened and they begin to identify themselves and their local systems as part of this larger effort. The conferences play a central role in communicating the profound power of a critical mass of justice practitioners who are dedicated to transforming their local systems. The conferences provide "newbies," those participating in their first JDAI learning retreat, a glimpse into the history of the initiative and a sense of the social movement that is underway.

The conference design, while not innovative, is notable for its strategic deployment of discursive tactics. Speakers in the plenary sessions return to the metaphor of "JDAI nation" repeatedly throughout the multi-day program and the communal high point of the conference is the inspiring and emotional "State of the Initiative" speech given by the JDAI director to set vision for the initiative. These speeches are performative discursive acts that

have taken on a ritual and ceremonial significance. An analysis of one of the most recent State of the Initiative speeches in comparison to prior years reveals a structure of re-telling of the JDAI narrative of system change framed by 'a look back on how the initiative has grown,' a snapshot of current progress, and an annual re-affirmation of a shared reform identity characterized by "the energizing power of a strong and cohesive network of highly motivated leaders" who embody "a tireless commitment to continuous improvement" (Balis, 2015).

Over the years the annual gatherings have grown to nearly a thousand justice system practitioners and partners, providing a substantial audience of learners who are primed to take increasingly revolutionary ideas back to the institutions that they inhabit. The founding JDAI director Bart Lubow passed the baton of leadership for the initiative as AECF's campaign to close youth prisons was gaining steam, fueled by research and JDAI's expansion to the "deep-end" in its application of short-term detention reform tactics and principles to longer-term incarceration. Centerstage at the 2015 JDAI inter-site conference, the author of *Burning Down the House: The End of Youth Prison*, brought to life haunting and harrowing stories drawn from firsthand accounts of young people's experience in juvenile detention and prison facilities across the US. She posed the pivotal challenge of her newly published work to the hundreds of justice system practitioners and partners in no uncertain terms.

The history...of more states and state institutions than it is possible to list...raises a central question: Is reforming juvenile prisons and the larger system that operates them adequate to improving the lives and prospects of the young people in their care? Or is that system and the various state institutions that form its foundation itself beyond redemption? (Bernstein, 2015)

An unimaginable call to change was being launched. In retrospect, in the agenda of this inter-site conference, AECF chose to make visible part of a cognitive-emotional scaffold that it had been steadily working to erect within the JDAI nation. The infrastructure of social learning within the network had been laid, the bridges of trust were strong, and the data was in: falling detention and incarceration rates among youth mirrored a long-term decline in juvenile crime. It was time to openly begin the demanding process of deconstructing the institutional logics of incarceration. In the following year, incoming director Nate Balis continued to push the boundaries of site-based practitioners' imaginations regarding their

identities as learners and reformers, as well as with respect to the goals of reform, as reflected in his inaugural conference address in 2015:

“One of the great things about our network is the willingness, perhaps even the expectation, among all of you in this room to be pushed, to be challenged. To engage in the big debates about the issues that impact our most vulnerable kids and their communities. The central question of ... whether juvenile prison is worth are worth fixing or simply getting rid of, is one of the issues that we hope everyone in this room will grapple with...Not because it has easy answers, but because if anyone’s going to answer the questions, it’s the people in the JDAI network.” – Nate Balis, JDAI Director

Juvenile justice policy has evolved within the constraints of a social and policy paradigm that operates on the premise that young people need the state to provide correction, discipline, and surveillance. However, radical upheavals in discourse are associated with third order change or paradigm shift. AECF has been sowing the seeds for paradigm shift in the past few years, leveraging their considerable persuasion in the form of resources and influence/power and after a quarter century of engagement in successful policy experimentation and adaptations of practice, the trust and track record of creeping reform. AECF has infiltrated the state and planted its own sleeper cells of change agents who are capable of – and growing more comfortable with – questioning the milieu of the justice system and calling for radical change, even at the cost of their own job security. The moral challenge has been issued slowly and incrementally, sown for decades and successfully embedded in the ethos of the JDAI nation.

For some system actors whose value for peer-to-peer learning and identity as a member of the “JDAI nation” is catalyzed or nourished by participation in annual conferences, these learning experiences can further whet their appetite for a greater commitment to transforming their local juvenile justice systems and a stronger attachment to the JDAI movement. In the next section, I consider the most targeted strategy of paradigm shift in the JDAI toolbox, the Applied Leadership Network (ALN) as an official initiation rite into the ranks of JDAI system reformers. ALN participants help to populate and replicate the learning system

#### [E. Applied Leadership Network: Site of Calling](#)

I begin this final section of the chapter with a portrait of the disorientation experienced by a delegate re-entering her local institution fresh from a JDAI learning retreat, eager to implement innovations gathered from the model site visit or inter-site conference. I go on to discuss the leadership development strategy that AECF has brandished to perpetuate reform and its counter-culture message that cuts against the institutional grain.

...the agent of diffusion...confront[s] local resistances and dangers...the central message may appear strange and inappropriate in the new settings. There are often strong local counter-pressures threatening to engulf the mission. The mission, moreover, feels alienated from the center of power – where policy is being made and where battles for power are going on. (Schön, 1971, p. 92).

Schön captures the profound alienation of the “mission” from the “center of power” that confronts every sojourning learner whose insights and hopes for reform are crushed against the brick wall of bureaucracy upon their return home. Back in the “new settings” or thick institutional space among peers, superiors, and subordinates whose imaginations have not wavered from the routine hum and logic of existing policy and practice, the revelations gleaned from the model site visit or inter-site conference sound strange, far-fetched, even laughable.

Even when strong bonds have been forged within the visiting delegation, the weakness of the interagency team structure is often exposed at this critical juncture of spreading the learning and innovation. The delegates scatter and disperse back into their own agencies and the strength of the JDAI central message is diluted, swallowed with barely a trace like a few drops of dye into a large ocean of water. How then, can the dose of reform be concentrated enough to effect innovation in the periphery sites? As the above vignette hints, an effective agent of diffusion must be inoculated with a heavy dose of courage, commitment, and political savvy to advance the mission and resist the overwhelming urge to succumb to the status quo.

A glance at AECF’s publications related to leadership development articulate a deceptively simple statement of purpose for the JDAI Applied Leadership Network (ALN). ALN was created to “accelerate the achievement of results within the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative and to strengthen the ranks of leaders in the juvenile justice field” (AECF, 2015a). Between those spare lines of text lies the mystery of calling, the awakening to self and social context, and the fulfillment and meaning-making of a project identity to transform an unjust system. It creates a cohort, a movement of agents who are activated, who draw their movement identity from the constructed “JDAI Nation” that is networked through the participation in this national initiative. ALN is aimed at cultivating cohorts of institutional reformers who share a common language and framework embedded in the curriculum that is theoretically based in the learning organization and leadership development literature. Shared texts like *Leadership on the Line* and *Trying Isn’t Good Enough* coach aspiring leaders to risk breaking harmony, to analyze and form political alliances, and to value and practice “adaptive change” over “technical change.”

### 1. Career 'Change Agents'

To advance innovation, and even more ambitiously, to enculturate organizational learning that can support the development of true learning systems, long-term institutional leadership must rise from the ranks of those who weather the inevitable pendulum swings of political and economic priorities. Under the branding of "talent development," AECF has spent more than three decades and untold financial resources constructing and refining a social learning process and curriculum to develop the human capital required to sustain change in systems that enhance child well-being. Prompted by the reality that "nonprofit, public and social leaders aren't equipped to achieve results that can make a brighter future for large numbers of children," AECF (2017b) fixed its sights on a longer trajectory of change by building vision and capacity for change within nonprofit executives and career bureaucrats.

Adapting lessons from its flagship Children and Family Fellowship for leaders across its multiple initiatives, AECF launched ALN in 2008 as a focused leadership development track for the JDAI network to perpetuate the juvenile justice reform movement. The structure of the JDAI ALN reflects this focus on "middle managers and higher-level administrators," as described by the director of AECF's policy group on juvenile justice.

We recognized that these are the people who are likely to survive political transitions, stay with their organizations and dedicate their entire careers to this work. Strengthening that level of leadership really makes a difference. (Gail Mumford, quoted by AECF, 2015b)

Applying the discursive tactics and persuasive policy learning approaches deployed in the other learning retreat formats, AECF used ALN to subvert the role of these actors who were often promoted for their ability to maintain existing institutional arrangements. ALN framed an identity for its participants as "leaders who can engage partners and shift behaviors, attitudes and beliefs" to "navigate the complexity of systems change" (AECF 2013: 20).

Employed as a targeted strategy to achieve AECF's goal of promoting collaborative and adaptive leadership of local systems, ALN enacted a powerful challenge to institutional stickiness and self-interest. Harnessing institutional isomorphism or the tendency for rational actors to reshape their organizations to resemble others in the professional field (DiMaggio & Powell 1983), ALN circulates reform concepts and approaches among intimate cohorts of justice system leaders from a cross-section of sites in the national initiative. By facilitating identity formation as 'career change agents' this cohort of actors activated for

leadership, ALN strengthens the “JDAI blueprint” for implementing justice reform across these local justice systems.

The ‘inner circle’ experience of leadership development through ALN immediately attained a symbol of status within the JDAI network. AECF defines ALN participants as “seasoned in-place leaders” nominated for entry by JDAI TATL; in turn these seasoned leaders select “an emerging leader” from their ranks to form their site’s two-person team (AECF, 2015a). This structure provides an additional incentive for up and coming leaders to demonstrate their dedication to the JDAI mission. Every two years, a new ALN cohort consisting of 6 to 8 teams from local JDAI sites across the nation meets quarterly for “executive leadership” seminars and applies the team’s learning to advance reform in their local system through a capstone project. Upon completion of the 12-month program, ALN alumni meet regularly for learning retreats, peer support, and occasional consultation with AECF’s Juvenile Justice Strategy Group (AECF, 2012).

The ALN hype machine was further fueled by Foundation publications such as reports and articles with such titles as: *Leading for Results: Developing Talent to Drive Change* and *The Applied Leadership Network: Casey’s Innovative Model for Building Leadership Skills in JDAI Sites...and Putting Them to Use in Advancing Detention Reform*. Such communication pieces helped to cement ALN’s social currency within the JDAI nation. Securing a spot in the ALN roster of alumni was recognized as another badge of JDAI honor earned in the process of forging an identity as a change agent for juvenile justice system reform. Embodying the ALN framing, this “cadre of skilled and motivated reformers in the juvenile justice field” (AECF, 2015a) increased their own sites’ fluency in the JDAI discourse and approaches.

## *2. Moving from Self-Awareness to Social Justice*

AECF’s leadership curricula across its initiatives continue to evolve but its central tenets are drawn from the framework of Results-Based Leadership, pairing the soft skills of facilitating realistic agreements with a focus on timely and measurable outcomes. Toward a goal of developing “the quality of leadership that can succeed over time,” five core competencies are emphasized in ALN: (1) decision-making based on results and data; (2) working to address race, class and culture disparities; (3) using oneself as a change agent; (4) adaptive leadership; and (5) collaborating with others to achieve measurable results (AECF, 2015a).



I focus this brief discussion on the third competency, identity formation and use of oneself as an agent of change. ALN emphasizes the adaptive and reflective skills that leaders draw upon when navigating their "self" with awareness of their own role as change agents as they worked across boundaries of power and racial and class differences. The "Person-Role-System" serves as the overarching ALN framework that differentiates three levels of analysis and action in organizational change. While the "person" level addresses individual preferences, philosophies, and ideologies and the "system" level is oriented toward the relationship between people and other resources interacting to achieve a common purpose, the "role" level encourages individuals to become aware of their ability to further the common purpose and to act purposefully in the position they occupy in the system to effect change (Pillsbury 2013). The learners undergo a process that reframes their understanding and perception of the systems that they participate in and the role that they can play in reform. The Person-Role-System structure of analysis provides a cognitive frame for actors as they develop a project identity (Castells, 1997) of transforming the juvenile justice system.

ALN participants develop insights from theories of psychoanalysis and organizational analysis and gain language to acknowledge and analyze the way decision-making is influenced by "desires and fears that have little to do with task, but more with managing anxiety, particularly related to ambition, competition, political correctness" (Green & Molenkamp, 2005, p. 6). Learners understand and identify factors that impact the ways that they exercise authority in their role in the system. For example, learning scenarios are used to explore the enabling and impeding factors coming to play in the psyche of a manager who prolongs a systemic problem indefinitely through his avoidance of a decision that will be unpopular with subordinates. By intentionally naming and bringing to the surface the force fields of institutional norms and expectation of reinforcement of the status quo that often go unacknowledged, the ALN curriculum plays an emancipatory role in making visible the "interaction scripts" that circulate in organizations and systems, becoming a taken-for-granted aspect of the culture of institutional settings (Dowd & Bensimon 2015).

The touch-points most emphasized by the ALN participants interviewed for this study and the testimonies found in AECF's publications were insights related to their own complicity in the institutional 'culture of silence' that allow the mistreatment of youth to continue unchecked, even when multiple actors are aware of the abuse of power taking place. For example, a case study entitled "Cash for Kids" used by ALN was a clear-cut incident of explicit and long-term corruption, with a lead juvenile judge receiving a pay-off from the

local corrections facility for inflating its profits by incarcerating young people for spurious reasons. The nuances of the analysis brought to light the ways that different practitioners failed to take up the authority of their institutional position to question the judge's decisions and to hold the system accountable for fair treatment of young people. ALN participants repeatedly referenced this "Cash for Kids" story as a symbolic reminder to reflect on any questionable practices that they turn a blind eye to and fail to defend the rights of children in the system. Marrying this awareness with the skills of using self as a change agent, the ALN curriculum articulates as one of its goals the ability to play "one's role with clarity of intent; willingness to be accountable for the outcomes of one's instrumentality; and willingness to take risks associated with working at the edge of the boundary of one's role authority" (White, 2013, p. 3). Putting the theoretical concepts into action, participants are required to identify a project to implement at their local site and to integrate in ALN tools such as the Accountability Pathway (Pillsbury, 2013) to help monitor their progress.

ALN participants work to combine this framework of using self as an instrument of change with the JDAI core competencies of addressing racial inequities and linking decision making to data. The social learning process aligns with Young's (1995) work on difference as a resource for communicative action by facilitating participants' understanding of their own perspective as one in many valid interpretations of reality; reframing discourse from issues oriented toward "self" and redirecting the goals of the discussion toward justice; and growing the shared knowledge of the group via expression, questions, and challenges encountered through the different perspectives of others. Cultivating a culture of inquiry within the ALN cohort opens up new avenues for actors to reimagine the system that they inhabit (Gilmore & Schall, 1996). Through the year-long program's hands-on engagement and social interaction, ALN learning strategies foster agency in individuals to effect change from their position within the system, requiring the completion of a "capstone project" from each participating local site team. ALN is widely regarded as a pivotal experience by participants; in the local case studies several alumni made mention of the impact that ALN participation had on their careers and sense of calling to reform. The nature of transformation associated with the ALN experience is incremental and contingent upon the starting point of the individual leaders and the institutions that they inhabit. For example, one JDAI leader described the results of her team's capstone project in this way:

"We have had success in moving from a system-oriented approach to a client-oriented one, where we look at what's in the best interest of the client as opposed to...the best interest of the system" – Black woman, probation leader

As this probation leader described, culture change away from the status quo within local institutions was a common reform that was reported by multiple ALN alumni. Reflected in the language of young people as “clients” in this example, the shift in priorities was still embedded within the logic of consumer-services. However, the change of attitude underlying the attention to young people’s interests over the “system’s” interests hints at a still to-be-explored path of more radical changes of thinking and beliefs. In this vein, other ALN alumni documented the steps that they took to mobilize the concepts of person-role-system and accountability in their local jurisdictions, in some cases training entire probation departments and offering cross-training to system partners. In other cases, new partnerships were launched for Alternatives to Detention in line with a larger view of providing young people with meaningful skills and experiences (e.g., through hands-on work with natural resource conservation or cultural restoration projects or through art, poetry, dance, or music workshops) with positive and caring adult mentors.

#### F. Investment in Learning to Support Paradigm Shift

The power of the intentional actions of the invisible hand of AECF in this long-term work of developing change agents cannot be under-estimated. Through the strategic investment of resources in various levels and forms of the JDAI national peer-to-peer learning network, AECF is laying the human infrastructure for developing and perpetuating justice systems as learning systems. In strict dollars and cents, even by modest estimates, the magnitude of AECF’s investment in the JDAI social learning process is staggering. For local sites that entered the initiative in the first 20 years, the typical ongoing annual funding arrangement entails AECF paying for the cost of travel and accommodations for 20-30 learning retreat participants, typically a maximum of 10 attendees for one inter-site conference and 1-2 model site visits. In addition, a line item of \$1,500 to cover the purchase of meeting refreshments for stakeholder and advisory groups is included, a pittance for AECF that represents a complete luxury for government agencies.

In the conclusion of this chapter discussing JDAI as a meta-case of systems change, I highlight the two discursive “anchors” that actors cited extensively as helping to orient their growing sense of identity and guide their actions as agents of change.

#### VI. Discursive Anchors: “My Child” to “My Role”

By far the most important and difficult aspect of the JDAI social learning process is a crucial switch of focus from the behavior of kids to the behavior of the adults who interact with youth during or resulting from their involvement with the justice system. I explore two

discursive anchors or touchpoints that JDAI utilizes, reinforcing through repetition these frames as the preferred lens through which justice system practitioners view their work with youth. The first anchor reframes young people in context of familial relationship, using the term “my kid” or “our children” in an attempt to re-sensitize practitioners to the alienating connotations of the dominant framing of youth involved with the juvenile justice system as “juveniles” or slightly worse, “juvenile delinquents.” The second anchor then moves the inquiry to focus to “my role,” meaning the role that justice practitioners play in their responsibility to care for “our children” or “my kid.” The founding JDAI director characterized the shift from emphasizing correction of children’s behavior to re-examination of adults’ behavior as taking “a different tack” to reform:

Even people who work in the system largely operate as if things will only get better if the kids start behaving differently. [JDAI] sought to change the way the adults who operate, guide, monitor, or support the system behave as a prerequisite to any change in juvenile conduct and any improvements in public safety or the quality of justice. (Lubow, quoted by AECF, 1999c)

In the two subsections that follow, I discuss the use of these frames in the JDAI social learning process in greater detail. In the final chapter of this dissertation, I will return to the power of discursive anchors and the introduction of other frames to expand the scope of imaginable change to the justice system.

#### A. “My Child”

Lubow’s conviction, voiced nearly twenty years ago, remains salient today. Building on research such as *The Essence of Innocence* (Goff, Jackson, Culotta, Di Leone, & DiTomasso, 2014) that demonstrated that Black boys are perceived as more mature, culpable, and less childlike than their White peers, the discursive anchor of “my child” draws attention to the distortions in our cognitive scripts and our social imaginary around youth of color. The simplicity of the ‘my child’ test is deceptive, but its accessibility is its strength. As one of the most commonly mentioned discursive tools in the JDAI toolbox, it does the trick of slowing down and reframing the immediate situation in justice system practice. Any adult, whether a parent or not, can stop to ask themselves the hypothetical question of the child that is before them. In the words of current JDAI Director Balis (2017), this simple script functions as a “gut-check” or a “re-set button” for practitioners making a decision about this child’s next steps in the system (e.g., being detained overnight in the juvenile facility versus being released to an adult family member to sleep at home): “What if this was my child? Would this be what I want for her? Would this be ok?”

On a very basic level, the 'my child' test does the cognitive-emotional work of flipping a switch to restore the perspective of the child to one of love, bond, nurture and care. Its simplicity can gloss over problematic questions, such as: What if what a White probation officer wants for their child comes from a radically different worldview and value system than what the child's parent would want? Off-setting this concern is the pragmatic value of de-escalating and "re-setting" the mental and emotional state of an adult poised to make a decision that will impact this young person's process of either journeying deeper into justice system involvement or being offered an "exit ramp." A police officer, a probation officer, a guard at a juvenile detention or youth prison facility, a judge, a mental health counselor or community-based service provider can all utilize this "my kid test" as a mechanism for counting to 10, cooling off, and checking their attitudes and actions for bias.

During a model site visit, the facilitator used this frame to facilitate a moment of reflection among members of the visiting delegation. The discussion at hand dealt with a new "graduated response grid" that the Santa Cruz model site had developed to expand the range of responses to youth's behavior that Probation Officers were accountable to implement. The "response grid" outlined alternative responses that a PO could take in lieu of filing a "probation violation" when a child missed curfew or showed up late to an office appointment or a community-based program. In a confiding and self-deprecating tone, the facilitator poked fun at herself, referencing her own knee-jerk responses when her two teenaged sons pressed her buttons and pushed the limits at home. Seamlessly, she moved the conversation from the realm of home to that of the professional, carrying the lens of love and care into the new setting as she posed the hypothetical curfew violation that a PO might confront with a child on their caseload. "We don't want to be more strict with these kids than we are with our own. If they are 5 minutes late, even 30 minutes late, what is an appropriate response?"

On the heels of her question, she paired the reflection with another discursive prompt easily within reach of practitioners' imagination and experience. "Let's ask ourselves: am I over-reacting?" Couched as a gentle and communal reminder, she furthered the shift in focus from the child's actions to the adults' efficacy and zone of discretion in this process. Facilitating the journey of learners along this line of reasoning, she pointed out the model site's emphasis on including incentives for youth who were 'complying with the conditions of probation.' Rather than holding to an external standard for the sake of enforcement, can we frame expectations in a positive way? "When can we catch them doing something right? When can we reward them for the ways that they're succeeding?" The line of her prompting leads me to the next section dealing with adult roles in justice system processing, especially

practitioners in positions of direct authority and/or tacit discretion over decisions that impact the freedom and opportunities of youth involved in the system.

## B. "My Role"

One of the most powerful concepts contained in the JDAI cognitive script is the concept of role. The discursive anchor of "my role" was found throughout JDAI publications, various training materials at the national and site level, and personal interviews and observations of actors across all levels of the Santa Cruz juvenile justice system. The significance of role as a discursive reference point for actors' understanding of their influence on system reform emerged in coaching and team relationships among probation staff as well as in everyday conversations with the partners outside of probation.

"My role" as a discursive tool for JDAI reform was introduced and repeated in model site visits, and cross-site learning settings like national conferences, trainings, and webinars. Prompts for participants to reflect on their various roles within their team, organization, and institution were peppered liberally throughout the model site visits that I observed. Cued by a particularly vibrant speaker or inspiring story of transformation, the facilitator would pose the challenge to each participant to respond with one concrete action that could improve the system for young people: "Ask yourself: What can I do from my role, from the position that I sit in and the power that I have?" Addressing immediate fears and questions, she would go on, "Without changing how much power you have or who you know - from your current role, from where you are now, what's one thing you can do? Who is one person you can call to connect to?"

In tandem with another discursive tool developed for ALN, the Accountability Pathway, "my role" served as an entry-point for individual learners to map their journey from knowledge to action. Following the Accountability Pathway, actors can assess their own level of accountability for decision and action by mapping their progress on a rubric with tic marks such as "acknowledge reality" and "own action commitment." This tool helped practitioners take concrete steps toward a higher order accountability, with the ultimate goals to find a solution for the issue at hand and act on it or "make it happen" (Pillsbury, 2013). Aligning practice with transformative learning theory, the model site visit facilitator later explained her intentional practice of calling for on-the-spot responses from participants. She observed a deeper level of learning among the visiting delegates who committed to taking specific action upon their return home. She pointed to the power of acting immediately, exercising the new muscle of heightened awareness of their ability to influence change (Mezirow, 1997, 2000, 2003). The direct response establishes a positive feedback loop reinforcing that their

actions have impact, whether large or small. The application of learning might look different depending upon the position of the learner and their relative power within the institution. The facilitator viewed activation as successful as long as any action, big or small, was taken toward reform, regardless of the magnitude of its impact. She went on to explain her assessment of differences in the institutional position that each learner may occupy:

“Who’s in the room? Judges, directors, supervisors, maybe line workers. It’s ok if the behavioral health specialist at the school isn’t sure what she can do. In reality, she may be limited by the philosophies of the school administration. But is she willing to do SOMETHING? To act on even a small commitment that is within her role?” – Black woman, Probation leader

Taking the long view of reform, small acts are building blocks to much greater change in attitudes, beliefs, practice, and policy. Further illustration of this sentiment was provided during the model site visit by a Santa Cruz probation manager who shared an example of how her own mental boundaries were stretched regarding the role that probation officers can play beyond the letter of the law as she observed the example of other POs who effectively advocated for young clients’ well-being. She saw POs pursue collaboration with other agency service providers and case managers assigned to the child and their engagement with family to enhance their understanding of the young person’s socio-ecological context. Acknowledging their action, she was led to reflect on her own use of discretion when it came to youth on her caseload. She mentioned that her supervisor’s regular prompting of “What change can you effect from your role?” moved her to a fresh consideration of what POs “were allowed to do.”

As a result, the institutional rules or norms for the standard probation job description began to shift in her own mind and practice, enlarging her own “zone of discretion” of actions available for her to accomplish the larger task (Hirschhorn, 1998) of caring for child well-being. When prompted to re-evaluate her role in enhancing the future opportunities of young people on her caseload, she reflected that in court, she had observed an increase in parents requesting that their child be granted independent study status so that they no longer needed to attend school. Pursuing that observation, she found herself asking, ‘What’s going on at school? What power do I have in this situation? What can I do?’

Even the simple realization that there was more information that she needed to find out and understand about this child’s experience at school was a step toward a justice process oriented toward greater well-being for the young client. The commitment of this probation

officer to engage the school partners, the student, and parents in discussion about the challenges each perceived at school for the student was an act taken toward a more child-centered collaborative effort to support this young person's development. The construct of "my role" functions in two ways: (1) as a vehicle for leadership to promote a certain ethic of creative autonomy among system actors; and (2) as a simple discursive check to remind actors to regularly reflect on how they might work more purposefully to advance a specific change from their current position.

Embedding the framework of "my role" in the common language and understanding of system actors is one approach to sustaining an ethic of learning and reform in a local juvenile justice system as the institution navigates changes of climate in the social, political and economic arenas, addressing changes across multiple fronts and various levels, such as in leadership of agencies and collaborative bodies, in funding and other resources, in public opinion and community support. In a constant state of flux, the constituent parts of the system attempt to maintain continuity in the advancement of reform principles and practices by utilizing the discursive tool of "my role" as a touch-stone for self-assessment, a rubric for team evaluation, a term with shared meaning in collaborative settings. If enough individuals moving within the institution are activated and performing in their role as system reformers, transformation can become regenerative.

## VII. Cognitive Conversion: Mobilizing the social imaginary through JDAI

Deploying strategic publications to shore up support for reform even in the bleakest moments, a 2009 national JDAI newsletter offered the encouragement to persevere from a Family Court judge in the bastion of the Southern bible belt. The economic recession had triggered massive cuts to youth services ranging from after-school programming and reaching to some of the core funding for juvenile justice, trends that continue into the present with few holding out hope for an eventual restoration to pre-recession levels of funding. From Birmingham, Alabama, the judge anchored his exhortation with a reference to the role of system practitioners and partners who "stay committed to the new way of doing things...We may not have new money or new programs, but we will not go back to locking up low-risk youth" (AECF, 2009b).

At times, the JDAI social learning process conjures up a metaphor of religious fervor and devotion to the mission of systems change. The judge's call to adhere to the 'gospel of reform' even in the face of the juvenile justice system's version of 'the valley of shadow of death' – financial woes and political persecution – indicates the efficacy of JDAI in forming a shared change agent identity among justice system actors. This identity is repeatedly



reinforced through the collectively understood JDAI philosophy and language, signaled by the familiar discursive symbols of “my child” and “my role.” The relational bonding created through different platforms for retreating-together-to-learn is widely regarded by JDAI ‘insiders’ as the element that sets the movement apart. By tapping into a deep human thirst for belonging and significance among justice system practitioners immersed in an institutional field shaped by the core logics of alienation and domination, AECF gains leverage to mobilize the social imaginary for system transformation through the JDAI learning network. A virtuous reform identity is taken up in solidarity with the national movement for system change; in this individual and communal identity lies the radical “transformative potential” with the power to dissolve and reimagine systems. In a recent ritual recasting of vision, the State of the Initiative, the JDAI director preached a sermon of reform to the change agents assembled for the inter-site conference, employing subtle discursive hooks to link the anchoring images of “my child” and “my role” to his prophecy: “Sometimes...fate can be dictated by a determined collection of principled actors ...a movement that combines a compelling vision with strategic action and tireless effort to affect progress” (Balis, 2017).

In this speech, Balis skillfully echoes the relentless clarion call for laborers to join in the work of reform, a signature message of founding JDAI Director Lubow. This same invocation of virtue was embedded in the discursive demand to “be principled” employed in Lubow’s final State of the Initiative remarks before his retirement. Imbued with emotional significance as the founder stepped down from his post and symbolically handed each of them the baton of leadership, commitment to reform was galvanized among listening members of the JDAI nation.

We may have a long way to go before we have established a system that truly meets the ‘my child’ test, but we have taken critical first steps and won’t turn back...Stay determined, be principled and keep at it! (Lubow, 2014a)

In the rhetorical tradition of revival preachers, the familiar refrain of discursive tactics delivered with zeal can prompt in rapt listeners cognitive, emotional, and even spiritual responses of ‘seeing the light’ and being converted to reform, re-dedication to a reform mission among those where commitment has wavered or grown cold, and even abandonment of self-preservation and self-interest in response to a higher calling of systems transformation, putting to death the existing institutional logics and realities in order to be reborn into a new realm of understanding and practice. In the following

chapters, I explore the extent to which the JDAI social learning process realizes and activates such potential among actors in a model site and a periphery or 'non-model' site.

#### **Chapter 4: Santa Cruz System as Model Site**

In this chapter, I consider the first case study, the Santa Cruz County model site that is widely regarded as the center of the national JDAI effort to transform the juvenile justice system. I describe the context of the case and provide a brief history of the local system's involvement with JDAI. The initial embrace of Santa Cruz County's leadership for the JDAI social learning process led to the local site's designation as a model site in the early years of the initiative's replication phase. This model site designation profoundly shaped the trajectory of learning and reform in Santa Cruz. The capacity for innovation developed in the juvenile division through JDAI eventually gave rise to the adult division's designation as a national pilot site for criminal justice reform by the Laura and John Arnold Foundation in 2013.<sup>13</sup>

As I examined the course of Santa Cruz County's participation in the JDAI social learning process, two key themes organizing systems change emerged: (1) the promotion of an explicit goal of racial and ethnic equity; and (2) the adoption of a broad commitment to learning and change as a system that allows space for multiple paths and processes along which institutional actors negotiate their own identity and agency for systems reform. At the close of the chapter, I consider the impacts of the "model site designation" on the institutional practices and culture of the local system. I conclude with my observations on the extent to which the social learning process based at the Santa Cruz County model site supported the capacity of actors to experience changes of belief, thought, and behavior and advance a 'learning system' perspective to identify and address institutional logics that frustrate or create barriers to transforming the justice system.

The conditions and characteristics observed to facilitate transformations of policy, practice, and philosophy in this local case will be used to generate a framework based on a model site approach to social learning for systems change in Chapter 5. I will then apply that framework in Chapter 6 to assess its application to facilitate systems change at JDAI sites in non-model site contexts.

---

<sup>13</sup> County of Santa Cruz, Probation Department. Retrieved from: <http://www.co.santa-cruz.ca.us/Departments/ProbationDepartment.aspx>

## I. Case Context: A Tale of Two Communities

Nestled between the Pacific Ocean and the Santa Cruz mountain range, Santa Cruz County is a coastal and rural region located just north of Monterey and about 70 miles south of San Francisco. Moderate in size for California, the county has an approximate land area of 445 square miles and an estimated population of 263,000 (U.S. Census 2010). Of the County's four incorporated cities, the City of Santa Cruz has the largest population center of approximately 60,000, followed by City of Watsonville with a population of roughly 52,000.<sup>14</sup>

The local economic and political context is primarily shaped by three population drivers: the North County's iconic beach boardwalk and the University of California Santa Cruz campus with a strong marine research component and the South County's substantial agricultural sector. Summer tourist visits to the Santa Cruz Beach boardwalk contribute a seasonal bump in the county's economy – and results in political and economic currency for creating and preserving an image of the Santa Cruz area as a safe and idyllic seaside community. The University population and majority White, liberal community gives shape to the North County's political environment. In the South County, political battles have centered on representation and access to justice and services for migrant farm workers' families from Mexico whose labor supplies the agricultural industry's life's blood. The county is significantly impacted by larger geo-political struggles, at the intersection of the industrial agricultural complex and immigration policies impacting the livelihoods and family life of farm workers.

The geographic and social divisions align with these political-economic divisions, with the predominantly White majority (59%) of the population residing in the Santa Cruz area or North County and the Latinx population (33%) largely concentrated in the Watsonville area, also known as South County. Asian and Pacific Islanders (5%), Native Americans (2%), and Blacks (1%) make up a smaller proportion of the overall population (U.S. Census, 2010). Within the city of Watsonville, Latinx from Mexico make up two-thirds of the population, as reflected in the public schools, markets, restaurants, and other local businesses. Historically, the commercially based agricultural economy has drawn from successive waves of immigrant labor to harvest crops. Chinese laborers followed the jobs from railroad construction to agriculture in 1880s-90s. As the Chinese Exclusion Act impacted this labor pool, the needs were filled by Japanese immigrants, followed by Filipinos. The demand for

---

<sup>14</sup> County of Santa Cruz. About Santa Cruz County. Retrieved from: <http://www.co.santa-cruz.ca.us/Visiting/AboutSantaCruzCounty.aspx>

workers from Mexico has been steady since at least the 1970s, although the past century has seen ebbs and flows correlating to political developments, such as labor shortages during both world wars and in response to the organizing efforts of Filipino farm workers in the 1930s.<sup>15</sup>

The driving role of the probation department in the Santa Cruz County justice system reflects the impact of two decades of policy change toward “justice realignment” in California in both the criminal (adult) and juvenile (youth) justice systems. Justice realignment has focused on shifting responsibility for ‘lower-level offenders’ from state to county agencies.<sup>16</sup> As a result, across California, the responsibilities for coordinating the complex activities of the justice system are commonly seated with the county probation department. Although the Santa Cruz County probation department carries out the duties of the court, it is administered under the overall governance of the County Board of Supervisors. The Santa Cruz County Probation Chief is appointed by the California Superior Court to oversee the three divisions of the probation department: adult, juvenile, and institutions (which in the Santa Cruz County case, consists of a single juvenile detention facility). At the front end of the process when youth are first encountering the justice system, the primary law enforcement partners are the County’s sheriff’s office and the two city-level offices of Santa Cruz Police Department (SCPD) and Watsonville Police Department (WPD). While not considered closely in this study, at the state-level, three youth prisons operate under the purview of the California Division of Juvenile Justice (DJJ).

#### A. History of JDAI involvement for the Santa Cruz site

During the 1990s, the problem of overcrowding at the Juvenile Detention Facility in Felton, north of Santa Cruz, took on political significance. A funding request to the County Council for expansion of the facility met with mobilized opposition from both a well-organized Latinx constituency in the South County and a liberal-leaning mainly White constituency in the North County. The denial of the proposed expansion sent the Santa Cruz County probation department scrambling for alternative responses to what had become a disturbing national trend in juvenile detention facilities: over-crowding, lack of accountability, and racial and ethnic disparities. In 1996 there were 355 days on record when the detention population

---

<sup>15</sup> See Watsonville’s Commercial Agriculture: *America on the Move* and Timeline of Agricultural Labor from *National Farm Worker Ministry*. Retrieved from: [http://amhistory.si.edu/onthemove/themes/story\\_29\\_4.html](http://amhistory.si.edu/onthemove/themes/story_29_4.html) and <http://nfwf.org/education-center/farm-worker-issues/timeline-of-agricultural-labor/>

<sup>16</sup> California’s Criminal Justice System: A Primer. (2013). Legislative Analyst’s Office: The California Legislature’s Nonpartisan Fiscal and Policy Advisor. Retrieved from: <http://www.lao.ca.gov/reports/2013/crim/criminal-justice-primer/criminal-justice-primer-011713.aspx#6>

exceeded the facility's maximum operating capacity. Latinx youth were significantly over-represented in custody and the disparities were rising. Latinx youth comprised 64% of the detention population in contrast to their proportion of 49% in the county youth population (ages 10-17 years old) in 1997 (Santa Cruz County, 2016). Together, public safety concerns about gang affiliation and the lack of objective criteria for detention admissions were widely regarded as contributors to disproportionate detainment of Latinx youth.

In addition to the progressive political environment that exerted pressure for a departure from business-as-usual for juvenile probation at this critical juncture, a range of environmental factors provided momentum for the County's pursuit of reform. One of the key contextual factors favoring reform that was cited by virtually every presentation and interview about the Santa Cruz County site was the long history of collaboration with the county's mental health care system, work which began in the 1980s. The California state "system of care" preceded the establishment of the federal system and among the counties, Santa Cruz was one of the first to successfully engage in collaboration and became recognized as a model site for mental health reform. The early development of this county system of care and the success and recognition that was attained in the process helped to strengthen partnerships between county agencies, school districts, and community-based service providers. These relationships and agreements established a rich continuum of services available in the community that could be drawn upon as alternatives to detention once the JDAI planning process got underway.

With its marching orders for reform in hand, Santa Cruz's participation in JDAI was ushered in with the hiring of an outsider for the key role of new Probation Chief. The move sent shockwaves through the institution. However, the new Chief was recruited from one of the original JDAI demonstration sites and brought with him both direct experience and success in reform as well as the crucial backing of AECF. Although the recruitment of an outsider was an unpopular decision within the Santa Cruz probation department, the vision and commitment to reform circumvented what could have been a contested transition of leadership. An administrator passed over for the promotion characterized the tension in this way: "Philosophically, [the incoming chief] didn't have to change my mind. I was going to lick my wounds and I had his back." With this internal buy-in providing continuity during the shake-up, the local system plunged into a process of learning by taking stock of present conditions and practices. An explicit orientation toward learning began with an independent audit of the system in which data was examined, comprehensive interviews with stakeholders were conducted, and a core work group was formed to develop a work plan in

response to the findings. Concrete goals were targeted and achieved by the work plan within the early years of JDAI implementation.

On several central JDAI measures, the Santa Cruz system had advantages in place that accelerated the pace of reform from the start. Once over-crowding of the detention facility began to ease, the conditions of confinement were found to be above average, with assets such as strong programming and robust mental health services; a fairly efficient court docket for hearing juvenile offenses, which reduced case processing time; and an established practice of collaboration between various county agencies including the local schools, as well as existing partnerships with community organizations for education and community service.

Two years into the reform process, Santa Cruz County was named as the first JDAI replication site and added as a model site for the reform initiative alongside two of the early demonstration sites, Multnomah County in Oregon and Cook County in Illinois. As one of the five current model sites, Santa Cruz County holds the distinction of being the model site with the highest demand for learning retreats, regularly hosting two site visits each month. Each model site has its own defining characteristics; Santa Cruz County is touted as a premiere example of collaborative practice within the JDAI and particularly for its innovative community partnerships developed to address ethnic disparities for Latinx youth.

The story of this JDAI model site is well-known and oft-recited, as a “typical” institution of juvenile justice in a relatively quiet community: well-meaning yet stymied by haphazard decision-making and inappropriate resource allocation, perpetuating status quo without critical reflection on the discourse and milieu that shaped their policies and practices. The refusal to expand the juvenile detention hall in the mid-90s was a flashpoint that proved to be the fork in the road for this local system. Reforms have been driven hard by the probation department, which first recruited an experienced reformer to lead the early adoption of policy and practice change and has gone on to develop a lineage of champions from within who continue to press for broader and more fundamental transformation of the system. These transformations are described in the following section, drawn heavily from observations of the social learning process facilitated during a model site visit, the content shared with learning participants including Foundation publications, and supplemented by interviews with Santa Cruz County justice system practitioners and partners. In this discussion, I highlight observations about the way that the social learning process has been undertaken at the model site, with attention to the strategies that the local system developed to support learning within the system over time. From the perspective of the

practitioners and partners who inhabit the Santa Cruz model site, I also re-examine the ways that ideas are shared and how changes in belief about what is possible are mobilized.

## II. Systems Change in Santa Cruz: In Pursuit of Racial and Ethnic Equity

Positive reforms have been sustained over time and built upon in Santa Cruz County, with demonstrated reduction in the number of youth detained between the pre-reform baseline taken in FY1996 and the most recent data available for FY2016 (figures cited below). This progress can be directly attributed to a pair of complementary commitments that together act to limit the number of youth detained and to provide a young person with appropriate supports and services in lieu of detention. First, the criteria for detention was significantly narrowed through the use of an objective assessment instrument, where only youth whose assessment scores indicate a risk to public safety can be detained. Second, the youth whose assessment scores fell within a medium-high range of risk of re-offense (due to probation violations and other non-violent incidents) were assigned to participate in an appropriate program or service as an Alternative to Detention. In the broadest measure, consistent implementation of these twin changes of practice have resulted in a 57% reduction in the average daily population (ADP), the number of young people detained each day in the detention facility and a 38% decrease in the annual admission of youth to the detention facility (Santa Cruz County, 2016).

The gains listed above represent significant shifts of procedure, practice, and policy that were implemented and institutionalized, moving beyond “first order” change of fine-tuning interventions in Hall’s typology of change. In the learning laboratory of the model site, the reforms stretched from “second order” modifications of interventions based on existing goals of the justice system and reached toward “third order” change by shaking some of Foundational assumptions and standards of the local system, impacting social relationships, responsibilities, and policies. In this chapter, I will parse different aspects of the site’s change process with attention to the progress of the model site toward developing as a ‘learning system’ capable of continual self-transformation. Without minimizing the ground that Santa Cruz County has broken in systems change, I frame this discussion within the larger challenge of questioning and upending deeply rooted institutional logics of racism that find their outgrowth in justice policy and practice.

In a microcosm that mirrors a national phenomenon, even as the number of youth detained and the juvenile crime rate has decreased during Santa Cruz’s participation in the JDAI process, the disproportionate impact of the juvenile justice system on Latinx youth has become more acute. Based on 2015 figures, while the number of Latinx youth in the

County's detention population decreased by approximately 50% (from an average daily population of 33 to 17), the rate of detention continued to increase in comparison to their proportion in the County youth population, i.e., 83% of youth detained were Latinx, while only 50% of the youth population is of Latinx ancestry (Santa Cruz County, 2016). The persistence of disproportionate contact for Black, Latinx, and Native youth is a multi-faceted issue that communities across the nation continue to grapple with, sharpening attention to the need to address the underlying causes of disparities.

Different practitioners reflected on the process of inquiry and creative problem-solving that Santa Cruz has undertaken to pursue the elusive goal of racial and ethnic equity. In their interviews and model site presentations, they spun stories of the mixture of fear, relief, pressure, and freedom – sometimes all at once – that they have felt under the model site mantle. With a nod to Habermas' emancipatory interest for communicative action, the struggle to critique and question existing arrangements and assumptions came up clearly in the engagement of systemic racism. One pioneer in the Santa Cruz reform movement reflected on how JDAI's inclusion of reducing racial and ethnic disparities (RED) as a core strategy forced the site to confront and develop a shared language for discussing and analyzing the racialized injustices were long left untouched. His comment about the early days of JDAI participation in Santa Cruz includes a reference to DMC, an acronym that stands for Disproportionate Minority Contact, a term that is being phased out in favor of RED because of the often inaccurate and/or problematic use of "minority" to label different ethnic groups.

Talking about DMC, RED, there's this added fear. You've got these layered systems and no one wants to think of themselves as a racist. Are you sensitized to the layers of institutionalized / systematized racism? All you have to do is walk back to the kitchen line and you can see there's racism going on. Denial around the obvious. *No one even asked the question.* That was hard for a lot of people. (White male, model site probation leader, emphasis added)

With the structure of the JDAI process forcing a conversation in fundamental opposition to those institutional norms of denying the obvious, system practitioners began to break the taboo of simply naming institutional racism. Importantly, almost hand-in-hand with the relief and freedom associated with acknowledging race, different discursive tactics began to evolve to advance the work. The pursuit of racial and ethnic "equity" has become a powerful frame to sustain momentum for changes of policy and practice for Santa Cruz County. The model site's process is illustrative of the balancing act between keeping the



uncomfortable conversation on racism alive and capitalizing on the advantages conferred by the “abstractness and pliability of the term *equity*” (Dowd & Bensimon, 2015, p. 9) that carries an appealing connotation of equal outcomes and opportunities for all young people as a positive end-goal. With “equity” emerging as a potent concept for organizing the goals of policy change at a much broader level of national discourse, I survey some of the adaptive efforts to address racial and ethnic disparities undertaken by the Santa Cruz site. Among the changes, I highlight the practice of routinizing analysis of racial and ethnic data to track discrepancies among youth; the strategy of workforce development to cultivate a more culturally-responsive juvenile probation division with the capacity to partner with community-based organizations; and a process of rethinking responses to youth through Alternatives to Detention primarily designed to support and serve Latinx youth and families in Watsonville.

#### A. Using Data to Act on Racial and Ethnic Disparities

After Santa Cruz established itself as a model site based on overall decreases in the system’s use of detention, probation leaders identified the need to embed a mission of racial and ethnic equity across all areas of work. A focused social learning process was launched to enculturate the importance of accurate data collection and reporting, and regular analysis of data to identify trouble spots and engage in collective problem-solving. Upon request, JDAI technical assistance consultants conducted a survey among all Santa Cruz juvenile division staff to assess self-perceptions of their role in reducing racial and ethnic disparities. The findings revealed that staff at the lower levels of the department registered about 50-50 in their perception of their role to effect change in racial and ethnic disparities. Corresponding to a higher level of authority and responsibility within the division, two-thirds of the promotion track probation officers and 100% of the managers were clear that they played a role in addressing disparities (see Table 1).

Table 1. Santa Cruz County Juvenile Probation, DMC 101 Survey Results

<b>Santa Cruz County Juvenile Probation DMC 101 Survey Results</b>				
<b><i>Do you have a role in reducing racial and ethnic disparities?</i></b>				
	Yes	No	Total	% Yes
Juvenile Hall Staff & Supervisors	5	6	11	45%
Probation Officer (Level 1-2)	9	8	17	53%
Probation Officer (Level 3)	4	2	6	67%
Manager	4	0	4	100%

<b>Total</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>63%</b>
--------------	-----------	-----------	-----------	------------

Source: Santa Cruz County Model Site Visit Presentation: Shifting Probation Culture, 2014.

Based on the survey results, staff representatives at every level were assigned to collaborate with the technical assistance consultants to review data and “dig deeper to ask probing questions about why system involvement increases or decreases” in the cases under review. The cross-sectional team then generated recommendations for policy or practice solutions to address the source of disparities identified in the data. For example, in response to the data analysis that revealed that probation violations were skewed heavily toward Latinx youth, this team developed a follow-up survey to better understand how probation staff made decisions to file a violation of probation, a procedure where POs exercised almost unbounded discretion. An administrator explained the high rate of probation violations filed in this way, “Probation officers can get stuck in this dichotomy of assistance and control.” The goals of shifting POs’ thinking, belief, and practice were tightly intertwined in this change process. This learning process borrowed from ALN frameworks, helping POs to develop a sense of their role as agents of change by developing and embodying practices that could reduce racial and ethnic disparities in the system.

Taking the responses of that follow-up survey, the team reviewed resources from other jurisdictions around the country and adapted the idea of a “graduated response grid” to guide and give consistency to POs as they made decisions. The grid was developed based on staff input at all levels and laid out interventions for POs to choose from, according to two factors: seriousness of the current behavior and risk level of the young person. For the first factor, they ranked the young person’s behavior as minor, moderate, or serious using a rubric that accounted for the relevance of the youth’s current behavior to their original offense; impacts on victim(s) and community; duration and frequency of the behavior in question; and whether it was a rare event or in line with the child’s overall experience while on probation. The second factor to guide the PO’s response was the child’s “level of risk” based on the standardized risk assessment score. The three-step process of implementing the response grid is shown in Figure 6. The actual interventions populating every square of the grid have evolved over time as the model site and its collaborators have identified and developed a more robust range of services and supports, and as different providers and partners have gained and lost funding. Creating and updating the response grid based on PO input has functioned as an assessment of community and County resources through the years.

# Graduated Response Grid Format: Three Step Process

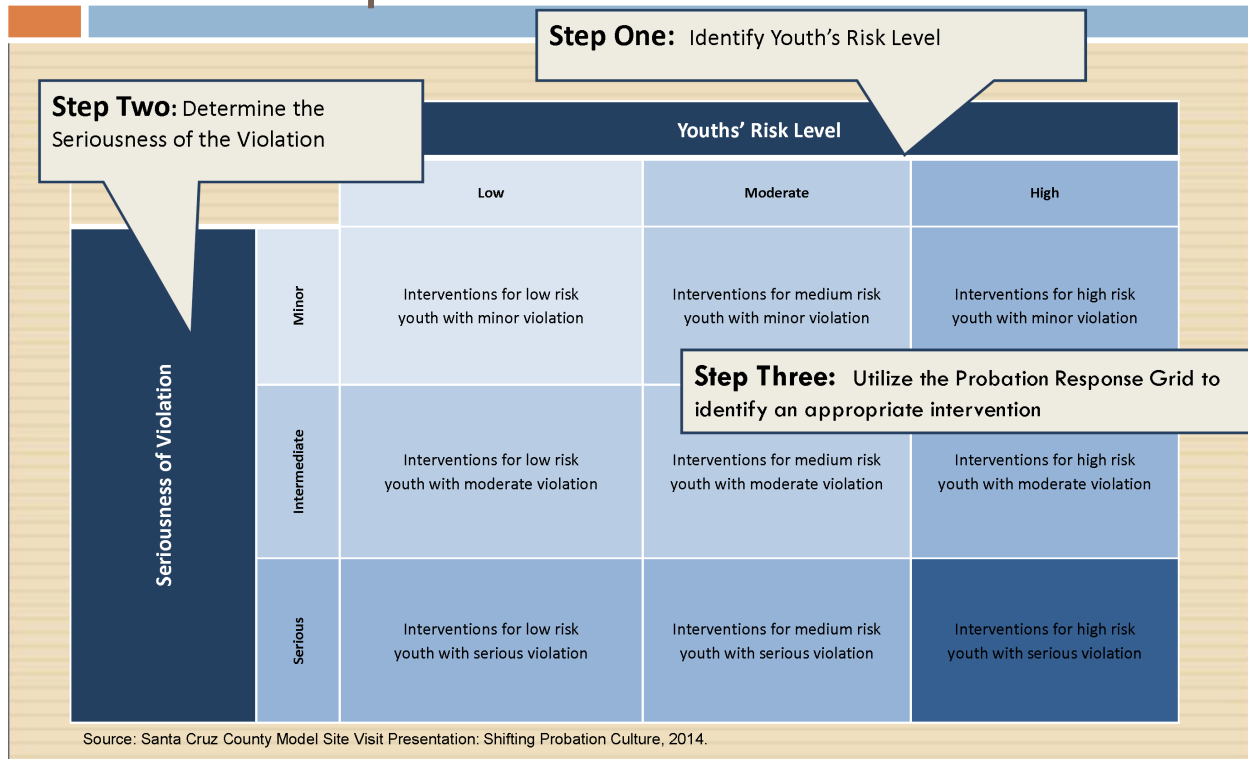


Figure 6: Graduated response grid format

Peer-to-peer training sessions were led by the team members from each level of probation, pairing veteran staff with newer staff members and using a participatory process to develop relevant scenarios that the group then used to practice implementation of the response grid. This design of the small group, practice-based trainings included introducing the rationale for the change of practice in response to data showing disparities at this point of probation decision-making. Time was also devoted to discussing the relevance of the response grid to POs' work and the larger goals of reform. The process and grid were revised based on staff input on what was confusing or difficult about using the new tool and then it was launched with a commitment to monitor the outcomes over time. By addressing the consistency of POs decision-making at this point and making legible a systematic process to identifying alternatives to filing a probation violation, the number of probation violations overall have fallen and the magnitude of racial and ethnic disparities at this decision-point has been reduced – although not eliminated, indicating that other factors have yet to be addressed to achieve equity.

## B. Re-Imagining the Workforce

Workforce development became a key strategy of systems change at the model site in response to the demand to become more accountable and culturally responsive to the predominantly Latinx community in the South County. Related to the subsequent section on enhancing community-based Alternatives to Detention, the probation workforce was also under the gun to “upskill” to fulfill the collaborative approach of the model site through partnership building and grant-writing and grants management. Facing the persistence of the disproportionately high number of Latino boys from Watsonville in the system, leadership entered into critical reflection about the composition and capacities of probation staff to work effectively with families to identify appropriate Alternatives to Detention and make strategic connections to community-based services. Growing attention was devoted to “cultural fit” (Goodwin et al., 2015; Cooper & Powe, 2004) between the community of Watsonville and the Santa Cruz County probation department. The current Probation Chief made his conviction clear that the justice system is charged with reaching the entire family and that effective family engagement flows from mutual trust and knowledge of the community. Past Santa Cruz County probation leaders echoed this value and reflected on the rising awareness of the critical nature of cultural competency during their tenure in the system.

A big part of culture change was thinking about ‘who are the kids served’ by race, ethnicity, and gender – and what do our probation staff look like? If we’re going to have family-based services, what are our skills and abilities in terms of going into their homes? (White female, model site probation leader)

Through more than a decade of intentional recruitment, the probation department made significant gains in developing a “bilingual, bicultural” staff from Watsonville and the other communities with the sensibilities and experience to connect with Latinx youth and families. An institutional bridge between the University of California Santa Cruz (UCSC) and the probation department was established in the early 2000s as a reciprocal relationship that offered students valuable experience in the field while their presence in the system worked to further transform it. Many of these students went on to careers in Santa Cruz County probation, enhancing the creation of “a pipeline of folks with cultural competency” and nuanced understandings of culture and place, as described by a probation leader below.

We’re all about hiring qualified people, actively recruiting from the right places...new persons of color coming in from universities, reaching out to people we saw working in nonprofit community programs. That’s helped us,

hiring a number of student interns who came through [Community Studies] classes. (Latino model site probation leader)

The partnership with the UCSC Community Studies Department was formalized through an influential probation administrator who was an alumnus of the program. By serving as a lecturer and a coordinator for interns placed in Juvenile Probation for their field study, he helped channel students' interest and awareness of justice reform. Community Studies students interned in community organizations and government agencies to work on real-life issues and engage in reflection about social justice, "specifically inequities arising from race, class and gender dynamics in society at large, and in critically assessing strategies for achieving social change" (UCSC, 2014). The ongoing collaboration between the University and the County was another force that helped leverage a culture shift in the probation department toward open-ness to inquiry. The former probation leader/Community Studies faculty described the "combination of benefits" of the arrangement in this way:

Interns held a space to talk about critical issues, a round table for students to bring back observations. They provide eyes and ears on the ground in the agencies where they were placed. I could give feedback to so-and-so that this wasn't working, that this needed fixing...interns also connected with community partners, folks who taught rock-climbing, poetry, belly-dancing, literacy. It was a blank canvas. Bring your passion, your gifts, what can you share with the kids? (White male, model site probation leader)

As a long-term strategy, this workforce development supported a sea-change of new probation officers, deepening culture change in the department and creating connections to varied community networks. The shift from more criminal justice and social work-oriented training gave way to a much more interdisciplinary workforce that had become familiar with the probation department as outsiders and were accustomed to critique of the system. The graduates of Community Studies hired into probation carried these reflective practices into the institution and added weight to the tide of culture change that had been mainly leveraged from the top leaders in the early JDAI years at Santa Cruz.

Workforce development continued to evolve to support the embedding of JDAI principles in Santa Cruz as a model site. Staff involved with hiring processes outlined changes made to explicitly frame the expectation that Santa Cruz County probation officers go the extra mile and take on roles of cultural change agents within the institution, advancing change through example, attitude, and practice. Revised recruitment practices now introduce prospective applicants to JDAI core values, such as the commitment to data-informed decision-making

and collaboration. The screening process emphasizes open-ness to new technology and best practices, as well as skills related to grant-writing and grants management for community partnerships to sustain the collaboration around cultural and community-based alternatives.

The commitment to securing and managing grant funding to support community programs and practices was widely seen as one of the most striking ruptures of the status quo, a theme that emerged through interviews and among the learning delegates' responses to the Santa Cruz model site visits. As one nonprofit partner put it, Santa Cruz County probation represented "the cutting edge of creatively developing funding." Reimagining and embodying a new set of responsibilities that included funding and sustaining community-based responses was a labor of love that powerfully expressed the personal accountability of probation administrators to adaptive change. The historic line of probation leaders devoted to reform, embodying the will to change was a vibrant example to both the existing and the emerging workforce. A former PO recalled a former probation chief's dedication to establishing blended and philanthropic funding partnerships at a time when the idea still seemed alien to the institutional logic.

I don't know how many years [he] spent working weekends...From 2001, there was an increase in grant funding directly related to the work. [The school] Student Assistance got a grant to pay for a probation officer for diversion, then the school district pitched in money too. (White female, model site probation leader)

Corresponding to the changing expectation that probation staff would be actively involved in the success of such funding arrangements, several interviewees described an increased willingness among probation staff to work in flexible ways with other organizational and agency partners. The probation officer whose school-based position was supported by the grant in the example above was a young Latino social worker who eventually rose in the ranks to become the current Probation Chief. His collaborative approach in this early grant-funded position supported the development of culturally-responsive, family-based programming to address truancy and gang activity. This experimental, youth-centered work provided a platform for probation's adoption of more holistic approaches such as Wraparound Services. In the next section, I examine the Santa Cruz site's process of reimagining responses to youth who would have been detained under the pre-existing institutional logic and practices.

### C. Reimaging Responses: Alternatives to Detention

For youth assessed to be at low-to-moderate risk of re-offending, referrals to Alternatives to Detention have become regular practice in Santa Cruz County. This concrete reform reflects years of efforts to enact “third order” change by increasing the range of responses to young people that decision-makers could imagine, accept, implement, and fund. However, the different Alternatives to Detention taken up by Santa Cruz and promoted by JDAI more widely are by no means all value-neutral and some can be traced directly back to the pre-existing institutional logics. For example, the use of technology such as Electronic Monitoring increases the risk of exponentially expanding the surveillance of a young person who is not physically confined but is now subject to the specter of the system invading the space of his home, family, and school. Ongoing debate is required to fully plumb the trade-offs of avoiding detention by becoming “trackable” at every moment of the day, although perhaps against the backdrop of changing social norms around the everyday practice of relentless surveillance and data collection through online activity and personal mobile devices, the valence of this concern diminishes. Setting this concern aside without glossing over the problems posed by different Alternatives to Detention, in this section I focus on the Santa Cruz model site’s investment in strengthening the organizational capacity and economic stability of programs that can serve young people in the community. Through the changes in hiring discussed above and an emphasis on closer collaboration with family, different agencies, community partners, larger currents of change have been slowly emerging in key institutions that make up Santa Cruz’s juvenile justice system. A few illustrative examples of such collaborative efforts are provided below, with attention to the impact of these changes of practice on institutional actors’ thinking, beliefs, and behaviors.

Wraparound and the Luna Evening Center are two Alternatives to Detention developed by Santa Cruz County probation that have an explicit goal of engaging Latinx youth in culturally responsive ways and improving long-term outcomes for young people. In the process of learning and enacting a different kind of practice with youth and their families, the system practitioners often experienced a change of perspective. In some cases, this “frameshift” had a demonstrated ripple effect to other levels of the institutions that these individuals inhabited.

#### *Wraparound: Growing Capacity for Collaboration*

Wraparound is a concept that originated in child welfare to support ‘family preservation,’ i.e., keeping families together in their home (VanDenBerg & VanDenBerg, 2008). Probation formed a county-level partnership with the mental health system of care, which accelerated

the integration of family supports. For example, the mental health agency shared its innovative practice of hiring community-based “parent partners” to coach other parents by drawing on their experience in navigating multiple systems for their own child. These paid parent partners formed the backbone of the Wraparound team that encompassed the family, school staff, police, probation, mental health, and other supporters appropriate to the child’s situation. Over the past ten years, the team-based process developed into regular meetings to discuss the family’s goals, create plans to reach those goals, and provide collective support and problem-solving. Participation in the Santa Cruz County Wraparound is court-ordered and staffed by probation officers from the Wraparound Unit who carry a smaller, more intensive caseload.

About a quarter of all Wraparound cases are young people who are returning to their families after an out-of-home placement and three-quarters of youth are referred to Wraparound for committing offenses of escalating seriousness. Since Wraparound began in 2005, Latinx youth have made up between 61 to 88% of the cases and the bulk of the caseloads involve families from Watsonville (Santa Cruz County, 2014b). As the wraparound concept evolved, probation leadership also saw its potential for improving police-community relations by overcoming some of the mistrust that families may bring to their views of law enforcement as corrupt and abusive of authority. Reciprocally, the engagement provided a fertile opportunity for individual police officers to question and reformulate perceptions that they hold of youth that they arrest, as the probation supervisor for the Wraparound Unit related:

Wraparound [strengthens] the whole family to move forward together. With the low level of police buy-in, [the first officer] wasn’t thrilled with assignment, but in the process, he saw...that this kid’s not just a thug, really a bright young man who’s been through a lot. Kids change in the process – and so does the police officer. (White female, model site probation leader)

This change of perspective eventually translated to a change of institutional culture in the Watsonville Police Department, as participation in the collaborative and team-based approach became more mainstream and accepted into police practice. The buzz around Santa Cruz County’s model site designation and the uptake of JDAI principles through this social learning process were rippling out and influencing the area’s law enforcement agencies through not only Wraparound, but also programs like the Aztecas soccer team and the BASTA gang intervention collaborative (discussed briefly at the end of the chapter). The value for interagency partnership gained currency among officers and assignments to



probation collaborations began to carry some prestige and a promise of moving up the leadership ranks within the police department.

Our first officer got promoted, now he's the Watsonville Police Chief, and Wraparound detail became an incentive, rather than getting teased, 'You're just working with kids on probation.' People started putting in to be on Wraparound assignment. Our second officer came to JDAI conference, he worked in close partnership with [the PO who founded Aztecas] at the time.  
(White female, model site probation leader)

This two-pronged approach of shifting attitudes in systems actors and building capacity for meaningful collaboration to provide alternatives to detention was methodic, according to current and former leaders in probation. Great care was taken in the selection and design of community partnerships, with attention to how new practices aligned with the values and the JDAI message. A premium on "meaningful communication and a shared process" with partners was at the heart of the strategy, bringing probation, UCSC students, and community-based service providers together for a common goal of "intentionally reducing the footprint of the juvenile justice system in the lives of these kids and their families." Partnerships were built on this philosophical foundation and from there, clearly defined by shared funding and a commitment to collecting and reviewing data.

While community-based connections often receive praise and offer up anecdotal evidence for success, the orientation of probation collaborations toward measurable outcomes were a powerful driver for tracking the effectiveness of interventions and sustaining funding for those who were deemed successful. Structure was given to conveying the message of success, for reiterating the "fit" of the intervention with the JDAI theme, and for incentivizing further successes with opportunities to present and have the achievements recognized by others in the system. A probation leader who oversaw many of the collaborations over the past decade characterized the process of implementing new partnerships and shifting the institutional norms of probation in this way:

There was intentional architecture for all the community stuff – although [probation] staff might not have felt it...Balanced and restorative justice, evidence-based practices, detention alternatives were all undertaken to build capacity to reduce reliance on secure confinement...Communication was big, we're sharing funding, meeting goals, and showing that it works. Also showing [probation staff that the partners] had passion and could connect with kids, feel on fire in their role. (White male, model site probation leader)

The impetus to reduce ethnic disparities, the growing base of knowledge about effective interventions, and the model site's investment in collaboration supported an iterative cycle of improving other efforts at the model site and guiding the direction of emerging partnerships. As the supervisor for the unit reflected, "Wraparound evolved as we realized kids must have ways to occupy their time with prosocial activities like soccer and the evening center."

### *Luna Evening Center: Transforming Youth Development Practices*

The decision to create the Luna Evening Center, a youth center for pro-social activities in a vacant space at the South County probation office, came through a data-driven and collaborative learning process in the mid-2000s. Data from FY 2003-2004 data demonstrated that 144 detention facility bookings (16% of the annual total) could have been eligible for diversion from detention. A planning committee analyzed the profile of these cases and found that 52 percent of the youth resided in Watsonville and of these South County residents, 76 percent were Latinx (Santa Cruz County, 2014a). The following year, the Luna Center was opened as an Alternative to Detention during the high-risk after-school hours, providing transportation, meals, access to mental health and substance abuse resources through collaborating agencies. Community-based partners acted as the backbone of the intervention, as will be described in greater detail below. Probation staff were present with well-known youth-serving organizations that had strong relationships in the community taking the leading role in mentorship and programming.

Outcomes for FY2013-2014 indicated that the Center has been effective in serving 993 referrals, where over 90% of the youth were Latinx. The rate of youth completing their participation at the Center was 71%, which could be understood as diverting youth from 1,016 "bed nights" at the detention facility. The substantial decrease in use of detention due to the operation of the Luna Center is only the tip of the iceberg when its impacts are investigated. Partners cite it as a transformative intervention for both the youth participants and the involved institutions of local government, primarily Santa Cruz County's Probation Department, Office of Education, and Health Service Agency Mental Health and Substance Abuse Division. One leader mused that seeing the power of community partners' connections to youth provided the probation department with a needed reality check. "We don't have agency to change people in a significant way. In this age of EBP this is our mistake. Our job should be to facilitate protective factors for youth." He went on to connect this observation to his own theory of change as he saw on one hand the limitations of the court and on the other, the potential for the long-term relationships to support young people to grow into healthy and grounded members of the community.

What's the long view? Let's not pretend that any intervention will be a transformative moment. I talk to kids and they change for so many reasons: I got a girlfriend now, a job. I moved on, matured a little. What are the sustainable components? Soccer through probation, connect to mentors, people going to college, an activity close to home with good adult supporter, build up a community. (White male, model site probation leader)

Probation officers reflected that in combination with increased accountability for utilizing alternatives, having the Luna Center available as a ready referral spurred them to fundamental changes of practice in response to youth on their caseload. Several relayed that over time, they expanded their referrals to the Luna Center as an "step-down" to allow for youth to be released after a shorter detention placement yet remain under close supervision in the community, a community-based response when a child was picked up by police for a new offense, and an alternative to filing a violation of probation for noncompliance with terms of probation including failed drug tests, curfew violations, and school violations.

Luna Center partners worked alongside probation officers, facilitating social learning on the spot by modeling for POs the opportunities for building skills as well as mutual respect with youth to problem-solve for themselves. In this context, one community partner explained his team's process-based view of helping young people develop skills and awareness that lead to confidence in their own decision-making as they "work out the social issues they're facing." In a model site visit presentation, he describes the Center's approach to support a young person contemplating the potential risks and gains of coming out of the gang life.

Kids may feel they need to get out, but we're not addressing gang involvement directly, not talking about how to leave a gang. We focus on resources, helping out with building skills, with raising awareness of alternatives. It's about how you handle it. Gangs are everywhere. (Latino model site community partner)

This everyday exposure to a different sensibility from conventional probation work, one of trusting young people with navigate complex social situations for themselves, has been created through co-location and close collaboration with community-based partners. A variety of partners and types of activities come together at the Luna Center with the explicit goals of youth engagement that are being adopted across institutional partnerships: to provide meaningful and valuable experiences for the youths' development. Organizational partners and program offerings include local schools (providing support for credit recovery),

Friday Night Live (positive youth development), Barrios Unidos (cultural practices, peacebuilding, and community advocacy), Alcance (mentoring and job training through agreements with local County agencies like the planning department), recreation (yoga, weight training, rock wall climbing), employment readiness through resume writing and interview skills, and partnerships with local businesses and agencies for internship placements. The physical siting on probation grounds and intentional co-staffing has been a strong driver of change for probation's culture of working with youth. The young community partner quoted above made the distinction of a shift away from "monitoring youth" to mentoring and sharing knowledge in a "fun way."

Luna partners are there to problem solve with caring, to help respond to and overcome small issues that can be devastating to young people. The staff are in tune to kids' dynamics; we might offer to take one kid on a food run with us to defuse group conflict...We model that we're all working together; give choices, options like, "We can do *that* if we do *this*" to help structure the program. (Latino model site community partner)

Conscious of the influence that Luna Center staff wield as living examples for the youth, he emphasized the soft skills needed to successfully de-escalate social tensions and the attention that partners devote to setting and re-setting a positive and supportive tone. "We set the tone in a light, playful way. We use cues in Spanish to cut off from chisme [gossip]." Honoring and allowing culturally-informed responses to take the lead at the Luna Center was reflective of the broader aim of probation leadership to shift from technical to adaptive change with young people and families.

Reaching deeper than utilizing the Luna Center as an Alternative to Detention, the Center became a learning lab for innovative collaboration, where community partners engaged in a strengths-based, relational approach with youth while simultaneously serving as models and mentors for probation staff. As one partner put it, "The Luna Center is a platform that [administrators] let us run with. It's not set up one way; it's not Disney World. Every day you have to create it, change with it, be flexible, fluid." A probation supervisor reflected on her experience covering a shift at the Luna Center that revealed room for her own expectations and sense of the larger goals for youth to grow. Skillfully, she modeled the reflective practice that JDAI aims to instill in practitioners as she led the conversation at a model site visit. She confessed her surprise when a young man approached her that night for help with a mock interview, although she was an unknown adult in the room.

“Kids initiate, asking for help because they have had a positive experience with adults serving them well. They are confident, comfortable interacting with adults. This young man clearly had an expectation that I could and would help. He was self-directed.” – Juvenile Probation Division Supervisor, Black woman

In the re-telling of this scenario, the supervisor brought participants with her as she reframed the institutional thinking about desired results. The illustration, offered the second day of the model site visit, helped participants to revisit and redraw the measure of successful engagement with youth. The measure of success had morphed from the pre-reform completion of a stay in detention to the completion of a 12-day referral to the Luna Center, and finally took form as an image of young people developing positive expectations of relating to supportive adults, gaining tools for setting and achieving goals with greater self-efficacy.

By its nature, the Luna Center had evolved over the nine years it had been in operation, expanding or contracting partnerships according to the funding environment and constellation of existing community organizations and resources. The positions of some Luna staff hired from the community were funded by grants managed by probation. For example, the young man who made the presentation at the model site visit had been employed on two different contracts with probation; he had been cut once and he was rehired when the soft funding was again made available. The insecurity of his position was an uncomfortable reality that was neither hidden nor addressed head-on during the ensuing discussion.

The established reputation of Santa Cruz as a JDAI model site created some margin of cognitive comfort that the change agents within probation would continue to develop funding sources and through creative problem solving, collaborative community-based Alternative to Detentions like the Luna Evening Center would be sustained. Here AECF’s long-term vision and approach to reform takes on increasing saliency. AECF did not allocate financial support for regular programming at the model site, but focused its investment in sustaining Santa Cruz’s access to high quality technical assistance, training, and leadership/professional development for its staff. The confidence of model site leaders was enhanced and reinforced through this support; coupled with the elevated expectations for Santa Cruz to exemplify collaborative and culturally-responsive practices as a model site, this created a self-perpetuating dynamic for system change. Rather than offering a shadow-promise of security through future funding to prop up the model site in hard times,

AECF banked on its theory of sustaining change through the development of institutional agents of change among key JDAI actors.

By stoking the fire and vision of those who could fuel reform among their ranks and in turn, develop new leaders for reform, AECF made a strategic bet on the development of agents who could continue the enlightened deconstruction and reconstruction of the institutional structures that they inhabited. To a large extent, these actors are responsible for embedding not only JDAI principles and practices into their institutions, but also for reshaping the cognitive scripts and pathways that come to live and circulate in the institutional arrangements and thus, in the belief and thinking of other institutional actors. Through these observations, I construct a process-related view of participation in systems change that I expand on in the following section.

### III. Systems Change in Santa Cruz: Pathways for Role-Identities to Evolve

A close examination of the JDAI social learning process in the Santa Cruz County juvenile justice system yields lessons about a learning system under development. Enjoying the unique status of a model site, Santa Cruz County offers a rare glimpse into the experiment of cultivating, sustaining, and growing a culture of inquiry within a system of multiple institutional partners. This case elicits a set of questions about the different journeys along which ideas, roles, and identities can evolve for actors in a local system that has articulated an explicit goal of “continual transformation and improvement” (Giraldo, 2012).

The individuals interviewed discussed their backgrounds, their ideological foundations, their theories of change, and their experience of social learning within a system undergoing reform. As ideas and identities change in the social context of learning new information and practicing new approaches, there can be an immediate sense of resonance with already ingrained values; there can be unexpected triggers that spark perspective transformation and activation of agency; and more frequently, there is a gradual and seemingly unremarkable process of muddling through, questioning and debating and then awakening to the realization that in some small but significant way, something has changed. And what was the impact of internalizing the learning on actors’ behavior, actions, and sense of identity?

In this section, I describe three role-identities that appeared to emerge through system actors’ and partners’ participation in the JDAI social learning process at the Santa Cruz model site. I discuss the changes in practice, policy, philosophy or norms that corresponded to the formation of these role-identities for different individuals. The three categories of role-identity that I put forth and examine here are *reluctant reformers*, *reform*

*advocates, and liberated practitioners.* Reluctant reformers tended to identify with the prevailing justice system logic in terms of their role, beliefs, and thinking, but acknowledged areas where improvements could be made. Individuals in this category were tolerant of and at times active in advancing changes that they did not see as compromising the central institutional purposes and tenets. Reform advocates overall conceived of their identity as tightly linked to their role in transforming the juvenile justice system and the affiliation of the Santa Cruz system as a JDAI model site. Individuals in the liberated practitioner group were highly effective in their role in the JDAI process but did not strongly identify with the juvenile justice reform movement, articulating motivational goals of community self-determination and capacity-building and social change more broadly. In the discussion that follows, I treat the categories as discrete for heuristic purposes, but acknowledge that there is fluidity and overlap between these role-identities, like a complex network that intersects at certain nodes before diverging again.

#### A. Reluctant Reformers: Space for Skepticism

The reluctant reformers might best be characterized as those who would not have sought institutional reform on their own and who held some serious reservations about this goal, but whose careers in the local justice system placed them at the Santa Cruz County site and thus, at the epicenter for system transformation. Far from straight-forward, the contradictions and inconsistencies inherent in the interaction of human cognition, personality, motivation, interactions, meaning-making and institutional arrangements all come to bear on this journey. Expectations and assumptions are misplaced; paradoxes abound. Even those who aren't "fully bought in" have assumed positions of influential leadership within a system under transformation and are among those invited to contribute to the social learning process at model site visits. With respect to the visiting delegations, they play a critical role of keeping the model site relevant and relatable for the most skeptical learners who struggle to connect the reality of their home site context to the innovative attitudes and practices showcased in the two-day visit. With respect to the learning process among practitioners and partners within the Santa Cruz system, they voice critique and play a role in revealing the weaknesses and gaps of the current efforts. With respect to individual actors' own experiences of change and transformational learning, the processes tend to be gradual and incremental (Mezirow, 1991). There is room for shades of gray, nuances, actors sitting on the fence even as the landscape continues to change around them.

### *1. Negotiating Resistance from Partner Agencies*

I open this discussion with the quintessential reluctant reformer of the justice system: the Office of the Prosecuting Attorney or District Attorney (DA). A tame lunchtime panel on collaboration during a Santa Cruz model site visit suddenly came alive when a representative of the DA's office went "rogue," shooting from the hip in her answer to questions from the visiting delegation. An involuntary bark of laughter erupted from the audience and other panel members, but her honesty served to quell a lingering sense of hesitation among the visiting learners. As the air cleared, the delegates leaned forward to listen more intently to her candid responses to the question of whether she supports the JDAI reforms.

JDAI works for many kids but I'm not fully bought-in. Yes, 98% of the youth on Home Supervision and Electronic Monitoring Program returned to court safely when they were released pending court. But I gotta admit I get some satisfaction when kids who I didn't want released come back to court and get sent to a 24 hour hold [in detention]. (White female, model site prosecutor)

On the heels of the disruption, she went on to clarify that her concern was reserved for what she regarded as lenience on the "higher criminality cases." Expressing support for the policy reforms that led to early release or no detention for low-risk cases, she reiterated that under JDAI, the detention process "is better than it was." This departure from the carefully scripted learning agenda came as a surprise and caused a small headache for the model site visit facilitator. But it spoke volumes of how far the model site has come in allowing space for a culture of inquiry to develop and be voiced. The prosecutor's office was regularly invited to participate in such presentations for the model site visits, although it was common knowledge that they were "not fully on board and were always going to send a representative who will express some caution," as one model site coordinator phrased it.

In the early days of JDAI, tensions with the changes that reform demanded of the different agencies involved in juvenile justice in Santa Cruz County were palpable although seldom directly expressed. The strong backing for JDAI by both AECF and the County Board of Supervisors, the national recognition of the Santa Cruz County model site, and the promising outcomes held up by detention data had the combined effect of muting opposition. A former probation chief explained the apparent lack of dissent: "When you keep track of results and the results are so good, naysayers can make a bunch of noise but it doesn't really go anywhere. We ended up with such positive feeling from the powers-that-be that we were sort of insulated." The image of insulation was flipped in another



leader's metaphor that "we put resisters out on an island and they have to go along with reform." Another recalled a meeting in the late '90s where complaints about procedural reforms were being aired and the County sheriff, an elected official and "big dog among law enforcement chiefs" made an important political statement.

The Sheriff said, "Probation enjoys a lot of support for what they're doing here. I'm not on board but I'm not going to rise up and take them on." Then he walked out of the room. It was subtle actually, it wasn't a big scene.

(White female, model site probation leader)

Resignation to the inevitability of system reform seemed to have the silver lining of releasing some reluctant reformers from more active resistance. If attempts to block JDAI were perceived to be futile, then there was an attitude of resignation and 'let's get on with what we *can* do.' This sentiment was expressed by a probation officer with a pessimistic view of probation's on-going challenges with law enforcement, positing that recent improvements in relations with police might be interpreted as "maybe some of them have given up and resolved that we're not getting out of JDAI."

In any case, probation leadership leveraged the upper hand that they held in advancing reform and articulated a commitment to initiating relationships and mutual learning without placing too much expectation on the outcomes. Over time, it seemed that the model site leaders came to shoulder the responsibility for engaging partners in an ongoing social learning process without letting the tenor of their response impact the pace of reform. Speaking of stewarding reform partnerships with other county agencies at the beginning of JDAI, a probation administrator explained her approach this way:

I would engage the voices of dissent and find ways to address their concerns, change anything that wasn't working right. We continued the learning opportunities, worked with them one on one. Gave them the opportunity to shine when a new program opened; we put them front and center. We did all that we knew to do. And when you were done, they may not be JDAI leaders.

(White female, model site probation leader)

Adding to this laundry list of accommodations, probation supervisors through the years described tactics to improve partnerships for reform. Building relationships with law enforcement figured heavily in these efforts and officers from the police department acknowledged the work that probation put in to try to alleviate the frustrations that certain reforms posed to the force. Improved communication, education about changes to

detention admission criteria, and active participation in new officer trainings were all part of probation's outreach to strengthen collaboration with police. Overcoming resistance through efforts to "see the problem through other's eyes" was a common theme. For instance, several interviewees cited an adjustment that probation made to address law enforcement's concerns that kids who were notorious for causing trouble in the community were not being detained under the new criteria for detention.

The Watsonville probation office designated a PO who is on-call for WPD's questions each day. We can call in and bring in kids who we pick up and we know they'll have an immediate intervention. That helps officers feel like there's some consequence for kids...right away, a PO can sit down with that kid and come up with a contract, maybe have them start at the [Luna] Evening Reporting Center. (Latino model site law enforcement leader)

The measure of success, the data that demonstrated effectiveness, and the status of the model site designation allowed the Santa Cruz probation leadership to work around resistance and allow room for uncertainty among partners, and in time, within its own department. The JDAI model site visit coordinator returned to this refrain over the course of the two-day learning retreat and the space of several one-on-one conversations: "We're a model site; not a perfect site." It was a common tagline used by others in probation leadership as well; it seemed to function as a discursive touchpoint or anchor, a meditative reassurance when reform efforts encountered turbulence.

## *2. Room for Difference within Probation*

Given the strong branding of JDAI at the Santa Cruz site, some individuals appeared to feel the need to take a stand that they weren't true believers or hadn't bought in to every aspect of reform, even though many could acknowledge their own thinking and practice had been changed through their involvement in the social learning process. One probation officer was quick to state that she hadn't "drunk the JDAI kool-aid," but nonetheless reflected on finding some traction and agreement with the principles as she began to witness their effectiveness in her own practice. She described her "shock" as she transitioned from the Adult Division to the Juvenile Division and encountered the real-life application of concepts that had been previously been abstract. Her own role-identity began to evolve as she experienced new institutional norms that JDAI had been instrumental in shifting.

JDAI has changed me. For example, for a residential break-in, I would recommend lock-up for 6 months or a year in a heartbeat. I was shocked

when [the judge over-rode my recommendation and] the kid was released. But now I am looking at them like they're kids. My perspective has changed to the least restrictive placement. Now I totally agree. (Latina model site probation officer)

This PO's experience represents an important theme that arose from reluctant reformers in the ranks of probation, skepticism that stemmed from a gap in understanding how changes of practice were linked to a formal and coherent social learning process. Workforce development for juvenile division featured explicit training on JDAI principles for new hires, as I described earlier. A different strata of POs (discussed next under the "reform advocate" role-identity) were tapped to present at model site visits, inter-site conferences, and other training opportunities. However, a gap group of POs within the department never received formal training in JDAI, often entering juvenile probation mid-career through a rotation from the Adult Division. This group of practitioners operated in a fuzzy cognitive zone with respect to reform; JDAI was part of the probation milieu but for many of them, the purpose and goals of reform were not conscious drivers of their work.

The existence and persistence of this gap group of reluctant reformers may be the product of misconceptions between probation staff and leadership about the integration of JDAI principles across the entire department. In 2006, the Probation Chief launched the implementation of JDAI principles in the Adult Division, which had been operating largely "business-as-usual." This flipped an earlier view of the adult side as an "escape valve" where juvenile POs who were resistant to JDAI were sent to pasture. The department-wide roll-out of reform principles and tools meant that the same evidence-based assessment and case planning instruments were being used with youth and adults, in tandem with a messaging campaign to inscribe the "core values of compassion, social learning, and understanding." From the leadership's perspective, a decade later the entire department now operated from a unified JDAI philosophy of reform, supported by the practice of regularly rotating staff between divisions so that POs were cross-trained to work with adults or youth as needed. Contention over the management and effectiveness of this change was an issue that cropped up in a few interviews with those who served in the ranks at that time, offering a contrasting view that a decade later, the overall comprehension of the reform message among "middle of the road" POs was spotty.

Immersed in the day to day work, POs participated in reforms, regularly received technical trainings on new practices and policies, and were assumed to have a clear grasp of the big picture because they'd "been around" the department. Although JDAI terms, tools, and

concepts surrounded them, the skepticism that these reluctant reformers expressed reflected a distinct disconnect from the overarching vision of reform that the model site visits were so effective in conveying. Perhaps because the adult division lacked the same historical narrative explaining the need for JDAI reforms, the broader philosophical perspective of transformation promoted by JDAI seemed to lack resonance for these practitioners. Probation staff who had come over from the adult side articulated their perception of reforms as constant “changes of practice every time we turn around” that were fragmented and “piecemeal,” implemented for the sake of “chasing innovation.” They also articulated a deep sense of stress from the pressures that the model site designation put on POs behind the scenes. From that current cognitive and emotional state, their reluctance to buy into reform mainly stemmed from practical concerns and immediate limitations such as a “lack of staffing to do things properly” and frustration with out-of-touch administrators who failed to protect staff from unrealistic workloads when they “say yes to everything without taking anything off our plates.”

The story of a probation manager who self-identified as a JDAI skeptic is illustrative of the un-evenness in the internal social learning process for probation. Recently assigned to assist the model site visit coordinator, she confided that staffing the model site visits had become instrumental in her own process of making meaning of JDAI, Santa Cruz’s role as a model site, and her role in the reforms. She contrasted it with her experience of learning on the job, where “unless you ask or have a supervisor who takes the time to explain, you just do what you’re told and have no idea the reason why.” Sitting in the model site visits, she routinely jotted down questions to research on her own, “things I need to find out about, ask about.” Confronted with these gaps in her understanding, she came up with a change of practice on her own: a requirement that every PO in the department participate in a model site visit once a year.

The impact of her “in-place learning retreat” provided a glimpse into the potential for social learning to penetrate more deeply and impart greater meaning to the everyday experience of system practitioners. Through regular exposure to the formal JDAI social learning process that was painstakingly designed to facilitate transformations in visiting delegations, her own thinking and beliefs were changing as she linked them with the changes of practices and promising results that she already encountered in her probation case work. In addition, she expressed her growing sense of pride and identification with the Santa Cruz site during the model site visits as she observes “the dynamics of other sites, listen to their woes. Kind of helps us see that [Santa Cruz] does a lot, has accomplished stuff that other sites can’t even imagine.” At the end of our interview, she pointed to the “Accountability

Pathway” from the ALN curriculum that hung on the wall of her shared office (Figure 7). A cartoon graphic depicted the Accountability Pathway as a progression from stages of being “unaccountable” that were characterized by lack of awareness, shifting blame, and denial to stages of being “accountable” that moved from acknowledgment of reality toward personal commitment, problem-solving, and follow-through.

**The Accountability Pathway**  
© Jolie Bain Pillsbury

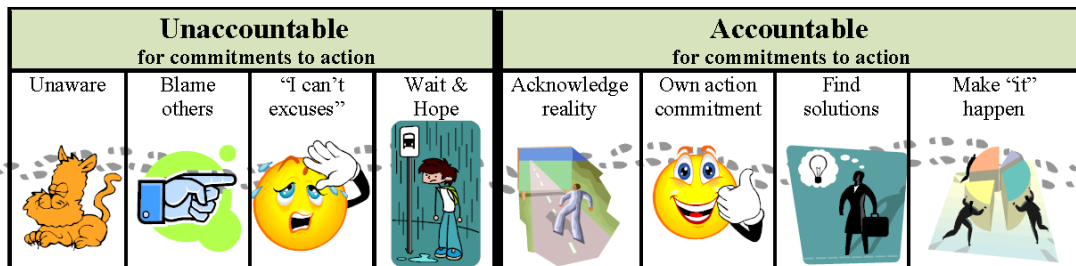


Figure 7. The accountability pathway

The probation officer explained that the model site coordinator was coaching her on self-reflective practices and showed me where she located herself on the pathway, at the first square of being accountable for commitment to action and previewed her next steps.

I acknowledge reality. I’m accountable to know more and learn more about JDAI. I’m wary of the funding and what drives the changes. I’m cautious. A little jaded. After all, I’m a probation officer. (Latina model site probation leader)

Set in this context of encouraging learning and inquiry, a certain degree of skepticism and questioning within probation was to be expected. Although critique of JDAI was often written off as laziness, fear, or backward thinking in the early years of reform, the emerging learning organization ethos began to provide a check to this imbalance. One skeptic from probation observed that leadership was becoming more open to the “strength in differences and diversity of views, valuing the ability to disagree.” The culture was changing to allow the airing of concerns about reform, like the contradictory set of tensions between the new objective instruments making POs’ work more cumbersome and mechanical at a time when the philosophy of probation was becoming more relational and youth- and family-centered. He contrasted this willingness to engage with the expectation that held true for years within the department that someone who spoke up to voice a concern wouldn’t get promoted. “Maybe it’s changing because [leaders] realize that people have valuable voices that

represent valid views in the community.” This change seemed to evidence the Santa Cruz’s growth toward becoming a learning system committed to ongoing inquiry and change.

### B. Reform Advocates: Perpetuating Change Agency

Not necessarily young – although many are – the practitioners and partners in the role-identity of reform advocates saw themselves as embracing change and resonating with JDAI principles and approaches as intuitive and commonsense. They find themselves “at home” in the work with a sense of allegiance to JDAI which often overflows beyond the Santa Cruz site, identifying with the reform movement at the national level. Those “JDAI insiders” articulated great congruence between their moral leanings, their background, and the goals of JDAI. Individuals were clearly self-identified, referring to themselves as “forerunners” or “pioneers in the movement” (among those who had been active in the early years of JDAI) or “true believers” or “all-in.” They described their ties in terms of motivation and identification. With little or no prompting, they spoke extensively and enthusiastically of their place of belonging and leadership in the JDAI national network as a place of solidarity, as an identity that brought them a profound sense of pride. One probation leader who has come up the ranks during the period that JDAI was implemented expressed his immediate philosophical resonance with the initiative.

I always say I consider myself a JDAI baby. I used to do [coordination for] the site visits, I grew up in this environment of reform as a new probation officer. Went through the whole process of different stages of influence and leadership. This is what I know. This was the perfect place to work for what I wanted to do in my career. (Latino model site probation leader)

This sense of permanence, of ‘this is what I know’ seemed to allow much of the work of reform advocates to take root within their systems and flourish, progressing through the leadership structure of the probation department, and reflecting a satisfaction stemming from coherence between philosophy and practice. The permanence may have also allowed reform advocates to set their sights and frame the work of change as a long journey that will continue. The discourse of the department and the larger collaboration dedicated to system reform reflects a long-term view that practices will keep evolving and we will change with them. We don’t have to change people’s minds overnight, this struggle will go on and people will see the light in time. In fact, we don’t have control over when people will buy in, but our responsibility is to keep on pushing the transformation forward.

Actors who adopted the role-identity of justice system reformer assumed the responsibility of advocating for change and educating others in hopes of winning them over, investing resources in the evolution of thinking, policies, and practices to align more closely with the cause, and committing to a process of ongoing learning. For reform advocates, JDAI principles have become the framework for their approach to work and the eight core strategies have become their guide for practice. While their experience of “cognitive conversion” was rarely expressed as dramatic, given the synergy between their previously held values and Foundational JDAI philosophies, the behavioral and procedural changes that they described reflect both breadth and depth. The long-haul nature of reform was often articulated with a measured, patient serenity that reflected an acceptance of the common bureaucratic resistance to initiatives perceived as passing fads or ‘flavors of the week.’ As one former probation leader reflected, “You keep on repeating the message, demonstrating the change, looking at data. You have to be calm; you have to be willing to go through the process.” The social learning process needed to be understood as on-going, since different people will absorb the message at different times and new actors are always entering and exiting the system.

Reform takes a couple years of repeating. [The probation chief] would keep coming to the office with the same message. Trainings, memos, site visits, and still some would keep acting like they’ve never heard of it. Then about two years in, someone will start to talk about it as if it was their own idea. At some point people flip over. (White female, model site probation leader)

Backed by data demonstrating the positive effect of nearly twenty years of reform, JDAI advocates did not express urgency about seeking to convince the opposition. Instead, there was an emphasis on ongoing partnership development and renewal and seeking more entry-points for training and participation in planning from the different staffing levels both inside and outside of probation. A continual cycle of learning and system improvement was an oft-repeated sentiment by reform advocates, who saw themselves as educators both within and outside of the juvenile probation division.

One probation leader who had come up through the ranks, serving for several years as the JDAI project director before being promoted to higher leadership, spoke from his own experience about the value of exposing as many staff as possible to the national JDAI network. For Santa Cruz as a relatively small, geographically isolated, semi-rural jurisdiction, access to the JDAI national “peer-to-peer learning” platform offered practitioners membership in a larger community of practice - and significantly, opportunities

to grow in identification with the Santa Cruz model site and become leaders on a national stage. This leader held the conviction that staff's pride and appreciation for Santa Cruz's significance in the reform landscape would be enhanced "as they tell our story and hear how other sites do it...They hear that not everyone collaborates, not everyone talks to schools, not everyone supports their work with data."

Many of this model site's practitioners were homegrown or college transplants forming long-term commitments to the Santa Cruz area. Travel and participation in learning retreats were regarded as both salient rewards for hard work and innovation at the site level and powerful experiences for the uninitiated to connect to the big picture and plant a seed for their own commitment to the JDAI affiliation. The honor of speaking on behalf of the Santa Cruz site and being acknowledged as a member of the model site was highly prized and mentioned by several past and present leaders in the juvenile probation division. As one of the leaders involved at the beginning of JDAI implementation recalled, these learning platforms have elevated Santa Cruz practitioners by showcasing the site's expertise in reform.

It took us two years to implement all the eight core strategies. We got into this very fast, got results very fast. We just ram-rodged it through and Santa Cruz became the first replication site in the nation. In the early years, several of us were doing three, four, five workshops at the national conference because we were the only experts in the nation. (White female, model site probation leader)

The careers of many reform advocates based in Santa Cruz have taken on a parallel track of local leadership and national prominence. These leaders in turn recognized and reinforced a sense of currency for those with established JDAI pedigrees or reputations, placing high value on the experience of those trained up at JDAI model sites and those who have participated in the JDAI Applied Leadership Network (ALN), an elite leadership development program developed by AECF.

Reform advocates in top positions leveraged the JDAI learning retreats opportunities as incentives that could "seed" and/or "seal" identity formation as agents of change among probation staff and leaders within the ranks of collaborating agencies like law enforcement and education, allies in nonprofit service provision and research, and encompassing political decision makers such as members of the County Board of Supervisors and judges. A probation leader depicted the approach as "making people feel special, privileged to be at Santa Cruz, to represent us at conferences." He framed the selection of a collaborative team



to participate in a national inter-site conference as an “opportunity to be strategic” as well as to think about “who it would be fun to bring.” Echoing theories of policy transfer and learning, they saw the informal bonding time during travel as an integral part of the social learning process where mutual understanding and trust could be built.

This approach has proven successful with at least some of the agency partners who learned firsthand what an important role Santa Cruz County occupies on the national stage of the JDAI movement. These visiting learners also conveyed that the conferences were “eye-opening” opportunities to understand the breadth of JDAI influence across so many states and localities and apprehend their own individual role in the reform efforts. One school partner enthusiastically described her experience on a recent learning retreat. “We put together a conference team and experienced [JDAI at a national level]. I saw how I could be a key player...I was impressed by the level of collaboration I saw at the conference.” Influential in her own set of collaborative relationships supporting her work on truancy, she cited the specific workshop presentation that she found directly relevant to her role and position within the wider County constellation of education, positive youth development and juvenile justice. The conference helped her visualize and understand more clearly how her work intersected with justice system reform and how she could advance change in the future.

### C. Liberated Practitioners: Leveraging Alternative Logics

I describe actors in this role-identity as “liberated practitioners” to reflect the sense of liberation that the Santa Cruz system’s participation in JDAI afforded them from some of the bureaucratic boundaries and systemic barriers that had so often constrained their creative work with youth and families. In contrast to the reform advocates who professed undying loyalty to JDAI, these practitioners saw JDAI’s value and in some cases, even identified with the movement but did not articulate it as central to their work of system change. Under JDAI’s umbrella of support, liberated practitioners often articulated the reform process as a potential opportunity to institutionalize the values and practices that they were already implementing, although often “under the radar” to avoid undue scrutiny. Liberated practitioners exploited spaces for discretion and creativity, bringing place-based practices, spiritual healing, community and culturally-grounded knowledge, and ethics of care and transformation into the cracks and crevices of the system. These actors translated their pre-existing values and convictions into JDAI language to show the “powers that be” how they aligned with officially sanctioned reform. One leader explained that JDAI was “a way to get it done,” a potent work-around in a maze of bureaucracy. She went on to explain:

“You have to find ways to be creative in order to do the best work, to get the best results. We have to adapt to changing leadership as administrations change. JDAI gives a way to do the work in spite of changes around you.” - African American woman probation leader

The liberated practitioners in this study illuminated the “paradox of embedded agency” (Battilana et al., 2009; Seo and Creed, 2002; Scott, 2014) wherein actors exert their power to change the institutional structure that they inhabit, while at the same time having their agency constrained by the very structure that they are working to reshape. Liberated practitioners practice often came from outside of the dominant cultural construct of probation and the conventional justice system. While there was room for practitioner-initiated experimentation that embodied more radical change under the JDAI banner, they tended to be allowed to flourish under the individual actor’s or organization’s initiative without becoming embedded in the re-forming institutional structure. These entrepreneurial actors operated from the most transformative and holistic human-centered ethos, however as outsiders and subversives to the dominant system, they were not well-positioned to advance an “alternative logic” in the limbo between the residue of existing institutional arrangements that influence actors’ thinking and the emergence of new ways of thinking, doing, and being through the social learning process. The success of linking an innovative practice with residual institutional thinking and logic determined its integration into the new logic. Certain residual logics were particularly persistent, including the issue of perceived safety and control and the positivist preference toward evidence-based practices that could generate clear outcomes for evaluation of success.

The Aztecas Soccer Team offers an example of transformative learning in service of systems change. Launched by a liberated practitioner, the soccer team for youth on probation became institutionalized within the probation department and has grown into a full-fledged collaborative initiative, with a community-based non-profit founded to coordinate its operations and sustain its funding. Aztecas offers an example of profound transformation in what is imaginable within the justice system. The probation officer who founded the team, a former high school soccer stand-out from Watsonville, skillfully wove the justification for the soccer program into the accepted scripts and understandings of after-school athletics as a positive, pro-social activity that reinforces the social norms of discipline and teamwork. The cultural fit of soccer in the Latinx community also played into the RED strategy that JDAI advanced.

By linking new ways of thinking and acting with accepted logics such as “keeping kids busy by getting them into sports,” and specifically, “getting Mexican kids into soccer,” Aztecas

established cognitive resonance. This resonance was a place of strength that allowed the soccer program to successfully challenge the powerful residual logics of fear and safety when the PO-turned-coach insisted on training rival gang members on her caseload to play on the same team. By leveraging the easily accessible social meanings that competition in sports affords such as respect, self-confidence, and a potential pipeline to college scholarships, she used those as a platform to overcome institutional aversion to the risk posed by bringing gang factions together. This confrontation was a learning opportunity that expanded decision-makers' ability to imagine and understand that the risk of violence between gang members was counterbalanced by meaningful opportunities for young people to navigate difficult choices and strengthen their locus of self-control. The power of this tension resonated among learners in a model site visit presentation as another PO/coach recounted one such choice:

In Watsonville one night, one of our players found himself in the wrong neighborhood, surrounded by a rival gang. But one of his teammates who was in that gang saved him. He told the others, "Give him a pass, he's on my team." Our kids are finding the courage to apply what is learned in Aztecas to the real world. (Latino model site probation officer)

The indicators of gains and growth when former rivals play together, shake hands, cheer one another on, and change the dynamics of the street were not capturable by the traditional data-driven metrics that JDAI espoused. By regularly identifying, collecting, and reporting some of the tailored indicators like the percentage of youth "willing to shake hands with players of opposing teams and opposing gang members" (e.g., 98% in the 2014 season) and validated positive youth development measures such as increased self-esteem, these liberated practitioners built an evidence-base to demonstrate the value of this innovation and to attract funding from other sources. Reporting on the number of youth recruited to Division I teams within the competitive area youth leagues, rates of graduation from high school and entry into college became institutionalized along with the usual rates of recidivism and probation violations among players. They also developed a robust collaboration, with families and community mentors engaged in supporting practices and games, nonprofit partners taking on the coordination and incorporation of the soccer club as it grew, and funding arrangements that engaged local businesses as partners in juvenile justice reform. The embrace of the system is evident in the language on the Santa Cruz County probation department website, proudly announcing its sponsorship of the Azteca Youth Soccer Program, touted as a "nationally recognized" intervention "which brings

together at-risk youth, often from competing gang affiliations, in a productive environment that encourages understanding through teamwork” (Santa Cruz County, 2015).

Such an example of radically different practice being integrated into the fabric and logic of a system is rare. In a more common case, another liberated practitioner with a background in group homes where the kids called her “Mom,” was known in the probation department for culturally-responsive, community-based work. While she felt that leadership “always gave a green light to run with ideas,” institutionalizing the changes she introduced was highly dependent on the extent to which they aligned with and were legible to existing institutional logics. Her “legacy” was the recruitment and training of a Spanish-speaking team of volunteer facilitators for the Neighborhood Accountability Board, the model site’s restorative justice program. That effort clearly built on a familiar framework of language access that was well established in the County justice system.

She relayed the story of another innovation that she found deeply important but was never formalized. By bending the existing rules of the detention facility, she experimented with hosting family meetings in the “cozier” environment of the counseling room or conference room, rather than the sterile, clinical meeting rooms that were designated for the visits. The conference and counseling rooms were not secure, but holding the intimacy and comfort of the family in higher esteem, she improvised by blocking the exit door with chairs during the meeting. She giggled upon recalling how she justified her response to other facility staff of the risk of youth trying to escape, “Maybe I couldn’t tackle them, but they couldn’t just get up and run out.”

In her larger vision, she held a conviction for the “need to re-think how to bring detained kids into non-secure custody setting for a real conversation.” However, lacking a viable foothold to build on an existing or residual logic that would make it more cognitively accessible, this value was not taken up in the social learning process or integrated into emerging institutional logic and structures. Liberated practitioners within probation were not as commonly tracked into decision-making positions and power structure as the reform advocates were. They enjoyed freedom to practice with a certain degree of discretion, but less administrative support for taking their praxis to scale and sharing their learnings in formal settings. Case in point, the outcomes of improving family communication were not easily captured or tracked. Data did not exist to support an argument for policy change and the change was not taken up.

Liberated practitioners who sat outside of the probation “hub” of JDAI faced a similar set of opportunities and challenges to effect greater influence over the system through the space

created by JDAI's approach and principles. The turn toward data-informed decision-making, the reduction in racial and ethnic disparities among youth in the justice system, and the emphasis on collaboration were three JDAI core strategies that liberated practitioners in the communities and schools could use as entry points to transform the justice system to align more closely with their values. Their concerns reflected a holistic view of educating community residents about the root causes of violence, journeying with young people in their cultural identity formation, strengthening intergenerational learning, and providing support for people seeking to develop the skills and knowledge needed for self-sufficiency.

The missions of long-time collaborative partners of the Santa Cruz model site, such as the community-based organizations Barrios Unidos (BU) and Alcance were often congruent with a much broader definition of community development, including poverty alleviation, healing community violence, immigrant rights, and quality public education. Both BU and Alcance have regular, funded partnerships to provide culturally-responsive programs and services for youth through Alternatives to Detention, transition support for re-entry after incarceration, and community service / job training placements. In particular, BU engages families in learning about indigenous cultural identity and traditions and plays a critical role in convening and co-sponsoring events for community to participate in the social learning process around juvenile justice reform. These partnerships and practices are acknowledged as integral to the Santa Cruz model site and BU's director Jerry Tello has served as a plenary speaker at an annual JDAI inter-site conference, impacting the social learning process for systems change at a national level. However, the question emerges of how these practitioners' values are brought to bear in the social learning process of imagining and constructing alternative logics and realities among actors in the Santa Cruz learning system. I turn to the conclusion of this chapter to consider this question further and examine its relationship to other findings that emerged.

#### IV. Impacts of the Model Site Designation on Local System Change

In conclusion, I discuss the influence of the "model site designation" on the institutional practices and culture of the Santa Cruz justice system undergoing reform and examine some of the unintended consequences of the model site design for social learning. I close by highlighting observations of limitations to the social learning process to build the capacity of justice system actors to engage changes of thinking, belief, practice, and policy that enable them to critique the existing institutional logics and develop a learning system that challenges and reimagines problematic institutional logics.

“Santa Cruz County’s award-winning Probation Department improves the community by helping families and individuals restore their lives and look forward to a brighter future.” (Santa Cruz County, 2015)

The opening statement on the County of Santa Cruz Probation Department’s webpage is reflective of the impact of the JDAI model site designation for the past eighteen years and counting. The Santa Cruz model site operates in a ‘fishbowl’ as the national center of the JDAI social learning process, as well as under an additional layer of scrutiny from AECF as its philanthropic sponsor. Serving as a prototype for juvenile justice reform shapes a distinct culture of expectation for continual improvement for the probation department and to a lesser extent, other system partners. The prototype role also influences the kind of institutional practices and arrangements that are elevated. Practices at the model site must be aligned with reform principles, in addition to being measurable, quantifiable, and validated. This creates a tension that the Aztecas program resolved by developing acceptance for alternative types of indicators; this tension remains for other creative interventions that struggle to quantify the value of attention to family relationships or decreasing gang conflict. The institutional arrangements of the model site must also be easily comprehensible to different sites so that the visiting learners can both apprehend the innovations and easily map the potential parallels onto their home system. In a nutshell, as a JDAI model site, the Santa Cruz County system must be at once place-based; connected to on-the-ground partners; and responsive to its local communities, while also being accessible and relatable to any of the other 300 JDAI sites that may be participating in a model site visit that week. This set of competing demands exerts certain cognitive limitations on the Santa Cruz model site as a truly regenerative learning system.

Unsurprisingly, the impacts of Santa Cruz County’s designation as a JDAI model site have been mixed. Positive impacts have been well-documented, delivering gains for youth such as measurable decreases in the number of youth detained and an expanded set of alternative responses for youth who need support. Practitioners have benefited from the professional development resources and opportunities available through association with the national JDAI learning network. Co-mingled with these gains are a crop of questionable and problematic consequences of the model site “bump” in performance and pressure. In the following section, I take a closer look at the self-perpetuating nature of a model site and some of the unintended consequences associated with the model site designation.

#### A. Self-Perpetuation through Expansion of Accountability

The model site designation had a clear impact on the ethos of the Santa Cruz County juvenile justice system, with a wave of culture change beginning with probation and

extending outward over time to other system stakeholders. Motivation for change originated with the formal leadership of the probation department, who undertook strategic action to sustain the responsibility for reform to middle levels of probation and eventually to partner agencies and organizations as they began to understand the national attention garnered by the model site's success. I offer one example to illustrate the expansion of accountability for change over time.

Through its efforts to enact and achieve measurable progress in reforms, Santa Cruz County leadership worked hard to correct "the normalization of deviance" (Vaughan, 2005) that commonly hampers fidelity of best practices. The probation department utilized a combination of motivation and enforcement to move staff to take responsibility for executing specific reforms. A process of social inquiry paired with a structure for accountability was deployed by probation administrators, beginning with the implementation of the first and most dramatic reform, the Risk Assessment Instrument as an objective tool to determine which youth could be detained. The implementation process was then tweaked, refined, and repeated with subsequent reforms such as the utilization of different Alternatives to Detention such as Electronic Monitoring and Home Supervision.

Crucially, the expectation for a model site to "model" the process of inquiry and on-going learning facilitated this culture shift. One former probation chief parsed what she called the "nuances of reform" as she reflected on these challenges at the outset of Santa Cruz's JDAI experience. Oftentimes the shifts were subtle and not intuitive; the practices might appear to be implemented smoothly; but getting at the real barriers to fidelity demanded close attention and immediate response to data discrepancies. For instance, the early stages of implementation seemed to go off without much of a hitch, but the data reflected that the Risk Assessment Instrument was failing in the expected outcome to reduce the number of youth being detained.

Probation leaders set up a collective process for all staff to review the data to identify the source of the anomalies. Like any newly introduced process, it was approached with apprehension, but many POs expressed that they came around to find the practice of data review empowering. The sentiment of one still-reluctant reformer was echoed by several other POs interviewed: "It's actually helpful to have data and tools. You come together to figure out how to address what you see in your data, to ask and identify what can you do together." Coming to a clearer understanding of what they knew – and didn't know – had a motivating effect for these actors. They indicated that their level of confidence in their "data fluency" grew, and with this sense of enhanced professional expertise, their

motivation to take on greater responsibility for the implementation of JDAI reforms also increased.

The inquiry process also worked to enforce accountability to fidelity, stripping the probation department of an important vestige of 'structural secrecy' (Vaughan, 2005). The data review made visible a loophole in the implementation – and two sets of deviant institutional actors exploiting that loophole. First, specific POs showed a high rate of obtaining manual over-rides to detain youth whose scores didn't merit detention. Second, specific supervisors who exhibited a pattern of signing off on over-ride requests were identified. Thus, the individual actors involved in the practice of "supervisor shopping" to circumvent fidelity to the Risk Assessment Instrument were exposed. The object of reform became human habit and the underlying assumption, attitudes, and beliefs at the root of routine behavior. Many actors within different agencies questioned or resisted implementation of the Risk Assessment Instrument, including police, prosecutors, judges, and probation officers themselves. POs still wanted the power to detain certain youth, motivated by a mixture of bias, desire for control, or fear of police push-back upon seeing youth were released back to the community. A probation leader summed up the lessons that implementation of the Risk Assessment Instrument yielded.

It wasn't that we didn't have the technology and tools...It was the way we were using them. We had a bunch of different staff who...were bypassing the tool and doing what they wanted to do...So we went through a process of pulling everyone together with training and quality control to make sure people couldn't get around it and actually used it to drive decision making.  
(White female, model site probation leader)

Probation administrators designed "booster trainings" to reinforce both the technical steps and the philosophical purpose of implementing with fidelity. Data review became a routine of practice, with the heightened understanding that staff were accountable for the actions that the data revealed. In a similar fashion, the probation leader quoted above explained their efforts to change the culture of interagency collaboration to become more data-responsive. While Santa Cruz County had a broader history of collaborative reform in becoming a mental health system of care, JDAI pushed the practice of reviewing justice system data and identifying who was causing – and in a position to address – the anomalies that showed up in the data. As the JDAI steering committee of different agency heads and community leaders began to regularly review the detention data, they identified a pattern among youth detained for long stretches not due to public safety risks, but because no clear



mental health services were available to meet their needs. She reflected, “We could say to our mental health partners, we can’t keep these kids sitting in detention for 30 days. We all need to be responsible” [to creatively meet needs without relying on juvenile detention]. In this way, the data-driven social learning process that the model site designation compelled worked to expand ownership to enact reforms among a widening circle of system practitioners.

I have already discussed in detail some of the other aspects of the social learning process that had the effect of expanding the motivational field to other actors, such as the use of leadership development frames further down the ranks of probation to motivate accountability. In the next section I build on the theme on enhancing actors’ identification with the model site through the ritual of telling the Santa Cruz story.

#### B. Self-Perpetuation through Embedded Narrative of Success

For a model site, there is particular reliance on the “nonparticipant narratives” or institutional narratives that persist “through time and across tellers” (Linde, 2015), stories that are retold by those who were not directly involved with the events described. These narratives are recalled and recounted to reinforce a certain version of institutional history, memory, and identity. For model site visits, Santa Cruz County’s institutional “origin story” is often relayed by Probation Chiefs who may be one to two degrees removed from its JDAI conception, but all Santa Cruz leaders worth their salt are able to rattle off the salient points of the system’s transformation. Linde (2015) explains that “for a member to know this story means to know what the institution is, and what a member must do to be a part of it” (522). Such a story serves as a powerful organizing structure for perpetuating an identity of success as a model site.

A model site is charged with a rare impetus for the ritual retelling of institutional narratives. For Santa Cruz County, at bare minimum there are 24 “performances” each year of the entire Santa Cruz story from cradle-to-current-day for JDAI model sites visits, without considering the additional re-telling done through trainings, inter-site conferences, and interviews. The act of repeating and re-enacting the Santa Cruz story in the social learning process took on a life of its own and had the effect of embedding success into the continuing and future narrative of the model site. The next section considers a number of subplots that were systematically left out of the official narrative of the Santa Cruz story, even in its telling of the ‘trial and error’ work of becoming a learning system. Although the official record is silent on these issues, the ways that they bubbled up to the surface in the process of this research still bears consideration.

### C. Unintended Consequences

While the Santa Cruz model site generated an impressive record of system improvements and success stories such as a reducing the average number of youth per day in the detention facility by more than half and an associated decrease of nearly 40% in the annual number of youth detained, several unintended outcomes must also be held up for examination and critique. I begin with the internal concerns of staff burnout attributed to the demands of the model site design and leadership styles. I then extend the examination outward to the question of over-reach of the model site's probation practices and the potential for subverting the goals of reform by through the subtle magnification of the impact of the system into the lives of youth, families, and communities.

#### 1. *Sustaining Staff*

Cox's (2013) research on justice reform from the perspective of juvenile facility staff highlights that staff "members were acutely attuned to matters of fairness in the institutional landscape," expressing a desire for the "opportunity to provide input and feedback...and to receive consistent and clear information about the reforms" (18). Similar themes arose among probation staff and other justice system partners such as law enforcement at the Santa Cruz model site; primary among the persistent challenges were clear communication of the rationale for JDAI reform and the inclusion of staff "say" in the process of implementation. As staff work pressures associated with reform increased, even the best messaging on systems change with consistent reinforcement from the may have been difficult for practitioners to absorb effectively, outside of actors in the "reform advocate" role-identity who were fully bought in to the JDAI vision. One PO's interview reflected on the tension:

When I was asked to go to site visits...I had a sense of pride, because there was recognition for what we were doing ... But with my managers sitting there, how honest can I be about my frustration about implementation and the disconnect between guiding principles and these great ideas and the pissed off mom or the cop who says probation doesn't do anything? It was a balancing act. (White female, model site probation leader)

As this probation manager alludes to, even when staff grasped "the great ideas" at the heart of reform, the divide between the ideal and the lived reality was a source of stress and frustration. The rapid pace of new tools and technologies rolled out in service of reform was a point of contention that surfaced with a large share of probation staff interviewed. Several POs articulated a sense of demoralization associated with the shift to more objective

decision-making tools. One former staff shared: "It got to the point that I felt I don't guide my work; I can't make my own case recommendations. What I'm recommending flies in the face of what I think is best." She related a story of a young man who she recommended to participate in Wraparound services. When the request was denied because it did not align with the decision-making criteria, she recalled the response of the probation supervisors as emotionally flat and disconnected from her sense of urgency. "I remember sitting in a meeting, saying, 'Who's going to help me save this kid?' and them looking at me like that would be an inappropriate thing to say." Generally characterized as a talented and innovative leader by the other probation staff and partners who were interviewed, this "liberated practitioner" described this scenario as the straw that broke the camel's back and helped seal her decision to leave her career in probation.

Although creative innovation to provide more supportive youth-centered work was valued in the context of probation's practice *with clients*, according to the majority of staff interviewed, an ethic of care that could set a foundation for better social emotional outcomes and long-term care of *justice system practitioners* largely absent from the institutional culture of the model site. The early regime of leaders was consistently portrayed as deeply committed to reform but prototypically Type A, operating from a more cut-and-dry efficiency orientation toward results over process. As one long-time probation supervisor put it, "They were missing the interpersonal skills to move people to consensus, to agreements. The attitude was 'Fuck that, it's not on me if you like your job [or not].'" This under-belly effect contributed to expressions of serious burn-out and disillusionment from probation staff outside of the "reform advocate" role-identity.

When pressed on the issue of sustaining and caring for staff in such a fast-paced, multi-faceted workplace with high demands and visibility, the response of top leadership was varied. One current leader semi-shrugged and admitted, "We can do better with self-care for POs. We could use workshops on setting boundaries." He then added an uncharacteristically bureaucratic justification. "These things are hard to justify as a government agency."

The shifting tide of leadership may reflect a different sensibility in the future, in step with the hiring and promotion of community members with strong cultural competency and students with experience in and value for collaboration. However, the powerful imprints of the past model of strong and driven leadership on institutional culture at the model site cannot be disregarded. This tension is illustrated in comments about recruiting high caliber

talent to fulfill certain roles in the model site; the quote below speaks to the pick from a national search to lead trainings and learning retreats at the Santa Cruz site.

She is a powerful person, can work with people. A motivator, it's our job to develop that in people. She knows JDAI, she's a person of color... We haven't had that internally. She can also hold a room, she's a rock star. We want that, we want the best of the best. (Latino model site probation leader)

Having met her, I attest that she was all of those things and more. Something of a "unicorn" in terms of the balance of strengths that she possessed to appeal to the past and the future of the Santa Cruz justice system, the high bar of her professional and personality profile speaks to the improbable demands of the model site institutional culture on mere mortals.

## *2. System Over-reach*

In this subsection, I follow the inquiry posed by scholars of institutional change who have sought to explain the sources of resistance and resilience that allow institutions to persist even when their purpose, activities, and logic appear to have run their course. "Where institutions endure, we need to ask whose interests are vested in particular institutions, and what sustains those interests over time" (Sorenson 2015:22; Thelen 1999). Every case has multiple layers and plotlines; in the JDAI saga, this represented the shadow-side of the deep-seated commitment of AECF to establish the model sites as critical nodes of the national social learning network.

The juvenile probation division in Santa Cruz is widely regarded as the driver of local justice system reform, according to representatives of various law enforcement agencies, the mental health service agency, and administrators of a local school district. The Probation Department's role as the leader of collaboration and change in the Santa Cruz JDAI site presents a double-edged sword in the battle for institutional change. In the positive sense, the agility of the probation department to move quickly and mobilize partners has facilitated the development of more community-based alternatives to detention, the greater expansion of the continuum of care stretching into school-based prevention activities for younger children, and improved communication and coordination between law enforcement, probation, and other partners such as mental health care providers serving families involved with the intensive Wraparound probation cases.

Nonetheless, I contend that this same extension of probation's reach is problematic. The department's involvement in prevention work such as BASTA, their celebrated school-based

prevention program can serve as net-widening of the justice system into the lives of young people. The “my child” test can be applied to ask how many justice system practitioners would genuinely welcome their child’s participation in “prevention activities” in their elementary schools facilitated by probation officers. The opportunities offered are valuable and relevant to positive youth development: connection to positive mentors from the community, participation in sports camps and educational resources and presentations to help with building the skills to make positive decisions. Yet the language and labeling persists through the choice of framing and agencies providing these activities, serving to perpetuate attitudes and beliefs about who is participating in these programs and why.

BASTA was conceived as a gang intervention and has gained momentum as a prevention program. The name BASTA is widely touted as meaning “Enough!” in Spanish, but in English the acronym stands for Broad-based Apprehension, Suppression, Treatment, and Alternatives. The discursive power of such a title persists, even when couched in a seemingly culturally appropriate acronym. Prescribing a gang-prevention intervention to a child looking for belonging can negatively identify this child and conflate the need for positive youth development with a (sometimes) unvoiced assumption that a Latino student is on a trajectory to gang involvement. An influential technical assistance provider for the initiative invoked AECF’s touchstone commitment to child well-being to question such subtle choices, echoing in his interview an exhortation that he often made to JDAI sites working to reduce racial and ethnic disparities:

Kids are seen and treated different. You picture a delinquent and his name is not Connor. Her name is not Kelsey. These are societal ways of seeing that live in people that take childhood away...Return childhood back for kids of color...If you do similar things, testing limits, experimentation, hanging with homies, you should not be seen as more criminal. (Black male, JDAI leader)

In the quest to improve and innovate, the juvenile justice system may be expanding its reach beyond its appropriate scope, into the realm of social services that could be provided without the stigma that accompanies justice system involvement. In the guise of reform, the justice system’s tendency is to morph and reconfigure to capture gains from the redirection of policy. A JDAI Technical Assistance Team Leader characterized it in this way: “The justice system is an amoeba that retains social control. It’s a shape shifter, always able to respond to changes.” The form of the justice and correctional institution shifts shape in new ways that appear as innovation while continuing to serve the underlying logic of demarcating deviance and justifying surveillance and control of certain bodies. Such

institutional resiliency aligns with theories of path dependence, where history defines what is imaginable in the future, and institutional stickiness, where existing arrangements make the continuation of relationships and policies easier and thus preferable to more disruptive changes of upsetting the current system (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). Even the proposal of small changes can reveal the normally invisible “interdependent web of an institutional matrix [that] produces massive increasing returns” (North, 1990, p. 95, cited by Pierson, 2000, p. 492). As fragmented and disconnected as the so-called system of juvenile justice can appear, even a small rending of the institutional fabric can cause significant and unwelcome disruption to the everyday practices of school staff, law enforcement officers, probation officers, judges, detention and correctional facility officers, parole officers, and a myriad of youth-serving partners from mental health and foster care agencies to community-based organizations.

Perhaps in its great prescience, AECF is weighing this phase of reform as an intermediate step toward more revolutionary systemic restructuring and transformation. Perhaps the regenerative learning system set in motion by JDAI and powered by “principled” agents of change will bring the downfall of the US justice system as we know it, validating Schön’s (1971) argument that learning and innovation are always a threat to a tightly interwoven institutional “coalition of shared interests built on prevailing technologies” (p. 41). Time will tell. In keeping with its long-term approach, the radical edge of AECF’s discursive strategies so far has been one of tempered risk. The dramatic calls to close all youth prisons proclaimed in the past four years by the Annie E. Casey CEO and various top JDAI leaders have trended in the direction of serving youth through nonresidential programs or when necessary, in therapeutic group homes located within or closer to the communities where their families live, in settings that are more homelike and less “institutional” (AECF, 2015c).

While the direction of policy reform toward in-community supervision and support represents significant gains over existing youth prisons and detention facilities, the re-capture of justice system interests looms eerily. Already the emergence of the “treatment industrial complex” (TIC) demonstrates the way that the justice system has repositioned itself to respond to – and reap the benefit from – policy shifts toward evidence-based practices implemented in community corrections and supervision settings as alternatives to incarceration. Distorting the end-goal of justice reform, critics argue that the TIC may actually accelerate the spread of correctional logic with its “potential to ensnare more individuals, under increased levels of supervision and surveillance, for increasing lengths of time” (Issacs, 2014).

As I turn to the final section of this chapter on the Santa Cruz case, these questions are not laid to rest but set to incubate further as I continue to pursue the potential for the JDAI social learning process to enact true transformation rather than systems maintenance. In this inquiry, I push the “my child” metaphor to test the limits of its discursive potential for transformation.

#### V. Turning up the Volume: Transformative Planning in a Liminal Space

In closing the Santa Cruz case, I return to the question of how institutional actors can imagine and reach beyond the existing institutional logics to transform the systems that they inhabit. In the case of the JDAI social learning process enacted at the Santa Cruz model site, actors in the ‘reform advocate’ role-identity relish their role as experts, sharing the innovations through model site visits, inter-site conferences, and other trainings. The reproduction and expansion of reforms based at the Santa Cruz site through the ongoing social learning process has been consistently upheld by the model site’s data. But the offhand observation of a current leader at the model site prompts a closer look at the limits to reaching true systemic transformation via the prevailing JDAI approach. In his interview he remarked:

Sometimes I tell my wife about the little tiny adjustments we make. She’d say, “You’re a model site because you’re doing that? Isn’t that just commonsense?” The system is so messed up, so backward in how we work with adults and kids and how we make decisions, that even making those little changes put us on the map. Certainly we can turn the volume up on that. (Latino model site probation leader)

Simply put, the point of transformative planning for systems change is to **turn the volume up on that**. With no disrespect, the award-winning status of the Santa Cruz County probation department is a damning testament to our collective apathy and the challenge to reach beyond commonsense tweaks that improve a tragically “messed up” system. A premier social learning process for transforming the juvenile justice system in the U.S., the JDAI system change effort rests on the example of these five model sites – which, upon close examination, still reflect “second order” change mired in the logic and goals of the existing justice system regime. A fine tension exists in the liminal space of the threshold between two paradigms, between these two upper level orders of change, where the visible and verifiable improvements to existing policy and practice achieved via “second order” change can become the worst enemy of “third order” change, masking or dampening the urgency of continuing to press to reach into unknown cognitive territories.

There is much progress to recognize, celebrate, and replicate as the Santa Cruz model site and JDAI sites in aggregate have achieved impressive decreases in the number of youth detained and spread the reforms to reduce other negative impacts of the system on young people. As the founding JDAI director Bart Lubow declared, "If this system is to do better, it's got to start by doing less harm" (quoted by Gately, 2014). No small goal in itself, less harm is being done to young people under the jurisdiction of JDAI sites. Yet the essence of JDAI's "my kid" test continues to push the movement to this liminal space of institutional uncertainty, if a genuine response to the question, "If this was my child, would this be ok?" is to be pursued to its end. In my final chapter, I will return to the potential of the model sites and the JDAI national learning network to elevate the voice of community and cultural partners and other liberated practitioners whose logic of practice poses fundamental challenges to the dominant institutional logics.

#### A. The Model Site Machine as a Barrier to Reimagination

As an example of the kinds of changes that JDAI will have to embrace on its road to exploring the root causes of disparities through its social learning process, I share observations from a model site visit hosted by Santa Cruz County. As one of the first American Indian reservation-based justice systems to engage in the JDAI reform process, this occasion was hailed as an exciting step forward for tribal communities. Naturally, Santa Cruz leadership invited a local, indigenous culture-based partner, Barrios Unidos (BU) to participate in this model site visit. However, the space on the formal learning retreat agenda for BU was limited to leading a ceremonial welcoming protocol.<sup>17</sup> An optional field visit to the BU community center in Watsonville was slated as an evening event at the end of the long first day. Visiting learners were to make their way to the community center on their own without their model site hosts, slogging through heavy commute traffic for at least an hour. At the opening of the second day when the facilitator asked, "Did anyone go anywhere interesting last night?" a casual murmur indicated that two or three delegates had managed to rally the motivation to visit BU's center. No other formal mention was made during the site visit and I didn't catch any casual conversation around the experience.

In the rare setting of the 'thin space' of this inaugural learning retreat, tribal elders and community members sat in the same room for two days with mental health and substance abuse counselors, the juvenile court judge, and administrators and staff from the one

---

<sup>17</sup> A story for another time: Barrios Unidos leaders arrived bearing a moosehead according to the ceremonial protocol, which was promptly banned from entering the detention facility where the meeting was being convened, to the mortification of the model site coordinator. She who threw her hands up at the bureaucratic affront to traditional cultural practices. "What was going to happen? Was someone going to get speared by an antler?"



school, probation department, and detention facility that serve the Reservation. Significantly, more than half of the delegates were American Indian and more than a quarter were African American. This diverse group from a small rural community were primed and present to explore the possibilities for systems change. But the formal agenda lacked a space to engage in deeper discussion of how indigenous logics and epistemologies shaped the visiting site's social learning process for reform. While the nuts and bolts of improving data collection and reporting, implementing the Risk Assessment Instrument, and identifying Alternatives to Detention were relevant to the justice system practitioners and service providers in the visiting delegation, an opportunity pregnant with possibility was lost for collective questioning and reimagining of this small system's approach to justice for tribal youth.

In an interview the following day, a Santa Cruz probation officer raised the question of tailoring the site visit to be more responsive to the roles of planning participants. Without the lens for culture, she observed that nearly half of the delegates were not directly involved with the courts or schools. "It made me wonder: Is this weird language to be using [during the presentations]? Yesterday, there was only one PO in the room, but we spent half the day on probation reforms."

Without retreating from this critique, I acknowledge that Santa Cruz's very success in facilitating its "status quo" model site visits can have the effect of insulating the actors involved from becoming aware of blind spots. As I reeled from the missed opportunities to address the key role of culture in mediating understandings and approaches to justice with indigenous youth and families, this same model site visit hummed along its planned agenda like a well-oiled machine. And as such, the visit was experienced as highly insightful and impactful by the visiting delegation. The savvy site visit facilitator's usual warm and responsive prompts for participants to reflect and commit to action remained effective in bridging the lessons from Santa Cruz to the tribe's context. Within the limits of the two-day retreat, she and the other AECF advisors present made it clear that this was just the beginning of the support that JDAI would provide for the site's learning process. Several visiting learners shared with energy and conviction in response to the facilitator's questions of how the speakers and concepts from Santa Cruz resonate with their community on the reservation and how they will approach contextualizing and applying the lessons learned. One younger tribal leader eagerly participated in the brainstorming session; one of her ideas was to institute a practice of elders telling the Creation Story to youth in different settings, from community events to schools to the detention hall. At the close of the model site visit, two delegates shared how they had stayed up late talking and reflecting on their own

learning and identifying what they could act on. One articulated the value of coming away together as a team in this way, affirming the value of this learning retreat and the overall JDAI social learning process:

“It’s revitalizing to connect to another community and re-think who we are, what we’re doing. We’ve been no stranger to teaching others, being a front-runner. But then we slip into going through the motions, we lose confidence and purpose. Hearing how Santa Cruz has been going hard to help kids and families has been motivating, uplifting. I needed this.” – American Indian woman, visiting tribal leader

As this reflection on that model site visit reveals, the JDAI planning-as-social-learning process offers potent and punctuated moments for system stakeholders to come together and reimagine a shared future. I acknowledge the very real progress in reforming the justice system that the JDAI approach has yielded.

Nonetheless, I persist in my argument that in spite of JDAI’s commitment to racial and ethnic equity as a core motivation for systems change, there are barriers to reaching this outcome that are beyond the capacity of even – perhaps especially – a tightly run model site to achieve. The design of the model site learning agenda in this case reflects these cognitive barriers. Another example raised earlier in the chapter also hints at the limits to the approaches that Santa Cruz has implemented in service of racial and ethnic equity. While access to culturally competent supports is important for addressing the growth and development of Latinx youth in a journey to take their place as leaders and backbones of their family and communities, the goal of reducing their numbers in the system is a structural issue that requires critical attention and the embodiment of transformed thought. But this is precisely the kind of attention, thought, and questioning that can threaten the well-oiled machine, like a mis-firing piston that upsets the purr of the model site’s motor as it executes reforms and hosts visiting delegations. Straying too far off-script is not a luxury that the Santa Cruz model site enjoys, with its tight schedule of twenty-plus model site visits a year.

I take a moment to reorient the reader to the overall direction of the research from this point out: In Chapter 5, I will explore what theory of change is illuminated and construct a framework for systems change based on this first case study of a JDAI model site. In Chapter 6, I will apply the framework to the second case study to assess the strengths and weaknesses, accomplishments and limitations of this approach to system change for Hawai‘i

as a non-model JDAI site. In Chapter 7, I will present my conclusions based on the combined lessons offered by the two case studies.

## Chapter 5: Theories of Change and Framework for Systems Change

In this chapter, I explore the theory of change that is illuminated by the JDAI model site case study and compare it to AECF's expressed theory of change through JDAI presented in the opening chapter of my research. I describe the divergence between the original JDAI theory of change and this case-based theory of change that accounts for how system change has been enabled and sustained at a JDAI model site. The combination of the original and "tweaked" theory of change provides a framework to assess the strengths and limitations of the JDAI approach for facilitating system change in the context of a 'non-model' system, which I will examine in the next chapter.

### I. Tweaking the JDAI Theory of Change

As expressed by the founding director of the initiative, JDAI's theory of change is that the justice system can be transformed by taking a data-driven, collaborative approach to question the assumptions that underlie decisions to detain young people. This inquiry leads to changes in the culture and practices of the system (Gately 2014). The JDAI social learning process as observed in the Santa Cruz case study is indeed data-informed and involves a range of different agencies and community-based partners, with a focus on the development and implementation of some key Alternatives to Detention. However, I contend that the collaborative aspect has not played a *significant* role in stimulating deeper changes of thinking and practice at the model site. This may sound surprising, since the Santa Cruz site is touted as a national example of successful collaboration for reform. Collaborative activities are normalized in the local system, but probation maintains the most 'skin in the game' and the most influence over changes of policy and practice by far. This perspective was voiced in all of the interviews conducted with Santa Cruz system actors who were situated outside of probation. One practitioner summed up her view of the Santa Cruz model site's approach to collaboration in this way:

"This is a probation-driven model of collaboration rather than a consensus-building collaborative. Rather than directed collaboration, what about trying to develop a collaborative table where we come together to say, 'Can we rethink these practices?'" – JDAI technical assistance provider

This comment highlights the gap between the robust "second order" change that the Santa Cruz probation department has achieved and the kind of questioning and rethinking of underlying assumptions of the justice system that signifies "third order" paradigm shift.

The model site probation department's position of strength also poses a limitation on how local system partners come together to question at a deeper level the institutional logics of control and surveillance. While the use of detention has dramatically decreased, these pervasive logics still linger, evident in the program logic models for some of the Alternatives to Detention, in part due to the role that probation has adopted in obtaining and sustaining alternative funding streams for collaborative partners. This highlights a gap in the JDAI model site-based design for social learning that I will revisit in the final chapter: a lack of attention to processes of collective inquiry and capacity building among collaborators so that other system partners can expand their responses and advocate for increased support without coming under the umbrella of probation.

I construct a proposed theory of change utilizing the key elements that emerged from the Santa Cruz County model site case. This model site-based theory of change argues that the justice system can be reformed by: (a) developing a "change agent identity" among system actors, who in turn utilize data-driven decision making and adopt a learning orientation; and then lead efforts to mobilize the necessary resources to implement and expand changes of practice. See Figure 8 for a visualization of the two theories of change, original and proposed, side by side.



Figure 8: JDAI theories of change compared

In the following discussion, I explain the three elements of the model-site based theory of change and then providing illustrative examples from the Santa Cruz case study. I conclude the chapter by presenting a framework for system change through social learning that combines these two theories of change.

#### A. Developing Change Agents

Identities are internalized, and the institutions, built around and for these identities, are naturalized. (p. 552)

I enter the discussion of developing change agents from the perspective that Meiners (2010) offered that identities shape institutions. In any institution, already constructed to reflect a historical set of identities, the disruption of a critical mass of actors' identities is no easy feat. Paradoxically, leadership for institutional change from within the existing power structure is most effective to provide reassurance and continuity in the uneasy process of reconstructing actors' identities and the corresponding institutional forms. The paradox lies in the leaders' assessment of what they gain or lose in shifting the established institutional norms and arrangements. Perceptions of policy failure, loss of public support for prevailing practices, the moral imperative to reduce harm and do good, and/or the potential benefits of system change must swing in favor of institutional leaders adopting a reform identity to guide them in reshaping the system that they inhabit.

##### 1. *The Leading Edge of Change Agency*

While the model site-based theory of change relies on the expansion of a 'change agent' identity to actors in different levels and parts of the system, the temporal sequence is also important. The cultivation and visibility of formal 'change leaders' is critical in the early years of institutional change, even if active change agents are present in the lower levels of the system's hierarchy. During the initial phase of reform, leaders of local systems must possess the vision and tenacity to face down the skepticism, uncertainty, fear, and

frustration of institutional actors who feel the earth moving beneath them – and to hold course amidst the turbulence until the changes implemented have the opportunity to demonstrate promising outcomes, which in many cases may take years. Recognizing the key role that leaders play in the sustainability of reform, grooming and protecting emerging leaders, including investment in their personal and professional development becomes an intentional strategy.

Cultivating and protecting change agents becomes an ethic of a system undertaking change; as the institutional goals and motivation are re-set toward reform by visionary leaders, the measures evaluating actors' performance and potential shift as well. Moving away from a more bureaucratic value for those who reinforce the existing institutional rules and structures (Baum, 1987), actors who can 'take the work to the next level' become highly prized for their ability to exemplify, disseminate, and advance transformation. Theories of leadership for social movements directly parallel these aspects of leading by example, defining problems, and proposing solutions (Lang and Lang 1961). Actors who 'get it' understand and utilize the social learning process as a way of doing the work of institutional change. Those who 'get it' advocate for reform by embodying change (Sheehy 2008), e.g., taking responsibility for implementing and evaluating new practices. They also create impetus for change by influencing others through their example and by reinforcing the message of systems change.

'Taking the work to the next level' is embodied in the work of a change agent to not rest on accomplishing one change or even on maintaining current reforms, but to set a cultural expectation of continual learning within the institution and expand outreach to partners to bring them into closer relationships mediated by mutual learning. These actors actively participate in institutionalizing practices of continual learning such as regular reviews of system data to identify and trouble-shoot discrepancies and anomalies that surface. Leaders encourage the buy-in of change agents by bestowing status, privileges, and greater responsibility on these actors, creating an incentive structure that affirms individual growth in this direction and restructures the institution to reflect new values of change and innovation. As a change agent takes on greater responsibility for teaching others about system change, this spurs the mutual learning process and deepens the learning for the 'teacher' as well. As change agents rise up the ranks of the system, their ascent communicates the criteria for leadership to others vying for promotion and recognition.

## *2. Embedding Change Agency in Professional Development*

Acknowledging that not all institutional actors will come to take up formal leadership roles, the development of change agents at every level is realized through the social learning process curriculum. Pairing changes of practice with the engagement of institutional actors in a curriculum of change agency illustrates how “theory can help us think about the world differently and that the work of this thinking can be invaluable to putting into place and sustaining broader changes” (Rosenburg, 2004, p. 36; Kelly, 2004; Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2012). The use of discursive frames can raise actors’ awareness of the personal agency that they possess, how they are situated within the institution that they inhabit, and their ability to effect change within the ‘zone of discretion’ available to them in their positions. With ongoing support for this kind of experiential and theoretical learning, a change agent identity can come to live in the rank-and-file members of an institution.

The change agency of actors in local institutions can also reshape an institution at a national level, or at the level of the professional field. By infusing technical training with adaptive learning under the umbrella of professional development, a change identity can be embedded within a professional field. These values can in turn filter up to the professional community of practice at a wider level beyond local institutions through targeted publications, conference presentations, webinars, and training opportunities. The discursive currency of “innovation” at a national and even global level provides a permissive sequence for the wider dissemination of new practices and the corresponding changes in thinking. Local agents of change can harness national identities as change leaders by disseminating their changes of practice and thinking through these platforms. Local institutions become associated with the innovations of their actors on a national stage. The institution is rebuilt around identities of innovation and reform, and a ‘system of change’ is naturalized, according to Meiners’ (2010) account of the dialectical relationship between individual identity and institutional form.

## *3. Illustrations of Change Agent Development from the Model Site*

Graced with a nearly twenty-year history of experimentation to draw from, practitioners and partners in the Santa Cruz system shared rich reflections on the site’s approach to developing identities of change agency among institutional actors to support the goal of systems change. Early reform leaders were instrumental in pushing through resistance of probation staff and agency partners alike, most notably law enforcement, to new and unfamiliar ways of framing justice practice and new identities to support these new frameworks. The interviews with former probation chiefs reflected the confident assurance

of powerful people, armed with the requisite authority and guided by deep-seated principles and values and a certain force of individual personality. The self-identity of these leaders as champions and 'pioneers' of reform held great salience as a source of energy, pride, and camaraderie. Interviews with those who worked under them or with them corroborated this portrait of strong-willed leaders who were defined less by ego than by their determined wielding of well-articulated agendas for change.

The development of leaders at the Santa Cruz site as change agents and the incentive to hire and promote staff who caught the vision and could live it out was calculated and deliberate. Early on, the tone was set by the probation leadership who worked hard to do succession planning for the position of chief, making sure that the vision and commitment to JDAI had a strong lineage through the highest leadership for the department. Several chiefs and former chiefs reiterated that they would 'go the extra mile' and 'move mountains' to recruit and retain talented people who showed a desire and ability to reshape the local justice system. As a result, the current department head is the first Latino probation chief and the fourth in a line of strong JDAI champions who have consistently held the Santa Cruz County commitment to reform principles since the introduction of JDAI in 1997. One of his former chiefs fondly recalled the lengths that they went to early in his career to secure his future.

He was a young promising guy who was going to quit probation to complete his MSW. I called him in and told him 'I'll do whatever I can to keep you here.' So I partnered with a community-based organization and wrote a grant for a school-base probation officer under the supervision of a licensed social worker, a position suited for [him]. At a higher level, I was working to keep him. (White female, model site probation leader)

This "higher level" of strategic vision for keeping and developing leaders strengthened the position of the local system (in the Santa Cruz model site context, with its power seated in the probation department as the lead agency) to advance its social learning agenda for change. This core of vetted leaders with the lived experience and commitment to reform carried forward the 'institutional knowledge' of systems change. They conceived of their role in broader and deeper terms than that of leading a probation department and fulfilling the duties of the court. These leaders were clear-eyed about their role in exemplifying what it meant to act as change agents who realize and sustain reform, setting a lived example for those who labored below them in probation and the department heads of other agencies who sat with them on interagency committees.



Building from the quote above, keeping an up-and-coming change agent in probation, and then keeping him close for mentorship on a fast-track to leadership positions was a calculated investment in this actor's potential as a talented communicator and collaborator, and in the role that he could play as a compelling face of probation internally and externally. A leader of color with close community ties who had risen through the ranks due to his commitment to stand up for changes, he modeled thoughtful awareness of the influence of the position that he occupied. Through his leadership, he intentionally 'spread it around,' meaning that he viewed participation in the JDAI national network as strategic opportunities to give more actors access to strengthen their identification with the reform movement.

Stemming from his own experience of personal mentorship from higher-ups, the intensive development as a leader of reform that he received as a JDAI ALN fellow, and the strong sense of identification he held with the JDAI movement as a result, the current probation chief took to heart the development of change agents at the model site. Under his watch, ALN curriculum concepts such as the 'use of self as an agent of change' and the 'Accountability Pathway' were embedded into the ongoing social learning process that all of the Santa Cruz probation staff participated in. Change agency development became professional development with a theme of activation summed up in the mantra 'do what you can from where you are' to advance reforms.

How do we give people freedom to be nimble enough to respond to the intractable problems while figuring out how to build trust and build on strengths? The response [to tensions between bureaucratic demands and the reform goals] becomes a question of identity for individual POs: "Who am I as I'm doing all of this?" (White female, model site probation leader)

As the reform goals took on greater salience and thus came into greater tension with the existing institutional rules, the emphasis on a change agent identity became more salient for all POs at the model site. As they were being asked to push the limits of the old paradigm, the corresponding institutional culture began to 'give,' yielding to more entrepreneurial mode of adaptive learning. Under the mentorship of visionary leaders, the work of probation was infused with a greater meaning and higher calling to walk in the footsteps of reformers in reshaping the system to better serve young people.

Bolstering the link between local actors' change agent identities to the national JDAI reform movement and its peer-to-peer learning network was regarded as critical in reinforcing the identity formation process. Naturally, the JDAI social learning design affords exponentially more opportunities for the local system actors based at the model site to take a "teaching"

role in mutual learning by making presentations to visiting delegations. In the Santa Cruz case, a high premium was also placed participation in the inter-site conferences and other training events, not only for probation staff but also to strengthen the other local system stakeholders' identification with the model site. Becoming oriented to how Santa Cruz's efforts fit within the context of a larger collaborative reform movement, these system partners then acted from a clearer understanding of their own role in justice system reform, such as convening collaborative cross-training exchanges between school, mental health, probation, and law enforcement. One probation leader described participation in inter-site conferences as a capacity building process in the sense of developing a better grasp of the site's story of reform and refining the skills to effectively communicate it to others, but also in the sense of building social capital through connections to the movement. He explained it this way:

Conferences do a lot for our local stakeholders and our probation staff, so we're proud that we spread out [the opportunities to participate]. It makes people feel special, feel privileged to be at Santa Cruz, to represent us. (Latino model site probation leader)

This enhancing of a change agency identity through investment in personal development and a sense of chosen-ness to 'represent us' in the story of system change emerge in the model site case clearly. This practice-based wisdom aligns with theories of action learning or embodied learning (Redding & Catalanello, 1994; Sheehy 2000, 2004) that contend that learners do not fully change their thinking or beliefs until they are physically engaged in enacting a different reality. This sensibility leads me to the next key condition of social learning in service of system change: creating a learning organization.

#### **B. Practicing Data-Driven Decision-Making and Social Learning**

Organizations do not have brains, but they have cognitive systems and memories...Members come and go, and leadership changes, but organizations' memories preserve certain behaviours, mental maps, norms and values over time. (Hedberg, 1981, p. 6)

According to Hedberg, reliance on data and cultivating a learning orientation deals with the dual processes of individual actors first gaining new knowledge and then integrating the new insights and beliefs to reshape the "mental maps, norms, and values" or "schema" of the institution that they inhabit (Schein, 1996). Redesigning the activities, processes, systems, and structures of an organization to enable the acquisition and application of knowledge (Levitt & March, 1988; March, 1991) requires "enlightened leadership" to invest in the

necessary resources and shift of institutional culture to support learning (James, 2003). As alluded to in the previous section on the development of change agents, an emphasis on disseminating and acting on new knowledge must be actively enculturated in an institution to sustain system learning and change. Acquiring and leveraging new understandings is dependent on multiple factors, including aspects of learning relationships and the learning environment, actors' motivation to learn, and the mechanisms to promote the sharing and testing of new ideas (Scott, 2011, p. 12).

While new information can be delivered in various forms such as data and research findings, practice-based scenarios, and practitioner and constituent stories, organizational learning scholars largely agree that learning is highly dependent on the "quality of learning relationships" developed within the community of practice (Cross, Parker, Prusak, and Borgatti, 2001; Wenger 2006). Learning relationships are strengthened based on a learner's positive assessment of the "educator" in these realms: as a source of legitimate knowledge; as accessible to the learner and willing to share knowledge; and as a facilitator who maintains a "safe" learning environment for inquiry (Scott, 2011, p. 11). The importance of this relational dynamic poses challenges to rigidly structured systems of power; adopting a learning orientation should also generate a shift in norms toward a more flexible exchange of questions and ideas across different levels. Shifting norms to support learning and distributed authority for learning and teaching within the institution are two features associated with learning organization theory (March, 1991; Levitt & March, 1988; James, 2003). These changes to institutional culture can facilitate and motivate learning by enhancing actors' sense of belonging to and identification with a community of practice.

"...one adopts the worldviews, practices, and language of one's community by being an *insider*. In a community-of-practice setting, learners absorb [knowledge] as they practice, share stories, and develop worldviews" (Scott, 2011, p. 6; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 2006).

The double-edged sword of *insider* status lies in the entrenchment of institutional schema associated with the prevailing beliefs and practices. Communities of practice must continue to seek out new and conflicting knowledge; motivation for learning must be whetted not only by a supportive learning environment, but also by a conviction for the need for change. System change leaders must design and implement institutional mechanisms to expose actors to new information and experiences that bring taken-for-granted practices and worldviews into question (Lave and Wenger, 1991). By integrating the activities of reviewing data, disseminating best practices, and hearing from practitioners and

constituents, an institution can normalize learning and self-critique. A learning orientation can remove the sting and shame of asking the question: “Did we get this wrong? Why?”

Leaders of “whole systems change” develop structures to facilitate knowledge sharing within and across different levels of institutions to ensure opportunities for learning and planning together in response to new information (Schein, 1996). In the development of new tools and procedures or the implementation of new practices, hearing and understanding the impacts on different parts of the system is crucial to moving forward collectively. This approach draws on the concept of “double-loop learning” by embedding space for practitioner reflection in the learning design (Argyris 1995; Argyris & Schön 1978).

By adopting an explicit commitment to collective learning, the model site undertook the intentional reshaping of institutional norms to allow actors to develop and refine skills for inquiry that aligned with their growing agency for change.

### *1. Model Site Illustrations: Data-Driven Decision-making & Learning Orientation*

With its demand for data, JDAI planted the seed for a monumental shift in institutional culture in the Santa Cruz model site. To help actors identify the need for change and motivate learning, the probation department set up structures for staff to practice reviewing system data, identifying error, considering probable causes, and acting to correct course. The stark contrast of this approach to the dominant pre-reform institutional culture came as both a shock and a relief to many, as they alluded to in their interviews. In an experience common to different sites participating in JDAI, the system’s early detention data revealed a mess of incomplete and incoherent records. For example, for more than a handful of cases, no clear reason was documented for a child’s admission to the detention facility.

We realized that we had been hiding under the chaos of [detaining] everyone brought to us. We were forced to face the truth: these are our kids and we don’t know what to do with them. (White male, model site leader)

As this former model site coordinator reflected, the requirement to assess who was being detained for what reasons was the beginning of unraveling the chaos that shrouded the justice system’s policies and procedures. He described grappling with these questions for the first time in his tenure with juvenile probation, a learning process that suddenly threw into question all of the operating assumptions of prevailing daily practice. At once painful and liberating, in the process of deciding “who we really wanted in detention,” he articulated the emancipatory aspect of social learning and communicative action (Freire, 1972; Habermas 1984). Learning, initially associated with fear and anxiety about what hidden

errors might come to light, was transformed to a liberating practice as this early model site steering committee came to “recognize that the bureaucracy was managing us, not vice versa.”

The normalization of collective learning within the model site was an emergent theme in interviews. Another former probation leader described the process of forging new institutional norms to support a culture of learning within the department. She recalled the process of implementing the first risk assessment instrument to determine whether a youth should be detained, based on his or her “risk score.” When the new Probation Chief, a hired gun from the outside, protested at making any changes to a standardized instrument, the locally-grown leaders who served directly under him refused to back down regarding adaptations that they deemed appropriate for the Santa Cruz context. The contentious exchange went on until they agreed to resolve the conflict through a learning experiment. They recorded the scores of both versions of the instrument for a trial period, then compared the results. At the end of a month, the data demonstrated that the modified Santa Cruz version released more youth without any perceptible compromise to public safety. Based on this data, the contextualized instrument was implemented. Such give-and-take was not uncommon among the strong leaders of the site and served as an example to probation staff who witnessed a decision-making process that was guided by a learning orientation and a willingness for measured trial-and-error in service of the JDAI mission of reform.

Mechanisms for data review were put in place over time to support cross-level learning and planning. A modified structure was put in place, based on the process that established the graduated response grid as a response to the unexpectedly high number of probation violations among Latinx youth. Within probation units, system data was reviewed on a quarterly basis to identify and investigate disparities. Then teams would be formed with cross-unit representatives to develop responses, revise with units’ input, and monitor to track the impact on disparities. I provide an example to bring to light more of the detail of implementing such a process. The critical point of this process lies in the diagnosis of the cause of disparities. In a data review, POs identified a marked disparity in the number of Latinx youth who were detained after failing to appear in court. A learning orientation led to an appropriate response to the situation, based on information that probation staff gathered from parents. Staff had assumed that transportation was a major reason that Latinx youth from Watsonville missed court hearings, which were commonly held more than an hour’s drive away in the North County. When asked, parents indicated that the problem was one of communication rather than logistics. The resounding feedback was that their confusion

about the legal process was compounded by a long delay between their child's arrest and hearing. The solution implemented – a phone notification system to call parents the week before a mandatory hearing – resulted in a dramatic drop in failures-to-appear.

Enculturating an open attitude toward experimentation, including the examination of failure or 'missing the mark' as an opportunity for further learning were signifiers of a learning organization (Korten 1980; Schön 1973) that eventually became a central facet of the Santa Cruz justice system culture. By engaging partners and the public, the model site sought to reverse the symbolic opacity of the justice system that led to grievous abuse, benign neglect, and outright bias in the treatment of system-involved youth in the not-too-distant past. A probation leader reflected on the learning challenges that the department is still grappling with, such as genuine inclusion of "youth and family voice" in system reform. For probation officers, relationships with youth on their caseloads and their parents could sometimes be strained and rife with misunderstandings on both sides. He told the story of a mother who wanted to give voice to the negative experience that her child had in detention.

This mom was frustrated; she needed to be heard. The PO had dismissed what she said, had a judgement of mom as a liar based on past experience. So mom showed up at a commission meeting and it really shook things up, which was good...If we don't let those voices in, we're going to keep doing the same thing. (Latino model site probation leader)

He went on to explain that he had a meeting with the mother and debriefed afterward with his staff, using it as a learning opportunity to model the importance of listening and responding when critique surfaces. The display of critique at a public meeting had been a painful yet valuable lesson about engaging rather than trying to avoid or silence critical voices. Perhaps due to the overt exposure of being in the JDAI spotlight for two decades, Santa Cruz had come to embrace the "whole dynamic of being a model site and figuring it out along the way," as the model site coordinator put it. Resigning herself to the messy, on-going work of managing collaborative relationships and training new staff, she shrugged off some of the unevenness and imperfections showcased during the model site visit presentations and discussions. "It could have been prettier, crisper, cleaner. But we are always in motion."

Efforts were made to punctuate and pause the perpetual motion of the model site with reflective practices to support double-loop learning, prompted by tools such as the Accountability Pathway and the coaching role enacted by probation supervisors. "What are

you learning today?" is a regular check-in that the juvenile division director utilizes with all of the probation staff she oversees. She has encouraged supervisors/managers and other team leaders to utilize the discursive check with the line staff and partners on their teams. In the same way, her practice is spreading the use of frames that shifts the focus to the positive behavior of youth on the probation caseloads. "What success did you see today? What are they doing well? What do we need to work on so that we can do better?" This imprinting of new institutional 'interaction scripts' or 'habits of practice' (Dowd & Bensimon 2015) creates a feedback loop to stimulate and sustain changes of thinking, belief, and action.

In the next section, I build on this theme of sustaining change in my discussion of the third element facilitating system change in the model site case study, the mobilization of resources to expand changes of practice.

### *C. Mobilizing Resources to Expand Changes of Practice*

Because the creation and change of institutions are expensive, they require high levels of interest and resources. Only institutional entrepreneurs, who are organized and possess sufficient resources, are capable of introducing institutional change. (Leblebici et al., 1991)

Systems change is expensive. Leblebici's observation about the high level of interest is also instructive. Beyond putting change in motion, sustaining and expanding reforms continues to require intensive resources and attention. Although change at the model site undeniably benefited from the external resources of AECF, I draw insights from the case study on a rich range of resources that were tapped to transform the local system. As mentioned in the discussion earlier, institutional leaders who took up a change agent identity played the role of "institutional entrepreneurs" organizing and capturing resources to sustain change.

#### *1. Creative Resources to Expand Change*

I approach this element of mobilizing resources to power change from the perspective of different forms and sources of power: financial, human, social, institutional, and intellectual. Strategic and creative thinking and action is required to line up potential resources to sustain the pathway to reform and transformation.

Financial resources can be deployed and recaptured in a number of ways. Commonly in reform initiatives, there is seed funding for the initial phase of change. Leveraging funding to set up data collection and develop an evaluation design to make a case for the positive impact of reforms is an early strategy to secure expanded funding from other sources, such

as state legislatures, county councils, philanthropic supporters, and private sector partners. Seed funding can also support the introduction of new activities to sustain systems change, such as grant-writing. Over time, the novel duties of fund development and grants management can be absorbed into the regular responsibilities of the institution undergoing change. In a similar way, financial resources dedicated to refining human capital through staff training and professional development can support regenerative change as system actors gain the vision and hone the skills to make more effective contributions to the goals of system change.

Social capital through social learning among strong collaborators facilitate the blending of resources for system change. Cost-sharing and personnel-sharing are two tactics used to reduce redundancies of services between agencies and organizations; these resources are saved as a result of the bonds of trust and channels of communication that have been developed over time. In an era where collaborative grants are the norm rather than the exception, the network and history of partnerships within a system have quantifiable value. Cross-trainings and information sharing among agencies and organizations serving young people and families also powers systems change through more effective and coordinated services. The shared understanding that is are formed through these close working relationships and mutual learning experiences also strengthens AECF for more radical change and reimagining, as partners engage in deeper problem-solving and push the boundaries of learning.

In much the same way, building bridges between institutions to match the needs and gifts of one entity with another can propel and sustain systems transformation. For example, creative linking of university resources in the form of student interns and research expertise with local government and community partners can form a pipeline for workforce development and program evaluation that advance the goals of changing a system and connecting it to a broader network of partners. Of mutual benefit, the experience in the public sector and community can enhance students' learning and sensibilities through the work that they're engaged in.

In the broader view, civil society is strengthened as the relationships and cross-connections between systems change movements form a tighter network for collective action to respond to threats and plan pro-actively to achieve shared goals. In recent years as struggles for Black lives against state violence, support for immigrants' rights and dignity, and the protection of indigenous lands and waters have been in the spotlight of public discourse, the power as different movements align and articulate the interconnected nature of oppression



has been clearly demonstrated. A radical reimagining of the reigning social order is prompted by the mobilization of these distinct yet related demands for justice.

## *2. Illustrations of Mobilizing Resources from the Model Site*

AECF's substantial, long-term financial support toward building and perpetuating the JDAI model site-based approach to system reform has had the effect of engendering more investments from other funders responding to the reduction of risk and the track record of success. This propensity toward perpetuation also helps to 'model' the feasibility of a proclaimed JDAI goal of redirecting "public funds towards effective juvenile justice processes and public safety strategies" (AECF, 2016). Although AECF continues to foot the bill for the majority of JDAI sites to send delegates to regular annual learning retreats, the goodwill and obligation engendered by this commitment has led to an increase in federal and state dollars to fund reforms related to JDAI (CJJ, 2012).

At the same time, changes of practice associated with reform also increased the flow of resources coming into the local system. As the probation department gained a reputation for and the corresponding responsibility of driving and sustaining collaboration, particularly with community-based partners, the scope of job descriptions, roles, and skillsets evolved. As a result, probation supervisors redefined their roles to include grant writing and management as a responsibility within the scope of their work. These collaborative grants had the effect of leveraging greater resources, thus sustaining funding downstream to contract community-based organizations who provided family-centered and culturally responsive supports for Latinx youth in close partnership with probation, such as Barrios Unidos and Alcance.

Several contextual factors influenced the ease and ability of the Santa Cruz County juvenile justice system to leverage resources. One important consideration was the history of Santa Cruz as an early adopter of the continuum of care, driven by the County mental health department. Due to the decades-long cross-sector and inter-agency engagement around mental health and other social services in Santa Cruz County, the relationships between agency heads had been normalized as collaborative. For example, on-going collaboration between the Santa Cruz County probation department and the foster care system led to the creative capture of Title IV-E funds to coordinate resources and responses for "cross-over" youth involved with both systems. A second key condition that facilitated resource mobilization was the jurisdiction of the local juvenile justice system at the County level, along with other key partner agencies serving youth and families such as substance abuse treatment, mental and behavioral health, homeless services, and parks and recreation. This

single level of fiscal organization seemed to ease the daunting practice of blending funding across agencies for collaborative purposes.

Across institutions, the internship placements between the University of California Santa Cruz and the probation department illustrated the potential for systems change to be sustained while generating a valuable institutional bridge. Student interns brought support, critique, and innovation to the work of probation with young people and community partners. At the same time, the experience and on the job learning was beneficial to students as they explored the practices and became familiar with the work of the probation department and other partners involved with the juvenile justice system.

## II. Framework for Systems Change

In the final section of this chapter, I present a framework for system change through social learning that combines the original JDAI theory of change and the proposed theory of change developed from the model site case study. I place a slightly different focus at the center of this framework to symbolize the vital nature of sustaining actors' collective agency for change. True to Schön's vision of a learning system, institutional actors learn together in service of restructuring the system that they inhabit: Developing a learning community of change agents. The other elements of data-driven decision-making and learning orientation; mobilizing resources to expand changes of practice; and collaborating to challenge and reimagine system logic are all dependent upon the presence and action of change agents (Figure 9).



Figure 9. Framework for system change based on JDAI theories of change

In the next chapter, I will apply the framework constructed here to assess how well it helps to explain how system change is facilitated in the context of another local site participating in JDAI without the model site designation. The gaps between the framework and the non-model site process of change reveal other salient factors that are not fully addressed by the combined theories of change. The application of this framework will provide new insights on how social learning processes utilizing model sites can be refined to expand systems change and enhance the ability of periphery sites to develop as learning systems engaged in continual transformation.

## Chapter 6: The Hawai'i System as 'Periphery Site'

To set the stage for the inquiry that I undertake in this chapter, I offer a brief review of the ground that has been covered so far in this study. In the introductory chapter, I framed this study as a search for insights from a social learning process aimed at stimulating cognitive-emotional changes and role identity formation among institutional actors to re-think and re-make their systems as transformative learning systems that bring about greater justice and freedom. In Chapters 3 and 4, I examined the design of the JDAI social learning processes to plan for, implement, and sustain this complex process of human and systems transformation in the context of juvenile justice. In Chapter 5, I constructed a framework for a model site based approach to system change, based primarily on findings from the Santa Cruz case study.

In this chapter, I set the context for the Hawai'i case study and then apply the framework developed in Chapter 5 to test the "goodness of fit" for this model-site based social learning approach for a non-model or periphery site pursuing systems change. For each aspect of the framework, I examine how this second case study suggests areas for improving, refining, and rethinking the structures and resources that could support a more robust social learning process aimed at systems change.

While I selected the JDAI Hawai'i case for the contrast that it offers to a model site, I want to foreground the discussion of difference with a brief overview of the local juvenile justice system's reform accomplishments. Hawai'i has made enormous strides in system change since 2008, the year that it began its involvement with JDAI. Between FY2008 and FY2016, annual admissions to the juvenile detention facility have seen a 58% reduction (from 1,349 to 567). A corresponding trend in secure commitment or incarceration at the youth prison showed a decrease of 75%, i.e., from 164 in FY2008 to 41 in FY2016 (State of Hawai'i, 2017). Mirroring the phenomenon seen at the national level, measures of juvenile crime in Hawai'i also showed a consistent drop over the same time period, with an overall reduction of 68% in the number of juvenile cases set for hearing (i.e., petition filed) for a felony offense (from 1,681 to 534 petitions a year). Similarly, the number of cases that were set for hearing for status [non-criminal] offenses like truancy and runaway, decreased by 63 percent from 2,191 to 804 a year.

Against this background of demonstrated system improvement at a non-model site during its participation in JDAI, I consider the Hawai'i case mainly through the lens of system actors who participated in the social learning process and reform activities, supplemented by my own participant observation and review of documents. In this research, I do not

attempt to evaluate Hawai'i's success or failure in reform, instead I glean lessons from the application of the JDAI social learning process for system change to a site that does not share the same set of resources and assumptions of a model site.

As the second case study, the Hawai'i juvenile justice system is situated at the geographic, demographic, and epistemic "periphery" of both the national JDAI network and the national discourse on justice reform. In several ways, Hawai'i offers the perspective of a 'critical' case in contrast to a model site, which I will address by providing a brief history of Hawai'i and then setting the contemporary case context. I move on to recount the Hawai'i site's involvement with JDAI over the past nine years. I then apply the framework that was developed from a learning process positioned at the "center" of JDAI's national systems change effort to assess the extent to which it explains reform for this "periphery" site. I consider technical changes of policy, practice, and procedure as well as adaptive changes reflected in institutional actors' thinking, beliefs, behavior, and identity formation. This application reveals the extent to which the lessons about JDAI's social learning process hold true across the different contexts, particularly with respect to creating learning systems committed to ongoing transformation. Simultaneously, the JDAI framework of analysis reveals insights into the periphery site and prompts examination and re-examination of lessons about systems change.

I begin with some comments that are relevant to this case study of system reform, acknowledging the impacts of the 'present pasts' of colonization and providing a brief historical overview to orient readers who are unfamiliar with Hawai'i.

### I. Case Context: The incongruence of "present pasts" and justice reform

An inquiry into the institutional transformation of the statewide Hawai'i juvenile justice system cannot be understood apart from the "present pasts" of colonization, a reality that "reflects not so much past trauma as ongoing structural violence" (Kirmayer, Gone, & Moses 2014, p. 299; Huyssen, 2003) experienced by generations of *kanaka maoli* or Native Hawaiian people. While this study could skim the reform initiative from this larger context to extract lessons from the translation of the JDAI social learning approach to a non-model site, the imposition of the U.S. institutions of legal justice and family law necessarily colors – and enriches – these findings. Undertaken in earnest, the implementation of JDAI social learning strategies and the reconstruction of the local juvenile justice system into a regenerative learning system demands critical examination of historical events and systematic injustices that have been embedded into contemporary social policies and the overarching social structure.

Depending upon the perspective, Hawai'i can be described as the most geographically isolated island chain in the world or recognized as intricately interconnected to a "sea of islands" known as Oceania (Hau'ofa, 1993). Of the more than 100 volcanic islands that make up Hawai'i, eight inhabited islands cover 6,422 square miles of land area with an average population density of 211.8 per square mile. The largest population center and urban areas are found in Honolulu County on the island of O'ahu, where approximately two-thirds (953,000) of the state's estimated population of 1.4 million people reside. Predominantly rural, Hawai'i faces a ceaseless barrage of development pressures, with pockets of rapid intensification of luxury condominium development in urban areas; the conversion of agricultural land to single-family residential subdivisions; and on-going reckoning with exclusive resort developers vying for areas often recognized for their conservation value and cultural significance and stewardship for kanaka maoli.

Struggles over cultural significance and stewardship of indigenous lands and practices is an unrelenting theme in any study of Hawai'i, as a brief historical overview reflects. The islands of Hawai'i were first reached by voyaging canoes from other Polynesian islands, with an estimated arrival of 600-700 AD (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). In the ensuing centuries, kanaka maoli established a highly sophisticated agriculture-based system that coordinated resource management and social roles and relations, with a large body of commoners or maka'ainana providing labor to support a smaller ruling class of ali'i or chiefs of various rank, as well as those who served as kahuna or spiritual leaders.

Kanaka maoli institutions underwent radical transitions following the first Western contact marked by the landing of Captain Cook in 1778. The pace of change and associated trauma was intensified by devastating population crashes as a result of various communicable diseases introduced by foreigners, with estimated indigenous population declines of nearly 50% by 1800 and a total of 84% by 1840 (Goo, 2015). To support the growth of American-owned sugar and later pineapple plantations, successive waves of contract laborers were brought to the islands beginning in the mid-1850s from China, Japan, Korea, Okinawa, the Philippines, Portugal, and Puerto Rico. By the close of the century, governance of Hawai'i had been completely transformed, marked by the staking of nonnative claims through the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by the U.S. in 1893 and the annexation of Hawai'i in 1898. Hawai'i became recognized by the U.S. as the fiftieth state in 1959.

Generations of in-migration and intermarriage among different ethnic groups has helped to create and preserve an image of the islands as a harmonious multiethnic "melting pot." More apropos, Hawai'i has come to be a settler state, where long-term residents commonly

view themselves as “local” or belonging to this place and Native Hawaiians are in many ways treated as an ethnic minority in their own homeland (Fujikane 2008; Pearson 2002; Rohrer 2016). As a group, kanaka maoli experience similar disparities (e.g., disproportionately high rates of domestic violence, alcoholism and/or substance abuse, poverty, and chronic disease) as those faced by American Indians, Native Alaskans, other Pacific Islanders, and other indigenous peoples whose social, economic, and health systems have largely been dismantled and replaced through colonization and occupation.

The ethnic distribution in Hawai‘i reflects the settlement patterns largely determined by the American occupation of the islands, dominated in early years of outside contact by haole missionaries and businessmen, followed by waves of migration to support the demand of plantation labor. Those reporting to be of Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander ancestry, alone or in combination, composed 25.4% of the state population. White residents made up a similar proportion at 25.8%. Hawai‘i is distinct as having the highest rate of mixed race residents in the nation at 23.7% and the only Asian-majority population, with 56% of residents reporting to be Asian, alone or in combination (Peng, 2017). Within that figure, Asian ancestry alone made up 37.7%. Latinx ancestry was reported at 10.4% and Blacks made up 2.2% of the state population (State of Hawai‘i, 2016).

Political leadership in Hawai‘i has been dominated by representatives of East Asian descent for upwards of three generations since the Democratic Revolution of 1954, when the labor movement’s fight for expanded rights mobilized the vote of Japanese-American and Filipino-American plantation workers. Hawai‘i’s reputation as a strong union state persists, at a rate of one out of every five workers holding a union membership (Peng, 2017). The sway of the union, the concentration of relatively few powerful land owners, and the substantive overlap between the control of land and the extended reign of the Democratic Party over politics in Hawai‘i has a profound impact on state politics, ranging from the provision of affordable housing, diversification of the tourist-based economy, protection of agricultural lands, and justice reform (Cooper & Daws, 1990; Howes & Osorio, 2010).

While affluent residents can inflate the figures for the income in the state, a high cost of living combined with low wages in an economy dominated by tourism and real estate create strained economic conditions for working class families in Hawai‘i, e.g., for 2011-2015, median household income was \$69,515; per capita income was \$29,822 (U.S. Census, 2016). The military presence in Hawai‘i creates multiple dynamics, including another source of artificial economic inflation as a result of social policies for enlisted servicemen and women, such as the Basic Allowance for Housing and zero-down home loans by the

Veterans Administration (VA). Such subsidies help to fuel an upward climb in rental rates and home prices, resulting in a greater pinch for families in the competitive housing market. Ethnicity, geography, economic class, and access to resources for housing, education, and employment are a backdrop for the persistent disparities on display in the Hawai'i justice system.

The JDAI planning process in Hawai'i is situated within these "present pasts" of U.S. colonization, occupation and governance, concurrent with indigenous movements of survivance and self-determination. While I focus the following discussion on the JDAI model-site based social learning process, this larger context continues to shape and color the interactions and meanings therein.

#### A. History of JDAI Involvement for the Hawai'i Site

The Hawai'i juvenile justice system comes under the primary jurisdiction of the Hawai'i State Judiciary, specifically under a unified statewide Family Court. The Hawai'i Family Court is organized in four circuits corresponding to the four counties of Honolulu, Maui, Hawai'i, and Kaua'i. The juvenile services division of the probation department, and the sole juvenile detention facility in the state all fall under the Family Court's governance.

The State Office of Youth Services (OYS), which is administratively attached to the Department of Human Services (DHS), holds jurisdiction over the only youth prison in the state, the Hawai'i Youth Correctional Facility (HYCF). The majority of state general funds allocated to serve young people are overseen by OYS, which enjoys great latitude on the distribution of support for interventions to address juvenile delinquency and prevention. Funding is commonly awarded through OYS contracts with state, non-profit, and private service providers and trainers. OYS also operates in close coordination with the Hawai'i Juvenile Justice State Advisory Council (JJSAC), a cross-sector stakeholder committee tasked with the allocation of Hawai'i's federal funds for juvenile justice and the state's compliance with mandated protections for system-involved youth.

The justice system practitioners who could speak to Hawai'i's entry into JDAI characterized it as the work of tireless "squeaky wheels" who would not quit till they got the grease. In the mid-2000s, JDAI was in the heat of its replication phase, expanding the number of local sites across the nation. However, AECF declined Hawai'i's early requests for participation in the reform initiative. Advocates for policy reform in Hawai'i often point to the state's small population and distinct demographics as factors that make it less "competitive" when applying for training and technical assistance from agencies and funders based in the



Continental U.S. I offer a few examples to illustrate the barriers that Hawai'i had to creatively overcome to secure outside support for reform. Comparing the baseline data before JDAI was implemented at each site, the Cook County juvenile detention facility that serves Chicago had 9,912 admissions per year, more than sevenfold the Hawai'i pre-JDAI baseline of 1,349 annual admissions to juvenile detention (AECF, 1999d; State of Hawai'i, 2013). In addition, the severity of juvenile offenses was generally mild, in contrast to high rates of violent offenses in some urban jurisdictions in the Continental U.S. such as Chicago and Los Angeles.

As mentioned above, Hawai'i's unique ethnic distribution also rendered it less legible to a Continental perspective that relied on three racial categories of Black, White, and Asian/Pacific Islanders (with a fourth valence of Hispanic or non-Hispanic). Aggregating diverse ethnic groups under the umbrella of Asian/Pacific Islander (API) had the effect of completely masking disparities in Hawai'i; the pan-API majority population did not appear to be over-represented in the justice system. The Hawai'i State Advisory Group on juvenile justice commissioned a research study in that disaggregated Asian and Pacific Islanders by ethnic groups to reveal persistent disparities in negative outcomes for Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islander youth in the justice system. The analysis demonstrated that at the point of detention and most other "inflection points" where a child might become more deeply involved with the system, young people of kanaka maoli ancestry were consistently more likely to be negatively impacted than youth of White or East Asian (including Japanese, Chinese, and Korean) ancestry, even when controlling for the severity of offense and prior court records (Kassebaum et al., 1995).

Pre-JDAI, Hawai'i's system already had a history of visionary Family Court judges encouraging innovation in service of better supporting youth and families. Specialty courts such as Girls Court and Juvenile Drug Court were initiated by judges in the early 2000s with the intention of providing more appropriate responses to the needs of young people. While such "boutique courts" have been commonly critiqued as an over-reach of the courts that obstruct direct diversion to social services, the instinct of judges to problem-solve using the tools that they have access to can also be read as an indicator of open-ness to reform. The Senior Family Court Judge who helped Hawai'i finally gain entry to the JDAI initiative was widely recognized as a progressive champion – a self-proclaimed "greedy" judge, as she explained in her interview.

I was greedy, but not for myself. I wanted to get all that I could for Hawai'i. If there were resources out there, I wanted to get them for our kids. I just

bothered [AECF] until they let us in. I would call them all the time and they'd always say, "Hawai'i's numbers are too small for us to come out there." But I kept on calling. They knew I wouldn't stop till they said yes. (Asian female, non-model site judge)

In 2008, AECF tested the waters in Hawai'i for 'reform readiness' through a series of "immersion activities" that introduced JDAI concepts and commitments through informational coffee hours with staff from juvenile probation and the detention facility and presentations to community stakeholders. The following year, Hawai'i was designated as a JDAI state site and began to embark on the social learning process for systems change. Painting with a broad brush, participation as a JDAI site has led to significant improvements in the state juvenile justice system. I began this chapter by highlighting some of the most dramatic outcomes associated with the implementation of JDAI reforms.

The battles to limit the use of detention and incarceration as the interventions of choice for youth who come into the justice system have been hard-fought. As was true for the Santa Cruz model site, in the face of resistance from system practitioners, the support of AECF lent legitimacy to the JDAI reform efforts in Hawai'i. The social learning process played a role in facilitating discursive, procedural, and eventually, even landmark legislative change in the state justice system, marked by the passage of Act 201 in 2014 that codified specific requirements under the banner of "Juvenile Justice Transformation." In the following sections, I assess the extent to which the framework for the JDAI systems change process helps to explain the journey of reform for Hawai'i as a periphery site in the initiative. The divergence of the Hawai'i case from the framework developed in Chapter 5 offers insights into the gaps inherent in this framework for social learning in service of system change when applied to a non-model site.

## II. Applying the Framework for JDAI System Change to the Hawai'i Case

I apply the framework constructed from the JDAI model site case to test its "goodness of fit" to help explain and understand Hawai'i's engagement in systems change. Following the sequence of the framework from the center and then clockwise around the other three elements, I lead with an examination of the development of a learning community of change agents who 'get' and can 'spread' the JDAI vision and approach to transform the Hawai'i justice system.

As one would expect, in the move from theory generated from the 'ideal conditions' found in the learning laboratory of the JDAI model site to the real-world conditions of justice reform in a periphery site, the framework appears somewhat askew.

#### A. The Journey toward a Learning Community of Change Agents

Assessing the Hawai'i case for the 'development of change agents' suggests some refinement of this aspect of the framework for systems change. In the following subsections, I lead with the first half of – and arguably the most significant obstacle to – this dimension of the framework: developing change agent identities in this local justice system. Next, I consider the particular challenge of promoting and keeping change agents in positions of formal leadership in the Hawai'i case. I then use the examples of two "entrepreneurial" change agents to explore how these barriers have been worked around or overcome in Hawai'i's JDAI years. Finally, I consider the second half of this dimension, forming a learning community among change agents, which is closely connected to the next dimension of the framework.

##### 1. *Contesting Identities to Create Change Agents*

In his work on the realities of bureaucratic life, Baum writes: "Responsibility is defined by interpersonal relationships...Individual effectiveness rests on the ability to establish good relations with other workers" (1987, p. 31). In the best-case scenario, strong interpersonal relationships among co-workers can become conduits of support for reform within agencies. In the worst case, these bonds of reciprocity and strength of peer loyalties can function like tentacles that strangle system change efforts beneath the cover of official agency policies and procedures. The need to weave together a new institutional structure of status and incentives tied to a compelling vision for reform that can capture actors' imaginations and convictions is heightened in this context. Actors who expect to inhabit the same institution for the bulk of their careers are confronted with higher stakes for maintaining or disrupting the social harmony and ruffling the feathers of institutional co-inhabitants who are resistant to change.

Among the Hawai'i juvenile justice practitioners interviewed, the salience of identifying with the professional fields of justice or social work – or as advocates of justice reform – was rarely mentioned. Much more common were references to the importance of solidarity with and loyalty to peers and colleagues and as alluded to in the previous section, respect for and deference to formal authority figures, from agency leaders to unit supervisors. The identities of actors within the bureaucracy of city, county, or state agencies often suggested

a phenomenon of sedimentation. For instance, “working for the State” seemed to conjure an image the State as both specter and bunker – a monolithic entity that frustrated efforts to innovate, yet assuaged fears and insecurities by virtue of its unchanging nature, its inherent stability and predictability. Getting a permanent state job conferred a certain status, not high but solid. Respectable. Magnified by the high cost of living in Hawai‘i and the financial realities of ‘making it’ in the islands, a state job was a ticket to financial security for those who served their years, became vested, and were thus guaranteed retirement benefits. A state job was enviable in the sense that you would be taken care of, that the question of “what next?” would be effectively taken off the table. This promise of security had the twin consequences of obligating “state workers” to a degree of loyalty to the hand which feeds and strengthening actors’ identification with their agency as their institutional home for decades to come.

This shared obligation and long-term view of their place in the State formed a braided bond for a core group of institutional actors. The security of the State and the loyalty that it engendered was in turn layered with the geographic roots and cultural constructs of many local actors. Of the practitioners employed in different agencies making up the Hawai‘i juvenile justice system (police officers, detention staff, judges, probation officers, other court staff, juvenile justice specialists) interviewed for this study, upwards of 80% were born and raised in the islands – and this was judged to be reflective of their agencies. In addition to the anticipated inconvenience and discomfort that change inevitably promised, even a compelling moral argument for change was pitted against reverence for institutional and local tradition, i.e., the value of “the way it has always been done.” One interviewee’s reflection on the initial uptake of JDAI principles in the probation department, particularly how some of the key reforms were viewed, echoed the Santa Cruz County struggles in the early days of the model site:

Mindset is pretty significant. You almost have to wait for a whole new generation. All the old P.O.’s with twenty-plus years of experience are “lock-em-up, throw away the key.” (Asian female, non-model site probation officer)

She admitted at the time, grappling with changes to accepted policies and practices had been unimaginable in her own mind – and thus demoralizing when they were introduced and mandated. As a member of the “old guard” in terms of JDAI in Hawai‘i, she testified to the near-hopelessness of changing her peers’ minds about how probation worked, particularly given the lack of champions for reform from leaders of the department or juvenile division. Meiners’ (2010) contention cited in Chapter 5 is a universal claim, yet it

holds immense significance in Hawai'i: actors' identities shape the institutions that they inhabit, lending incredible structural strength to stand against the gales and tremors of systems change.

The interviewee nodded to the necessity of changing the guard to realize change; what remained unsaid is underscored in the framework for JDAI systems change based on the model site experience. An intentional departure from the existing institutional culture requires an intentional and concentrated infusion of resources to promote change agency, which was enacted in the Santa Cruz case through intensive and visionary leadership, relentless messaging and training, and a blend of coercion and persuasion embedded within an institutional system of disincentives and incentives. Change in the Santa Cruz case was also facilitated by the authority of reform-minded Probation Chiefs to re-assign the most resistant POs to the adult division as a "release valve" until they judged that culture change was stabilized for juvenile division. In contrast, Hawai'i struggled in the Goliathan task of changing deeply ingrained mindsets and/or working around the nay-sayers, who often occupied culturally esteemed positions as older and more experienced POs in the department.

Lacking the additional inputs that a model site enjoys in the early years of its JDAI process, Hawai'i as a non-model site offers the counter-narrative to the model site-based framework in its own development of change agents. While motivation for change was initially absent in a majority of state actors in the Hawai'i case, I consider a few exceptional actors whose embrace and exercise of agency for change emerged dramatically from the Hawai'i case.

## *2. Discursive Leadership to Legitimize Reform*

Beginning with the ingenuity of the "greedy judge" who brought JDAI to the shores of Hawai'i, Family Court judges bear the symbolic mantle of leadership for justice reform. Their visibility as leaders of reform communicates a critical message of support for change, at a conscious and unconscious level within the larger system and to the public. By the virtue of their institutional position as leaders with authority over policy and practice, judges have played an invaluable part in advocating for system change and compelling other agency and organizational partners such as prosecutors, law enforcement, mental health, child welfare, education, and youth services to come to the collaborative table of the JDAI Steering Committee. In Hawai'i, the probation department's presence but tendency toward silence at the table reflects a conundrum. Despite the department's growing action to advance JDAI over time, their voice is notably muted in the larger collaborative discussion of reform. As the backdrop against a succession of different leaders during the JDAI years,

the probation department's organizational culture could be characterized as enduringly passive-aggressive and compliance-oriented until recent legislative changes began implementation, as will be evidenced in the interviews cited later in this chapter. Even though individual actors certainly broke from this collective sensibility at earlier stages of the JDAI process, the kind of tide shift indicating system change has only been perceptible in the past year or so.

In stark contrast to the Santa Cruz case study, during the implementation of JDAI in the Hawai'i justice system of JDAI, a pattern of turnover in top leadership positions in multiple agencies comprising emerged as a theme. Justice practitioners at the lower levels of the system who held the need for JDAI reforms in low regard was exacerbated by lack of continuity in institutional leaders who could reinforce reform ideas and actively bridge the chasm between the vision of change and the reality of everyday practices. As one probation officer put it, "We're plagued by a lack of good leaders in this agency.' Doubt in the motivation and commitment of leaders was expressed frequently – and sometimes attributed to the nature of the system, as articulated in the next quote.

[A former administrator] had presence, he was approachable, you could talk to him...But he was only there for three years. You'd be crazy to do it for any longer. The types that are in there now, you don't feel that they really care to do what it takes to make this place better when they're gone. Even the judges – a good one comes to the Juvenile Calendar then boom, they rotate and have to go somewhere else. (Asian male, non-model site probation officer)

As if to illustrate this point, within the first three years of launching JDAI in Hawai'i, three different Senior Family Court judges rotated through their designated duty as JDAI Steering Committee Chair. The third served for six years from 2011-2017, adding much-needed stability to the fledgling reform movement in Hawai'i. Clear about using self as an agent of change, this judge was well-aware of his ability to leverage his power and position to advance reforms. As he said: "People come when a judge calls. Government agencies respond. Coalitions form."

As a key agent of change in the Hawai'i JDAI story, the power of this champion's contribution was mainly symbolic and discursive: to provide a sense of continuity and an unbroken storyline against the ever-shifting kaleidoscope of appointed leaders for reform. Without ever traveling with the Hawai'i delegation to participate in a JDAI learning retreat, he deftly constructed and proclaimed a coherent narrative of a system undergoing transformation. He also modeled his own process of cognitive change for the judges that he

supervised and the members of the JDAI Steering Committee, a group composed of mainly agency administrators and executive directors of nonprofit organizations serving youth. As a justice practitioner whose formal training had been focused on working with adults, he clearly resonated with the JDAI “my kid” discursive frame.

For judges in adult court, it’s not necessarily, “How do I help this person get to a better place?” But juvenile court is about how you relate to that kid, how you speak to this person...communicate clearly, consistently that I care for you, you are one of my kids. (White male, non-model site judge)

Somewhat ironically, this formal authority figure’s identity development as a change agent was supported and capitalized on by two institutional entrepreneurs who credited JDAI with significant aspects of their own identity development as justice system reformers and used the JDAI social learning process as a platform to aggressively advance reforms in Hawai’i. One was the JDAI site coordinator for Hawai’i, who worked mainly behind the scenes to shape the committee agenda and script it for the Chair, inscribing the meetings with the initiative’s language and using the gatherings as “boosters” or platforms to reinforce JDAI principles. Although participating in the learning retreats and sitting on the Steering Committee were not framed as binding agreements, she worked through the judge to create a tacit sense that those present around the table had signed on to the mandate of reform and the JDAI core strategies guiding how this would be achieved. The other entrepreneurial actor served on the Steering Committee and reinforced this norm. He championed reforms and modeled the ‘use of self’ as an agent of change through both his funding decisions and his interactions with other agency administrators. In coordination with the coordinator, he participated in multiple JDAI learning retreats as an influencer and interpreter to help prime other members of the Hawai’i delegation for the application of innovations when they returned home.

Sanctioned by the formal leadership of the presiding Family Court judge, these two improvising change agents operating from hybrid insider-outsider roles in the system engineered much of the JDAI reforms for this periphery site. The Hawai’i JDAI site coordinator occupied a newly established leadership role with little institutional authority. The other change agent occupied a legitimate role of institutional leadership as the director of a state agency centrally involved with the juvenile justice system, but he did not have direct decision-making power over the primary institutions involved with detention reform: the probation department and the detention facility. Nevertheless, participant observation and interviews identified these two unlikely actors as the main authors of JDAI reforms in

Hawai'i. Their stories of creative change agency weave throughout the other three of the elements of the framework for system change as well. Over time, they increasingly coordinated action to galvanize support for JDAI and build momentum for a larger current of reform that I discuss in the section on mobilizing resources.

Operating from a core motivation overlapping with the 'liberated practitioners' role-identity constructed in the Santa Cruz case, the two change agents articulated a sense of solidarity and identification with the JDAI movement, but JDAI was a mediating factor rather than a driver of their systems change goals. The effectiveness of these change agents was embedded in their ability to invite, push, or pull other actors into seeing and operating on a visionary level, moving from what exists to what can be realized. Courage – and to some degree, relish – for the fight were common elements in the narratives of these two actors. Both expressed a certain delight and satisfaction in breaking through the institutional schema and cultural expectations alike, upsetting the accepted way of doing things to create space for change, as profiled below.

### *3. Transgressive: Cultural Insider as Change Agent*

JDAI fit with the impact I was hoping to have...I want to make things better for the human condition, make things better for the community. You look at the business world, you're seen as an entrepreneur. But in government, you're looked at as a job hopper. People don't really understand it. (Asian female, non-model site leader)

The JDAI coordinator recounted how she came to guide the system change process for Hawai'i, noting her immediate attraction to JDAI as an opportunity to effect change at a systemic level. "Also, there was no competition because no one else wanted to apply for a temporary position," she noted dryly. In her case, intersectionality situated her as a system outsider and yet a cultural insider. She came in with no prior experience in juvenile justice, but she countered the weakness of her institutional authority by exercising the cultural and political authority she enjoyed as a local Japanese woman in the Hawai'i state bureaucratic power structure. Her transgression of gender-role expectations provoked the most volatile reactions from female actors occupying similar levels of formal power and authority who pushed back against the ambiguity of her position, her style, and her practices. She often complained of biased perceptions of women in the workplace and in her words, being forced "to choose between being likeable and getting results." Yet she persevered. Armed with a certain thickness of skin, uncanny instincts, and strong personal drive for changing the system, she was an interstitial actor who worked skillfully at the boundary between the



formal system, AECF, and cultural communities who offered alternative conceptions of justice and healing.

The professional and leadership development provided by AECF through JDAI significantly supported her success in the counter-current nature of her position within the formal power structure. She became immersed in the JDAI Nation and AECF through site visits, conferences, frequent communication with the JDAI Technical Assistance Team Leaders assigned to Hawai'i, and eventually through her fellowship in the Applied Leadership Network (ALN). The leadership skills and sensibilities that were imparted and refined through her participation in ALN led to a direct expansion of her influence. Her communication skills, capacity for strategic planning, and effectiveness in developing emerging leaders were critically enhanced. An honest and direct communicator by nature, she reflected on her growing consciousness of the impact of her personal style on others. "I learned the power of drafting an email – and then deleting it instead of sending it. No more f-bombs!" By selecting individuals with 'change agent potential' for participation in model site visits, conferences, and other training and technical assistance opportunities related to on-going reform efforts, she gave them exposure to the national JDAI movement and connections to the expanded social learning process. Through the learning retreats, she strengthened these relationships and created space to personally mentor several individuals who were strategically positioned to carry on the reforms beyond her tenure.

While her capacity for entrepreneurial action and vision for transformation pre-existed her ALN experience, the ALN cohort was a key training ground to equip the JDAI coordinator for the work of systems change. She cited reading *Leadership on the Line* as the most transformative experience of her ALN fellowship; it bolstered her courage and commitment to center youth's needs and interests when she was faced with conflict. Stretching beyond her gift for "managing up" and influencing her superiors in the system, she shifted from a more "lone ranger" mode and increasingly engaged in informal mentorship with peers and subordinates in the probation department. She modeled the 'use of self as an agent of change' with a counter-culture change agency that was rare in the Hawai'i system. Her examples of practice were rich lessons in how to manipulate the institutional environment to advance reform goals, how to buck cultural norms when they stood in opposition to changes of practice that would help kids, and how to choose your battles wisely. Describing different scenarios where she encountered resistance to changes of practice like new data reporting protocols, the coordinator responded by "going around" the decision-makers causing the bottleneck. Transgressing both institutional scripts and local social relations, she

worked to find a higher authority in the chain of command to obtain approval for changes. She shrugged off the ire of different actors, reflecting that: "People expect you to be 'Hawai'i nice;' to back off and say, 'Oh, okay. Never mind' when they don't want to do something." She went on to explain that her actions were not personal, she never "outed" those who caused resistance, but that "people need to understand that saying 'No' doesn't end the conversation."

Her comment about "Hawai'i nice" refers to stereotypical local (strongly influenced by Asian and Pacific Islander) cultural values of respect for elders and authority, indirect communication in favor of direct confrontation, and preserving social harmony. The coordinator made it clear that she didn't "seek drama" and that she "never threw anyone the bus" when she went around them to their superiors. But she did not hesitate to rock the boat when she felt change was necessary. During Hawai'i's first JDAI model site visit, a key leader in probation invited the visiting delegation to come to his room for drinks at the end of the day. The coordinator described the confrontation that unfolded when she came by "just to show face" and everyone gathered fell silent – or as she put it, "the air kind of sucked out of the room."

"[The probation leader] said to me, 'Ok, sit down. We have a really hard question for you. We all want to know: Where does your loyalty lie? With [the judges] or us [probation]?' Everyone was listening to see how I would answer. So I thought fast and shot back, 'What's hard about that? It's an easy question. My loyalty is to the kids.' Everyone kind of laughed then...but they got the message." (Asian female, non-model site leader)

This scenario illuminated a broader dynamic that the actor chose to participate in, for the sake of the larger reform goals. In meetings, that probation leader would push back on proposed policy changes to make a show of defending the work and interests of his probation staff. The JDAI coordinator would maneuver to absorb the show of resistance and act as the representative of AECF to continue to press to move the JDAI reforms forward. In her analysis, the probation leader needed a way to save face, to "yell" and protest the changes in public, then he felt free to tacitly allow them to proceed. Reflecting on this choice to take the hits, the JDAI coordinator was matter-of-fact about the deeper value of ends over means. She chose to focus on his apparent change of heart at the point of retirement, when he gathered his POs for a tearful, closed-door talk to express his parting conviction that, "Guys, we got to change" and that JDAI was moving the system in the right

direction. A hard-fought battle, but she interpreted that in this final address, the moral claim of reform was validated.

The psychological toll of this role in absorbing conflict should not be downplayed. At one point in the thick of reforms, an internal, anonymous complaint was sent to the highest leadership in the Judiciary, naming the coordinator and blaming her broadly for “low morale in the department.” While the leadership dismissed it out of hand, she identified that as a dark time in her own journey and identity formation as a change agent. In contrast to the incentive structure that promoted change agency in the model site, the coordinator prepared change agents at the periphery to internalize the source of their motivation. A discursive hook from ALN that she made her own was the mantra: “Don’t wait for someone to give you an award for this work.” JDAI site coordinators from across the nation affirmed this orientation to the work through their posts on JDAIconnect discussions and other communication pieces produced by AECF, where they characterized their work through images such as “punching bag” or “bo-bo head doll” who gets pummeled by angry administrators and frustrated line staff alike, then pops right back up, ready for the next knock-down.

As the coordinator harnessed greater authority within the Family Court over time and expanded her internal influence among staff developing as change agents, a new infusion of funding support came from the Act 201 Juvenile Justice Transformation legislation for professional development among probation staff. The response from probation demonstrated the growth in leadership capacity for systems change that was being developed. Her leadership and participation was invited on a team that was formed to redesign the probation training curriculum, integrating JDAI principles and the new practices “to help consistently send that message, to help our workers make that connection and continue the momentum” [for system reform]. The redesign team identified the need to normalize JDAI concepts and principles as a way of doing the work and create a more coherent message of reform for probation. Another member of the redesign team articulated the importance of reinforcing JDAI as the overarching reform movement that continues to link up with new terms and practices.

The last two years, there’s a training every other month. This year we invited everybody from the courts who works with youth [to our annual symposium]. We shared new things we’re doing [and] went over JDAI to give everybody that refresher, because a lot of people think, ‘Oh yeah, we did JDAI.’ No, we didn’t *do* JDAI. We *are doing* JDAI. (Asian male, non-model site probation leader)

This member of the redesign team, closely mentored by the JDAI coordinator, expressed his understanding of systems change framed as an on-going process. Taking a longer view, he worked with the team to harness a training event as an opportunity to introduce or reinforce the JDAI message to partners outside of probation and bring everyone to a shared understanding, speaking the same language of reform. As a change agent that the coordinator had taken under her wing, he exemplified the kind of leadership that resonated in Hawai'i and had potential to take hold even in a setting like probation. He described his approach to change as a balance of taking care of the probation unit that he supervised and pushing them to grow. 'Taking care' meant setting a consistent and reliable environment, making team meetings a circle of peace within the often chaotic demands of juvenile probation work. He made the routine of regular unit meetings a source of stability and comfort by staying on agenda, keeping the meetings brief, and always providing refreshments. 'Pushing for growth' meant nurturing a learning orientation by assigning professional development readings (including JDAI research briefs) and normalizing critique by "bringing up where I see drift" [in their unit's practices] from the goals of reform.

This emerging change agent personified a very palatable brand of leadership within probation's institutional norms, heavily influenced by local Japanese culture and state worker realism. Humble, humorous, hard-working, and understated, he shrugged and characterized his approach to spreading the vision for reform to his subordinates in this way: "What I try to do as a supervisor is to model what I hope to see." As an actor progressing up the promotion track according to the prevailing institutional norms, the JDAI coordinator had been investing in his development through a recent spate of reform learning retreats both related and unrelated to JDAI. Seeing him as an influential leader of change in probation for decades to come, she had an eye to nominate him for ALN to help him develop a lens and skills to analyze and critique racial and ethnic disparities within a larger framework of justice reform as social justice.

#### *4. Exploitative: System Insider as Change Agent*

The agency director who played a key role as change agent in the JDAI reform process was hired soon after Hawai'i's entry into the JDAI network and his efforts extended beyond his tenure in that position. He had started his career in another state's juvenile justice system and proclaimed, "I've lived the JDAI reform movement." His experience with JDAI profoundly shaped his conviction for the need for system change.

I became the leader in locking kids up early in my career. Who put in the punitive practices and made this a miserable place for kids? It was me. In

the 1990s, JDAI helped us refocus on what the purpose of detention was. The alternatives to detention were critical to relieve over-crowding. We had 200+ kids in a facility designed for 50; four kids to each cell that was intended for a single child. (White male, non-model site leader)

Based on his track record of leadership in another jurisdiction, the agency head's position allowed him to exploit roles of authority as a White male in Hawai'i's social hierarchy as well as that of 'outside expert' and 'system insider' simultaneously. He wielded the insider/outsider identity with strategic deftness. Taking great pride in turning the "outsider from the Mainland" image upside down, he portrayed himself as a Southern boy who played by the rules of "Hawai'i nice" by building relationships and making connections where state politics and standard practice had led to a disregard for the significance of these interpersonal bonds between agencies at a higher level.

I knew the first order of business was knocking on doors, forming relationships that were not political. I visited every judge in his or her chambers, face to face, flying to each circuit. I did the same with all the agency decision-makers. I felt it was my job to make sure they knew that [my agency] cared about the kids. Took time to come down and get to know the people inside the siloes as a first step to breaking the siloes down. I approached probation and said, 'Tell me what you want.'" (White male, non-model site leader)

He accomplished systemic disruption, accompanied by the smoothing of feathers at an interpersonal, relational level. His style was intuitive and intimate, confiding, laughing and self-deprecating, charming and disarming from someone in his position of authority. Steeped in JDAI, he emphasized the principles of data-informed decision-making and lived out collaboration in ways that connected to local values and style. Exemplifying the "What can I do for you?" attitude and the enthusiasm for reform, he was able to mobilize change across multiple fronts with other agencies and community partners. Interviewees from multiple settings marveled when they spoke of his accessibility as an agency head who responded to emails on the same day and freely gave out his cell phone number.

He was the first director to show up at our council meetings those years. All those years, that seat had been empty. And when he came, he sat with us, gave updates, answered our questions. (Hawaiian male, non-model site community partner)

The director had the genius of communicating warmth and respect for people and their contributions as he invited them into the fold and recruited them into the shared work of reform. Yet he also did not retreat from the calculated application of a particularly potent local weapon of “shame” to leverage change. He employed tactics informed by cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger 1957) where he disrupted the status quo, calling accepted practices into question and then introducing solutions that could resolve the dissonance. In tandem with Hawai‘i’s JDAI participation, this strategy reinforced acceptance for “reform solutions” as local system decision-makers were increasingly exposed to peer-to-peer learning retreats and the promotion of their sense of self as professionals within a national field of juvenile justice – an extended social group expressing acceptance and even support for reform. He described his practice of instigating an uncomfortable conversation among Family Court judges about the harmful practice of “indeterminate commitments,” which meant ordering youth to be incarcerated indefinitely, without setting a release date.

I began the practice of emailing the judges together [so that they could see] who made indeterminate commitments. I ruffled some feathers; a judge confronted me at a conference for this kind of sharing. But they worked it out among themselves. And every week, I would send them a little bit of research on the diminishing returns of locking kids up and highlighting alternatives from other states. (White male, non-model site leader)

By putting decision-makers on notice and establishing a shared knowledge base of current research on juvenile justice, he skillfully guided the judges to a place of tacit agreement that Hawai‘i’s practices were lagging behind the national policy direction regarding appropriate responses to troubled youth. In parallel to this discussion, he increased his agency’s funding allocation for parole and other alternatives to both incarceration and detention, elevating the level of institutional awareness and practical access to these supports, thus providing judges desirable pathways to reduce their reliance on incarceration. His strong suit lay in this strategy of building rapport and acting immediately to advance change.

Widely recognized as a change agent (in contrast to the site coordinator, he was the recipient of several awards), particularly among decision-makers with authority over agency policies and procedures, his influence appeared to have the most impact on actors outside of his own agency. Several administrators shared variations of the sentiment expressed by a partner from the state mental health agency: “[He] reached out and had the attitude of

'let's figure out how to do this.' He cared about the outcome for kids and we saw fruit come out of our relationship with him."

### *5. Seeding a Learning Community of Change Agents*

In this application of the proposed framework for system change to the Hawai'i case, one observation about the initial step of developing change agents yields two different conclusions: In one sense, the Hawai'i juvenile justice system suffers from a vacuum left by the lack of clear and compelling leadership from the probation department. In a positive sense, this same void created space for leaders from other sources to transform this system and its delivery of justice for youth. The opportunity to lead change is there, for those who possess or can acquire the understanding and vision, the tools of persuasion, the requisite political support, the sense of improvisation, and the courage to step out. The two entrepreneurial change agents described earlier seized upon their access to the system's leadership structure, leveraging formal authority for reform via close and trusted relationships with the head Family Court Judge and aiding in his own personal development as a change agent in his role as the figurehead for system change. These two change agents also drew legitimacy from AECF's sponsorship of JDAI to advance reform claims, teaming up to magnify the effects of learning retreats for key members of the visiting delegations to enact targeted changes of policy and practice. By sheer force of will and improvising direct and indirect action, these two actors helped to assemble a bricolage of changes that ranged from philosophical in the case of judicial dispositions, procedural in the case of eliminating Valid Court Orders (the practice of detaining young people who had not committed a law violation), and legal policy change that dictates certain metrics for probation officers' professional development and eliminates incarceration as a sentencing option for youth who are not found guilty of a felony.

Although these two actors were instrumental for the initial stretch of the JDAI reform process in Hawai'i, the systematic development of change agents and a learning community to support and sustain agency for change was slow to materialize. The site coordinator's role and connections to the JDAI peer-to-peer learning network helped her to bring burgeoning leaders into direct contact with the JDAI social learning process. This early exposure nurtured potential for change agency for several individuals in later years, as described in detail above. The agency head planted seeds for leaders of other agencies to re-think outdated practices and engage in effective interagency collaboration. Although he engineered a number of effective partnerships at the agency level, his approach had limited penetration to those below him in the bureaucratic hierarchy, most of whom were career-

track state workers. Building on-the-ground capacity for change agency was not part of the strategy that he employed. Within the agency that he led, the philosophical acquiescence among his staff was at times conflated with, but not actually accompanied by the requisite skills and sensibilities to carry out reform. Upon his departure from the position, the agency has embarked on a tenuous journey to continue to fulfill the expectations of leadership for system change that were raised during his tenure.

In stark contrast to Santa Cruz's ability to develop a learning community of change agents through a strong succession of leaders committed to strategic restructuring that incentivized learning and innovation, the Hawai'i case offers several key insights about the work that non-model sites must attend to in the course of the JDAI system change process: protection or sanction of reforms, institutionalizing reform through professional development, and intentional institutional memory-making. The challenges and chronology of reshaping institutional identities and culture may hold true across both model and non-model contexts, but in a non-model site that lacks the strong presence of AECF and JDAI norms, the shift to a change-centered identity and learning mode can be mobilized under the protection of an established leader inside the system. In the Hawai'i case, the Family Court Judge used his authority to sanction the JDAI coordinator's and agency director's strategic actions for reform. At the time of this writing, about eight years into Hawai'i's engagement in JDAI, messaging for reform was becoming institutionalized into the routines and arrangements of Family Court and change identity formation was gradually taking hold in a small core of actors. The site coordinator successfully connected dots to bring JDAI trainers to Hawai'i as part of a professional development curriculum that was being launched. Through this curriculum, probation's regular training calendar is integrating JDAI concepts and principles "into everyday circulation" as one practitioner put it; allowing reform philosophies to penetrate further into institutional language, culture and worldview.

The absorption and spread of reform philosophies in Hawai'i was also facilitated by the intentional crafting of the periphery site's narrative as a community of change and the memory of JDAI as an important part of the redemption of a system gone astray. One rising leader put it this way: "People really need to be exposed to where we've come from...to grasp where we are and where we should be in the future." He recognized the power of the ritual of telling Hawai'i's story as a journey of system change, keeping the value and urgency for continual reform alive by remembering and foregrounding the not-so-distant history of punitive practices and misguided policies toward young people. The JDAI Detention Facility Self-Assessment process was one powerful platform for recounting the



evolving story of transformation, when system practitioners and community stakeholders came together to conduct an audit of the conditions of confinement at the Hale Ho'omaluu juvenile detention home every few years.

This finding aligns with the model site's narrative of successful reform and the powerful discursive reinforcement of a system's identity as it does the work of telling and re-telling its story – particularly for the actors whose identities are intertwined with the institutions that they inhabit. In a non-model site that does not host learning retreats or other regular presentations on its reform efforts, the opportunities to acknowledge the past, recognize successes and celebrate growth are rare, let alone routine. This silver lining of redemption also emerged as an important narrative thread to reinforce. A probation supervisor reflected on the limited opportunities to travel and tell stories and suggested that more attention needed to be paid to creating local stages for telling and re-telling the triumphs of Hawai'i reforms. "We never hear success stories often enough; we want to lift up what folks do well." Staff meetings, retreats, and other public presentations were occasionally utilized but could be better leveraged as platforms for Hawai'i system actors to hear and see the measurable and sustained improvements from changes of practice introduced by JDAI. The growing familiarity of the Hawai'i "justice transformation" storyline as it has come to be labeled after the passage of the Act 201 legislation, aids in the gradual absorption and digestion of reforms as legitimate and desirable changes in the eyes of practitioners who lack direct exposure to the JDAI national learning network.

In the discussion of other aspects of the framework for systems change that follow, I will flag their intersection with change agency for the Hawai'i case. I move to focus on data-driven decision-making and a learning orientation in the next section.

## B. Building Blocks for Data-Driven Decision Making and Social Learning

Access to reliable data is an essential pre-cursor to data-driven decision-making and social learning through analysis of system data. In another nod to the real-life "friction" introduced by a non-model site, the Hawai'i experience appeared to be quite common to other local-level justice systems; the pre-JDAI data collection system was prone to missing or incomplete data fields and inconsistent use of codes indicating the charge for which a child was detained or confined. In all fairness, it was a data system that was not originally designed for its current use; a data tech within judiciary explained that it had been adapted from the system built for child welfare. The Santa Cruz model site, which had relied on

paper-and-pencil inventories in its pre-reform days, held the distinct upper-hand with its tailored database that had been developed under the pressure to produce legible data to plan for system change. However, in the words of a probation staff member who eventually took over the data oversight for Hawai'i, "Let's take what we have and make that work for what we need." With the implementation of Act 201, some funding and technical assistance was devoted to creating a new "data dashboard" for the Judiciary in recent years that dramatically improved the data capabilities to guide systems change efforts.

For me, it was data. That's always been huge area that we have to address. We can make decisions based on what we see...But what we see is never nearly the whole picture. We want to get as close to the whole picture as we can, and data is the only way. (Asian male, non-model site probation leader)

Reflecting on his learning from a model site visit, this up-and-coming probation supervisor pinpointed his most important takeaway for the Hawai'i system: improving and institutionalizing the review of data for quality assurance, evaluation, and planning. Hand-picked by the JDAI site coordinator for Hawai'i to participate in the learning retreat at the end of 2016, he had the capacity and motivation to act on the knowledge that he acquired through the model site visit by making both technical and adaptive changes. Three months after returning from his first retreat, he had designed and implemented regular data updates for monthly review by the probation supervisors for each unit and the division head. The data updates informed decisions about staffing and programming, focusing resources on the geographic units where the highest caseloads were concentrated. In its eighth year of reforms, the Hawai'i site reached the milestone of routinizing the practice of data-driven decision-making beyond the point of detention. By the work of a skeleton crew, the infrastructure to support this learning orientation was being constructed. The long arc of reform was becoming visible.

The early years of Hawai'i's reforms are instructive about a peripheral site's experience of the JDAI social learning process as it is facilitated far from the initiative's learning center. By definition, a periphery site has fewer opportunities for cross-site learning in comparison to the model site's central position as a learning destination. Cognitive distance created in the space between the historical context and contemporary demographics in Hawai'i and the Continental US must be bridged to help learners absorb the change agency curriculum that JDAI has developed. Correspondingly, the physical distance and the high price tag for travel to participate in more intensive learning retreats with the JDAI network has hampered the sharpening of a more critical change agency within the local justice system.

A combination of factors have challenged the development of a critical mass of reform-minded actors in Hawai'i through JDAI, in addition to the gaps in formal leadership for system change discussed in the earlier section on change agents. Three of the factors that proved most challenging in Hawai'i's experience with the JDAI social learning design were: (1) the dispersion of learning retreat opportunities among a limited number of participants, with many coming from and returning to different agencies, organizations, and often different jurisdictions and islands; (2) inadequate post-trip support to facilitate collective reflection and action among learning participants who did not have significant formal authority in the system; and closely related to this; and (3) a lack of effective structures and mechanisms for sharing and acting on new information and participating in planning for reform. These factors are examined further in the following discussion, beginning with the experience of learning retreats for system actors from Hawai'i.

### *1. Journeys to the "Center"*

As of the end of 2017, participants from Hawai'i have participated in six model site visits and nine national inter-site conferences, including a few conferences pre-dating the state's official entry to participation in JDAI. These learning retreats have brought close to 100 individuals into contact with the JDAI peer-to-peer learning network. Direct exposure to the transformative potential of cross-site and peer-to-peer learning retreats has been focused on those in formal leadership positions, with nearly three-quarters of the slots allocated to judges (13%), agency directors and deputy directors (37%), supervisors (17%), and elected officials (6%). Front line staff from probation and community partners mostly drawn from the administrative level with direct service experience, comprised the balance of learners (12% and 14% respectively). About one in five of all participants traveled to more than one learning retreat over the course of Hawai'i JDAI engagement. Tellingly, three of the four presentations *given* by Hawai'i at the national inter-site conferences included a community-based presenter or featured a community-based program.

For most of those selected to travel and learn, their recollection of the learning experiences were ephemeral. The impacts were difficult to identify or characterize broadly. Particularly among those in administrative positions where conference travel is a regular part of their work duties, the impact of conferences and model site visits seemed relatively tempered. "I went to a JDAI conference somewhere...Where was it?" one administrator asked me blankly, although he had much to share about reforms on-the-ground in Hawai'i. Few formal system actors in leadership positions could relate any specific impressions or outcomes related to their participation in the learning retreat.

Although changes to thinking, belief, and identity were not readily evident among actors at this level, several changes to systems practices were attributed to conversations that took place during the learning retreats and travel. With the precious time afforded for conversation between members of the Hawai'i delegation who often inhabited different agencies and frequently resided in different counties on different islands, application of some of the ideas from national conferences and model sites could be hashed out on the spot. One change that has resulted in a huge benefit to young people on Maui and has the potential to set precedent statewide stemmed from a side-conversation between the JDAI coordinator and the County Prosecutor on an annual JDAI inter-site conference. Maui's most celebrated diversion program, Positive Outreach and Intervention (POI) had been invited to make a presentation at a break-out session on partnerships with law enforcement. The program's main contribution was immediate support for child and family, as well as enhancing protective factors through engagement with positive community mentors and 'āina-based family activities.

However, the proposed outcome of completely diverting the child from further justice system involvement was not being fully realized, as the arrest cases were still forwarded by the police department to the prosecutor's office, even after successful completion of the POI program. The JDAI coordinator observed that the prosecutor already had procedural discretion to divert these cases according to state statute – to which the prosecutor responded, "Show me in writing and I'll do it." So she did. And then he did. Such simple change in awareness resulted in great gains for young people whose acts of "restitution" would now be honored with an outright dismissal of their charges. Even after several years of collaborative engagement with the prosecutor as an active member of the JDAI Steering Committee, this particular trip provided a space for a discussion that had never yet taken place, involving a decision-maker with the authority to make the change.

For those interviewed who were sent on learning retreats from positions with less formal system authority (including supervisors, line staff, and community organizations), actors often recalled the experience as impactful and intense, but not well-connected to action upon returning home. The recall of impressions of the learning retreats among line staff interviewed tended to be much richer than the upper level decision makers. The novelty of travel seemed to punctuate their learning experience and sharpen the learning that they took away. Probation officers from the line emphasized that the power of the learning trips lay in 'getting off the rock' and into new contexts that shifted and expanded participants' perspectives. One PO described that in her experience, JDAI was not 'real' until she left

Hawai'i and had an opportunity to engage with the larger JDAI network. In her own reflection, she did not fully buy-in to JDAI until participating in a model site visit – and as one of the few line staff selected for travel, her experience can likely be extrapolated to represent the ongoing perception of JDAI for many of her colleagues.

“Over here [JDAI] is a concept. Star Wars - we used to call it ‘Jedi’ just to kind of make like whatever [and show we didn’t take it too seriously]. But it helps when you get to see different jurisdictions in different stages of development and hear from ones just starting. I’d love to see another site.”

(Asian female, non-model site probation officer)

The reference to sites that were “just starting” reflected how this participant’s experience was enriched when Hawai'i joined another visiting delegation at the model site visit and the cross-site learning was multiplied. The ability to compare processes and contexts, and to learn from the successes and barriers faced by other non-model sites affirmed the value of the peer-to-peer learning principles at the core of the JDAI strategy. Reiterating the role of learning retreats in helping participants feel a sense of shared struggle for reform, another PO also emphasized his experience of ‘awakening’ to belonging to a field of juvenile justice practitioners in the JDAI network. Sitting in the crowd, the sheer number of people engaged in collective learning at the JDAI inter-site conference accentuated for him a shared sense of belonging and commitment to continual system improvement.

I liked the conference setting, learning from each other. There were 800 people there! To me, I never before had the concept of being with that many other people from the field...learning together, sharing best practices. (Asian male, non-model site probation officer)

As mentioned in the previous section dealing with the development of change agents, the experience of identifying with a broader professional field expanded this actor’s sense of solidarity with others working on JDAI reforms across the nation and created a bond that extended beyond the social contract that intertwined him with his co-workers in the probation department in Hawai'i. He went on to enthusiastically share that he learned about an arrest diversion process at that same conference that was later piloted by the Honolulu Police Department. Such an opportunity to ‘preview’ best practices provided a little boost to the development of this practitioner’s sense of self-efficacy as part of the reform movement. For those who have not researched emerging practices on their own, this type of exposure to valuable new knowledge encouraged the cultivation of a learning orientation among institutional actors. Nurturing a sense of belonging to a community of practice that values

mutual learning and engagement of new practices can help to flip the script on the conventional narrative of line staff being hit over the head with marching orders to implement new approaches and interventions after the decision has been made. With the larger goal of cultivating a learning orientation and eventually, a learning system, the cognitive script can be rewritten and line staff (and other collaborators, such as community partners) can be “re-cast” with the potential to introduce innovative thinking and practices in an institution where learning is embraced and authority for change is distributed, bringing forth the possibility and expectation that the script will continue to undergo revision.

Recommendations for tweaking the selection process for JDAI learning retreats was frequently brought up among line staff who keenly felt the resistance to reform among their peers who stayed home. Rather than relying on winning over administrators who were more removed from the direct changes of policy and practice, interviewees from the line advocated for sending more of the staff responsible for implementing reforms to see the JDAI model sites for themselves and experience immersion in a different institutional reality.

Family court always takes the head honchos who talk but don't know what's going on. Instead of seven judges, eight supervisors, and one P.O., flip it. Take the ones who are going to do it and try and figure out... As a P.O., I'd be more willing [to get fully on-board with reforms] if I could go...We need a mix, some newbies, some leaders to give continuity. (Asian female, non-model site probation officer)

This P.O. identified JDAI as a factor that could shake up the insular, business-as-usual mindset within the department. Knowing that a learning retreat was coming up could function like a carrot to incentivize POs who were in a rut, going through the motions without grasping the purpose of reforms.

A more equitable process for selecting delegates could also address some of the underlying passive aggressive attitudes that JDAI met in Hawai'i in the initiative's early years. Within probation, the common (and fairly accurate) perception was held that an invitation to a learning retreat was out of reach for most officers. This perceived lack of access to the coveted experience created a bit of a vicious cycle. POs were understandably bitter about being discounted from the selection process, which in turn fed a counter-reform narrative built on the state worker identity and solidarity with peers. Only “suck ups” who ingratiated themselves to supervisors and the JDAI coordinators stood much chance of going on a JDAI trip. By that logic, the loyalties of line staff selected to travel for JDAI were somewhat suspect. The deeply resistant attitudes did recede over time, concurrent with two other

changes: (a) data showing the effectiveness of JDAI reforms became a consistent talking point within the Hawai'i justice system; and (b) the wave of retirement among the "old-guard" probation officers.

In the following discussion, I follow the temporal sequence of JDAI learning and move the focus from learners' experiences on learning retreats to look more closely at learners' attempts to bring innovations back to the local system and the development of a learning orientation in the Hawai'i juvenile justice system.

## *2. Connecting Learning from Center to Periphery*

I was disappointed that we weren't asked to do more with all these great ideas that we were exposed to. I offered to do a report...We had one meeting after we returned, printed out stuff, typed up stuff, someone from Big Island shared steps that she had taken. It would be good to have a meeting [before the trip] to set expectations: this is why we're going, here's what we will plan to do when we get back. (Asian male, non-model site probation officer)

While reforms have certainly been implemented with great success in Hawai'i, this interviewee expressed a lament that surfaced among more than half of the actors in the Hawai'i case study. Despite the professed guidelines for JDAI travel supported by AECF, across all levels of authority and all positions in the system, most participants did not remember any clear expectations being set for the "so what" of the learning retreats and connection to action upon return home. Acting upon the insights gained from model site visits and conferences has proven to be an opaque and/or protracted process among most of the actors who expressed motivation to do so. Administrators who could exercise direct decision-making power, such as the agency head who allocated direct funding to community partners to provide Alternatives to Detention and the prosecutor who made a procedural change based on a conversation at the airport were the exception rather than the rule. The desire to maximize and extend the changes of thinking and belief that they experienced was evident for most learning retreat participants, but the impetus for action tended to die out from lack of clear leadership, structure, and accountability for doing so. When delegates returned from visits primed to act on their new insights and intentions, a rare window of opportunity for dissemination and action opened – and then in most cases, promptly shut again, unheeded. Primarily (but not limited to) those who held less formal authority in the system, actors used images like 'spinning their wheels' or 'feeling lost' without the formal mechanisms to reflect, share, and implement their learning. They struggled to find traction

between the innovative practices and thinking that they had just been exposed to and the institutional reality that they returned to.

This was noteworthy, particularly considering the institutional investment in Family Court Judges earlier in their careers. Two individual sitting judges have participated in at least five JDAI-related learning retreats, highlighting the importance of prolonged and repeated learning within the reform milieu. For one of these judges, JDAI engagement during his term as the lead judge of the juvenile calendar progressed to further engagement in an area of collaboration that is sorely lacking, partnership with the State Department of Education (DOE). When the DOE initiated travel to a national conference on the School-to-Prison pipeline in 2015, the relationships developed through the JDAI Executive Committee resulted in three committee members being invited to travel with the Hawai'i delegation.

Taking this into consideration, the Hawai'i JDAI Steering Committee meetings and the quality of learning relationships forged in this body take on greater importance. This committee continues to hold a unique space in the Hawai'i juvenile justice reform movement, a place where actors have been engaged for sustained periods with relatively clear discretion and authority for collaboration. The frequency of Steering Committee meetings transitioned from monthly in the early years of Hawai'i's JDAI participation to bi-yearly in 2014 and in 2016 stepped down to annual meetings. The majority of the Committee members have participated in at least one learning retreat, rendering it the single entity in Hawai'i with a critical mass of actors who have direct experience with the larger JDAI learning network. In JDAI-speak, when system actors "show up in their 'role,'" the exchange of ideas and opportunity to consult across counties and agencies makes the Steering Committee one of the most effective structures for improving local practices. For instance, the procedural change made by the Maui prosecutor could easily be adopted or adapted by prosecutors from any of the three other counties, resulting in an immediate drop in the number of youth entering the court system after participating in a diversion program.

If actors show up primed to reflect on and exercise their discretion to make the system better, less punitive, or to impact fewer kids, the peer-to-peer learning platform of the Steering Committee can be activated for reform. One partner emphasized that when actors come together with trusted partners and have clarity about what and how they can contribute to change, then inquiry and action can be catalyzed.

People come [to the JDAI Steering Committee] with the question, "What can I do from what I'm empowered to do?" Judges...are consulting, pulling me aside more now. They're empowered to do something and it's a more complex



conversation now. We've seen real changes this year; they're less likely to lock kids up, less likely to think kids will get better with threats held over them. (Asian male, non-model site partner)

Collaborative bodies such as this one and the relationships initiated within them seem to serve as a mobile social learning laboratory where certain participants' thinking and practice has visibly changed over times. Hearing directly from judges, several attributed a significant shift in perspective and thinking toward a learning orientation within the justice system that were supported and reinforced through Hawai'i's participation in JDAI. One judge who played an important leadership role and served on various JDAI committees reflected on his own cognitive change process that led to changes in decision-making for youth in the courtroom.

Back in my day, I was very strict and I believed in harsher consequences so that youth would take their actions seriously. Today I've come around to believe that we have more influence as we get to know the kids, understand where they're coming from, work with them on personal goals and set the consequences according to their situations and progress. (Polynesian male, model site leader)

A non-JDAI presentation helped spark the initial breakthrough that he experienced into new ways of thinking about his own responses to youth in the system; he explained that Hawai'i's involvement in JDAI helped him engage in conversation with other judges and court staff like probation to share about his learning process. Another judge echoed this idea with his own reflection: "We're all works in progress...We're all changing in our philosophies and our approaches. As you see the same kids coming back before you, you want to find better ways to help them succeed." The newly appointed Senior Family Court Judge has participated in at least three JDAI learning retreats, highlighting the importance of prolonged and repeated learning within the reform milieu. Well-versed in JDAI principles from years of wrestling with questions and participating in the social learning process, she has seamlessly taken over the duties of Steering Committee Chair and assumed formal leadership of the Hawai'i JDAI system change process.

### *3. Missing Mechanisms and Structures to Support Learning*

Short-lived collaborative subcommittees were formed in the early years of reform in a goodwill effort to support on-going learning, planning and implementation of reforms in the Hawai'i system. The four subcommittees reflected the JDAI prescription to focus on racial

and ethnic disparities; alternatives to detention; the risk assessment instrument; and reforming how cases were processed by the courts. The subcommittee on racial and ethnic disparities was the largest of the four and had the most members who were not court staff; this group had the resources to engage an outside facilitator for about a year before eventually merging with a task force planning a specific reform to address disparities.<sup>18</sup> During the yearlong period when it convened regular monthly meetings, this subcommittee became a space that nurtured the formation of some deeper relationships and collaborative projects between its members coming from the ranks of judges, probation, OYS, and community organizations.

The other three JDAI subcommittees were led by judiciary staff. All of the subcommittees struggled with a lack of clarity about how the group of people in the room could work together to effect a specific change; several probation staff expressed the view that “even the committee chairs were not clear on their roles.” Comments from former members reflected a lack of basic resources devoted to the subcommittee structure, including infrequent communication, lack of organization, and lack of support to make progress toward stated goals. The following comments confirm the inter-connected factors that frustrated reform efforts in the early JDAI years for Hawai‘i – and reveal a new vector of frustration with great relevance to planners.

We wanted data presented to the committees. If no-shows [failing to appear in court] were not a big problem, then let’s tackle something else. But we tried the reporting center model without even looking at the data. Why don’t we have data? (Asian female, non-model site probation officer)

On the surface, this misunderstanding illustrates an unintended consequence of the JDAI social learning design. Without significant resources dedicated to change, a typical local justice system faces the reality that reliable data might not be available until several years into the reform process. Even at that point, the types of questions generated through the learning process might not be answerable with the data on-hand. Meanwhile, learning retreat participants and other actors in the system received the message that they would be an integral part of an important “data-driven” learning process to implement reforms. What is not communicated or sufficiently acknowledged in the JDAI design is that this planning-as-social-learning process is foreign to and unsupported by the existing institutional rules, structures, and arrangements.

---

<sup>18</sup> I served as a note-taker for this subcommittee during this time and as a facilitator to the later task force.

For example, when model sites like Santa Cruz hold up the mechanisms and structures that have been developed to facilitate continual learning, the larger story that they are embedded in can dissolve into the background. For the average visiting site delegate on a two-day learning binge, sifting through the contextual factors mediating the model site's successes would be a superhuman feat. A closer look between the lines of the Santa Cruz "data story" reveals that the local justice system's now-routinized process for reviewing data was institutionalized after being developed and piloted during a grant-funded, 4-year pilot process facilitated by a highly engaged technical assistance team from the Burns Institute. The glossing over of these critical details falls into the trap of "magical thinking" in the JDAI design that also commonly presents itself in collaborative and participatory planning processes.

Casting vision of planning for system change requires the consistent framing of the process as a long-term undertaking that will require years, decades, of patience and collective capacity building. In the Hawai'i JDAI case, this message was clearly articulated in the dedicated space of the JDAI Steering Committee. In the experience of other JDAI Hawai'i planning participants, the expectations, timeline, availability of data to inform committee activities, and the relationship of these activities to larger system change were fuzzy at best, even among those who were facilitating the committees. In much the same way that model site visit facilitators create thin spaces – an environment and consciousness where a different kind of learning and imagining together becomes possible – non-model sites must find or build the capacity to open, hold, and make a practice of expanding such spaces within thick institutional space. Overcoming the trap of magical thinking in planning for and implementing system change begins with acknowledging the need for imaginative and adaptive capacities that run counter to current institutional realities – and dedicating the necessary resources to recruit, nourish, and sustain these capacities.

In the section on collaboration, I will return to unpack this observation further. I now move on to the next element of the analytic framework: strategic resource mobilization for system change.

### C. Mobilizing Resources for Changes of Practice at the Periphery

This case continues to offer up lessons about a non-model site's journey to system change. The Hawai'i system increasingly used its status as a JDAI site to access resources beyond AECF's relatively minor investment in juvenile justice reform at periphery sites. Change agents in Hawai'i have intentionally capitalized on the association with JDAI to construct and advance a narrative of reform that could attract other streams of support. These

contributions have helped to frame a larger systemic change movement across the islands. Hawai'i broached its participation in JDAI in 2008 at a time of national economic downturn and the renewal of potential resources in both the public and private sector has been slow to materialize. However, in the face of larger political and economic challenges, a range of resources have been committed to complement and extend policy and practice changes. In the 2013 state JDAI report, Hawai'i estimated that since 2008, the annual \$275K of seed funding provided by AECF helped to bring in other support.

Through our participation in JDAI, we have leveraged an additional \$15 million for youth in the juvenile justice system in Hawai'i...including the redirection of funds such as the Office of Youth Services' (OYS) contract with Safe Houses that prioritizes youth in need of an alternative to detention and philanthropic support like the Campbell Foundation's \$7,000 donation to support a mural project at our detention facility. (White male, non-model site judge)

Since that statement was made, that figure has grown to over \$16M with allocations from the State Legislature to support the implementation of the Comprehensive Juvenile Justice Transformation legislation, Act 201. A closer look at the numbers is revealing; JDAI values and influence figure heavily into the commitment of juvenile justice funding. More than \$14M has come from the Office of Youth Services (OYS) as the designated juvenile justice state agency and upwards of 95% of those funds were directed to a range of services that could broadly be categorized as Alternatives to Detention. These alternatives included community-based "intensive monitoring"<sup>19</sup> with a trusted adult; funding for beds in less-restrictive program placements such as Ke Kama Pono Boy's Safe House; and support for Wrap-around services for young people and their families who are involved with both the child welfare and juvenile justice systems.

The movement toward blended funding was vital, although still not commonly practiced. Under the purview of its former head, OYS was instrumental in developing targeted partnerships within the state's mental health agency with the Department of Health Children and Adolescent Mental Health Division (CAMHD), that resulted in the dedication of at least \$100K annually in services for justice system-involved youth.

The goal is to bring Department of Education, Department of Human Services, Child Protective Services, everyone that touches at risk kids to sit at same

---

<sup>19</sup> In a discursive victory, "intensive monitoring" was later named "intensive mentoring" in recognition that the term 'monitoring' can be demeaning.

table and blend our funding. If I put in \$200,000, you put in \$50,000, you put in \$100,000, then we all get the program we want. Right now some kids have 5 different case management plans from 5 different agencies. No one talks right now. (White male, non-model site leader)

Public investment came in the form of re-allocating federal and state funds and partnerships to share resources through closer coordination and collaboration between state agencies. The Hawai'i Juvenile Justice State Advisory Council (JJSAC) dedicated federal funds from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) to support the JDAI coordinator position in the first few years before the Family Court hired the coordinator in a permanent civil service position in 2012. The JJSAC also provided support for staff training for various agencies and organizations within the juvenile justice system and seed funding for a community-based Evening Reporting Center that was opened as an Alternative to Detention strategy. Funds were obtained for additional training and increased direct services for youth through partnerships with various state institutions and agencies including the University of Hawai'i at Manoa (UHM), the Department of Public Safety (DPS) that oversees the adult criminal justice system, the Department of Human Services / Office of Youth Services (DHS/OYS), and the Department of Health / Child and Adolescent Mental Health Division (DOH/CAMHD).

Philanthropic organizations played a critical role at different levels of the reform effort and the backing of AECF helped to frame the funding requests as part of a comprehensive strategy, elevating its estimation as a safe and wise investment. Local foundations supported physical improvements to the environment of the state juvenile detention facility including furniture and funding for direct services such as a mural project, writing workshops, and other art programming. In a small state like Hawai'i, the long-term value of these investments can be maximized through careful cultivation and maintenance of relationships with these private sources of support. The time and effort required for such relationship building falls into a "no-man's land" that must be recognized and claimed by a system actor who values and possesses the skills for building these bridges between the juvenile justice institution and the private funding network.

On a larger scale of philanthropic power, advocates for reform in Hawai'i courted the Pew Foundation in hopes of being included in its burgeoning juvenile justice reinvestment work. In 2013, Pew took Hawai'i on as a case study and committed resources to conducting research and lobbying for new legislation to decrease the number of youth committed to the State Youth Correctional Facility for non-serious offenses and further reform juvenile

probation practices. These gains helped Hawai'i to qualify for selection for a competitive technical assistance and training award to support its fledgling reforms, *S.M.A.R.T. on Juvenile Justice* funded by the OJJDP. With this award, Hawai'i has pursued further professional development for probation officers in evidence-based practices and the implementation of a standardized risk assessment instrument for adjudicated youth.

As the dominant economic outlook continues to be sluggish at best, the (dis)continuity of leadership in key collaborating agencies takes on greater importance. Compounding the loss of leaders to retirement discussed earlier, the political cycle in Hawai'i also disrupts the leadership of local government agencies with little recourse for retaining even the most successful directors and administrators as elected officials seek to make their mark and distinguish their own legacy powered by their own people. The prosecuting attorneys for the four counties face re-election every four years, so the relationship building and bringing up to speed on reform language and values must be recognized as an on-going project with these key actors, in addition to other champions in elected positions such as the State Legislature and City/County Councils.

The work of Abers and Keck (2009) on the adaptive and fluid roles of actors who "change hats" and affiliations between civil society and public service yet seamlessly work to mobilize the state to champion an agenda or issue has relevance for Hawai'i's systems change endeavors. As individuals change positions from one agency to another in Hawai'i's small, tight-knit network, the capital of the relationships built and agreements reached travels with that person. Amidst the shuffle of appointed positions and agency round-robin, the work of continuing to educate and build trust with the State Legislature takes on greater and greater significance. Relationships and track records open the door to resources. On the cusp of implementing Act 201 and receiving the \$1.26M that accompanied it, finance committee told the agency director/change agent to spend every cent wisely, otherwise no point in coming back for more. Less than six months later, he lost oversight of the funding when a new gubernatorial administration bumped him from his appointed position. The potential for receiving another allocation lay with a new director who is untested and unproven, facing an uphill battle of relationship building with key Legislators.

An area of much needed growth, identified by many of the actors interviewed, is in learning to power the change by speaking the language of the legislature and cultivating policy-making partners in the long-term. As shared by one community advocate, the challenge of becoming (not to mention remaining) a legislative priority will require concerted institutional and civil society action over time.

The Legislature is the place where we need so much work. People get into an office and they stay there for 25, even 30 years - if we could just win a few over! Justice reform isn't on their minds, it doesn't rise to the level of their attention. It's an on-going project to get through to them...and they hold the purse-strings. (White female, non-model site community partner)

The move to seat the JDAI coordinator position as a program specialist within the Family Court structure could be interpreted on one hand as institutionalizing the principles of JDAI, or on the other as the taming or dilution of the reform message and mission of JDAI. In some ways, the succeeding waves of support for sustaining reform described above may be evidence that momentum for transformation continues to mount. However, for the fragile work of reform to take a deeper root to the point of changing culture and becoming a regenerative force, the ongoing impact of JDAI principles in Hawai'i has been largely dependent on the strategic action of the coordinator.

Meanwhile, changes to hiring practices and job descriptions, two key shifts in human resource practices at the Santa Cruz model site, have recently begun to be implemented in the Hawai'i case. A new process to integrate community stakeholders into the interview panel for prospective hires in probation was launched in the past year. The youth accountability program, discussed at greater length in the next section, was one example of a systematic investment into alternatives, with its main funding component the creation of two new social worker positions. However, the actual job descriptions followed boilerplate wording as expected for all state agency positions. This failure to reflect the direction of reform in both position responsibilities and hiring protocols was a topic that came up in multiple interviews. One probation officer described his learning experience at the inter-site conference that he attended where the presenter was asked, "What do you do with staff who aren't bought in [to the reform vision]?" He expressed frustration at the gap between the presenter's response that we "get rid of them and hire good people" and the constraints to this kind of decision-making in Hawai'i, contending that system change must include a reform of hiring practices.

People in charge need to be mindful, intentional when it comes to this. For new employees, there's a 6 month "probation period" but nobody gets called in, nobody gets cut and then you end up with a lifer that you can't get rid of. (Asian male, non-model site probation officer)

He expanded on the need for "new blood" in probation, echoing the earlier interviewee who lamented that a "new generation" is needed to realize change. He also emphasized the

importance of promoting a reform mindset at the front-end of the process, based on his experience with colleagues who viewed JDAI and its activities as outside the scope of the role and responsibilities of probation. “To unteach it, you have to do so much more.” He advocated for revising job descriptions to value cultural experience and competence in order to justify recruiting practitioners with experience with youth who are most impacted by the Hawai‘i justice system, particularly from Filipino, Samoan, and Chuukese communities.

I move on to test the final element of the analytical framework on the Hawai‘i case, exploring the potential for JDAI to facilitate collaboration that helps system stakeholders question and rethink flaws in system logics so that practices and policies that serve justice can be reimagined.

#### D. Collaborating to Challenge and Rethink System Logics

In this framework for system change, the element of collaboration *in service to* expanded thinking and questioning plays a vital role in systems transformation. Collaborative and communicative planning theory recognizes that the critical importance of this element lies in its social nature: collaboration requires the humility of acknowledging our own knowledge, influence, and abilities as powerful and needed, yet partial and incomplete. Collaboration – a process of constructing and acting on shared knowledge – strikes me as the only viable pathway to critique and reimagine the logics that shape system policies, practices, culture, expectations, beliefs, and responses.

Drawing from the Accountability Pathway, the mere act of justice system practitioners articulating that they are uncertain of what to do, how to respond, how to help young people who are struggling and hitting obstacles in their transition from childhood to young adulthood represents a hopeful step toward planning for systems change, a crossover from denial to “acknowledgement of reality.” In fact, this acknowledgment can open the door to understanding that problems with the existing justice system are a manifestation of that lack of clarity. Several Hawai‘i stakeholders brought this impasse to light in different ways, demonstrating the success of the JDAI social learning process in shifting the reform focus from changing youth’s behavior to changing the thinking and actions of adults. In the following subsections, I share vignettes that represent significant collective efforts by Hawai‘i JDAI reformers to expand the scope of collective action to impact adult attitudes toward youth, change institutional arrangements, and improve on-going collaboration. I close the section by discussing the obstacles to collective action that I observed.

##### 1. *We Don’t Know What to Do*



The JDAI discursive frame of “my kid” was easily accessible to listeners in Hawai‘i – and by opening a conversation couched within a familiar framework, important questions could be raised to stoke interest in and support for system change. As a broad-based coalition sought to raise awareness in the community about the legislative juvenile justice reform package informed by the Pew Foundation’s research and recommendations that would be enacted as Act 201, the director of OYS crafted an editorial that was published in Honolulu’s main newspaper. He evoked the “my kid” test in his imagery, focusing readers’ attention on flawed decisions and actions made by adults as one source of injustice, rather than fixating on blaming young people for their misbehavior or failures:

Remember, kids don't get to choose their parents...their families...their neighborhoods...their early childhood experiences...the level of nurturing they receive as children. Every decision is made by an adult. ***So their failures are far too often our failures...*** in spite of the odds against them, every one of these young people has the potential to live a healthy and productive life. (Hipp, 2014)

In this text, Hipp cast adults back into the role of care-takers for young people. As administrator of the Hawai‘i Youth Correctional Facility (HYCF), he extended the opportunity for experiential learning and critical inquiry by inviting stakeholders to visit and see for themselves the reality of the young people incarcerated. For many decision-makers who attended the annual high school graduation ceremony at the prison, these invitations brought to light an almost unbearable incongruity. Within the hardware secure, barbed wire enclosed yard, young graduates sang and played the ukulele together on the stage during the celebration. Strutting proudly in bare feet across the grass, decked out in caps and gowns over prison garb to claim their diplomas before an audience of proud supporters and painfully empty chairs alike, their ‘potential to live a healthy and productive life’ was undeniable. A mental health administrator for the State referred to his own experience of re-seeing the youth prison in this way and of the impact of Hipp’s efforts had on his own conceptions of what was possible in justice reform.

His dream to shut down [the youth prison] re-shaped the way I thought. I always thought about *improving* the system, trying to make the facility a better place for kids. He said, ‘Let's just get rid of it.’ That got me thinking, took the wind out of my sails. (Asian male, non-model site partner)

The willingness of an esteemed peer to question the way the present system operated caused a profound cognitive shift in this actor. As his imagination opened to the possibility of a world without prisons, the critique extended organically to his realm of practice. Over the period that I attended meetings as a participant-observer, he grew more vocal in challenging what he perceived as an over-reliance on mental health as a reflexive alternative to juvenile detention and longer-term confinement. His stance was more nuanced than defensive; from within his field of practice he raised the questions of whether mental health was the source of young people's justice system involvement – and whether the planning committee should be considering more of the context that youth were coming from – and returning to, after any intervention from the mental health and justice systems. From the lens of his role as a mental health practitioner, he was attuned to the dynamics that as youth were released or diverted from detention and incarceration, there was a growing uptick shift in the number of young people that judges were ordering to enter intensive residential mental health treatment.

We can lock kids up in a number of ways. Treatment is a "friendlier" option, but it still has a lot of the problems that incarceration comes with...Often the reason we're sending these kids [away] is that they'll be captive clients. The facilities aren't hardware secured, but they have nowhere to run. (Asian male, non-model site partner)

Due to the limited resources for mental health treatment in Hawai'i, many young people who are court-ordered to residential programs are compelled to enroll in programs in the Continental US, exacerbating the alienation from their families and communities. Ostensibly sending kids to treatment "for their own good," the roots of this justification reach back to the same paternalistic logic of control that shapes prevailing justice system thought and practice. This system actor also began to play a greater role in initiating collective inquiry in reform-related meetings, questioning the expectation that mental health treatment could adequately address the stresses that families bore from other systemic injustices, such as generational cycles of poverty and trauma.

This administrator further reflected on how the collaborative table of the JDAI Steering Committee provided a space and time to allow issues and questions to "pop up" and to "keep this conversation alive." He saw the circle of relationships within the committee as a safe space to keep engaging and challenging a pervasive reliance on surveillance and control. He shared his growing belief that judges were making these decisions from the position of "we don't know what to do," rather than "this is what we want."

Acknowledging that “we don’t know what to do” can be read as a signpost of liminality. Through the JDAI social learning process, bumpy and uneven as the experience may have been for individual learners, a collective reimagining was dawning – but in this liminal space on the threshold between the known and the unknown, the outlines and images of what would take the place of the old paradigm were still impossible to make out clearly. In this zone of uncertainty, “this is what we want” was a proposition which remained hazy and unformed. I go on to lay out some illustrations of what collaboration in Hawai‘i has yielded, in terms of rethinking “what we want.” I want to clarify that in cases where intensive mental health services are needed, these other collaborative responses are not necessarily the right answer for a young person. I frame the following as possible responses for cases where intensive mental health programs are not the right fit, but mental health resources are available and utilized to fill the void when “we don’t know what [else] to do.”

First, I provide some context for collaborative developments in the Hawai‘i site that have been touted as JDAI innovations. Offering the flipside of the Santa Cruz model site critique for over-reach of the justice system through the institutional adoption of roles and responsibilities among juvenile justice system actors for new partnerships, these periphery site collaborations illuminate another facet of unintended injustice. Rather than the state sharing the responsibilities for the creation of alternate pathways to justice system involvement or supporting the capacity-building needs for the community-based partners to fulfill the responsibilities on their own, the burden of these collaborations tended to rest squarely on the community-based organizations. The burdens I refer to include responsibility for securing and sustaining funding, as well as the critical capacity to coordinate action, agreements, and ongoing communications at the interface between the system and the grassroots. Meanwhile, all too often the following refrain sounded from every county, every island:

We had a grant that helped us bring community-based mentors in to work with the kids, but funding ended...there’s only a patchwork of funding for programs. So many of the nonprofits are in survival mode while these mentors could be helping to meet the needs that we see. (Asian male, non-model site partner)

As these kinds of collaborations are reimagined as the preferred responses to young people whose behavior has been labeled “delinquent,” there is a need to push the collective rethinking and reimagining further. Genuine collaboration requires the radical reimagining of equitable distribution of available resources. Rather than seating the funding under the justice system or expecting community partners to come up with funding on their own,

conversations about the role of different agencies should be pursued to identify who might best convene the collaboration and coordinate the efforts. In the three examples that follow, the first two illustrate the shortcomings when the need for meaningful state support and coordination goes unaddressed and the final example sheds some light on an effort to build institutional capacity for equitable juvenile justice partnerships with community-based organizations. The theme of “turning up the volume” on alternative logics for youth justice crops up again here, related to the decision-making for participation in JDAI learning retreats and trainings, funding for JDAI-related travel and Alternatives to Detention, and who is chosen to represent site-based innovations for Hawai‘i in the peer-to-peer learning network.

## *2. What We Want: POI Project*

The first example, the Maui County Positive Outreach Intervention (POI) Project has been widely touted as a successful collaboration for diverting youth from court and eventually moving upstream to divert youth from arrest. The partnership evolved between the police department and an ‘āina-based organization that hosts community service opportunities to restore sites of cultural significance in ‘Iao Valley. The requirements include the youth participating in four Saturday service days in the Valley; parents or guardians are encouraged to attend and community-based mentors and police officers serve alongside the families in order to build relationships of trust and support. Formal funding for the project covers overtime pay for the police officers involved but the state budget does not include support for the grassroots host organization. A member of the police department, rather than a mentor from the nonprofit organization, represented Hawai‘i at the 2014 JDAI national conference to showcase the project as an example of innovative collaboration between law enforcement and community partners in detention reform.

In the understanding of the JDAI Nation, this collaboration is one manifestation of “what we want.” Although a formal evaluation has not been published, both the police department and prosecutor’s office have testified of the program’s significant positive impact for youth participants. On the national stage, the program is represented as highly valued by Hawai‘i as a promising place-based, culturally-grounded intervention where youth find meaningful relationships with caring adults and the land that cares for them in reciprocity. The national learning network could be enriched by hearing from community partners their insights on the effectiveness of this approach to justice with local youth – and their reflections on the collaborative process between the state and grassroots organizations. The tension between the lip service to the elements that make this intervention effective and the corresponding

silence on the wicked problem of building and sustaining support for these same elements is deep and wide and unacknowledged.

### *3. What We Want: Papa Ho'ike Kuleana Youth Accountability Program*

This second example of “what we want” highlights the establishment of the Papa Ho'ike Kuleana (PHK) Youth Accountability Program. The inspiration for the program came from an Alternative to Detention observed by a visiting delegation on a learning retreat to the Multnomah County model site in Oregon, in the early days of Hawai'i's JDAI participation. One of the agency heads who served a few years on the JDAI Steering Committee and advocated persistently for reforms retired with a parting gift to the system change efforts. She earmarked resources for the Youth Accountability program and the Hawai'i JDAI coordinator was given the responsibility of implementation, including the recruitment and hiring of a specialized team. In addition to improving young people's access to meaningful experiences that allowed them to earn wages toward restitution payments and hours for community service requirements, she envisioned developing the new Accountability Program to help address the gaps between the “grassroots guys” and the formal system.

The Hawai'i coordinator populated her team with probation officers whose desire for an innovative approach to their work had been “activated” through their experience on JDAI learning retreats. As former probation insiders, their two-pronged approach to institutionalizing this new program focused on cultivating positive partnerships with the community-based programs and catering to the probation department to “make it easy” for probation officers to utilize this new pathway for young people on their caseloads. The down-side to this strategy is that the Accountability Program has been siloed as special and different from probation, rather than being integrated as a broader shift within probation culture and practice. In the longer view, the success of the program in bringing about system change will be tested by the extent to which it impacts the ethic of the juvenile probation division.

Although securing funding for the community-based partners who mentor youth and serve as hosts for their community service and restitution work would be ideal, in the immediate term, the building of relationships between probation and community partners is a substantive endeavor. The development of a more authentic collaboration between the state and the grassroots offers an opportunity to explore different kinds of logics and evaluation measures in recognition of the holistic ways that youth grow and heal when they spend in active relationship with 'āina. While program funding has not been institutionalized for community partners, this collaboration can be cited when the organizations approach

fundings, advancing into broader circulation the question of what genuine justice looks like. The promise of another gain comes from the types of intragovernmental partnerships that the Accountability Program is forging, such as a partnership between the Family Court within the State Judiciary and the State Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) volunteer program to restore conservation land. This institutional bridge built between two state agencies can introduce and reinforce the inter-related values of aloha 'āina and positive youth development as meaningful practices for youth involved in the justice system, modeling relationships of reciprocity between kanaka and 'āina (humans and land/sea) as well as youth and adults working together.

#### *4. What We Want: Wahi Kana'aho Cultural Learning and Healing Center*

In the final example, the Wahi Kana'aho Cultural Learning and Healing Center<sup>20</sup> was recognized for its focus on teaching young people indigenous cultural practices of self-reflection, healing and forgiveness in their family relationships. The program director was a grassroots champion for juvenile justice reform whose involvement with the Hawai'i Juvenile Justice State Advisory Council pre-dated Hawai'i's entry into JDAI. The power of the program's place-based cultural values helped to construct a compelling case for embedding it as a key component in a process designed to reduce racial and ethnic disparities among Native Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders in Honolulu County by diverting arrested youth to community-based and family-centered supports and services. However, the contracting process and cost reimbursement structure of the funding from local government agencies required the Wahi Kana'aho to operate under circumstances of tremendous financial uncertainty and stress.

The program's capacity to impart unique and valuable culture-based experiences and knowledge to youth was unparalleled; youth and families offered testimony to its transformative impacts. The program became a popular referral among justice system practitioners who were working with youth facing seemingly intractable family conflict. Unfortunately, the State lacked the fundamental capacities needed to work with a nontraditional grassroots organization. The community-based partner was forced to bear the sizable risk of the contract agreements and to be assigned blame for many of the consequences of an unwise fiscal arrangement. For example, the state-administered reimbursement process suffered delays of several months (not an uncommon occurrence) and the small organization lacked sufficient funding to cover staff payroll and program

---

<sup>20</sup> In 2017, I joined the board of directors of the nonprofit organization that operates the Wahi Kana'aho.

operations during the backlog. Midway through this contract, the director of the Wahi Kana'aho was invited to present on the program's philosophy and culturally-informed approach at the 2015 JDAI inter-site conference. While the national workshop audience responded enthusiastically to the presentation about equipping youth as healers in their family relationships, a critical learning opportunity for other local juvenile justice systems about challenges to effective and equitable collaboration with community-based partners continued to be treated as invisible and unspeakable.

In the perspective of the JDAI Nation, this type of collaboration is another clear manifestation of "what we want." However, for the past few years, the program has remained unfunded, even as a formal evaluation utilizing an indigenous framework was developed and as a waiting list of interested youth and families continued to grow. Again, it was represented on the national stage as highly valued by Hawai'i as a program that embodies a developmental approach to youth justice. The message was a profound flipping of the existing justice system logics, where youth "learn to become healers" and tap into their cultural and spiritual sources to care for themselves, their families, and their communities including the land and sea that sustain life. The missed opportunity for meaningful social learning lies in the discrepancy between the recognition lauded on this program for its work with youth and the lack of investment that has resulted in the discontinuation of the program services.

#### *5. Acknowledging Reality: Seeking Capacity for Innovation and Collaboration*

In interviews and my observation from different reform projects related to JDAI in Hawai'i, from actors within the formal system there was a large gap between the concrete "knowing" that they experienced in their everyday practice and the vast "unknown" that system change represented. This gap was first manifested in the expressed desire for detailed guidelines with step-by-step instructions to reform. Requests for "sample language" were often invoked, even for tasks that appeared simple and straightforward, such as communication with potential collaborators. While JDAI hosted a wealth of practice guides online that offered cookie cutter language and checklists for system actors to initiate collaboration, then the manifestation of the gap shifted to rest between the available information and a warm body who was institutionally accountable to facilitate the work.

While momentum for collaboration mounted under the JDAI reform vision in Hawai'i, the prospect tended to be met with anxiety from certain actors, understandable given the dearth of role models embodying what collaboration could look like in their institutional setting. For those with exposure to the model site, the possibility existed in a parallel

universe and had become imaginable, if only in remote and fleeting ways. But with only a tenuous connection to that experience and very little of the leadership development curriculum and supportive coaching that model site practitioners may have access to, the breach between imagination and reality often caused these learners to falter. Where model sites enjoy the influx of resources, training, and peer learning opportunities afforded to their central position in the JDAI network, periphery sites like Hawai'i eke out an uncertain pathway to collaboration when and if an individual change agent possesses the skills or harnesses the connections to enhance his or her site's capacity to mobilize with other partners. The process is neither automatic nor systematic. In centering collaboration as one of JDAI's eight core strategies, AECF could take a few steps further down its own Accountability Pathway to acknowledge reality and commit more realistic TA resources toward building this capacity in non-model sites.

Given these gaps related to collaboration, some forward-thinking system practitioners in Hawai'i recommended bringing national JDAI trainers to facilitate training among collaborative partners at home, rather than sending a select set of delegates to conferences and model sites. For those who had awakened to new possibilities and unleashed their imaginations through their learning retreat experiences, they felt a deep value for exposing more practitioners and partners to the JDAI vision firsthand. The obstacles erected by the sheer distance – both geographic and philosophical – of Hawai'i as a periphery site from the 'center' of the initiative's social learning process figured into their search for better ways of catching fire for collaboration and finding fuel to sustain it. Comparing the cost of sending a Hawai'i team of eight to ten people to a JDAI inter-site conference, an emerging leader advocated reallocating the resources to a series of training seminars, offering them in each county or via a larger gathering on O'ahu:

That's a more valuable investment in the day-to-day people: POs, the other supervisors, our community partners that we need to educate. We need to impress upon these folks what JDAI is, the whole background...without making that connection for people, it's an uphill trudge. To continue that message is vital for us to really roll out a community-wide change. [Probation] can change but if we're not getting everyone else on board, it ain't going to happen. (Asian male, non-model site probation officer)

A desire to see JDAI concepts spread and reinforced beyond probation and embedded in the cognition and practice of actors in law enforcement, child welfare, mental health, community-based organizations and schools was voiced across interviews and in various



planning committees. While the value for bringing people together to talk and develop a shared language and vision seemed like commonsense at face value, the question of the capacity and commitment of agencies required to support effective collaboration was ignored. The unspoken assumption seemed to be that facilitation and coordination of conversations and problem-solving would take place organically.

One practitioner, intensely pragmatic and detail-oriented, departed from this convention when speaking about collaboration. His comments reflect an overall sense from many of the interviews, where collaboration seems to be treated simultaneously without curiosity and as a black box. After an in-depth discussion of the improvements to Family Court data systems, describing granular elements of his personal practice of leadership development among the POs he supervised, and sharing painstaking details for infusing JDAI principles into the professional development curriculum, this leader addressed collaboration in an off-hand way: "We should just get together with partnering agencies and community partners [and explain]: Here's what we're doing. Are there any issues, any problems? Can we help? Can you guys help?"

For several collaborative efforts launched as outgrowths of JDAI, the roles and responsibilities for facilitation and coordination reflected this undefined and hazy view of collaboration. As a result, the interagency communications and the interface between community partners and agencies were inconsistent at best, and at worst, punctuated with tension and passive aggressive blame. In the various meetings that I observed, questions of "What is the purpose of this collaboration?" or "What is the ask [of my agency or my organization]?" dominated the discussion over the course of months, without clear resolution. While JDAI language provided overarching direction, like reducing reliance on secure detention and utilizing the least restrictive alternatives for young people involved in the justice system, the work of carving out actionable objectives for the committee members to tackle did not magically materialize.

Behind the scenes, the "Wait and Hope" square of the Accountability Pathway was densely populated with institutional actors who had been volunteered by their agencies to fulfill the nebulous task of helping to lead the collaborations. A wishful "community members should lead this" sentiment was expressed now and again, whilst community members who stepped into leadership articulated frustration at agency doors being slammed in their faces because their authority to lead collaborative work was not recognized or understood. During meetings, community partners provided honest feedback and articulated their expectations that financial resources should come from within the state agencies that make up the formal

juvenile justice system, to identify and assign an agency staff member or contract a community consultant to “move this from talk to action.” Seasoned community partners were blunt in their remarks as one committee seemed to be grinding its gears under uncertain agency leadership: “If this group is just meeting to talk, it’s going to lose momentum and members.” The committee has not met regularly since that conversation that occurred over a year ago.

In a non-model site, when collaborative efforts hit turbulence, the external impetus of a model site’s reputation is not there to sustain or redouble the system’s ownership. On the periphery, there is no pressure from the larger JDAI network to pull collaborative projects under the oversight of one lead agency, such as the Santa Cruz County probation-driven model of collaboration as characterized in Chapter 4. The stakes for collaboration are likely lower; the justice system’s skin in the game may be negligible. If JDAI reforms are leveraged strategically, outside funders may be involved and expectations or requirements for collaboration may be linked to support from those entities. Based on my participant observations of the Hawai’i case, some conditions emerge for building the long-term capacity for collaboration to sustain ongoing system change and the development of a regenerative learning system. One condition would be an intentional campaign to build capacity for collaboration, including an introduction covering basic principles of collaboration (e.g., walking in another’s shoes or understanding the interests of others, accountability, collective impact, and the value of a lead or coordinating agency). Another under-appreciated condition would be the security of funding to support collaboration and specifically, to support the participation of unfunded or under-funded community-based partners whose participation and services are key to the success of the collaborative efforts.

### III. Sustaining Change at the Periphery: Not by Accident

To conclude this chapter, I want to briefly acknowledge that the successful reforms associated with JDAI in the Hawai’i case are many and varied. Changes in policy and practice have resulted in direct gains for individual young people, such as a drastic decrease in the number of commitments to both the state juvenile detention facility and the youth correctional facility and the implementation of a standardized risk assessment instrument to guide case planning for adjudicated youth. Reforms have also brought about systemic improvements, e.g., shaping greater attention and commitment to improving juvenile justice system data collection and utilization, and the creation of a robust calendar of mandatory professional development training for probation officers across the state to reinforce core JDAI concepts.

In this chapter, I took the model site-based framework for JDAI system change that was developed from the Santa Cruz County case and applied it to the Hawai'i case as a non-model site situated at the periphery of the national reform initiative. "Trying on" the framework in Hawai'i illuminated some prospects and limitations of this approach for non-model sites. A central insight was that AECF leadership and the formal structure of the initiative's social learning process provides an initial spark for JDAI reforms to "catch fire" and some modest stoking of the fire along the way with technical assistance and learning retreat opportunities, but the non-model site must assemble a complex combination of agents and strategies to continue to feed the fire and perpetuate system change at the periphery of the initiative. Entrepreneurial change agents became the fire-tenders in the Hawai'i case. In ALN jargon, these actors operated from an understanding of "self as an agent of change" and led from the position that they occupied in the system, leading from "the middle" by coaching formal institutional leaders behind the scenes to groom leadership for reform at "the top." The improvisational change agents in Hawai'i deployed various strategies to promote, protect, and monitor changes in practice and policy. Cognitive and philosophical change often lagged in other key institutional actors until the data demonstrating success was collected, analyzed, and disseminated so that it became digested and accepted as common knowledge. The self-appointed leadership team of reform advocates reached within the local community and reached out to the national philanthropic community to increase awareness of Hawai'i's JDAI reform efforts and in turn, the resources to support system change. By definition, a non-model site does not enjoy all of the additional resources that a model site receives from the initiative's funders. Borrowing the words of activists in another struggle for the future of Hawai'i, any evidence of transformation in this case is decidedly "not by accident." The small and large changes that have been realized thus far should be recognized and celebrated as the fruit of hard-fought and intentional battles by change agents invested in the realization of a greater justice for youth in these islands.

In Chapter 7, I will integrate the insights from JDAI's approach to system change gleaned from the two case studies. In closing, I make recommendations for developing regenerative learning systems capable of transforming injustices embedded in juvenile justice policy, practice, and discourse.

## Chapter 7: Beyond Reform to System Transformation

Out of tremendous respect for the significant reforms to the juvenile justice system that have been influenced by this initiative over the past generation, in this final chapter I present a constructive critique of JDAI's planning process for reforming juvenile justice. In the spirit of action research, I align myself as a critical partner in the efforts of the JDAI movement and frame the conclusions of my study as recommendations aimed to further unleash the transformative potential of the initiative's model-site based approach to system change.

I discuss specific opportunities for improving the translation and adaptation of tactics to enhance both model and non-model sites' development as learning systems engaged in continual transformation. I also suggest changes ranging from the composition of trainers and participants in the planning process to restructuring institutional arrangements to advance power-sharing such as authority for decision-making and resource allocation. I posit that the limitations to system change in this case study strongly suggest that changes of this nature must accompany cognitive and behavioral change to effect actual system change. My recommendations are informed by the meta case study of JDAI as a national initiative, the two local site case studies, and relevant contributions from theories of collaborative and transformative planning.

Returning to the intention that I set in the opening chapter, in the conclusions I keep in mind two distinct yet connected goals for system change: (a) to propel third order change or paradigm shift in the youth justice system to address the injustices that current system logics perpetuate; and (b) to sustain the development of local justice systems as regenerative learning systems that are dedicated to continual self-critique and transformation. I contend that the success of the first goal is wholly dependent on the strength of the process and the resources dedicated to realizing the second goal, therefore I have organized my recommendations toward building capacity for critical learning and action in local systems.

As a brief review of the inductive-deductive process that I used to analyze the case studies: Over the course of my research, I constructed a framework for system change by comparing and combining the *stated* JDAI theory of change with my observations of the *implemented* JDAI theory of change in the Santa Cruz County model site. I applied the framework to assess its usefulness in explaining how system change was facilitated in the context of Hawai'i as a non-model site participating in the JDAI reform process. As

expected, the gaps between the framework and the non-model site process of change brought to light salient factors that were not reflected in the combined theories of change. The application of the framework provided new insights on how social learning processes utilizing a model site-based approach can be refined to deepen and expand changes in thinking and behavior that support paradigm shift and enhance the ability of periphery sites to develop as learning systems engaged in continual transformation.

I organize this chapter around the major insights that emerged from the case studies to inform my final recommendations. These insights deal with the limitations and opportunities to pursue paradigm shift and develop regenerative learning systems via the JDAI social learning process for system change. I provide a brief description of each below.

*Center critical inquiry in the JDAI social learning process:* Redesigning the social learning process to take an explicitly critical and emancipatory approach can strengthen the bridge between JDAI reforms and justice system transformation. After reaching the 25-year milestone of reforms, JDAI has renewed its focus on system change that addresses racial and ethnic disparities for youth in the juvenile justice system. Progress toward racial and ethnic equity has been impeded by the failure to adequately acknowledge and question system assumptions and contradictions that perpetuate injustice, even while JDAI sites have planned for and implemented reforms in record numbers. In a positive sense, ample prospects exist in JDAI's social learning approach to help planning participants identify, question, and address sources of continued injustice for youth, particularly Black, Indigenous, and Latinx youth.

*Restructure social learning to support collaborative inquiry and the implementation of alternative logics:* I propose changes to the JDAI approach that bring together the limitations and opportunities manifested in the case studies of the model and non-model sites. Model site visits offer an unparalleled learning environment for transformational learning, but under the cognitive constraints of the "model status" there is much untapped potential to support paradigm shift. The megaphone of the model site can turn the volume up the experience and logics of justice introduced by youth, families, community partners and cultural practitioners. A facilitated shift in the focus of JDAI social learning can move participating sites from second order change as exemplified in technical fixes such as risk assessment instruments to third order change that restructures local justice systems to support the restoration of relationships in families, communities, and societies. Youth, families, and

community partners can move from “being heard” to setting the agenda for system change through the shift in authority that JDAI learning retreats confer. Similarly, the model sites can also serve as platforms for magnifying the unique insights and stories of non-model sites advancing system change according to different logics that are often unheard and under-appreciated. For peripheral sites, national recognition and acclaim in the JDAI learning network can create opportunities to secure political and administrative support to continue, evaluate, and expand effective interventions at the local level.

I thread these insights throughout my conclusions on JDAI’s potential for planning-as-social-learning for system change. I order the discussion in this way: In Part I, I address the limitations to questioning system logics that has hindered progress in the current JDAI process. This in turn leads to my discussion in Part II about limitations of the model site-based approach to enact deeper innovation and sets the stage for my recommendations for changes to the design and resources invested in social learning at two levels. Changes at the local site level can amplify youth, family and community voice and authority in the planning process. Parallel changes at the level of the national initiative can elevate and sustain changes of practice guided by alternative logics that non-model sites have planned and implemented. Finally, in Part IV, I broaden the scope of my conclusions to consider the implications of these findings for other planning processes aimed at transforming public systems and institutions. I discuss the social, political, and economic commitments that a transformative approach to system change would require. I underscore the need for planners to focus on the kind of collaborative arrangements, including legal and financial policies and practices, required to collectively re-evaluate and respond to flaws in existing system logics. In closing, I argue that the capacity for radical collaboration is needed to develop regenerative learning systems capable of supporting paradigm shift, implementing alternative logics, and engaging in continual inquiry and transformation.

#### I. Centering Critical Inquiry: Sowing seeds for regenerative learning systems

JDAI’s ambitious goal of racial and ethnic equity has proven elusive; a seminal publication celebrating the past quarter century of reforms discloses that “despite sites’ best efforts, racial and ethnic disparities have persisted or worsened overall” (AECF, 2017a, p. 1). JDAI’s claims to successful system transformation are marred by this most substantial critique, one raised by outside observers and from within the initiative’s leadership alike. Decades of evidence reflect that JDAI reforms have largely been effective in “shrinking the net” for White youth, reducing their contact with and exposure to the justice system, while the

inequities faced by Black, Indigenous, and Latinx youth in the system have continued or deepened. The durability of disparities begs the question:

*When the trajectory of reform delivers significant benefits to White youth, yet fails to improve the systemic treatment of Black, Indigenous, and Latinx youth, can the intervention be endorsed as true system change?*

Fortunately, far from shrinking from the seeming intractability of the problem, this failure to impact racial and ethnic disparities is being framed from within the JDAI nation as a wake-up call and motivating force for system transformation. Issued from the heart of the initiative, sitting JDAI Director Balis made this proclamation last year: “Moving forward, JDAI will explore root causes — not just the numbers, but the reasons behind them – to address racial and ethnic inequities across the juvenile justice system” (AECF, 2017c). In so doing, JDAI signals a turn toward transformative practice with a deeper “critique of existing unequal relations and distributions of power, opportunity, and resources” (Sandercock, 1997, p. 97). While a single reform initiative cannot be expected to overcome the structural racism embedded in public systems across the American landscape, I return to the unapologetic longing voiced by its founder to see JDAI contribute to “the much-needed effort to reconcile our nation’s long-stated commitment to freedom and liberty with our tragic history of racial injustice and oppression” (Lubow, quoted by Gately, 2014).

Crucially, the “tragic history” and indeed, the ongoing tragedy of racial and ethnic injustice in the U.S. represent a contested reality. Even as increasingly tribal and nativist national politics marked by explicit xenophobia and race-baiting has re-emerged in recent years, the discursive framing of an egalitarian, post-race American society has been as resilient as the racial and ethnic disparities that undermine that argument. Unexamined and ubiquitous, cognitive frames and scripts play a vital role in upholding the rationales for institutional rules and arrangements, constantly reinforcing dominant social norms and expectations. Fluency in these cognitive scripts allows institutional actors to understand and enact existing policies and practices without reflexivity, while also rendering all alternative scripts or other attempts at re-framing illegible and incomprehensible.

Efforts to change American social institutions such as the juvenile justice system are compelled to disrupt the cognitive scripts that frame the U.S. as a colorblind meritocracy that permeate the whole of our education, justice, health, housing, transportation, and land use systems. I argue that in this moment, the sociopolitical upheaval in the U.S. and the trajectory of JDAI’s work have converged to create an inflection point where the initiative leadership and its diffused reform advocates can take greater risks and act more boldly.

When credible and skillful institutional entrepreneurs coherently link alternative cognitive scripts to already accepted symbols and meanings, the boundaries of existing discursive frames can be expanded; and under conditions of great trust, system actors can begin to call into question some of the assumptions of the original frames (DiMaggio, 1988; Douglas, 1986; Sewell, 1992). The established reputation of JDAI and its track record of trust building with planning participants gives it the latitude to stake out a more explicitly critical orientation to its social learning process, using popular education approaches to examine the social and historical context that the justice system operates within, to develop capacity at an individual and collective level “to understand your reality and to be able to change it” (Arguelles, quoted by Wu, 2007, p. 50). This reflexive approach can facilitate the “linking of agency and structure within a political and economic framework” (Bush, 2004, p. 7), making sense of why deeper system change has been stymied by ideological limits on the scope of the JDAI process up until this point.

In the following sections, I outline recommendations for JDAI to sharpen its broad-based social learning process, to pursue goals beyond cultivating buy-in for juvenile justice reform among practitioners within the system. Exploring root causes that perpetuate disparities in the justice system requires raising critical consciousness, the perception of contradictions in the social, political, and economic realities that exist all around us (Freire, 1972). I provide examples of how JDAI has already been active in facilitating critical inquiry among a select set of reform advocates. Building from this base of practice, I will advocate for and describe in later sections a restructured social learning design that engages a broader set of participants to build capacity for ongoing system transformation.

#### A. Limitation: Whose values, whose system?

As designed, the JDAI social learning process has kept the reform initiative legible to visiting learners and planning participants and has found success in extending familiar frames and cognitive scripts a step further to accommodate novel ideas and practices. Great care has been taken during JDAI learning retreats to frame changes of practice at the model sites as innovative, yet commonsense. The reference points of “commonsense” and “care for kids” serve as an effective entry point to new frames; in turn these frames begin to operate as guiding metaphors to justify the accompanying changes of policy, procedure, and practice as fitting under the AECF umbrella of “child well-being.” The technocratic-yet-inspiring model site visits and inter-site conference presentations shape attention to significant shifts toward new tools, instruments, policies and practices, but stay on script with some deeply embedded system assumptions by returning to and repeating important cognitive hooks.



These discursive and symbolic hooks are peppered throughout the JDAI cognitive scheme, reaffirming the bond between justice system practitioners' values and the JDAI reform vision. In the form of words or familiar institutional figures: judges, police officers, probation chiefs, these hooks function as subtle boomerangs to pull attention back from skirting too close to the anxious and dangerous edge of innovation, returning participants to the relief of a focus on physical and institutional safety. While these familiar figures might describe unfamiliar innovations that puncture listeners' expectations of what can be done within the institutions that they inhabit, the subtle refrains of the cognitive script reassure listeners that reforms are built on a bedrock of conventional justice system logic, the justice system's *raison d'être*: public safety and accountability, bringing under control whatever behaviors or whoever persons are defined as dangerous, deviant, or socially unacceptable. Always in the background, unruffled by the changes of practice presented, is the assurance that the system is staying its course: the construction of law-abiding citizens from among the ranks of juvenile delinquents.

As implemented, the JDAI social learning process has opened the door for justice system practitioners to conceive of a more dynamic role for themselves within the institutions that they inhabit. In the spirit of challenging and rethinking logics, many actors interviewed indicated that through JDAI, they have developed agency to first question the beliefs and thinking that justify their everyday practices, and in response to these questions, to consider and make changes to their actions. While this process has proved effective in improving outcomes for White children, I argue that the extent of JDAI's efforts to remain legible and not "rock the cognitive boat" for system actors has at the same time thwarted the initiative's ability to challenge some deeply rooted system logics that uphold inequitable views and treatment of Black, Indigenous, and Latinx youth. As a result, belief systems and institutional arrangements that are antithetical to system change are left unchallenged, even as successful second-order reforms are implemented. I discuss several system logics that have been allowed to remain invisible and unchallenged so far in the JDAI process, beginning with a vignette from an interview where the philosophical inconsistencies in juvenile justice were acknowledged and then set aside, without any attempt to problematize the impact of these tensions on policies and practices, or the barriers that they create to cognitive and systemic change.

If we really took it at a deep level, how can you take someone's liberty away without creating firewalls between human beings? This system creates both figurative walls *and* literal brick and mortar separating people. Viewing kids as "You're the problem" allows us to create a projection away from our own

role and our own part in this system. In work like JDAI, we start to question and be critical of that. (White male, model site probation leader)

Leaning back in his chair, an actor widely regarded as an architect of reform at the Santa Cruz model site considered the extent to which JDAI prompts system actors to question the institutional logic of the juvenile justice system. His comments reflected the cognitive shift that JDAI aims for: moving focus away from the behavior of young people to examine the assumptions and motivations underlying decisions made by adults about youth in the system. He immediately went on to reframe the role of youth in terms of their need for space to do the work of learning and implied that the role of adults should be to focus on supporting child development, rather than on preventing or punishing risky behavior: “We’re afraid of what kids will do. [But] isn’t that adolescents’ job – to experiment, to try stuff out?” His appeal to commonsense hearkens back to the “my kid” test that encourages justice system practitioners like probation officers and judges to ask themselves if their decisions are aligned with a nurturing, parental view of the child that they are working with. The logics of this relational framing should lead to a dramatically different delivery of justice policies and practices, signified by language that emphasizes care and aspiration, and a desire to see the child develop their own sense of accountability to the larger community and society.

However, in the next breath, this reform advocate also pulled the juvenile justice system within this framework of nurture, without acknowledging the contradiction between the alienating system that creates walls between people that he described earlier and the system that he put forth here as faithfully reflecting communal values. He continued:

JDAI reminded people what their values were – and that these were the juvenile system’s values. JDAI reminded us of the stated goals of our system.

I argue that this statement is critical to understanding the limits to the JDAI social learning process, not only for one local site, but structurally for the initiative as a whole. Framing the JDAI social learning process as reforming the juvenile justice system by returning to its founding values and goals holds a faint echo of “Making America Great Again.” Invoking the system values as “our” values reveals an aching tone deafness in JDAI’s goals of reforming systemic injustice. On the surface, no incongruity may be apparent. Informed by adolescent brain development research and a progressive political sensibility that co-exists comfortably with a certain degree of law-and-order rhetoric, the familiar tone of this cognitive script can have a lulling effect on the justice system practitioners – and even the community partners – participating in a JDAI learning retreat. But it is in this very acceptance of the neutrality

and inherent goodness of the juvenile justice system that the problem lies – and AECF’s endorsement of this message continues to lend it currency. The reluctance to speak truth to familiar yet flawed myths about the system is at the heart of how *Black Lives Matter* have become rallying cries within JDAI, while reform advocates continue to puzzle over the stubbornness of disparities in detention and every other decision point in the juvenile justice system where Black and Indigenous youth tend to fare worse than similarly situated White youth. The locus of power and identity in JDAI, the authority for system change, still squarely lies with those for whom the system was designed to benefit.

Even a brief review of U.S. juvenile justice history brims with images and assumptions that seamlessly align with system logics and power relations that continue to guide current practice and thinking. The first U.S. juvenile institution, euphemistically named the New York House of Refuge opened in 1825, pre-emptively holding young people against their will as a humane policy response to social “offenses” such as being perceived as visibly poor or being deemed morally inferior (Bell & Mariscal, 2011; Frey, 1981; Stansell, 1982). The legal doctrine of *parens patriae*<sup>21</sup> came to justify state intervention in the guardianship of children, supporting early American policies and practices that widened the net beyond literal orphans, exponentially expanding family dispossession. The historic “child saving movement” was launched in the 1880s by White Protestant reformers who made a practice of orphaning children whose parents were determined to be “poor, not providing good breeding, neglecting their formal education, not teaching a trade, or were idle, dissolute, unchristian or incapable” (Rendelman, 1979, p. 63).

What McCarthy, Schiraldi, and Shark (2016) have called the “struggle between the humanistic and punitive instincts of the juvenile justice system...woven into its very creation” (p. 2) is evident in the words of a judge presiding over the first U.S. juvenile court, created in Cook County, Illinois at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

The child who must be brought into court should...be made to know that he is face to face with the power of the state, but he should at the same time, and more emphatically, be made to feel that he is the object of its care and solicitude...The judge on a bench, looking down upon the boy standing at the bar, can never evoke a proper sympathetic spirit. Seated at a desk, with the child at his side, where he can on occasion put his arm around his shoulder

---

<sup>21</sup> The expansion of state power into the structures and arrangements of families drew its justification from British doctrine of *parens patriae* that recognized the power of the King as the “parent of the country.”

and draw the lad to him, the judge, while losing none of his judicial dignity, will gain immensely in the effectiveness of his work.” (Mack, 1909, p. 120)

The contradictory impulse of the justice system described by the judge is palpable. Preoccupied with the preservation of its intimidating authority while drawing a child into its stiff embrace, the awkwardness would be laughable, if it were not such a profoundly devastating reflection of the state’s view of the child as a literal object, child as the *other*. For anyone in their right mind, the identification of *self* as an object of the state’s “care and solicitude” is a terrifying prospect.

This is the fundamental condescension embedded in the “my kid” test that is rarely acknowledged; the only way that an institutional actor can view being a ward of the state as a positive intervention is through the lens of young people as *delinquent* and/or coming from families that are seen as *dysfunctional*, lenses and labels that create cognitive and emotional distance to “reinforce and reproduce positions of domination and subordination” (Fine, 1994). In spite of cognitive and behavioral changes that JDAI has wrought in justice system practitioners, the process of labeling young people as *other* to justify control over them continues – and for youth of color, system logics and cognitive scripts render them as *hyper other* and legitimize control over them through whatever means necessary.

The project of controlling young people through institutionalization and assimilation was attenuated to the construct of race. In a narrative familiar to planning historians, in rapidly industrializing cities, the city quarters where immigrants and other poor migrants from the countryside resided came to be “associated, in the minds of middle-class observers and reformers with dirt, disease, overcrowding, ignorance, immorality, and vice” (Sturino, 1990, p. 126-127). Immigrant children of European descent were the initial target of benevolent institutionalization, eventually expanding the definition of White to include Irish and Italian (Rendelman 1979; Sturino 1990). Black, indigenous, Latinx and Asian children were excluded until segregated quarters were made available for “colored children” such as the Negro Juvenile Reformatory in Mississippi, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania and the Chung Mei Home for Chinese Boys in California (Bell, 2015; Chan et al., 2007; Lee, 1952; Tong, 1974). On the heels of the missionary movement, a parallel process took place in Hawai’i in the 1800s, racializing and rendering kanaka maoli and their cultural practices and lifestyles as primitive, defiant, and in need of moral uplift (Merry, 2002; Rohrer, 2010, 2016). In an ironic reversal to the Continental project of assimilation via institutionalization which was primarily aimed at destitute children of color, in the islands, the earliest targets of the “civilizing” institution of the missionary school system

were the offspring of the Hawaiian monarchy (Keahiolalo-Karasuda, 2010; Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, 2013).

By grounding social learning in historical analysis of U.S. institutions, participants planning for system change can take into account the cascading effects of our “tragic history,” such as the cognitive coherence between the project of erasing ethnic and cultural identities and epistemologies implemented in the early days of the justice system and “the construction of race in America today [that] allows whiteness to remain a dominant background norm, associated with positive qualities, for white people” (Mahoney, 1995, p. 1661). In this discussion, I utilize Lorde’s (1984) critique of whiteness as a “mythical norm” which assigns race exclusively to non-whites and Bush’s (2004) definition of whiteness as “a means to critique systemic patterns of racial inequality...reveal[ing] the ways in which whites benefit from a variety of institutional and social arrangements that often appear (to whites) to have nothing to do with race” (p. 15).

In the next subsection, I explore the cognitive barriers around race and ethnicity that JDAI has yet to clearly confront in its pursuit of system transformation.

#### B. Limitation: Assumptions and erasures in the JDAI “we”

Powell (2017) distinguished othering as the defining social problem of this century and then qualified that “[o]thering comes in many forms, but by far the most destructive in American society is systemic racism.” This claim echoes duBois’ (1903) condemnation of “the color line” (p.1) as the dividing issue of the previous century. Indicative of the kinds of cognitive barriers that have limited the initiative’s ability to effectively address racial and ethnic disparities, reform leaders unironically offer the “my kid” test as JDAI’s primary response to othering and systemic racism. I demonstrate this point with an excerpt from AECF CEO Patrick McCarthy’s public talk on the foundation’s most daring reach toward paradigm shift thus far, the campaign to close youth prisons. Recounting his failed efforts to enact reforms at a youth prison facility, McCarthy described how scripts of racial othering have been interwoven with institutional design to simultaneously justify carceral logics and frustrate the potential for reimagining responses that can bring justice for children of color.

*We no longer see them as young people who need help to get back on track...For centuries, we have told ourselves very scary stories and we’ve created ugly and threatening images about black and brown young people. These images, these stories we tell ourselves were defeating my ability to change this place...this place was a monument to the power of those ideas. Everything about this*

institution said it was about punishment and intimidation, *rather than the opportunity to turn a life around*. (McCarthy, 2015, emphasis added)

As McCarthy condemned the overtly racist narrative that JDAI attempts to overcome with the “my kid” test, he doubled down on an alternative script that has been more subtly instrumental in oppressing young people, particularly children of color. Similar to the allusion to “justice system values [as] our values,” the metaphor of young people involved with the juvenile justice system as “off track” frames the problem in terms of youths’ deviation from dominant social expectations. There is merit in that rationale for certain situations, particularly for young people engaged in physical harm to themselves or others. However, both a historical overview of juvenile justice in the U.S. and a review of literature on control theory that deals with the perception of youth of color as a symbolic threat to White, middle-class values and lifestyles<sup>22</sup> reveal that such framing has been wielded as a powerful justification of systemic racism.

For black and brown youth, “getting back on track” is far from an objective proposition when their phenotypes, mannerisms, cultural values and practices, native languages, and/or speech patterns may likely continue to be interpreted as out of alignment with the prevailing social norms defined by those in power, “as strangers...as bodies that are ‘out of place’ (Ahmed, 2007, p. 162). Known for its carefully crafted and relentless messaging, JDAI as a movement has historically voiced little in the way of overt critique when it comes to centering whiteness. As if to illustrate this point, McCarthy’s (2015) use of the word “we” immediately positioned his listeners in whiteness during his public talk about closing youth prisons, juxtaposing his assumed “we” in opposition to black and brown young people who “we think about and talk about...in very different ways than we do our own children.” McCarthy’s “we” extends his circle of belonging to an audience fluent in the scripts of whiteness and the politics of respectability. These discursive acts that omit and include in subtle and not-so-subtle ways punctuate the JDAI social learning process, situating and reinforcing a White, middle-class American worldview as universal.

The second order change to juvenile justice system policies and instruments that JDAI has so effectively delivered represents a fitting response to the familiar scripts and framing that the juvenile justice system is broken and that improvements will be made by reducing the number of children detained, and helping kids “turn their lives around” to conform with the

---

<sup>22</sup> See Bridges & Stein 1998; Leiber 2003; Leiber & Fox 2005; Riek, Mania, & Garertner 2006 for research on control theory in juvenile justice demonstrating bias in decision-makers’ perceptions of youth of color and their families as “symbolic threats,” even when no threat to physical life or property was evident.

U.S. social order. By the same token, the failure of JDAI to realize meaningful reductions in racial and ethnic disparities is understandable given the initiative's blind spot in confronting "how whiteness functions as a habit...which becomes a background to social action...[giving] shape to what bodies *can do*" (Ahmed 2007, p. 149, 156). The colorblind narrative of the justice system "turning a life around" for a wayward young person rings hollow as our newsfeed delivers what feel like routine images of unarmed African American children being harassed or even killed by law enforcement, press releases on studies of the generational persistence of wealth and income inequalities along racial and ethnic lines in the U.S., the erosion of justice system protections for youth perceived to be immigrants, including the conflation of immigration enforcement and gang suppression for youth with even a spurious connection to gang activity (Barajas, 2018; Chabria, Sullivan, & Reese, 2018; Hajer, 2018; Kocchar, 2018; NYIC, 2018).

Presenting another perspective of this critique, JDAI has spent the past four years investing in a new priority: "transforming juvenile probation into a focused intervention that promotes personal growth, positive behavior change and long-term success for youth who pose significant risks for serious offending" (AECF, 2018d). This decision to sow resources back into probation raised the ire among many allies of JDAI, including one long-term partner who expressed with palpable frustration the sentiment that: "JDAI reforms have hit their ceiling." The exasperation in this comment echoes the abolitionist criticism that "some reforms help keep oppressive institutions alive [and] become tools to keep things as they are" (Critical Resistance, 2012). While paying homage to the messy and uncertain work of adaptive change in its ALN curriculum, JDAI resources have continued to flow toward individual-oriented technical fixes framed in alienating terms rendering the child as a distant and disembodied object. For the hearer outside the circle of JDAI's imagined audience of "we" for this message about probation transformation, the embedded and unquestioned logics portend that this "focused intervention" is still intended for "my kid" who is black or brown or otherwise *other*. In this way, even JDAI's emerging strategies uphold a narrative "that all have access to that power through individual resourcefulness...[a] myth of potential economic equality [that] supports the invisibility of the other power systems that prevent fulfillment of that ideal" (Wildman & Davis, 1995, p. 887).

Incongruously, both the targeted investment in and the JDAI framing for probation reform runs counter to the messages and priorities developed by one of its most valuable partners, Justice for Families (J4F). J4F is a grassroots coalition that organizes and conducts participatory action research with youth and families impacted by the justice system. Two years before the JDAI Transforming Juvenile Probation project was launched, J4F released a

report, *Families unlocking futures: Solutions to the crisis in juvenile justice*. Speaking of their vision of a “transformed youth justice system,” the families and youth who participated in the research weighed in on probation in no uncertain terms (J4F, 2012, p. 42):

Rather than a system organized around...placing [youth] on probation—essentially containing and placing obstacles in front of youth...youth justice should be focused on [providing] all young people the opportunity to become successful, self-sufficient, and critical-thinking assets to their communities.

Had JDAI leaders mobilized around the recommendations set out in the J4F report rather than probation transformation, the past half-dozen years may have yielded very different outcomes for youth of color, particularly Black, Indigenous, and Latinx youth. Contradictions such as these, missed opportunities in plain sight, can be interpreted as frustrating yet hopeful signs that progress is right within reach for advancing racial and ethnic equity through JDAI. Bridging the gaps is entirely feasible – but attention must be shaped and held to act on the ripe opportunities to take greater risks and depart from the familiar-yet-flawed logics that have governed the youth justice system thus far. Recent developments hold practical and symbolic promise for expanding the largely unexamined boundaries of “we” that have been upheld and reinforced in JDAI.<sup>23</sup> As 2018 drew to a close, critical conversations about racial and ethnic equity had dramatically multiplied on the online JDAIconnect platform. In the next section, I discuss the potential for JDAI to foreground critical inquiry earlier and more broadly throughout its social learning process for system change.

### C. Recommendation: Reframing JDAI within anti-racist justice movement

We need to talk about what should be done to increase white people’s capacities and determination to develop awareness, build courage and act with purpose in an anti-racist juvenile justice movement. (Lubow, 2018)

I connect my recommendation for centering critical inquiry in JDAI to the argument posited by the initiative’s founder Lubow. Reframing JDAI’s reform efforts by situating them within the larger movement to establish an anti-racist justice system generates a radical redirection of the desired outcomes of the initiative. Reinforcing the urgency expressed by Lubow, other JDAI consultants and justice system practitioners advocated for the social

---

<sup>23</sup> Outside the scope of this study but of relevance to the “we” that guides AECF’s work: In early 2019, AECF plans to install its third president and CEO. Lisa Hamilton will be the first woman and the first African American to serve in this top leadership position, a high-level change that suggests changes of perspective and approach across the foundation’s multiple initiatives supporting child wellbeing.



learning process to introduce and reinforce anti-racist tenets as central to reform, including through the standard training and technical assistance that local sites receive. As a long-term case study of sustained reform, JDAI offers unique insights about the necessity of a learning system orientation, so that systems can continue to evolve as their social and political contexts undergo change over time.

A sharp disconnect exists between the heavy investment in the key JDAI social learning retreats and the introduction of the cognitive frames and resource materials to support a more critical approach. In the experiential components of the JDAI model site visits and inter-site conferences that impart the greatest impact for the largest number of participants, the near-total absence of critical inquiry was quite marked until last year's national conference. A comparison of the agendas for the two most recent inter-site conferences reflected how the framing of "racial equity" was introduced in a plenary and two break-out sessions in 2015, which was continued in the next conference, where the framing of "structural racism" was woven into the titles of two break-out sessions (AECF, 2015d, 2017d). The conventional model site visit agenda has not yet evidenced such a shift, missing a prime opportunity to prompt more critical inquiry into racial and ethnic disparities in the most intimate and cognitively "open" setting in the curated JDAI social learning process.

In spite of this reticence on the part of AECF to foreground anti-racist language in the social learning process, JDAI has gradually expanded dedicated spaces for critical social learning over the decades. System actors inhabiting model sites like Santa Cruz County are immersed in professional development trainings and peer-to-peer learning groups where they find their voice in discussions of racial and ethnic inequalities and become fluent in critical race analysis. The earliest opportunity made explicitly accessible to non-model sites was the JDAI Applied Leadership Network (ALN) program, launched a decade ago for the burgeoning reform advocates from local sites selected through a competitive process. The in-person ALN cohorts provided an intensive 12-month social learning process every two years and have graduated 42 total participants hailing from a total of 21 local systems, including four of the model sites and 17 non-model sites.<sup>24</sup> The next opportunity for critical learning was rolled out in 2014 for JDAI sites selected to advance reforms to "deep end" policies and practices of youth incarceration, impacting youth who do not escape detention

---

<sup>24</sup> According to the most recent published data from the Annie E. Casey Foundation (2014).

and go on to further involvement with the juvenile justice system. The Deep-End sites are overwhelmingly populated by ALN alumni.

A Deep-End site conference in Fall 2018 was devoted to critical learning about Racial and Ethnic Equity and Inclusion (REEI), a framing that AECF has recently deployed across its multiple child well-being initiatives to bring together the linked strategies for system change that I discussed earlier, addressing racial and ethnic disparities through deeper and broader collaboration. Documentation of the Deep-End conference sessions included conversations that are rarely heard in larger gatherings: the setting of a historical context for systemic injustices; questioning the common and maddening metaphor of the benevolent but somehow broken system<sup>25</sup> by asserting that “the system is producing outcomes it was meant to produce” and posing the internal critique that “we can’t “tool” our way to equity and well-being” (Mariscal, 2018). A session devoted to collaborative funding approaches represented a significant step toward system change concerned with resource redistribution. If other such critical learning spaces were created over the life cycle of JDAI prior to 2017, their existence and content has not been publicly circulated and was not available for review for this study. The development of the JDAIconnect social media platform in 2017 has helped to disseminate critical discussions and resources much more freely.

JDAIconnect has become an active discursive space, punctuated by engaged discussion of different sites’ work on racial and ethnic equity. In blogs and discussions, JDAI’s “hidden curriculum of critical social learning” is openly accessible to anyone who registers online as a member of JDAIconnect. In earlier years of the initiative, this hidden curriculum was one that only JDAI insiders – highly committed reform advocates – had collective access to. The popularity of the JDAIconnect discussion groups among ALNers (as ALN participants call themselves) is an indicator of how their appetite has been whetted to continue critical peer-to-peer learning across the national network for system improvement. Taking a hybrid approach to forming an online learning community, many of the participants have met in real life at various JDAI learning retreats or are connected to most other learners by one degree of separation, lending the virtual exchanges greater levels of intellectual safety for communal inquiry and relational accountability for the views that participants express. A content review of JDAIconnect blogs and comments reflects a well-used network for

---

<sup>25</sup> A common trope is that of “system failure” where injustices are produced and reproduced unintentionally by a well-meaning system. As a planner in system change efforts connected to JDAI here in Hawai’i, I have been guilty of using this frame to let the justice system off the hook. Directing blame vaguely at a broken system can be a political tactic to soothe heated justice system practitioners anxious about the implications of framing injustice as systemic racism.

sustaining change agency among ALN graduates leading reforms in a relatively small number of local justice systems scattered across the U.S.

Support for earlier and broader exposure to critical race conversations for JDAI participants is frequently voiced by ALNers, as captured in this comment: “It was not until I was fortunate enough to participate in the 3<sup>rd</sup> ALN class where I was able to hear and include myself in real discussions about race, equity and inclusion” (AECF, 2018).<sup>26</sup> This justice system practitioner went on to share about a “mindful moment” and dialogue that was prompted “when a colleague referred to me as Anglo, not in a hurtful way, but it surprised me...although I knew the term, I never heard anyone refer me [by my race].” In its entirety, his comment reflected the rarity of that experience and a felt need for increased access to supportive spaces where open conversations and learning about race and racism can take place among justice system practitioners and partners. Commonly, comments on JDAIconnect exhibit a high level of peer acceptance and encouragement as inevitable mistakes and miscommunication are made and reflected upon by participants.

JDAI and AECF have assembled an extensive inventory of racial equity references stocked with reading lists and video archives that feature Critical Race Theory (CRT) and analyses of white supremacy. However, the overall impact has been one of preaching to the choir, given the lack of attention to strategic distribution of these resources beyond visitors to JDAIconnect. The recent JDAI adaptation of an interactive 21 Day Equity Habit-Building Challenge reflects ALN graduates’ efforts to package critical race resources in social media-friendly, “soundbites” that are easier for reform advocates to share with their peers at non-model sites to integrate issues of racial and ethnic equity into their local system consciousness. A historical overview of disparities with critical prompts has been developed by long-time JDAI consultants from the W. Haywood Burns Institute and used for specialized training workshops when local sites request technical assistance on racial and ethnic equity. Waiting on JDAIconnect for those who seek or stumble upon them, these materials and discussions remain hidden in plain sight, curiously disconnected from the JDAI social learning agenda that the masses engage in.

In light of the capacities and opportunities for critical social learning that are evidently reserved for select pockets of the current JDAI process, I recommend the integration of critical inquiry as foundational to the initiative’s social learning agenda. By prompting questioning and critique of system logics both earlier and more broadly in sites’ participation in

---

<sup>26</sup> See the Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2018). 21 Day Equity Habit-Building Challenge | Day 2. JDAIconnect discussion. Retrieved from: <https://community.aecf.org/docs/DOC-70664?commentID=59842#comment-59842>

the reform initiative, JDAI can dramatically increase the development of critical consciousness among system actors.

## II. Collaborative inquiry and implementation of alternative logics

In the case studies of both the model and non-model sites, I identified several “missed opportunities” that can be harnessed to address key limitations in the initiative’s social learning approach to system change. In the preceding section, I proposed that JDAI can better support paradigm shift by redesigning its social learning process to facilitate critical inquiry and reflection about what system assumptions and logics need to be re-examined, rejected, and replaced. Here in Section II, I begin with the elephant in the room: the curious lack of attention to a key element in JDAI’s original theory of change: collaboration to rethink system assumptions. Collaboration of this nature encompasses developing the capacities and commitments to venture into the unknown through collective inquiry, and daring to enter into shared power and shared risk with the implementation of alternative practices. To address the limits of the current process to deepening collective inquiry and shared power and risk, I outline some specific recommendations for restructuring the social learning process to institute roles for community, youth, and cultural practitioners and non-model site leaders in planning and implementation of changes to justice system philosophy, policy, and practice. Such a shift addresses the *imaginability* as well as the *feasibility* of implementing alternative logics. As a logical development in its participatory planning practice, AECF can signal and normalize the authority of actors representing youth, family, community, and non-model sites to lead social learning processes in partnership with popular educators and JDAI model site facilitators. Focusing on the implementation of practices at non-model sites informed by alternative epistemologies and the accompanying cognitive and symbolic frames can stretch the boundaries of what is possible in the reimagination of the justice system. I conclude this section with a recommendation of how JDAI can further support third-order change by shaping national attention to alternative system logics that are guiding innovation.

A critical mass of local juvenile justice systems in the U.S. have been indoctrinated by JDAI reforms in discourse, policy, and practice over the past generation, and the ripple effect of this shift is evident in the push to “take JDAI to scale” by institutionalizing the initiative’s strategies with standard trainings on statewide and regional levels after piloting reforms in local sites, e.g., in the cases of New Jersey, Arizona, and Indiana (AECF, 2016; Arizona Judicial Branch, 2018; State of Indiana, 2017). Even a new visiting delegation on its first JDAI learning retreat in 2018 is likely to be populated with some members already

influenced by reform sensibilities circulated throughout juvenile justice professional development trainings and publications, in contrast to the more challenging work of cognitive ground-breaking that may have been expected when introducing new JDAI participants 15-20 years ago.

Utilizing this platform of established trust and credibility, AECF can enlarge its commitment and investment beyond JDAI's primary reliance on actors from law enforcement, probation, and the courts as agents of change. Years of leadership development and social learning among a strong contingent of justice system practitioners who now identify themselves as dyed-in-the-wool reform advocates has prepared the field to take greater risks and advance further into adaptive change. By acknowledging the inconvenient truth that racial and ethnic disparities have been remarkably reform-proof, AECF and a legion of change agents from local JDAI sites have arrived at a potent moment for deeper learning and transformation. The emergent JDAI priority of addressing root causes of disparities is a fitting entry point into the social learning process for new sources of authority and innovation, those teachers and planning participants whose backgrounds and experiences offer what popular educator and community organizer Michael James (2010) calls the "unique vantage point from which we [can] critically analyze society - from our location on the rough edges of its contradictions."

Impacting deep-rooted disparities will require going beyond making commonsense changes that fail to defy the existing institutional logics – it will require shaking loose from the business-as-usual technical fixes that are touted as system change and engaging with the realities of the rough-edged contradictions that the system is anchored upon. Shaping attention to these contradictions can expose and widen awareness of the cracks in taken-for-granted system assumptions and logics. A redesigned JDAI social learning process can help to facilitate the unsettling conversations that call accepted "commonsense" into question, with serious repercussions for juvenile justice policymaking – and if taken to their logical conclusion, for the contemporary U.S. social order. Restructuring the composition of planning participants and facilitators, as well as the role of non-model sites in the peer-to-peer learning network, can also open opportunities to confront what Bush (2004) calls "the mystification of structural factors related to poverty and wealth" (p.8) that reproduce racial and ethnic disparities.

While the incremental approach to reform can claim credit for many successful outcomes, JDAI stands on a threshold for radical action that both *builds on and* in crucial ways, *departs from* the past formula for system change. Most importantly, JDAI is poised to: (1) *build on*

partnerships with justice system practitioners while at the same time *departing from* near-exclusive reliance on these system actors to realize system change; and (2) *build on* the influential role of model sites as a stage for non-model sites to share their system change efforts that *depart from* existing institutional philosophies and practices.

In essence, I pose the challenge for JDAI to expand its definition of “we” and re-examine the meaning of “justice” in justice system transformation by centering the knowledge and lived experience of youth, families, and community partners. This is a move that is certain to evoke discomfort and risk for the initiative. The potential for collective inquiry and emancipation grows with a redesign that further pushes the boundaries and roles in the JDAI social learning process, giving stage for youth, families, community leaders, and non-model site leaders to teach with greater authority about system transformation and to magnify challenges brought against unjust system logics and the limits of reform. I advocate that this risk-taking is timely in terms of the momentum, political will, and positive public opinion that JDAI has developed over the years. In this way, JDAI learning retreats can become spaces for what Freire (1972) called “the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world” (p.34).

In the following subsections, I revisit the case study limitations and opportunities that led to the recommendations, then I propose more detailed changes to the JDAI social learning process for system change.

#### A. Limitation: System-centered collaboration

Here I return to dovetail and complete the arguments that I introduced in Chapters 3, 4, and 6. Considering the meta-case of JDAI as a national reform initiative in Chapter 3, I noted the unmet mandate for collaboration that would shift the locus of authority for changing the justice system. As I developed the two site-level case studies, support for *interagency* collaboration clearly increased as a result of JDAI’s influence in both the model and non-model sites. However, collaboration that engaged community leaders, families, and youth in planning for reforms was inconsistent and for the most part dominated by entrenched system interests. For example, the Santa Cruz model site visit learning agenda was clearly oriented toward justice system practitioners as the primary planning participants, even when half of a visiting delegation’s members represented school, community, and family partners. The unexamined logic of the well-oiled “model site machine” set an invisible ceiling for reforms so that the ability of the model site to perpetuate itself as the center of system change could remain uncompromised.

From its earliest publications, JDAI's social learning process has lauded the importance of collaboration and detailed the tenets of inclusion and representation; in recent years JDAI communications have increasingly emphasized the imperative of centering of youth and families in planning and implementation of justice reform. In the final quarter of 2018, the titles of presentations from the JDAI Deep-End Conference resources echoed the sensibility expressed by Rice, e.g., *Hidden in plain sight: Operationalizing ideals in community engagement* and *Challenging the status quo: Community-based responses to violent offenses*.<sup>27</sup> Similar to extensive archive of anti-oppression materials on JDAIconnect, these collaborative texts fail the test of performativity, i.e., "the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse *produces the effect that it names*" (Butler, 1993, p. 2, emphasis added).

JDAI leadership has taken great care in selecting the messenger, audience, and means to accomplish the initiative's state goal of reducing detention admissions nationally, reflecting how "[p]erformatives succeed when they are uttered by the right person, to the right people, and in a way that takes the right form" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 104-105; citing Austin, 1975). However, the conditions that will facilitate racial and ethnic equity will require changes in institutional arrangements and structures that go beyond chronicling principles of collaborative engagement with youth, families, and communities. Beyond the auspices of "collaboration" that allow system administrators to check off boxes indicating requirements for "inclusive participation" have been met, the authority for planning, decision-making, and funding change must be realized through new institutional and systemic arrangements.

As one would expect from a justice system-centric planning process, a serious discussion of change in the area of resource-sharing with community-based partners has been absent from the JDAI social learning agenda. The standard model site visit learning agenda continued to focus on graphs of statistics that reflect the nagging persistence of disparities, paired with presentations of interventions that have yielded targeted decreases, such as a few celebrated examples of linguistically and/or culturally responsive services implemented, primarily for Latinx youth in the Santa Cruz case. While Santa Cruz demonstrated greater political will and capacity for blending funding among partnering county agencies and found success in securing grant funding to support selected community-based interventions, the degree of shared responsibility for establishing long-term and stable funding arrangements for nonprofit community partners was not evident in the case study. Based on observation and interviews with community partners providing alternatives to detention, system change

---

<sup>27</sup> See JDAIconnect for the 2018 JDAI Deep-End Inter-Site Conference resources (<https://community.aecf.org/community/jdai-connect/resource-center/pages/2018-deep-end-conference>)

in the form of long-term funding allocations for their programs and services had not made significant progress. The Santa Cruz probation department drove and shaped collaborative reforms. While the disruptive impact of JDAI to institutional philosophy and culture was palpable, any material disruption to probation officers on the basis of compensation or job security was not evident. Financial resources were mobilized for reform, but no mentions were made of the impact of system change on the probation department's official budget.

The changes credited to Santa Cruz's JDAI reforms included the implementation of standardized instruments to limit bias in justice system decision-making; increased opportunities for positive youth development afforded to young people by Alternatives to Detention; and an expansion of roles and responsibilities for probation officers that included grant-writing and management. In the Santa Cruz case, institutionalized re-investment of savings from reduced detention admissions was divided between probation-controlled Alternatives to Detention such as Home Supervision and Electronic Monitoring and the community-facilitated Luna Evening Center based at the Watsonville probation branch. For the Luna Center, probation officers' hours and basic overhead for the facility were safeguarded in this arrangement, while the community-based portion of the budget for mentors from Watsonville operated under conditions of uncertainty, largely dependent on soft funding. The greatest fiscal burden of risk for change resided with such community-based partners whose operations remained contingent upon soft money and public funds that were blended through – and thus dependent upon – relationships of trust between sitting heads of agencies, agreements sustained through good will rather than formally instituted. In other words, changes of a systematic nature were not realized and institutionalized.

In Chapter 6, the Hawai'i case study yielded a similar story. Echoing the system-maintaining tactics of co-locating probation officers at the Luna Center in Santa Cruz County, long-term funding support for innovative reforms with community partners often circulated within the justice system toward probation officers' salaries or law enforcement overtime rather than being invested directly into the community-based organizations. In cases where contracts were executed with nonprofit partners to provide community-based alternatives to formal justice system processing, the vulnerabilities inherent in the precarious and short-term nature of the funding cycle was shouldered by these non-government partners.



## B. Limitation: Self-perpetuating logic of the model site

At the end of the Santa Cruz case study in Chapter 4, I argued that to effectively address the root causes of injustice in the justice system, JDAI's rock-solid commitment to legibility must be counterbalanced with an ever-greater commitment to unapologetically confront the reality that the "system is so messed up, so backward in how we work...and how we make decisions." The backward nature of the justice system can only be ignored when actors remain silent – or are silenced, kept on-script or muted, relegated to the margins, and/or excluded from the social learning process for system change. To fulfill its goal of transforming the juvenile justice system by improving "the odds that at-risk youth can make successful transitions to adulthood," JDAI must be willing to turn the volume up on the ways that reforms can maintain and justify the system's outsized role in the lives of youth who are primarily Black, Indigenous, and/or Latinx, living in communities that often share common threads of historical trauma and public disinvestment.

This proposition for JDAI to shape attention to the people, the logic, and the processes that are often rendered invisible in planning for system reform aligns with an argument that emerged in the Hawai'i case study in Chapter 6. As a non-model site, Hawai'i's involvement in JDAI allowed for greater latitude for experimentation and exploration of alternative logics and leadership of system change. However, the lack of dedicated resources and formal authority to institutionalize changes were limitations for Hawai'i and other peripheral sites in the current JDAI model-site based design.

I contend that JDAI will not deliver outcomes that reduce racial and ethnic disparities until the voices of those who bear the brunt of the justice system are conferred the requisite authority and resources to reframe the system, and thus transform institutional discourse, policy and practice. Thus I propose an approach that leverages model site influence to create spaces for voices and practices from youth, community, and peripheral sites to exercise greater leadership in system transformation. While some might argue that the current JDAI social learning process does precisely that, I offer some reflections from my research that illuminate the opportunities that AECF has to advance a more effective approach to system change.

The Santa Cruz case study illustrated the contradictory nature of the "model site effect" that constrained a model site's ability to embrace alternative voices and logics to guide system change. The pressure to remain legible to visiting sites limited the type and scope of innovation presented in the social learning process. Model site community partners were welcomed to contribute to collaborative system change, yet simultaneously constrained to

system-maintenance by the pressure to legitimize flawed system logics. For example, organizations serving youth and families were pragmatic about navigating the model site power imbalance in public, JDAI-sanctioned settings. Mindful of the risk of “biting the hand that feeds them” by posing critiques of the probation department, the service providers stayed on script during JDAI learning retreat presentations. In a subtle iteration, one of the leading reform strategies utilized by the Santa Cruz probation department was workforce development via the recruitment of more community-based and culturally-competent probation officers to its ranks. As institutional actors, these agents held the potential to change the structure of the probation department from within in critical ways, such as the probation officers who possessed the skills and life experience to serve as coaches and mentors to youth on probation who played in the Aztecas soccer league. Changes like these resulted in positive outcomes for young people, such as increased self-confidence, greater social capital, and the ripple effects of improved academic support and motivation when youth were connected with opportunities to play for high school and college teams.

While these interventions met the mark of improving the disparate effects of justice system involvement for Latinx youth, I argue that they leave in place damaging logics that fail to address factors that drive higher rates of justice system involvement in their communities. The successes of such reforms are used to justify maintaining and perhaps increasing funding for the formal agencies serving the juvenile justice system, rather than reducing the flow of Latinx youth into the system. Some community-based JDAI partners commented off-script and off-stage from JDAI learning retreats that “browning” (i.e., increasing Latinx and Black representation) the field of justice system practitioners allowed AECF and the model sites to sidestep contemplation of what more fundamental system change could look like. These partners expressed critiques that align with Weiner (2018) that work to reduce racial and ethnic disparities must call into question “whether black [or Latinx or Indigenous] success within capitalism is something to reflexively celebrate or whether the success of individuals who belong to an exploited class serves to ratify and consolidate – rather than thwart or ameliorate – the system doing the exploiting.” With this in mind, I turn to recommendations for the JDAI social learning process to center youth and their families and community-based and culturally-grounded organizations whose values and practices reflect alternative logics. Such a shift could unleash greater system transformation, rather than conforming to the market and legal logics that shape the prevailing U.S. justice system.

### C. Recommendation: Model site as megaphone

Informed by feminist theory, transformative planning and the case study findings, I propose that JDAI center youth and families as sources of authority about the ways the system should change, leveraging the facilitated model site visits as the most intimate learning retreat setting for cognitive change. Model sites are a site of vast potential, given the intensity of resources invested in bringing delegations together for learning, coupled with the potency of these “thin spaces” to trigger cognitive and behavioral change when participants are less constrained by institutional and social norms and more open to new ideas and interactions. I focus on the model site visits as a space where youth, families, and communities can be heard more clearly by and where highly skilled facilitators can help visiting learners to build cognitive bridges from existing and accepted frames to alternative frames of what justice can look like. I envision that youth and families impacted by the justice system could share from their own experience, unleashed from the model site script and invoking new directions for system transformation. Model site visits could serve as a platform to shape attention to the violent contradictions embedded in the logic of the existing system, as articulated by parent advocates such as Samaria Rice.

Instead of plans for justice and accountability, I have been shown several plans for criminal justice reform, none that address my experience of the entire system being guilty...That is why I refuse to accept plans not informed by us, the community. It's why I won't accept plans for more “community police” as positive solutions when it was the police that killed my son. (Rice, 2016)

The intentional reframing of authority for system change that Rice described is not a theoretical exercise. At twelve years old, Rice's son Tamir was shot by police officers within moments of their arrival at the neighborhood park where he was playing. The circumstances of his murder followed a systemic pattern of excessive force used against people of color and particularly against black bodies, whether directly exerted by the state or with its tacit support. Rice demanded a public commitment to confer sociopolitical power in the formulation and implementation of a process for community-informed plans. In doing so, she invokes a call for action directed to policymakers, planners, aspiring system reformers: to design, implement, establish, and protect processes for communities bearing the brunt of the current justice policies and practices to exercise the authority to reshape the system to facilitate another understanding of justice.

Rice has advocated for a transformative approach to planning aligned with Kennedy's vision to vest "real control in the hands of the most affected people" to "successfully confront dynamics of racism, classism, sexism and other exclusionary patterns of behavior ... [as] people move from being objects of planning to subjects" (2007). Informed by this theoretical approach and the limitations and missed opportunities of the case studies discussed in the prior section, I build on my recommendation for a redesigned critical social learning curriculum and propose that JDAI deploy its model sites to shift their focus toward modeling shared leadership for system transformation.

### *1. Pivoting to center youth and community in system change*

The Santa Cruz County case illustrates the propensity for institutions to center and re-center their culture, rules, and arrangements. Even a national model site celebrated for its collaborative ethos within JDAI has been unable or unwilling to decenter the deep-seated logics that perpetuate the status quo. Feminist theory offers insight on the relationship between centering and cognitive change. Aptheker's (1989) observation has sharp relevance for this case: "placing women at the center of my thinking'...meant that the structure of my thinking had to change" (p.11). Placing youth of color, their families, and the communities that they call home at the center of collective efforts to understand, analyze, plan and implement system change will require the structure of shared thinking to change. This is at the heart of local justice systems' development as regenerative learning systems – the fluidity of thinking, the iterative practice of questioning, pivoting centers, de-centering that which blocks justice, and centering on experiences and perspectives that can inform positive change.

Drawing from the work of AECF's leadership development across initiatives, JDAI can utilize the model site approach to demonstrate a process wherein system practitioners "learn to center in another experience, validate it, and judge it by its own standards without need of comparison or need to adopt that framework as their own" (Brown, 1989, p. 922). This is one of the capacities desperately needed for the creation of an anti-racist juvenile justice movement; the acceptance of others' realities and the practice of ally-ship. The threat for so many white practitioners is the question of belonging, position, and how to act as an ally in an anti-racist framework. Among planning participants, a practice of centering in others' experience can serve as an embodied, incremental step to build the cognitive and relational capacity in local site steering committees that will be required for reimagining the system.

Brown (1989) theorized a process wherein there is "no need to 'decenter' anyone in order to center someone else; one has only to constantly, appropriately, 'pivot the center'" (p. 922).

I parse this claim as applying to the *interpersonal level* between individual participants while arguing that at *the system level* there is a crucial need to identify areas where decentering dominant assumptions, logics, and authority is appropriate and essential to change policies and practices under which youth of color have continued to fare poorly in the justice system even as JDAI reforms have flourished. This represents a departure from JDAI practice toward an explicitly transformative orientation to social learning wherein youth, families, and communities of color “embody experiences and insights that can direct the policy visions and concerted actions of class conscious, multiracial alliances toward addressing the deepest problems hindering democratic society” (Song, 2015, p. 158).

Taking an intentionally transformative planning approach will push AECF to rely more heavily from its partner networks, such as the Burns Institute and Justice for Families, to recruit facilitators who come from popular education and community organizing backgrounds. Acknowledging the trap of magical thinking, the work of centering youth, family, and community through arrangements that respect rather than exploit their lived experience also requires partnership with organizations dedicated to supporting leadership development among people impacted by the justice system. On a local scale, the Hawai'i case offers a fertile opportunity to expand the “we” of the JDAI Nation and advance alternative system logics and policies through its partnership with the Hawai'i Youth Opportunities Initiative, a program of an organization dedicated to supporting families impacted by the child welfare system, EPIC 'Ohana, Inc. Youth leaders well-trained and nurtured by adult activists at HYOI have become critical advocates for system change in JDAI-related work in Hawai'i, proposing changes of policy and practice based on their intimate knowledge of both the child welfare and justice systems.

Illustrating the long arm of philanthropy and the unanticipated benefits of capacity building for collaborative change, the HYOI youth leadership development program was initiated with support from the Jim Casey Foundation. The committed support for grassroots leadership to reform one youth-serving system (child welfare) had a direct positive impact on efforts to transform another system (juvenile justice). In this example, the leadership of young people in system change has been forceful and profound, even without reaching its full potential for transformation as of yet. Youth leaders from HYOI have advocated for reforms that cut across multiple systems, citing the desire of young people to see their estranged siblings as one of the driving causes of arrest for among youth who are wards of the state, as they are picked up for runaway, truancy, and curfew violation. Policy changes informed by these young people's direct experiences have had positive impacts in both systems, such as

institutionalizing visits to siblings as a part of a larger legislative campaign to pass a Bill of Rights for children in foster care.<sup>28</sup>

Realistically speaking, by its nature, transformative planning poses great political risk. As AECF throws its support toward instituting authority in youth, families, and communities for system transformation, the Foundation makes itself vulnerable to greater critique – both from disgruntled system practitioners and decision-makers reluctant to cede power, as well as from communities whose claims for justice and change are now being heard and considered with greater clarity and gravity. The potential exposure of the tender underbelly of AECF is one of the most significant signs of the shift in power that JDAI can put in motion. Crucially, changes of this nature are aligned with calls that dyed-in-the-wool JDAI leaders like Lubow have been voicing with greater urgency in recent years. As the demands of justice system practitioners faithful to the mission of JDAI reform for change grow louder, I propose a move to rebalance the ranks of the JDAI Nation by populating it with more youth, family, and community members working shoulder-to-shoulder with reform advocates and increasingly setting the direction and sensibility for system transfiguration.

## *2. Changing composition and building capacity for system change*

Here I focus on twin changes to the composition of participants involved with JDAI reforms, to lay further groundwork for the end-goal of sharing power for system change. The first change is seated within model site practice and the second change is seeded in non-model site participation in JDAI social learning retreats, particularly the model site visits. I briefly describe each one below.

Beyond the song-and-dance of model site visits, model sites are positioned to advance specific changes by implementing them in institutional practice, such as revising the composition of model site committees responsible for planning reforms – and supporting this shift of *who* is in the room with the requisite changes of *how* collaboration is approached. I propose that JDAI model sites implement a mandate that a minimum of one-third of any steering and planning committee members be drawn from youth, family and community as a concrete step toward institutionalizing a new locus of authority for system transformation.

Just as in the early days of JDAI when AECF provided the focused resources to shift the locus of authority for system decision-making to sit within interagency JDAI steering

---

<sup>28</sup> For more information, see 2018 Hawaii Senate Bill 2790:  
<https://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/session2018/bills/SB2790 .HTM>

committees, now AECF is called to invest in the mobilization of system change agents within these committees to shift the locus of authority again, this time to share power with youth, families, and communities. The investment of AECF at this stage of JDAI can be directed to both amplify the voices and authority of youth, families, and community partners as teachers in the social learning process at JDAI learning retreats; and to design and support the structures at model sites for collaborative leadership and shared power to ensure accountability in planning, decision-making, and implementation.

Recognizing the dearth of resources for non-model sites to facilitate and support a meaningful rebalancing of power and authority for system change, voluntary adoption of such a shift in the composition of JDAI standing committees could be expected to be spotty and/or tokenistic. The introduction and normalization of this model site practice can be a potent influence that gains greater currency in non-model sites populated by reform advocates that identify closely with JDAI values, such as ALN alumni. As an intermediate step to shift the power dynamics and broaden the base of participants involved in planning and implementing system change at non-model sites, I focus on JDAI learning retreats as a gateway for new actors to become activated as change agents. I propose a mandate of at least one-third youth, family, and/or community members for the non-model site delegations that participate in key social learning activities that AECF directly funds, such as model site visits and inter-site conferences. In the Hawai'i case, such a change in composition could be a powerful impetus for changes in the types of institutional logics, questions, ideas, and plans that will circulate and develop, at both the local and national levels.

At the national level and as a resource for various local JDAI sites, AECF has made long-term investments to support the proposed change in composition of participants involved in planning for and realizing system change. In keeping with the example of HYOI described above, AECF has decades of experience developing advisory councils that build capacity for shared leadership by engaging youth, families, and communities across multiple initiatives, including but not limited to JDAI. These councils are populated with facilitators and members who can help form a backbone for JDAI's renewed approach to social learning that shifts from a primary focus on justice system leaders to building capacity for shared leadership with decision-makers situated in community and family contexts. AECF's investment can become more attuned to capacity building for critical collective inquiry and shifting balances of power, using the Foundation's authority to legitimize youth and family, community partners, and cultural practitioners as change agents whose authority extends

beyond “participation” and can be exercised in decision-making for policy change and resource allocation.

I propose that such a process of system change – in all of its threat and promise – can be best be held and brewed in the open container of JDAI social learning. The impetus for shared leadership for system change that has been developing over recent years may help to provide the deep reserve of courage and wherewithal to engage in not only difficult but what seem to be impossible conversations and actions. In the dominant JDAI facilitated social learning process, the gaze is often on the facilitator as expert. The challenge and the struggle in the emancipatory interest of planning as social learning is to support a deeper collaboration that not only orients learners’ gazes to specific system change goals and activities – but to each other. The institutional space that has long been closed by the disciplining practices and relations can become open and in spaces where learning is embraced and uncertainty is acknowledged and probed with the support of facilitators backed by AECF, there is potential for the social relations that mediate justice for youth and families to be produced in new ways. With AECF’s social clout and financial resources, new arrangements could be explored to elevate the authority of youth and community not just as equal contributors to plans, but as esteemed experts who fulfill roles that exceed “advising” system change and extend into training, implementation, and evaluation.

In the next section I discuss the potential for centering alternative logics that may guide system change efforts in non-model sites, arguing for the potential of such logics to facilitate the questioning and rethinking of system assumptions that has remained so difficult to achieve in JDAI system change. For non-model or periphery sites, their stories of advancing system change according to different logics are often unheard and under-appreciated, both in the context of the national JDAI social learning network, as well their local context. I propose shifting authority for teaching and training on justice system innovation and transformation, in terms of expanding learning retreats to grapple with sites that might stretch the legibility of reform – a shift in frames that makes visible the prevailing system logics that remain assumed and accepted – and thus undisturbed – in mainstream and model site efforts to change systems.

#### D. Recommendation: Periphery as the radical center of system change

Attention to innovation at periphery sites can bring recognition and appreciation for different possibilities within the national learning network, and of arguably more importance, buzz at the national-level can leverage greater commitment to support local innovations among decision-makers at non-model sites. The legitimacy conferred by inclusion in the national



reform initiative spearheaded by AECF may be the most valuable currency that JDAI imparts to a non-model site, aside from the sparking of cognitive and behavioral change among planning participants. Affiliation with JDAI may put a rosy glow on innovative changes of practice and policy introduced by reform advocates and liberated practitioners that would have otherwise been untenable to the local justice system administrators. As intended in the JDAI social learning design, the regular opportunities to send visiting delegations to learning retreats and the occasional invitations to present on local reform efforts in breakout sessions at national inter-site conferences tend to curry good favor with the local level decision-makers.

As the Hawai'i case demonstrated, for sites at the periphery of the initiative, astute leaders can advance system change by leveraging these benefits of JDAI participation and mobilizing existing resources. While periphery sites lack the constant support, additional resources, and national spotlight that model sites enjoy, the silver lining comes in the form of freedom to innovate without outside scrutiny and expectations. The normally brief life cycle of an innovative pilot program or trial practice change would likely be a year or at the most two, but association with JDAI reforms can lend legitimacy to changes of practice ranging from standard technical improvements (e.g., risk assessment instruments) to innovations animated by alternative logics, like place-based and culturally-grounded Alternatives to Detention that sites can justify as part of the continuum of reform. However, the dearth of additional resources for non-model sites places a largely unrealistic expectation on these local systems to mobilize the resources to implement, monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of their innovations. Implementation of place-based innovations often absorbs the available resources that a local system can muster, without the development of an evaluative framework and the requisite data collection instruments and processes tailored to the intervention.

This limitation leads me to recommend that innovations from the periphery be recognized and amplified through JDAI learning retreats in ways that transgress the existing practice of showcasing the examples in a plenary session or panel presentation at inter-site conferences. I propose a circuit of learning retreats that dive more deeply into the promises and the perils of innovation, perhaps through reciprocal site visits from leaders from JDAI headquarters, ALN, and model sites. Building upon JDAI's success in capturing the attention of system practitioners through peer-to-peer learning and harnessing these actors' identity formation as change agents, I propose a step that continues to stretch and expand the JDAI definition of "we" to spur learning from "peers" from the periphery sites.

### *1. Periphery as sites of paradigm shift and continual learning*

By investing in non-model sites as JDAI learning sites that are valuable for immersing learners into spaces where alternative logics guide practice and social relations, AECF can reach into the two goals for system change: (1) building momentum for paradigm shift as system logics are critically examined and found wanting; and (2) cultivating capacity for local sites to develop as regenerative learning systems. By designating periphery sites as alternate centers for learning, JDAI leadership can strike a balance of rewarding local site decision-makers for encouraging innovative practice and infusing resources in leadership development and capacity for critical inquiry and implementation among local site collaborators. Learning retreats at periphery sites could provide the opportunity for embodied, place-based learning that could facilitate paradigm shift required for deeper system transformation. The selection criteria for non-model systems as learning retreat sites could reflect the importance of experience and willingness, if not outright capacity, to center youth, families, community, and culture in the local JDAI social learning process. Periphery sites that have already engaged in meaningful collaboration that extend beyond interagency coordination to partnerships with community, family, and youth could be among the cohort of non-model sites that AECF could support in the development of their local learning systems.

In Figure 10, I propose a restructured JDAI design aimed at paradigm shift and regenerative learning. By de-centering AECF and its JDAI leadership team (including Burns Institute, Pre-Trial Justice Institute, and Center for Children's Law and Policy) as a "primary center" for training and learning and the model sites as "secondary centers," space is created to center alternative logics and practices from youth, family, community, and cultural actors. By giving the stage to these actors at model site retreats and inter-site conferences, JDAI can signal and magnify the reach and impact of voices from outside of the system into the social learning process. Through the practice of reciprocal site visits where non-model sites can demonstrate their continual learning and discuss the barriers to implementing alternative logics honestly, JDAI can prime the national network for paradigm shift.

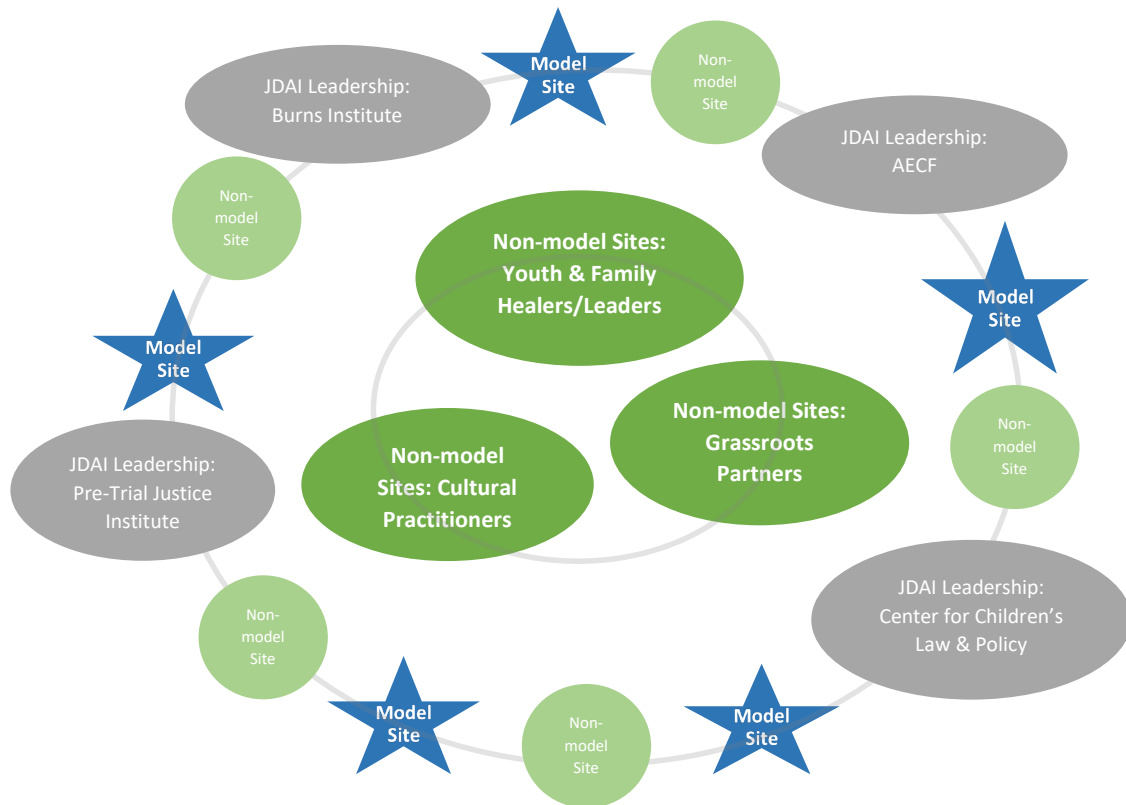


Figure 10. De-centered and re-centered JDAI learning network design

The political genius of the long-term engagement of AECF has enlisted an army of change agents within the institution of juvenile justice who hold a growing commitment to engage in critique and develop a transformative learning system. But here is where the challenge is elevated to a new level of “turning up the volume”: to widen the circle of influence in the social learning process, to tackle the political messiness of barriers to implementation; and in short, to wade into the transformative chaos of genuine paradigm shift. In the next subsection I present a few examples of cognitive frames and scripts offered by non-model sites and anti-racist theory that could be linked to existing JDAI reform frames in social learning processes facilitated as popular education to guide the initiative’s next steps toward transformation of the justice system.

## 2. *Popular education and frames that could free us*

Our life stories are connected to our ancestors. They teach us about kuleana (right; privilege; responsibility) ... that every person is a part of a whole—a family, a community, and the cosmos ... To honor my ancestors, I ask myself, “What kind of ancestor will I be?” (Parker, 2011, p. 25)

From a Native Hawaiian lens, Parker invoked an alternative frame, suggestive of an alternative set of system logics to support a “just” life, a definition of life “on track” that dwarfs the vision of becoming a responsible tax-payer and pursuing happiness – a purposeful life that benefits the family, the community, the universe, and brings honor to one’s ancestors. The frame of ancestral honor resonates deeply with many cultures, but is markedly under-utilized in the cognitive scripts that accompany a Western legal framework of justice. A living connection to ancestors through place, space, spirit, and body is useful to interpret the statement made by an indigenous leader involved with JDAI in Hawai’i as he facilitated a discussion of what justice could look like for kanaka maoli youth: “Our kids just need a place where it’s ok to be Hawaiian.” Being Hawaiian in this sense clearly seems to be at odds with the social expectations and legal regulations that young people in Hawai’i are subject to.

A place where kids are free “to be Hawaiian” resonates with the connection to ancestral values and practices that Parker puts forth – and also intersects with the “still-present pasts” of colonization as young kanaka maoli develop a sense of cultural identity and critical consciousness of the historical and contemporary policies of privatizing and commodifying land (Merry, 2000) and “governing Hawaiians through crime” (Keahiolo-Karasuda, 2008, p. 61). Settler colonial theorists also posit that the mere act of being Hawaiian can present as a challenge to the prevailing social order.

Indigeneity prompts multiple forms of settler anxiety, even if only because the presence of Indigenous peoples - who make a priori claims to land and ways of being - is a constant reminder that the settler colonial project is incomplete (Tuck & Wang, 2012, p. 7, citing Fanon & Farrington, 1963; Deloria, 1988)

In this way, being Hawaiian can be seen as putting a child at greater risk of entering the settler colonial justice system on charges such as insubordination at school and disorderly conduct on the street, let alone for behaviors that might be seen as coping with family trauma yet are met with arrest, such as runaway or being beyond parental control. Serious consideration of the disparate treatment of Native Hawaiians in the juvenile justice system provokes a Foucauldian critique of schooling, discipline, and capitalism as “children in fact keep asserting alternative modes of being in the face of ...punishment” (Ferguson, 2017, p. 127-128). The question of what it means to “be Hawaiian” in contemporary society prompts a re-examination of prevailing justice system logic through the lens of cultural values and practices. Dominant U.S. economic and political system assumptions run rough against other deeply embedded value systems, such as ancestral connections that define wholeness

in terms of relationships of reciprocal love and responsibility, not only between family and community members, but between kanaka (people), 'āina as that which feeds (land and water), and Akua (God or the spiritual source of life).

“Our kids need a place where they can learn to be healers of themselves and their families.” This indigenous practitioner’s words continue to resonate as Native Hawaiian youth remain over-represented in the system overall and most dramatically in the number of youth placed on probation, detained, and incarcerated, even as the Hawai‘i system has achieved phenomenal decreases overall.<sup>29</sup> When invited to serve on a national panel discussing culturally-based practices and healing work with young people at a JDAI inter-site conference, this practitioner began his presentation with a reproach. “I’ve been invited here to speak, but our kids are invisible here.” In one sense, he was addressing the narrow terms of the national discourse on systemic racism that has been slow to shift and widen its scope beyond the Black-White binary. At a deeper level, his words and work also posed a challenge to the dominant logics of “getting kids back on track” by demanding attention to the realities of colonization and the accompanying project of erasure of indigenous epistemologies and bodies (Smith, 2001; Porter, 2016; Tuck & Wang, 2012). Dedicated to justice for kanaka maoli youth, he and others who practiced and passed down cultural values and practices refused to remain silent about the need for alternative logics to address racial and ethnic disparities in the Hawai‘i juvenile justice system.

This “alternative logic” based on teaching youth “that we were part of the cosmos – that we had a place” (Parker, 2011, p. 26) birthed the innovative program that I described in Chapter 6, the Wahi Kana’aho, a center for young people involved in the justice system to learn and practice the healing art of ho’oponopono, which can be understood as the reconciliation of strained family relationships. This transformative practice enjoyed some initial support, buoyed by the support of JDAI and other reforms concerned with racial and ethnic disparities, but it ended abruptly due in part to the failure of system practitioners to address fiscal and administrative changes required to support innovative practice.

Here I underline the caution against magical thinking and reiterate that planners must expand our scope of work to anticipate the accompanying fiscal and legal policies, procedures, and practices changes that are required to support programmatic and philosophical shifts in systems. Too often planning processes engage “decision-makers” such as elected officials, agency directors, and community leaders based on the assumption

---

<sup>29</sup> For more information, see Umemoto, Spencer, Miao, and Momen, 2012; Chesney-Lind and Bilsky, 2011; and Kassebaum et al., 1995.

that their support will facilitate the needed changes to administrative rules and arrangements to support the resulting plans. However, the lens of implementation suggests that the peer-to-peer approach of JDAI to cultivate agents of change among institutional actors would be wise to expand the composition of the learning cohorts with these potential barriers in mind. Learning cohorts could be assembled for cognitive change among administrators of the state procurement office that approve the purchase of services from the local justice system or the legal staff of the state Attorney General who review changes in language and arrangements when state agencies enter into contract with community-based service providers.

In closing, I present one more frame with promise for paradigm shift, a frame that invites participants to begin from the question of whether the unjust system outcomes that we observe are delivered according to design. Placing juvenile justice reform within a landscape of historical economic and social relationships implies alternative explanations and the problem suddenly takes shape and visibility in a new perspective, bringing into focus broader social and systemic logics that dictate the justice system's functions. Anti-racist scholar Kendi argues that framing solutions in terms of overcoming bias is a misguided strategy for addressing racist policies and reforming systemic injustice:

We have been taught that ignorance and hate lead to racist ideas, lead to racist policies. If the fundamental problem is ignorance and hate, then your solutions are going to be focused on education and love and persuasion. But of course... the actual foundation of racism is not ignorance and hate, but self-interest, particularly economic and political and cultural. (Kendi, quoted by Rao, 2017)

The centrality of self-interest that Kendi suggests is a powerful tool for analyzing the effects of the justice system within a larger framework and considering the role that capitalist system logics play in setting the stage for social reproduction. The guiding logics of the justice system were not intended to produce just outcomes in a multiracial, multicultural democracy. The U.S. legal framework developed out of a desire to protect the life and property of male land-owners, a class of people that was restricted to white males in the early days of the country's founding. To realize a different result, these original logics must be confronted, overturned, and replaced with a new governing paradigm, a framework of justice derived from logics that acknowledge not only the historical and ongoing impacts of the social construction of sex and race, but also the impacts of an ever-present struggle for

control over political and material power. Theories of racial or “carceral capitalism” intersect the logics of the American economic and justice systems, as Wang explains below.

The conversion of poverty into a personal moral failure was intimately tied to the construction of black Americans as disposable and subject to mass incarceration...think about the carceral continuum alongside and in conjunction with the dynamics of late capitalism. (Wang, 2018, p. 84-85)

Wang extends this useful frame of justice as a vehicle to protect and ensure self-interest, arguing that determinations of “risk” function as “a new color-blind racism [that] enshrines already existing social and economic inequalities under the guise of equality of opportunity” (2018, p. 138). Such critiques that are currently discussed in intimate settings such as the 2018 JDAI Deep-End Conference can be turned up to reverberate across the national learning network, calling into question the commonly invoked framing of social equality where an individual’s poverty is a manifestation of moral deficiency, and addiction or crime is interpreted as a curiously self-destructive choice that is freely made.

Standing in contrast to the frame of self-interest, indigenous and other collective frames can illuminate the justice system logics and assumptions that flow from individualistic Western cultural values and beliefs. Frames from the periphery can offer traditional or place-based knowledge that can transform the prevailing justice system, if those at the center can hear it, absorb it, and recognize its value to guide change. In Hawai‘i, cultural practitioners continue to embody their teachings of the healing arts in justice system reform – and in working with the younger generation, to model an orientation of continual learning. Hawai‘i offers unique lessons about becoming a learning system that operates through the logic of reciprocity and relationship between ‘āina and people (Enos, 2013).

The emotional resources needed to engage in challenging conversations and dangerous conversations about power actually be drawn from a place of learning, a place of humility, a place in recognition of occupying a tenuous place in an indigenous nation. The term cultural humility has come into vogue in discourse on diversity and equity; within JDAI the practitioners of color model this posture and language when entering cross-cultural settings. Within the dynamics of learning and unlearning, centering culturally-rooted knowledge (knowable through experience, observation, possessing) opens up a wound that has been long ignored in settings for “training” or “learning” – overcoming the cultural arrogance that seems hard-wired into Western institutional settings that has resulted in the suspension of non-Western cultural meaning-making frames (Zinn, Proteus, & Keet, 2009). Tuck (2018) speaks of such frames as disruptive and creative:

These theories of change ... interrupt existing knowledge hierarchies, taking seriously the expertise that is derived of lived experience. They require humility and vulnerability, contestation and creative production. They make space to speak what is otherwise silenced, make transparent that which is otherwise concealed, and make meaningful that which is otherwise forgotten or devalued. There is dignity in the work of creating a space for ourselves, the kind of space that has been systematically denied to us (p.165).

The intentional support of AECF for cultural practitioners, academics, and healers to engage as full partners in systems change conversations, bringing frames and theories of change and justice to the table could contribute momentum to a radical shift in the process of system change. At the national level, the expanded reach of this conversation and corresponding visibility of historical injustices in policy conversations, such as the recent introduction of legislation for reparations to African Americans suggests the potential for paradigm shift in conceptions of systemic justice. Reinforcing and registering new connections between the impacts of unjust systems of land tenure on kanaka maoli, Samoan, Marshallese, Chuukese and other Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, Blacks, Latinx, and Whites re-orient the conversation in ways that can be received as threatening, overwhelming, healing, and liberating all at once.

From a liminal space, kanaka maoli and others who identify as being of Hawai'i express the frustrations of engaging systems grounded in the tireless logic of training people to become "responsible and productive citizens."<sup>30</sup> The traditions of Black Marxism and racial capitalism have helped to contest the framing of capitalist logics as mainstream and value-free in a way that "naturalizes and dehistoricizes" the mechanisms of private property and market (Fraser 2018, p. 4). These tactics have "become congealed in social institutions in ways that sustain domination" (White, 1991, p. 1505; Fraser 1989; West 1989) and can only be changed through confrontation and active intervention. As the limits of the JDAI approach to addressing persistent racial disparities have become apparent, deepening partnership and sharing power with those at the margins of our public systems has become more pressing. From outside the circle of institutional power, these voices at the periphery can call out the deeper contradictions embedded in the U.S. public systems that were at their origin *designed by those who hold social, economic, and political power – for the purpose of protecting that power.*

---

<sup>30</sup> For those interested in a discreet example of transformative planning associated with JDAI in Hawaii, please see Appendix E.



Lubow's challenge for white people to become aware, build courage, and act with purpose to re-balance power in the justice system is one example of the process of building critical consciousness. In the civil rights era, Martin Luther King Jr. and his colleagues expanded to engage issues of racial equality, peace, and economic justice for all races with the Poor People's March on Washington. In response to the current U.S. administration's crackdown on immigrant families, social movements for immigrant rights and justice reform have been increasingly cross-organizing, bringing together legal action, policy proposals, and appeals to morality and the sacredness and sanctity of family and human life.

In early 2018, the director of the Juvenile Detention Alternative Initiative (JDAI), a juvenile justice reform initiative supported by the Annie E. Casey Foundation (AECF), Balis issued this statement to address head-on the difficult choices that a national audience of justice system practitioners faced. Local law enforcement agencies were reeling in response to an extreme turn in federal immigration enforcement targeting young people. Police and probation departments were being pressed to fulfill the duties of immigration officers during interactions with any youth whose family members might be suspected to meet criteria for deportation and to disregard state juvenile confidentiality laws when presented with requests for information on minors' immigration status by Immigration and Custom Enforcement (ICE). In the heat of the political upheaval, Balis exhorted system leaders to resist being swayed from the core value framed at the heart of the JDAI reform process: child well-being.

Ensuring a bright future for all children requires policies that keep families together and allow them to flourish. Children also need communities that support them and systems that protect them. We're committed to the well-being of all children living in the United States, noncitizen youth included.

(Balis, quoted by AECF, 2018c)

Balis' statement speaks volumes about the relevance of planning-as-social-learning to catalyze change at the levels of individual cognitive behavior, national discourse, and systemic policy and practice. In response to JDAI's webinar presenting the updated guidance, the online response of system practitioners from JDAI sites in red states such as Arizona and Texas evidenced deep empathy for and commitment to advocate on behalf of the young people and families whose immigration status and justice system involvement rendered them more vulnerable targets for deportation. The momentum of a quarter century of cognitive and behavior shift has helped JDAI to advance the discursive frame of child well-being as a tool for evaluating policy and practice. Despite the shortcomings of the

social learning process, the value of this framing was evident in the local system actors' response to this moral challenge of policies that are harmful to children and families that was promoted by the U.S. Department of Justice. Pursuing this moral challenge, community organizer Pancho Arguelles put it this way:

We are balancing being pragmatic [and] being clear that we are talking about a different kind of power. Transfiguring this system...We are not going to defeat and transform the power that's been oppressing us by using the same kind of power. (2012)

Speaking of the larger U.S. social system within which justice is secured, Arguelles cast vision of a different source of power to overcome the unjust logic of the current system. In the case of JDAI, mobilizing the profound power of "communities for whom the system hasn't been working" with pragmatism could mean leveraging the legitimizing power of AECF to provide a larger stage and platform for radical practices and philosophies drawn from place. Valuing and privileging a different kind of power, place-based and culturally-grounded power aligns with grassroots approaches to system change that have emerged from communities organizing for racial, economic, and environmental justice. These traditions of popular education for community and youth organizing address the trauma of racial and economic inequality at the individual and collective levels, weaving together "the 'inner' dimension of self-transformation with the 'outer' dimension of social transformation to create outcomes that neither could achieve on its own" (Lee, 2014, p. 6; Acido, 2017; Burgess, 2013).

With facilitators whose strong rapport-building skills allow them to move planning participants to apprehend new frames and re-consider their role in the institutions that they inhabit, the practice of freedom in JDAI social learning may be introduced most easily as visiting delegations are sequestered away in the "thin spaces" of collaborative learning retreats where the forces of institutional culture and structures exert weaker control over their thinking, beliefs, relationships and roles in the system (Sheehy, 2000, 2004). A facilitated process of critical social learning outside of the familiar institutional setting can allow the clearing of cognitive and emotional obstacles that might normally cloud learners' ability to tell their own truths and hear the claims of other people's "reading of the world" (Freire, 1972) drawn from their lived realities.

Taking a popular education can also shape attention to the spiritual traditions and histories of communities engaging and leading morally-grounded change, such as the central organizing role played by Black Southern churches in the U.S. civil rights movement and the

role of kupuna modeling Aloha ʻĀina and facilitating traditional practices of hoʻoponopono to resolve conflict among kanaka maoli reclaiming stewardship of the island of Kahoʻolawe in Hawaiʻi. Attention to context creates greater space for spirituality and culturally-based values to be infused in the process of social learning, not as dogmatic beliefs but rather planning for system change with an orientation that:

...involves re-examining the self, and re-creating structures that will in turn re-create our communities and ourselves. This process is one that occurs in our relationships - to one another and to the world in which we live...We need structures that recognize not only our situatedness but our "sharedness" - that is, structures that can nurture our differences while creating communities of shared vulnerability and solidarity. (powell, 2013, p. 152)

The current learning agenda of JDAI model site visits tend to leave in place and even reinforce many of the system logics that justify and perpetuate injustice for young people - and the communities that they call home. The standard model site visit presentations open with a review of the punitive swing of juvenile justice policy that JDAI was birthed in response to during the 1990s, before narrating the site's story of reform from punitive juvenile justice practices such as the high rates of pre-JDAI detention. Next, a call is issued to visiting delegations, a call to return to our shared values, defined by care for "our kids." In this way, the "my kid" framework has come to signify True North to guide JDAI system practitioners' best efforts to revise and reform the juvenile justice system together. The presentations then detail the specific reforms implemented by the model site, often framed in response to local demographics and disparities in the justice system. In closing, planning participants are encouraged to reflect on how these lessons might apply to their local system and to make a commitment to act on what they have learned when they return.

Model site visits offer an unparalleled learning environment for transformational learning, but under the cognitive constraints of the "model status" there is much untapped potential to stretch the limits of legibility and possibility through critical inquiry. I propose restructuring the model site visit learning agenda as political or popular education, centering the people most impacted by juvenile justice policies and practices in a social learning process that "enables people to perceive and analyze political contradictions, then imagine and create cultural action for justice" (James, 2010, p. 1). Components of the ALN curriculum already touch on some of these dimensions, particularly in the engagement of participants in self-reflection to better understand how their experience and identity is shaped by their ethnic, cultural, political, gender, sexual orientation, and institutional

contexts. A popular education approach can re-situate the ALN frames of “person-role-system” and “self as an agent of change” within a social context that is shaped not only by the perspectives of justice system practitioners like probation and correctional officers, judges, and law enforcement, but correspondingly informed by the experiences of youth, families, cultural practitioners, and community-based partners speaking from the periphery of their local systems and/or the periphery of the JDAI national initiative. .

Cultural values in Hawai'i that place primacy on relationships of reciprocity offer an alternative to the dominant assumptions of the justice system. When we speak of the opportunities that young people should have for learning, the inadequacy of the dominant economic and education system casts a shadow over these goals. Cultivating a culture of inquiry and ongoing regenerative learning system provide space to question what the misalignment of youth's aspirations and the logic of the system tells us about where possible solutions may lie. In the words of JDAI founder Bart Lubow, the attitude or expectation young people should change to fit the system as it exists now is called into question and instead the instincts and inclinations of youth can guide us toward meaningful learning experiences, opportunities for building useful knowledge, and developing competencies that are grounded in place and relationship.

In Part III, I close the study with a discussion of the implications of this research for planning for the transformation of other institutions and public systems.

### III. Implications for Planning to Transform Systems

I suggest that we are being created by the structures in which we live, in complicated, contradictory, and largely unconscious ways. Working to transform these structures is inquiring into the nature of ourselves, and transforming ourselves. (powell, 2013, p. 152)

Powell frames the work of system transformation as self-inquiry, self-reflection, and self-transformation. As a planner, I am interested in the work of observing, analyzing, and attempting to understand, facilitate, and manage change at a systemic or structural level. I believe that honing this awareness can enrich our ability to navigate the contexts that most planning activities take place within. I embarked on this study of system change as a planner concerned with the interplay of structure and agency in institutional change and began with a focus on the potential for social learning to catalyze cognitive change in individual actors.

With respect to effective learning processes, this case study of JDAI provides rich insights into the questions that I cited in the first chapter on planning and institutional change about who the key “learners” are in the process of institutional change and who they learn from; the role of relationships in mediating knowledge exchange; and the ways in which observation and interaction can be structured in processes of social learning for system change (Kim, 2012, p.80). Kim posed this line of questions to suggest that social learning can be operationalized so that new ideas are more easily accepted and absorbed into “social relations so that new behaviors and expectations result, reifying the change in institutions” (2012, p. 80). I argue that this case study of JDAI offers strong evidence of such institutional culture change occurring through sustained engagement in the social learning process – and that these findings advance us to a set of questions for further research:

How can such an approach to social learning to support a more profound and far-reaching project that encompasses: (1) reckoning with deep-rooted social injustices as a legacy of institutional racism in the United States; (2) reimagining our relationships and responsibilities to one another; and (3) enacting new institutional arrangements and policies reflective of this paradigm shift?

Recognizing the nature of change as “not one time,” I argue that planning as social learning can be infused with the vision and tools to support local system actors in continuing to grow into a learning identity and orientation that takes responsibility for identifying and addressing system assumptions and logics that guide policies and practices, most significantly those that perpetuate structural inequality. A process of social learning that continues to re-frame and re-form the realization of justice in our fundamentally unjust society is demanding work. Engaging in such an intentional learning process aimed at the re-making of the institutions of juvenile justice signals a move to what Weber (2001) characterized as restoring to institutions their quintessential characteristics of “instituting, in the sense of founding, creating, breaking with an old order and creating a new one” (xv). Revisiting the literature on new institutionalism, it is useful to consider institutions “as processes or even effects of processes” rather than objects of change; and thus, institutional change as the work of “how institutional realities become given” (Ahmed, 2012, p. 20, 21).

System transformation through collaborative inquiry requires sufficient resources and sustained attention to support: (1) the active and equitable participation of those most affected by the system in question; (2) skilled facilitation to help planning participants to critically assess flaws in system logics and respond with purposeful actions; and (3)

navigation of the kinds of institutional arrangements and rules (particularly legal and financial) that would accompany the planned actions. Planners in the “just city” tradition have long recognized the importance of a political economy framework for planning; combining this with critical race analysis is a growing edge for transformative planning theory (Kennedy 2007, 2009; Song, 2015). I make the exhortation here that transformative planning theory is itself a growing edge for planning as a discipline. As planners, we can serve as facilitators of honest and uncomfortable deliberations about systemic changes needed to respond to the tensions that we are confronted with, from the social unrest associated with vast and increasing economic inequality to the rapid and unpredictable effects of climate change.

The limitations to the model-site based approach in the JDAI case study suggest areas for future research in other planning processes aimed at transforming public systems. One potential area to explore is whether a model site can overcome the constraints of legibility to shift the locus of authority from state-centered decision-making to shared authority between state and community leaders for system change. Such collaboration must acknowledge that existing distributions of power and resources have created the conditions for unjust policies and practices; thus corresponding shifts to redistribute power and resources will be required to change systems. Further research is needed on the process of institutionalizing meaningful collaborative commitments, thus changing arrangements for funding and accountability in order to establish greater equity in terms of the risks, burdens, and responsibilities of innovative practices.

On the flip side, the recommendations that I proposed for institutionalizing changes of policy, practice, and resource allocation at non-model sites might have unintended consequences. With the commitment of resources often comes a loss of freedom and flexibility to innovate and adapt. Again, the development of local systems as regenerative learning systems can help safeguard against the re-entrenchment of problematic system logics and assumptions. An approach to planning and implementation that centers youth and communities in meaningful collaborative commitments with public systems can lay a strong foundation to support continual learning systems capable of self-reflection, critique, and positive adaptation.

The final implication of this research that I would like to raise speaks to our role as planners in system change – and a call to understand ourselves as agents of change who can set our sights and sharpen our skills for not only first and second-order change, but the kind of

messy and daunting third order change that upsets paradigms and leaves us uncertain of what is up and what is down: system transfiguration.

Transfigure (def.): to transform into something more beautiful or elevated.<sup>31</sup>

The key difference between choosing an issue and the issues choosing our communities: I cannot walk away. If I have the privilege to walk away, I need to ask then what my role is. If I have the privilege to walk away, I shouldn't be making the strategic decisions. The strategic decisions should be made by those who risk the most...to build a movement that can transform...transfigure...There is no situation that is not transfigurable. (Arguelles, 2012)

Arguelles' analysis can serve as a powerful referendum of how we as planners approach our work of transforming social and spatial systems. Many – most – of us have the privilege to walk away from the communities where we engage in planning. It is the nature of our work. However, I urge us to immerse ourselves in the work of regenerative learning and the discipline of reflective practice – to continue to “revise” our practice, to see it anew. Smith describes Native Feminist political projects that engage in “making power,” or building organizations and relationships that “model the world we are trying to create.” I offer this research as one small contribution toward our collective struggle to approach all planning practice intentionally as political projects that inevitably “make power” – whether or not we choose to be awake to its effects, our work is engaged in making power. The question that I share for us to grapple with in every day practice is: Who is this power being made by and made for?

---

<sup>31</sup> See Oxford Dictionary. Retrieved from: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/transfigure>

## Appendix A: Expanded Glossary of Juvenile Justice Terms

**Arrest** – Juvenile arrests occur when law enforcement record a formal contact with youth based on suspicion of committing a delinquent act, including crimes against persons, property, public order, and drug offenses. Arrest on suspicion of committing a law violation usually results in youth being taken into police custody and transported to the police station for “booking” (taking of fingerprints and photos). Youth under the age of 18 can be arrested for a non-criminal or status offense such as running away from home, truancy, curfew violation, injurious behavior, or being out of parent control (i.e., incorrigibility).

**Adjudication** – The process of finding a child “guilty” or “not guilty” by the juvenile court through a hearing or the entering of a guilty plea/admission. Analogous to an adult “conviction,” a youth who is adjudicated is legally responsible for the charge that has been filed against him or her.

**Arraignment** – A portion of the initial court hearing when the formal charges alleged in the petition are read. This is the stage at which a young person admits or denies the charges. Court-appointed or private counsel for the juvenile must be present at this proceeding.

**Detention** – Detention is short-term confinement in a juvenile detention facility, pending a court hearing for a suspected offense or a disposition for an adjudicated offense. Most jurisdictions require a detention hearing to be held within forty-eight (48) to seventy-two (72) hours after the detention commences to determine whether continued detention is necessary. Young people charged with delinquent acts may be detained by court order pending a hearing. There should be a finding of probable cause that the child committed the alleged delinquent act before pre-adjudicatory detention is permitted. If probable cause is found, in most jurisdictions evidence is required to be provided to show that the child is a flight risk or that the child is a danger to his or herself or others such that continued detention is required pending an adjudicatory hearing. At times, an adjudicated juvenile may be held in detention during a period of their commitment.

**Detention Hearing** – A hearing in which the judge decides whether to detain the child pending an adjudicatory hearing in a delinquency matter. Most jurisdictions require a detention hearing to be held within forty-eight (48) to seventy-two (72) hours after the detention commences to determine whether continued detention is necessary. There must be a finding of probable cause that the child committed the alleged delinquent act before pre-adjudicatory detention is permitted. If probable cause is found, in most jurisdictions there must also be a showing that the child is a flight risk or that the child is a danger to his or herself or others such that continued detention is required pending an adjudicatory hearing.

**Disposition** – The juvenile equivalent of an adult sentence, disposition is a final decision as to how a juvenile’s case is handled after an adjudication. Because juvenile courts expressly focus on rehabilitating children who are adjudicated as delinquent, dispositions typically include a treatment plan aimed at addressing perceived deficiencies in the child’s current living environment and behavior. To determine an appropriate disposition, the judge should consider evidence about the juvenile’s needs, available resources, and other relevant factors so as to design a plan to meet the juvenile’s rehabilitation and the interests of the state. Disposition outcomes vary and may include but are not limited to, fines, restitution, community service, in-home placement under supervision or probation, and out-of-home



placement in commitment facilities. See also *Disposition Hearing; Dispositional Order; Disposition Plan*.

**Diversion** – *Diversion keeps youth from entering the juvenile court system by dismissing the charge or referring the child to counseling or other social services. Diversion can occur according to the determination and/or discretion of multiple system actors: a law enforcement officer can use discretion to informally resolve a charge without filing a formal arrest record; a detention intake officer can use an assessment tool to demonstrate that a child meets the criteria for diversion; an intake agency can dismiss or resolve a charge without filing a referral to court; a court intake officer who receives a referral of a youth can make an informal, conditional, or other adjustment to divert the child from having to appear in court. By completing the requirements of a diversion program run by the police department, court, prosecution’s office, or an outside agency, the youth can avoid prosecution. While true diversion programs are those that divert the child from any formal charge in the juvenile system, many practitioners and jurisdictions use the term diversion to include programs that are initiated after a child is charged for an offense, where successful completion results in the dismissal of the petition without adjudication.*

**Incarceration** – *Incarceration (i.e., commitment to a private or state-run youth prison, a secure correctional facility) is the most punitive residential placement option for a youth who is adjudicated. Legal responsibility over the child is transferred to the state. A youth may also be subject to commitment as a sanction resulting from a probation revocation hearing.*

**Intake** – *In most cases, a child is released by law enforcement to a parent following arrest and a court officer may initiate intake by phone or letter in the following month. An immediate intake process is available in some jurisdictions to determine the appropriate course of action for the child. For cases judged to be sufficiently serious, a law enforcement officer may transport a child directly to a detention facility where an intake worker should assess the appropriate course of action to either detain the child, require an alternative to detention, or release to parents until a hearing or trial is set. court or an intake agency such as a community-based assessment center will receive of arrest or complaint by a citizen or school.*

**Parole** (also known as *After Care*) – *In-community supervision of a young person who has been returned to the community on conditional release following a commitment or incarceration. The youth must comply with certain conditions of release and is monitored by a caseworker or parole officer. Parole can be revoked if the youth does not comply with conditions.*

**Petition Filed** – *Filing a petition formally charges a youth with delinquent offenses. The petition may ask that the court assume jurisdiction over the juvenile or ask that the juvenile be transferred to criminal court for prosecution as an adult.*

**Probation** (also known as *administrative monitoring or protective supervision*) – *Court-ordered supervision following a juvenile court disposition takes the form of probation for law violations or on protective supervision for status offenses. A disposition option available to the court as an alternative to commitment, in which an adjudicated juvenile may be released back into the community under certain conditions and under the supervision of a probation officer for a specified period of time.*

**Referral to Court** – Referral to legal processing by court or intake agency can be a result of arrest or complaint by a citizen or school.

**Residential Placement** – Placement in an out-of-home program is the most severe possible sanction or consequence for a youth in juvenile court who has been found guilty of a charge. Depending on the resources and arrangements of the local justice system, residential placement can consist of a youth prison (also known as correctional facility), mental health treatment facility, substance abuse treatment program, or another congregate care program (e.g., "group home" or "safe house"). The case of incarceration in a youth prison is described in greater detail below.

**Status Offense** – An offense that would not be a crime if it were committed by an adult. Examples of these non-criminal offenses that are only applicable to children include: truancy, curfew violations, running away from home, incorrigibility, and ungovernability.

**Waiver** – Juvenile cases are waived to criminal court to be prosecuted as an adult.

## Appendix B: Study Sample for Interviews

### Interview Sample by Ethnicity & Sex

Ethnicity	Female	Male	Total
Asian American	6	4	10
Black	2	1	3
Latinx	3	1	4
Mixed Race	2	2	4
Native Hawaiian	2	5	7
Other Pacific Islander	0	2	2
White	5	4	9
Total	20	19	39

Overall Interview Sample*	
Sector or Role	Frequency
System Involved - self or immediate family member	5
Community-Based Organization	9
Schools	2
Mental Health Provider	1
County Law Enforcement	2
Detention Facility or Youth Prison Administrator	4
Other Detention Facility Staff	2
Juvenile Court Judge	5
Probation Officer	2
Probation Supervisor	7
Probation Chief	3
County Prosecutor	1
State Advisory Group on Juvenile Justice	6
Model Site Visit Facilitator	2
JDAI Site Coordinator	2
Technical Assistance Provider	4

*\*Note: individuals may be counted in more than 1 role or sector, based on experience reported.*

## Appendix C: Interview Guide

*Transformative Planning as Reforming and Reframing the Juvenile Justice System*  
Dissertation Research Project

### **Semi-Structured Interview Guide**

#### Format:

Open-ended questionnaire considering aspects of change. This document is intended as a guide rather than a list of questions to be followed. Interviews will be conducted in a conversational manner. Estimated duration is 45 minutes to 1 hour per interview.

#### Introductory statement:

Thank you for participating in this dissertation research study. I appreciate your time and believe that your experience and insights will be helpful in building understanding about the effect of the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI) on juvenile justice system reform. I would like to hear your observations and insights about the way juvenile justice reform has been planned and implemented through the JDAI. I am asking you to participate in this project because you have been involved with the JDAI process and have firsthand experience with changes in approaches to juvenile justice as well as changes in your organization or agency's practices that may have been influenced by JDAI.

#### Interview Questions:

1. Background:
  - a. Please describe what brought you into this work with the juvenile justice (JJ) system (including your background/training/experience) and how long you have been involved.
  - b. When was JDAI introduced to you or into your work?

I'd like to ask you to think about the effect of JDAI at two different levels: (a) the personal level, based on your own experience and observations of others' participation in JDAI and (b) the local juvenile justice system level, based on any factors that you identify that may have helped to facilitate changes in policy and practice beyond the reform of detention.

2. "Personal" Level:
  - a. What is memorable for you when you reflect on your own participation in JDAI or what you have seen and heard from other participants?
  - b. Can you share any stories of a person (including yourself) or group of people who can trace a change in their perspective and practice to their participation in JDAI? I'm hoping to learn more about **what** and **how** the JDAI process has sparked changes in both viewpoints and behavior.
  - c. If it hasn't come out in the stories above, can you identify any "points of reflection" in the JDAI process where people might be more likely to question "the way things have been done" (i.e., calling into question their own thinking / practice)?
  - d. If so, why do you think that particular experience had an impact?**
  - e. On the flip side, can you describe any points of resistance to JDAI that are common in participants (or if unique, then particularly notable)?
3. Local Juvenile Justice System Level:
  - a. In your view, have you seen any broader changes to juvenile justice policy and practice in **Hawai'i or Santa Cruz** that began with JDAI and then expanded?

- b. If so, can you identify any factors that may have helped to facilitate the “spread” of JDAI approaches beyond juvenile detention policies and practices?
  - c. Can you share any reasons that you think certain changes in approach and practice have succeeded and been sustained?
  - d. Conversely, can you share any reasons why you think other changes have faltered or failed to get traction?
4. Theory of Change:
- a. What in your view is the best way to help youth and their families who are involved in the juvenile justice system?
  - b. Has your experience with the JDAI process has shaped this view? If so, in what way?

## Appendix D: Consent Form

### University of Hawai'i

#### Consent to Participate in Research Project

##### Transformative Planning as Reforming and Reframing the Juvenile Justice System

My name is Tai-An Miao and I am a graduate student at the University of Hawai'i in the Department of Urban & Regional Planning. As part of the requirements for earning my graduate degree, I am doing a research project. The purpose of this research is to study the way juvenile justice reform has been planned and implemented through the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI). I am asking you to participate in this project because you have been closely involved with the JDAI process and have firsthand experience with changes to your organization or agency's approaches to juvenile justice that may have been influenced by JDAI.

**What activities will you do in the study and how long will the activities last?** If you participate, I will meet with you in person or contact you by phone for one interview or focus group between June 2014 – June 2016 and I may request one follow-up phone interview with you. If our initial meeting is in a focus group format, then 1-3 other participants from your JDAI site may be part of the group. The interview or focus group will last for about an hour and a half. If I contact you for a follow-up phone interview, that should last for about 30 minutes. I will record the interview or focus group using a digital audio recorder. I am recording the meeting so that I can later type a written record of what we talked about during the interview. If you participate, you will be one of about 30 people who I will interview (individually or in a focus group). If you participate, I will ask you to indicate your preference to initially meet for an individual interview or as part of a focus group. One example of the type of question I will ask is, "Has your own approach to your work changed as a result of being involved with JDAI?" If you would like to see a copy of all the questions that I will ask you, please let me know and I will provide the questions to you.

**Benefits and Risks:** There may be no direct benefits to you in participating in my research project. The results of this project may help develop new knowledge about effective approaches to planning for juvenile justice reform. I believe there is little or no risk to you in participating in this research project. There is a possibility you may become uncomfortable or stressed by answering an interview or focus group question or questions. If that happens, we will skip the question or take a break, or stop the interview or focus group. You may also withdraw from the project altogether at any time.

**Confidentiality and Privacy:** I will keep all information from the interviews and focus groups in a locked file in my office for the duration of the research project. All personal information will be kept confidential to the extent allowed by law. Only my University of Hawai'i advisor and I will have access to the information. Other public agencies with legal responsibility for research oversight, including the University of Hawai'i Human Studies Program, have authority to review research records for this study.

After I type up the interviews, I will destroy the audio-recordings. When I report the results of my research project, I will not use your name or any other personal information that would identify you. I will report my findings in a way that protects your privacy and confidentiality. If you would like a copy of my final report, please contact me at the number listed near the end of this consent form.

**Voluntary Participation:** Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You are free to choose to participate or not to participate in this project. At any point during this project, you can withdraw your permission without any consequences.

**Questions:** If you have any questions regarding this research project, please contact me via phone (808) 226-4751 or email ([taian@hawaii.edu](mailto:taian@hawaii.edu)).

You are also welcome to contact my faculty advisor, Karen Umemoto, Ph.D., at the University of Hawai'i, Department of Urban & Regional Planning with any questions you may have about this research project. You can contact her by phone at (808) 956-7383 or by email at [kumemoto@hawaii.edu](mailto:kumemoto@hawaii.edu).

If you have any questions about your rights in this project, you can contact the University of Hawai'i, Human Studies Program, by phone at (808) 956-5007 or by email at [uhirb@hawaii.edu](mailto:uhirb@hawaii.edu).

Please keep the section above for your records.

If you agree to participate in this project, please sign the following signature portion of this consent form and return it to:

Tai-An Miao

University of Hawai'i Department of Urban & Regional Planning

2424 Maile Way, Saunders 107

Honolulu, HI 96822

---

\*\*\* *Tear or cut here* \*\*\*

---

**Signature for Consent:**

I agree to participate in this research project entitled, *Transformative Planning as Reforming and Reframing the Juvenile Justice System*. I understand that I can change my mind about being in this project, at any time, by notifying the researcher.

**Your Name (Print):**

---

**Your Signature:**

---

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix E: Transformative Planning Example

One discrete example of collaborative planning in the Hawai'i case related to the JDAI strategy of reducing racial and ethnic disparities yields some insights about the kind of resources, capacities, and barriers associated with collaboration. Rather than relying on magical expectations for collaboration to be self-starting and self-sustaining, a state agency entered an 18-month contract with a team of planners from the University to coordinate and facilitate a planning process to address racial and ethnic disparities in the juvenile justice system. The planning team operated with staff equivalent to or exceeding one full-time position, leveraging student efforts with a practicum class and volunteer interns. The burden of coordination, scheduling, agenda-setting, meeting logistics and facilitation, follow-up communication, and report writing for the collaborative committee was administered by the University team. A large and consistent core of participants from different agencies and organizations convened monthly to design a community-based alternative to the existing justice system responses for youth who were charged with non-felony offenses (described above in the discussion of the Wahi Kana'aho). A plan for implementation and evaluation was developed and some funding for the pilot phase was secured.

The planning process was coupled with an experiential training based the cultural teaching of kanaka maoli kupuna (elders) passed down to the director of the Wahi Kana'aho. The training component enhanced the capacity of the original planning participants to imagine and reach into new institutional and systemic arrangements and rules. In addition, new stakeholders were identified and entered the planning process through their participation in training seminars that were opened to the public. Participants also brought in "back-up" from their agencies and organizations to be trained, other budding change agents and partners in reform to help shift the culture of the institutions that they inhabited. A cultural practitioner subcontracted as a consultant to facilitate the training, the Wahi Kana'aho director embodied the shift of philosophy and practice that the training was intended to introduce. In response to the research findings that kanaka maoli and other Pacific Islander youth had been persistently over-represented in the justice system for over two decades, the focus of the training was on the engagement of young people through a cultural lens of justice or 'righteousness,' beginning with healing and forgiveness in family relationships. Adult training participants assumed a learning posture, absorbed an overview of the same curriculum developed for use with young people, and were given the assignment to initiate healing in a personal relationship where forgiveness was needed in their own lives. Police officers, probation officers, educators, social workers, agency administrators, and community partners "did their homework" and returned to the closing training sessions with



intensely personal stories of challenge and hurt, healing and transformation – not completed, but in process – that wrought tears and laughter from a space of shared vulnerability, courage, and a sense of responsibility to equate justice with healing for young people who come into the system.

This embodiment of change punctured the integrity of the institutional logics and structures that resided in the consciousness of training participants, creating cognitive and emotional openings that enabled them to see and feel the existing system and its contradictions with fresh eyes. With echoes of the model site visit rhetoric emphasizing adult over-reaction to kids testing boundaries and making mistakes, one of the strongest takeaways cited by training participants was the confession, “I still learning too.” This touchpoint of the training was attributed to kupuna Aunty Anita Arce, a practitioner of ho’oponopono, the healing art of conflict resolution traditionally practiced in kanaka maoli families. Her statement captured the humility and humanity so often missing from U.S. justice system logic and policy. Rather than the benevolent state as an unsavory hybrid of parent, judge, and jailer for wayward children, the guiding image is one of a respected community elder who is still learning, pulling weeds alongside young people in the taro patch, still growing in his or her ability to sense and engage honestly with his or her own hurts, anger, fear, forgiveness, and love for family members.

## References

- Acido, J. T. (2017). Social biography: Nakem pedaogy in liberatory education. *Educational Perspectives*, 48(1-2), 48-54.
- Ahmed, S. (2006). The Nonperformativity of Antiracism. *Meridians: feminism, race, transnationalism*, 7(1), pp. 104-126.
- Ahmed, S. (2007). A phenomenology of whiteness. *Feminist theory*, 8(2), 149-168.
- Ahmed, S. (2012). *On being included: Racism and diversity in institutional life*. Duke University Press.
- Ahmed, S. (2017). A complaint biography. Feministkilljoys. Retrieved from: <https://feministkilljoys.com/2017/08/09/a-complaint-biography/>
- Alexander, E. R. (1998). Planning and implementation: Coordinative planning in practice, *International Planning Studies*, 3:3, 303-320.
- Alexander, E. R. (2007). Institutional perspectives on planning: Why? Where? How. *Institutions and planning*, 37-60.
- Allmendinger, P., & Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2002). The communicative turn in urban planning: Unravelling paradigmatic, imperialistic and moralistic dimensions. *Space and polity*, 6(1), 5-24.
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation (1999a). Pathways to Juvenile Detention Reform 2: Collaboration and Leadership. Feely, K. Baltimore, MD. Retrieved from <http://www.aecf.org/m/resourcedoc/AECF-CollaborationandLeadership-1999.pdf>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (1999b). Stanfield, R. *The JDAI Story: Building a better juvenile detention system*. Baltimore: MD. Retrieved from <http://www.aecf.org/resources/overview-the-jdai-story/>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (1999c). Steinhart, D. Planning for juvenile detention reform: a structured approach. Baltimore, MD. Retrieved from <http://jdaihelpdesk.org/SitePages/jdai-pathways-series.aspx>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (1999d). Busch, D. By the Numbers: The role of data and information in detention reform. Retrieved from <http://www.aecf.org/m/resourcedoc/AECF-BytheNumbers-1999.pdf>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2001). Bishop, D. & Griset, P. Replicating detention reform: lessons from the Florida Detention Initiative. Baltimore: MD. Retrieved from <http://www.aecf.org/m/resourcedoc/AECF-ReplicatingDetentionReform-2001.pdf>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2009). Mendel, R. Two decades of JDAI: From demonstration project to national standard. Baltimore: MD. Retrieved from <http://jdaihelpdesk.org/SitePages/jdai-policy-programs.aspx>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2009b). Economy challenges detention reform efforts. *JDAI News: Newsletter of the Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative*. Retrieved from: <https://multco.us/file/29152/download>

- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2012). ALN Discussion Item: Results-Based Leadership.
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2014a). Embedding Detention Reform in State Statutes, Rules and Regulations: A Guide to Detention Reform. Baltimore, MD. Retrieved from <http://www.aecf.org/resources/embedding-detention-reform-in-state-statutes-and-regulations>.
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2014b). Mendel, Richard. *Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative Progress Report*. Baltimore: MD. Retrieved from <http://cms.aecf.org/m/resourcedoc/aecf-2014JDAIProgressReport-2014.pdf#page=5>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2015a). FAQs on the JDAI Applied Leadership Network. Retrieved from: <http://www.aecf.org/blog/faq-on-the-jdai-applied-leadership-network/>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2015b). Mendel, Richard. The Applied Leadership Network: Casey's Innovative Model for Building Leadership Skills in JDAI Sites...and Putting Them to Use in Advancing Detention Reform. JDAI Newsletter. Retrieved from <http://www.jdaihelpdesk.org/JDAI%20Newsletters/JDAInewsletter%202015.pdf>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. Balis, N. (2015c). Taking stock of the Texas "Closer to Home" study: Ten lessons for the juvenile justice field. Retrieved from: <http://www.aecf.org/blog/taking-stock-of-the-texas-closer-to-home-study-ten-lessons-for-the-juvenile/>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2015d). JDAI Inter-site Conference Agenda. Retrieved from: <https://community.aecf.org/docs/DOC-52415>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2016). *About JDAI*. Retrieved from: <http://www.jdaihelpdesk.org/SitePages/about.aspx>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2017a). JDAI at 25: Insights from the annual results reports. Baltimore, MD. Retrieved from <http://www.aecf.org/m/resourcedoc/aecf-jdaiat25-2017.pdf>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2017b). Leadership Development. Retrieved from <http://www.aecf.org/work/leadership-development>.
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2017c). Balis, N. JDAI Celebrates 25 Years — and Significant Drops in Juvenile Incarceration and Crime. Blogpost. Retrieved from: <http://www.aecf.org/blog/jdai-celebrates-25-years-and-significant-drops-in-juvenile-incarceration-an/>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2017d). JDAI Inter-site Conference Agenda. Retrieved from: <https://community.aecf.org/docs/DOC-52896>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2018a). 21-Day Equity Habit-Building Challenge | Day 2. JDAIconnect. Retrieved from <https://community.aecf.org/docs/DOC-70664?commentID=59842#comment-59842>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation (2018b). *New Jersey becomes the first state to implement JDAI statewide*. Retrieved from: <https://www.aecf.org/blog/new-jersey-becomes-first-state-to-implement-jdai-statewide/>

- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2018c). Immigrant Youth in the Justice System: What You Need to Know in 2018. Retrieved from: <http://www.aecf.org/blog/immigrant-youth-in-the-youth-justice-system-what-you-need-to-know-in-2018/>
- The Annie E. Casey Foundation. (2018d). Transforming Juvenile Probation: A Vision For Getting It Right. Retrieved from: <http://www.aecf.org/resources/transforming-juvenile-probation/>
- Aptheker, B. (1989). *Tapestries of life: Women's work, women's consciousness, and the meaning of daily experience*. Univ of Massachusetts Press.
- Arguelles, P. (2012). *Opening talk for Roots and Remedies: Toward a Comprehensive Agenda for Healthy Communities*. New Orleans. June 22-24, 2012. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qkJSS8xcy1o>
- Argyris, C. (1995). Action science and organizational learning. *Journal of managerial psychology*, 10(6), 20-26.
- Argyris, C. and Schön, D. (1978) *Organizational Learning: a Theory of Action Perspective*. Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.
- Arizona Judicial Branch. (2018). *Juvenile detention alternatives initiative*. Juvenile Justice Services Division. Retrieved from: <https://www.azcourts.gov/jjsd/Operations-Budget/JDAI>
- Austin, J. L. (1975). *How to do things with words*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bachrach, P., & Baratz, M. S. (1962). Two faces of power. *American political science review*, 56(4), 947-952.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (2010). *The dialogic imagination: Four essays* (Vol. 1). University of Texas Press.
- Balibar, E. (1991). 'Is There a "Neo-Racism"?' Pp. 17–28 in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, edited by E. Balibar and I. Wallerstein. London: Verso.
- Balis, N. (2015). *JDAI State of the Initiative*. Presentation at the JDAI Inter-site Conference. Phoenix, Arizona.
- Balis, N. (2017). *State of the Initiative*. Presentation at the JDAI Inter-site Conference. The Annie E. Casey Foundation. Miami, Florida. Retrieved from: <http://jjie.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/StateoftheInitiative2017fordistributionltrhead.docx.pdf>
- Balis, N. (2018). *OJJDP's Words and Actions Should Not Slow Us Down*. JDAIconnect blog post. The Annie E. Casey Foundation. Retrieved from: <https://community.aecf.org/community/jdai-connect/blog/2018/07/17/ojjdps-words-and-actions-should-not-slow-us-down>
- Balajee, S. (2018). *Dear Shanti*. Othering and Belonging. Haas Institute for an Inclusive Society: Berkeley, CA. Retrieved from: <http://www.otheringandbelonging.org/dear-shanthi/>
- Barajas, J. (2018). *What we know about the police shooting death of Antwon Rose Jr.*, Public Broadcasting Station News Hour. Retrieved from:

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/what-we-know-about-the-police-shooting-death-of-antwon-rose-jr>

- Barkan, J. (2013). Plutocrats at Work: How Big Philanthropy Undermines Democracy. *Social Research, 80*(2), 635-652.
- Battilana, J., Leca, B., & Boxenbaum, E. (2009). How actors change institutions: Towards a theory of institutional entrepreneurship. *The Academy of Management Annals, 3*: 65 - 107.
- Baum, H.S. (1987). *The Invisible Bureaucracy: The unconscious in organizational problem-solving*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Baum, H. (1997). *The Organization of Hope: Communities Planning Themselves*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Baum, H. (1999). Community Organizations Recruiting Community Participation: Predicaments in Planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research, 18*, 187-199.
- Bednar, A. & Levie, W.H. (1993). Attitude change principles. In M. Fleming & W.H. Levie Eds., *Instructional message design: Principles from the behavioral and cognitive sciences* (pp. 283-304). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Educational Technology Publications.
- Bell, J. (2015). *Repairing the Breach: A Brief History of Youth of Color in the Justice System*. Oakland, CA: W. Haywood Burns Institute.
- Bell, J. & Mariscal, R. (2011). The Poorhouse Story. (n.d.). 1824 Law Establishing County Poorhouses in New York. Retrieved from: [http://www.poorhousestory.com/1824\\_law.htm](http://www.poorhousestory.com/1824_law.htm)
- Benda, B.B. and Tollet, C.L. (1999). A study of recidivism of serious and persistent offenders among adolescents. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 27*(2), 111-126.
- Bernstein, N. (2015). *Burning Down the House: The End of Juvenile Prison*. Presentation at the 2015 JDAI Inter-site Conference. Phoenix, Arizona.
- Boden, D. (1994). *The Business of Talk: Organizations in Action*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P. (1988). Viva la crise! For heterodoxy in social science. *Theory and Society, 17*: 773-787.
- Brayboy, R. (2005). Toward a tribal critical race theory in education. *The Urban Review*.
- Bridges, G., & Steen, S. (1998). Racial disparities in official assessments of juvenile offenders: Attribution stereotypes as mediating mechanisms. *American Sociological Review, 63*, 554-570.
- Bromley, D.B. (1986). *The case study method in psychology and related disciplines*. New York: Wiley.
- Brown, Elsa Barkley. (1989). African-American Women's Quilting: A Framework for Conceptualizing and Teaching African-American Women's History. *Signs, 14* (4):921-29.

- Burgess, P. (2013). Building the beloved community: A life practice. *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, 9, Kamehameha Schools.
- Bush, M. (2004). *Breaking the code of good intentions: Everyday forms of whiteness*. Lanham, Md.; Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Butler, J. (1993). *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex."* London: Routledge.
- Camp, J. & Heatherton, C. (2016). *Policing the planet: Why the policing crisis led to black lives matter*. London; New York: Verso.
- Cashin, S. (2004). THE FAILURES OF INTEGRATION: HOW RACE AND CLASS ARE UNDERMINING THE AMERICAN DREAM. Public Affairs.
- Castells, M. (1997). *The Power of Identity* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 2004). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chabria, A., Sullivan, M., and Reese, P. (2018). 'There is no justice yet.' Six months after Stephon Clark, Sacramento still seeks answers. Sacramento Bee. Retrieved from: <https://www.sacbee.com/news/local/crime/article217806175.html>
- Chan, P., Gin, L. C. U., Mar, R., & Wyman, N. M. (2007). More than ninety years of bay area history: group homes for Chinese children. *Chinese America: History and Perspectives*, 267-269.
- Clemens, E. S., & Cook, J. M. (1999). Politics and institutionalism: Explaining durability and change. *Annual review of sociology*, 25(1), 441-466.
- Cooper, G., & Daws, G. (1990). *Land and power in Hawai'i: The Democratic years*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Cooper, L.A. & Powe, N.R. (2004). Disparities in Patient Experience, Health Care Processes, and Outcomes: The Role of Patient-Provider Racial, Ethnic, and Language Concordance. New York: The Commonwealth Fund.
- Cooperrider, David L.; Whitney, Diana; and Stavros, Jacqueline M. (2008) *The appreciative inquiry handbook: for leaders of change* (2nd ed.). San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.
- Cochran-Smith, M., & Lytle, S. L. (Eds.). (1993). *Inside/outside: Teacher research and knowledge*. Teachers College Press.
- Collins, A. M., & Loftus, E. F. (1975). A spreading-activation theory of semantic processing. *Psychological review*, 82(6), 407.
- Cox, A. (2013). Juvenile Facility Staff Responses to Organizational Change. SUNY New Paltz.
- Creed, W. E. D., DeJordy, R., & Lok, J. (2010). Being the change: Resolving institutional contradiction through identity work. *Academy of Management Journal*, 53(6): 1336-1364.
- Critical Resistance. (2012). *The Abolitionist Toolkit*. Retrieved from: <http://criticalresistance.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/06/CR-Abolitionist-Toolkit-online.pdf>
- Dana, N. F., & Yendol-Hoppey, D. (2008). *The reflective educator's guide to professional development: Coaching inquiry-oriented learning communities*. Corwin

- Press. Davidoff, P. 1965. Advocacy and pluralism in planning. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31:331-338.
- Davies, J.S., & Trounstein, J. (2009). Urban politics and the new institutionalism, in Susan Clarke, Peter John and Karen Mossberger (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Urban Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2012, pp.51-70.
- Davis, M. (1998). *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the imagination of disaster*. 387-391.
- Deloria, V. (1988). *Custer died for your sins: An Indian manifesto*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Denzau, A. T., & North, D. C. (1994). Shared mental models: ideologies and institutions. *Kyklos*, 47(1), 3-31.
- DiMaggio, P. J. (1988). Interest and Agency in Institutional Theory. In L. G. Zucker (Ed.), *Institutional Patterns and Organizations: Culture and Environment* (pp. 3-21). Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.
- DiMaggio, P. J. (1997). Culture and Cognition, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 263-287.
- DiMaggio, P. J. (1991). Constructing an organizational field as a professional project: U.S. art museums, 1920-1940. In W. W. Powell & P. J. DiMaggio (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*: 267-292. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- DiMaggio, P. J., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review*, 48: 147-160.
- Douglas, M. (1986). *How Institutions Think*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.
- Dowd, A. C., and Bensimon, E. M. 2015. *Engaging the "Race Question": Accountability and Equity in U.S. Higher Education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Downs, A. (1997). The challenge of our declining big cities. *Housing Policy Debate*, 8(2), 359-408.
- DuBois, W. E. B. (1903). *The Souls of Black Folks*. (Reprint 1989). New York: Penguin Books.
- Duda, J. (2017). *Towards a Horizon of Abolition: A conversation with Mariame Kaba. The Next System*. Retrieved from: <https://thenextsystem.org/learn/stories/towards-horizon-abolition-conversation-mariame-kaba>
- Duggan, L. (2003). *The twilight of equality: Neoliberalism, cultural politics, and the attack on democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Dunn, K. (2000) Interviewing, in: I. Hay (Ed.) *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*, pp. 50-82, Oxford/Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Emmott, C., & Alexander, M. (2014). *Schemata*.
- Enos, K. (2013). Working collectively to restore ancestral abundance: TEDxManoa. October 2013. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w8iou8Rchqc>

- Epstein, R. A. (2008). *In pursuit of liberalism: international institutions in postcommunist Europe*. JHU Press.
- Fainstein, S. S. (2000). New directions in planning theory. *Urban affairs review*, 35(4), 451-478.
- Fainstein, S. S. (2010). *The just city*. Cornell University Press.
- Fairclough, N., & Graham, P. (2002). Marx as a critical discourse analyst: The genesis of a critical method and its relevance to the critique of global capital. *Estudios De Sociolingüística: Linguas, Sociedades E Culturas*, 3(1), 185-230.
- Fanon, F., Sartre, J. P., & Farrington, C. (1963). *The wretched of the earth*. New York: Grove Press.
- Feagin, J.R., Orum, A.M., & Sjoberg, G. (Eds.). (1991). *A Case Study for the case study*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Ferguson, S. (2017). Children, Childhood and Capitalism: A Social Reproduction Perspective. In Vogel L. (Author) & Bhattacharya T. (Ed.), *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression* (pp. 112-130). London: Pluto Press. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1vz494j.10>
- Festinger, L. (1957). *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. : Stanford University Press.
- Fine, M. (1994). Working the hyphens: Reinventing self and other in qualitative research. In Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (70-82), London: Sage.
- Fischer, F. (2003) *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Forester, J. 1989. *Planning in the Face of Power*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Forester, J. 1992. Envisioning the politics of public-sector dispute resolution. *Law, Politics, and Society* 12:247-286.
- Fraser, N. (1989). Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse, and Gender, *Contemporary Social Theory*, 17-34.
- Fraser, N. (2018). Roepke Lecture in Economic Geography—From Exploitation to Expropriation: Historic Geographies of Racialized Capitalism. *Economic Geography*, 94(1), 1-17.
- Frazier, C.E. and Cochran, J.K. (1986). Detention of Juveniles: Its Effects on Subsequent Juvenile Court Processing and Decisions. *Youth and Society*, Vol. 17, No. 3, p. 286-305.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury.
- Friedmann, J. (1973). *RETRACKING AMERICA; A THEORY OF TRANSACTIVE PLANNING*.



- Friedmann, J. (1987). *Planning in the public domain: From knowledge to action*. Princeton University Press.
- Friedmann, J. (1993). Toward a non-Euclidian mode of planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 59(4), 482-485.
- Frey, C. P. (1981). The House of Refuge for Colored Children. *The Journal of Negro History*, 66(1), 10-25. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2716872>
- Gallagher, C. J. (1997). *Drama-in-education: Adult teaching and learning for change in understanding and practice*. University of Wisconsin--Madison.
- Gately, (2014). JJIE Interview: Bart Lubow, the Man Behind JDAI. *Juvenile Justice Information Exchange*. Retrieved from <http://jjie.org/2014/02/05/the-jjie-interview-bart-lubow-the-man-behind-jdai/>
- Ghaye, T. (2008). *Building the reflective healthcare organization*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Glynn, M. A. 2008. Beyond constraint: How institutions enable identities. *The Sage handbook of organizational institutionalism*: 413-430.
- Giddens, A. (1982). *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gilliam, F., & Bales, S. (2003). Strategic frame analysis: Reframing America's youth. *Social Policy Report*, 15, 3-21.
- Gilliam, F., & Iyengar, S. (2005). Super-predators or victims of societal neglect? Framing effects in juvenile crime coverage. In K. Callaghan & F. Schnell (Eds.), *The framing of American politics* (pp. 148-166). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Gilmore, T. N., & Schall, E. (1996). Staying alive to learning: Integrating enactments with case teaching to develop leaders. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 15(3), 444-456.
- Giraldo, F. (2012). "Trends and Challenges in Justice Reform" presentation, 14th Annual Juvenile Justice Law Institute.
- Goff, P. A., Jackson, M. C., Leone, D., Lewis, B. A., Culotta, C. M., & DiTomasso, N. A. (2014). The essence of innocence: Consequences of dehumanizing Black children. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 106(4), 526.
- Goidel, R.K., Freeman, C.M., Procopio, S.T. (2006). The Impact of Television Viewing on Perceptions of Juvenile Crime. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 50(1), 119-139.
- Goldberg, D. T. (2009). *The threat of race: Reflections on racial neoliberalism*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- González, S. (2011). Bilbao and Barcelona 'in motion'. How urban regeneration 'models' travel and mutate in the global flows of policy tourism. *Urban Studies*, 48(7), 1397-1418.

- Goo, S. K. (2015). *After 200 years, Native Hawaiians make a comeback*. Pew Research Center. Retrieved from: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/04/06/native-hawaiian-population/>
- Goodwin, D. Sauni, P. & Were, L. (2015) *Cultural Fit: An Important Criterion for Effective Intervention and Evaluation Work*. Wellington: NZCER Press.
- Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, N. (2011). Kuleana Lahui: Collective responsibility for Hawaiian nationhood in activists' praxis. *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action*.
- Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, N. (2013). The seeds we planted : Portraits of a native Hawaiian charter school (First peoples (2010)).
- Green, W. M., & De Cruz, V. (2017). Enhancing Intercultural Competency Through Co-Curricular Activities in Higher Education: Three Examples From an American University. In *Student Culture and Identity in Higher Education* (pp. 59-74). IGI Global.
- Green, Z.G., & Molenkamp, R. J. (2005). The BART System of Group and Organizational Analysis Boundary, Authority, Role and Task.
- Greenwood, R., & Hinings, C. R. 1996. Understanding radical organizational change: Bringing together the old and the new institutionalism. *Academy of Management Review*, 21: 1022-1054.
- Greif, A. (2000). The fundamental problem of exchange: a research agenda in historical institutional analysis. *European Review of Economic History*, 4(3), 251-284.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of qualitative research*, 2(163-194), 105.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *The theory of communicative action*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Hajer, E. (2018). Young migrants: Victims of gangs or members of them? *New York Times*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/01/us/immigration-minors-children.html>
- Hajer, M. (1995). *The politics of environmental discourse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, B. L. (1992). From margins to center? The development and purpose of participatory research. *The American Sociologist*, 23(4), 15-28.
- Hall, P. A. (1993). Policy paradigms, social learning, and the state: the case of economic policymaking in Britain. *Comparative politics*, 275-296.
- Hancock, D. R., & Algozzine, B. (2016). *Doing case study research: A practical guide for beginning researchers*. Teachers College Press.
- Hau'ofa, E. (1993). *A new Oceania: Rediscovering our sea of islands*. School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House.

- Healey, P. (1992). Planning through debate: the communicative turn in planning theory. *Town planning review*, 63(2), 143.
- Healey, P. (1997). *Collaborative planning: Shaping places in fragmented societies*. UBC Press.
- Healey, P. (1999). Institutional analysis, communicative planning, and shaping places. *Journal of planning education and research*, 19(2), 111-121.
- Healey, P. (2007). The new institutionalism and the transformative goals of planning. *Institutions and planning*, 61, V87.
- Heclo, H. (1974). *Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Hedberg, B. (1981). How organizations learn and unlearn. *Handbook of Organizational Design* (1), 3-27.
- Hillier, J. (1998). Beyond confused noise: ideas toward communicative procedural justice. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 18(1), 14-24.
- Hirsch, P. M., & Lounsbury, M. 1997. Ending the family quarrel: Toward a reconciliation of "old" and "new" institutionalisms. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40: 406-418.
- Hirschhorn, Larry. 1988. *The Workplace Within*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Holden, M. (2008). Social learning in planning: Seattle's sustainable development codebooks. *Progress in planning*, 69:1-40.
- Holm, P. 1995. The dynamics of institutionalization: Transformation processes in Norwegian fisheries. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 40: 398-422.
- Holman, B. & Ziedenberg, J. (2011). *Dangers of Detention: The impact of incarcerating youth in detention and other secure facilities*. A Justice Policy Institute Report. Washington, DC.
- hooks, b. (1994). *Outlaw culture: Resisting representations*. New York: Routledge.
- Horvath, A., & Powell, W. W. (2016). Contributory or disruptive: Do new forms of philanthropy erode democracy?. *Philanthropy in democratic societies: History, institutions, values*, 87.
- Howes, C., & Osorio, J. (2010). *The Value of Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i
- Howlett, M., McConnell, A., & Perl, A. (2015). Streams and stages: Reconciling Kingdon and policy process theory. *European Journal of Political Research*, 54(3), 419-434.
- Huxley, M., & Yiftachel, O. (2000). New paradigm or old myopia? Unsettling the communicative turn in planning theory. *Journal of planning education and research*, 19(4), 333-342.
- Huyssen, A. (2003). *Present Pasts: Urban palimpsests and the politics of memory*. Stanford University Press.

- Immergut, E. M. (1998). The theoretical core of the new institutionalism. *Politics and society*, 26, 5-34.
- Immergut, E. (2008). Institutional Constraints on Policy. In (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*: Oxford University Press.
- Innes, J. E. (1990). *Knowledge and public policy: The search for meaningful indicators*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Innes, J.E. (2013). A turning point for planning theory? Overcoming dividing discourses, *Working Paper, No. 2013-04*, University of California, Institute of Urban and Regional Development (IURD), Berkeley, CA
- Innes, J., & Booher, D. (1999). Consensus Building as Role Playing and Bricolage. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 65(1), 9-26.
- Innes, J., Connick, S., & Booher, D. (2007). Informality as a Planning Strategy. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 73(2), 195-210.
- Issacs, Caroline. (2014). *The Treatment Industrial Complex: How for-profit prison corporations are undermining efforts to treat and rehabilitate prisoners for corporate gain*. American Friends Service.
- James, M. (2010). Popular education 2.0: Grassroots critical education. Retrieved from: <http://mjcriticalteaching.blogspot.com/2010/09/progressive-change.html>
- Kame'eleihiwa, L. (1992) *Native Lands and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- Kasl, E., & Elias, D. (2000). Creating new habits of mind in small groups. Learning as transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in progress, 229-252.
- Kassebaum, G., Lau, C., Kwack, D., Leverette, J., Allingham, E., & Marker, N. (1995). *Identifying disproportionate representation of ethnic groups in Hawai'i's juvenile justice system: Phase I*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Center for Youth Research.
- Keahiolalo-Karasuda, R. (2010). A genealogy of punishment in Hawai'i: The public hanging of Chief Kamanawa II. *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, 6, 147-167, Kamehameha Schools.
- Kelly, J. (2004). *Borrowed identities*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Kelly, J. (2008). Tale of two reforms: Annie E. Casey's initiative aims to reduce detention. Could it spread nationwide? Retrieved from <https://youthtoday.org/2008/11/tale-of-two-reforms-annie-e-caseys-jdai-aims-to-reduce-detention-could-it-spread-nationwide>
- Kendi, I.X. (2017). What will it take for the U.S. to eradicate racist ideas? *The Guardian*. Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jul/04/what-will-it-take-for-the-us-to-eradicate-racist-ideas>
- Kennedy, Marie. (2007). From advocacy planning to transformative community. *Planners Network: The Organization of Progressive Planning*. Retrieved from:

<http://www.plannersnetwork.org/2007/04/from-advocacy-planning-to-transformative-community-planning>

- Kennedy, Marie. (2009). Transformative Planning for Community Development. *Institute for Research on Labor and Employment*. UCLA: The Institute for Research on Labor and Employment. Retrieved from: <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/14r1s460>
- Kirmayer, L.J., Gone, J.P., & Moses, J. (2014). Rethinking historical trauma, *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 51(3) 299–319.
- Kim, A. (2012). Unimaginable change: Future directions in planning practice and research about institutional reform. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 77 (4), 328-337
- Kim, S. (2015). *Entrepreneurial Imagination in Detroit: Ethnography of Nascent Entrepreneurship in the Post-industrial Economy*. Doctoral dissertation. Proquest.
- Kim, S. (2014). To B or Not to B? Understanding the Emergence of Social Entrepreneurship in the Financialized Economy.
- Kincheloe, J. L., P. McLaren, & S. R. Steinberg (2012). Critical pedagogy and qualitative research: Moving the bricolage. In S. R. Steinberg & G. S. Cannella (eds.) *Critical qualitative research reader* (pp.14-32). New York: Peter Lang.
- King, B. G., Clemens, E. S., & Fry, M. (2011). Identity realization and organizational forms: Differentiation and consolidation of identities among Arizona's charter schools. *Organization Science*, 22(3), 554-572.
- Kretzmann, J. P., & McKnight, J. (1993). *Building communities from the inside out* (pp. 2-10). Evanston, IL: Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Neighborhood Innovations Network.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1970). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2nd enlarged ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- LaMarche, G. (2014). "Democracy and the Donor Class," *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, 55.
- Lawrence, T. B., & Suddaby, R. 2006. Institutions and institutional work. In S. Clegg, C. Hardy, T. B. Lawrence, & W. R. Nord (Eds.), *The sage handbook of organization studies*: 215- 254. London: Sage.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991) *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815355>
- Leblebici, H., Salancik, G. R., Copay, A., & King, T. (1991). Institutional change and the transformation of interorganizational fields: An organizational history of the US radio broadcasting industry. *Administrative science quarterly*, 333-363.
- Lee, N. (2014). Healing-centered youth organizing: A framework for 21<sup>st</sup> century youth leadership. *Urban Peace Movement*, 1-28.
- Lee, R. H. (1952). Delinquent, neglected, and dependent Chinese boys and girls of the San Francisco Bay region. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 36(1), 15-34.

- Leiber, M. (2003). *The contexts of juvenile justice decision making: When race matters*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Leiber, M. & Fox, K.C. (2005). Race and the impact of detention on juvenile justice decision making. *Crime & Delinquency*, 51, 470-497.
- Levitt, B., & March, J. G. (1988). Organizational learning. *Annual review of sociology*, 14(1), 319-338.
- Linde, C. (2015). *Narrative in Institutions*. In *The handbook of discourse analysis* (Vol. 1), eds. Tannen, Hamilton, & Schiffrin. John Wiley & Sons. p.518-535.
- Liston, D. & Whitcomb, J. & Borko, H. (2009). The End of Education in Teacher Education: Thoughts on Reclaiming the Role of Social Foundations in Teacher Education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 60, 107-111. 10.1177/0022487108331004.
- Lloyd, M.G., & Peel, D. (2012). Soft contractualism? Facilitating institutional change in planning and development relations in Scotland, *Urban Research & Practice*, 5:2, 239-255, DOI: 10.1080/17535069.2012.691620
- Lomawaima, K. T., & McCarty, T. L. (2006). *"To Remain an Indian: Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education"*. Teachers College Press.
- Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider*. Freedom.
- Lubow, B. (2014a). *Reflections on juvenile justice reform from Bart Lubow*. The Annie E. Casey Foundation. Retrieved from: <http://www.aecf.org/blog/reflections-from-bart-lubow/>
- Lubow, B. (2014b). JDAI State of the Initiative. Presentation at the JDAI Inter-site Conference.
- Lubow, B. (2018). *What is to be done?* JDAIconnect discussion. Retrieved from: <https://community.aecf.org/thread/52545>
- Lykes, M. B. & Crosby, A. (2014). Feminist Practice of Community and Participatory and Action Research. In Sharlene Hesse-Biber (Ed.) *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer. Second Edition*. Thousand Oak, CA: SAGE. pp. 145-181.
- Lynch, M. (2001). Lynch, M. (2001). From the punitive city to the gated community: Security and segregation across the social and penal landscape. *U. miami L. rev.*, 56, 89.
- Mack, J.W. (1909). The juvenile court. *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 104-122.
- Mahoney, M. R. (1995). Segregation, Whiteness, and Transformation. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*.
- March, J. G. (1991). Exploration and exploitation in organizational learning. *Organization science*, 2(1), 71-87.
- Marcuse, P, Connolly J, Novy J, et al. (2009) *Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.

- Mariscal, R. (2018). *Equity, Race, History, and Truth*. JDAIconnect discussion. The Annie E. Casey Foundation. Retrieved from: <https://community.aecf.org/message/56941>
- Marsden, R. (1999). *The nature of capital: Marx after Foucault*. London: Routledge.
- McCann, E. (2011). Veritable inventions: cities, policies and assemblage. *Area*, 43(2), 143-147.
- McCann, E., & Ward, K. (2012). Assembling urbanism: following policies and 'studying through' the sites and situations of policy making. *Environment and Planning A*, 44(1), 42-51.
- McCarthy, P. (2015). *No place for kids*. TEDx Pennsylvania. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Acm41p89IsY>
- McCarthy, P., Schiraldi, V., and Shark, M. (2016). The Future of Youth Justice: A Community-Based Alternative to the Youth Prison Model. *New Thinking in Community Corrections Bulletin*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice. NCJ 250142.
- McGuirk, P. M. (2001). Situating communicative planning theory: context, power, and knowledge. *Environment and Planning A*, 33(2), 195-217.
- Meiners, E. (2010). Educational Justice Work: Resisting our Carceral State. *Handbook of public pedagogy; education and learning beyond schooling*. pp. 543-554.
- Mezirow, J. (1990). *Fostering critical reflection in adulthood : A guide to transformative and emancipatory learning* (Jossey-Bass higher education series). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative Dimensions of Adult Learning*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Mezirow, J. (1997). Transformative learning: Theory to practice. *New directions for adult and continuing education*, (74), 5-12.
- Mezirow, J. (2000). *Learning to think like an adult. Learning as transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in progress*, 3-33.
- Merriam, S.B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Merry, S. E. (2000). *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law*, Princeton, NT: Princeton University Press.
- Merry, Sally Engle. (2002). "Crime and Criminality: Historical Differences in Hawai 'i." *The Contemporary Pacific*, 14, 412-424.
- Meyer, M. (2003). *Ho'oulu our time of becoming: Hawaiian epistemology and early writings*. Honolulu, HI: 'Ai Pōhaku Press.
- Meyer, R. E., & Hammerschmid, G. (2006). Changing institutional logics and executive identities: A managerial challenge to public administration in Austria. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 49(7), 1000-1014.

- Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American journal of sociology*, 83(2), 340-363.
- Minteer, B. (2002). Deweyan democracy and environmental ethics. In B. Minteer, & B. Pepperman Taylor (Eds.), *Democracy and the claims of nature: Critical perspectives for a new century* (pp. 33–48). Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Mohl, R.A. (2000). Planned Destruction: The Interstates and Central City Housing, in John F. Bauman et al. eds, *From Tenements To The Taylor Homes: In Search Of An Urban Housing Policy In Twentieth-Century America*, 226–45.
- Morse, J.M. & Richards, L. (2002). *Read me first for a Users Guide to Qualitative Methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Mullings, L. (2005) Interrogating racism: Toward an antiracist anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 34(1): 667–693.
- National Juvenile Defenders Center. (2014). Flowchart of the Juvenile Justice Process. Retrieved from: <http://njdc.info/flow-chart-of-the-juvenile-court-process/>
- National Research Council. 2013. *Reforming Juvenile Justice: A Developmental Approach*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/14685>.
- National Research Council. 2014. *Implementing Juvenile Justice Reform: The Federal Role*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/18753>.
- New York Immigrant Coalition. (2018). *Swept up in the Sweep*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nycic.org/2018/06/swept-up-in-the-sweep-report/>
- North, D. C. (1991). Institutions. *Journal of economic perspectives*, 5(1), 97-112.
- North, D. (1990). Institutions, economic theory and economic performance. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic performance*. Nueva York: Cambridge University Press.
- North, D.C., (2005). Institutions and the performance of economies over time. In Ménard, C., & Shirley, M. M. (Eds.). (2005). *Handbook of new institutional economics* (Vol. 9). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Obama, B. (2016). Presidential Proclamation – National Youth Justice Awareness Month, 2016. Retrieved from: <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/09/30/presidential-proclamation-national-youth-justice-awareness-month-2016>
- Offe, C. (1977). The theory of the Capitalist state and the problem of policy formation. In: L.N. Lindberg, & A. Alford (Eds), *Stress and contradiction in modern capitalism* (pp. 125–144). Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.
- Oliver, P., & Johnston, H. (2000). What a good idea! Ideologies and frames in social movement research. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 5(1), 37-54
- Oliveira, K. R. (2005). Two worldviews war: The struggles of a Hawaiian connection to the land. In G. Cant, A. Goodall, & J. Inns (Eds.), *Discourses and silences: Indigenous peoples, risks and resistance* (pp. 115–126). Christchurch, New Zealand: University of Canterbury, Department of Geography.



- Orfield, G. (2001). Metropolitan School Desegregation: Impacts on Metropolitan Society, in *Pursuit of a dream deferred: Linking housing and education policy*. John A. Powell et al. eds, 121.
- Osorio, J.K.K. (2004). *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action*. Cambridge university press.
- Parker, B. K. (2011). Kuleana: What kind of ancestor will you be? *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, 7, 25-47, Kamehameha Schools.
- Pederson, J. S., & Dobbin, F. (1997). The social invention of collective actors: On the rise of organizations. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40(4), 431-443.
- Peng, D. (2017). Why Hawai'i is a One-Party State. *Harvard Political Review*. Retrieved from: <http://harvardpolitics.com/united-states/why-hawaii-is-a-one-party-state>
- Pierson, P. (2000). *The limits of design: Explaining institutional origins and change*. *Governance*, 13(4), 475-499.
- Pillsbury, J.B. (2013). *MBTI Awareness at the Person-Role-System Level*. Retrieved from: <http://rbl-apps.com/MBTIPRS.php>
- Porter, L. (2016). *Unlearning the colonial cultures of planning*. Routledge.
- powell, j. (2017). powell discusses systemic racism in UB talk. *University of Buffalo Now*. Retrieved from: <https://www.buffalo.edu/ubnow/stories/2017/02/john-powell.html>
- powell, j. (2013). Beloved Community. *Bioneers*. Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society: Berkeley, CA. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=op86AlArZAk>
- powell, j. (1999). Race, poverty, and urban sprawl: Access to opportunities through regional strategies. In *Forum for Social Economics* (Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 1-20). Taylor & Francis Group.
- Powell, W. W. (1991). Expanding the scope of institutional analysis. In W. W. Powell & P. J. DiMaggio (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*: 183-203. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ragin, C. (1987) *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ragin, C. (1992). "Casing" and the Process of Social Inquiry', in Ragin, Charles C. and Becker, Howard S. (eds), *What is a Case? Exploring Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 217-226.
- Ragin, C. and Becker, H. (eds) (1992) *What is a Case? Exploring Foundations of Social Inquiry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rao, S. (2017). Scholar Ibram X. Kendi Launches Antiracist Research and Policy Center. *Colorlines*. Retrieved from: <https://www.colorlines.com/articles/scholar-ibram-x-kendi-launches-antiracist-research-and-policy-center>

- Rao, H., Monin, P., & Durand, R. (2003). Institutional change in Toqueville: Nouvelle cuisine as an identity movement in french gastronomy. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 108(4):795-843.
- Razack, N., & Jeffery, D. (2002). Critical race discourse and tenets for social work. *Canadian Social Work Review*, 19(2), 257–271.
- Redding, J. C., & Catalanello, R. F. (1994). *Strategic readiness: The making of the learning organization*. Jossey-Bass.
- Reich, R. (2016). Repugnant to the Whole Idea of Democracy? On the Role of Foundations in Democratic Societies. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 49(3), 466-472.
- Rhodes, L. (2004). *Total confinement: Madness and reason in the maximum security prison*. California Series in Public Anthropology. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rice, S. (2016). *Why I have not endorsed any candidate*. Retrieved from: <https://medium.com/@SamariaRice/why-i-have-not-endorsed-any-candidate-f315f9b5e4e1>
- Richardson, T. (2011). Navigating the problem of inclusion as enclosure in Native culture-based education: Theorizing shadow curriculum. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 41(3), 332-349.
- Ricoeur, P. (1984) *Time and Narrative*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Riek, B.M., Mania, E.W., & Gaertner, S.L. (2006). Intergroup threat and outgroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 10, 336-353.
- Robinson, G., Burke, L., & Millings, M. (2015). Criminal justice identities in transition: The case of devolved probation services in England and Wales. *British Journal of Criminology*, 56(1), 161-178.
- Rohrer, J. (2016). *Staking Claim : Settler Colonialism and Racialization in Hawai'i*.
- Rohrer, J. (2010). *Haoles in Hawai'i*. University of Hawai'i Press.
- Rosch, Eleanor (1978) 'Principles of Categorization', in Rosch, Eleanor and Lloyd, Barbara B. (eds), *Cognition and Categorization*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 27-48.
- Rothstein, R. (2014). The making of Ferguson: Public policies at the root of its troubles. *Economic Policy Institute*.
- Roy, A. (2006). Praxis in the time of empire. *Planning Theory*, 5(1), 7-29.
- Rusk, David. (1995). *Cities Without Suburbs*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press.
- Rusk, David. (1999) *Inside Game-Outside Game*. New York: Brookings Institution Press.
- Sandercock, L. (1997). *Towards cosmopolis: Planning for multicultural cities*. Academy Press.
- Sandercock, L., & Lyssiotis, P. (Eds.). (2003). *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel cities of the 21st century*. A&C Black.

- Santa Cruz County. (2014a). *Luna Evening Center*. JDAI Model Site Visit presentation.
- Santa Cruz County. (2014b). *Wraparound: A community-based alternative to out-of-home placement*. JDAI Model Site Visit Presentation.
- Santa Cruz County. (2015). *Probation Department*. Retrieved from: <http://www.co.santa-cruz.ca.us/Departments/ProbationDepartment.aspx>
- Santa Cruz County. (2016). *The Santa Cruz Story*. JDAI Model Site Visit Presentation. Retrieved from: <http://jdaihelpdesk.org/santacruz/The%20Santa%20Cruz%20Story%202016.pdf>.
- Schein, E. H. (1996). Culture: The missing concept in organization studies. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 41(2), 229-240. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/2393715>
- Schueller, M. J. (2009). *Locating race: Global sites of post-colonial citizenship*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Scott, B.B. (2011). Organizational Learning: A Literature Review. *Discussion Paper #2011-02*. Queen's University IRC
- Scott, W. R. (1991). Unpacking institutional arguments. In W. W. Powell & P. J. DiMaggio (Eds.), *The new institutionalism in organizational analysis*: 164-182. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Scott, W. R. (2014). *Institutions and organizations: Ideas, interests, and identities* (4th ed.): Sage Publications, Inc.
- Seo, M.G., & Creed, W. E. D. 2002. Institutional contradictions, praxis, and institutional change: A dialectical perspective. *The Academy of Management Review*, 27(2): 222-247.
- Sewell, W. H., Jr. (1992). A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation. *American Journal of Sociology*, 98, 1-29.
- Schön, D. (1971). *Beyond the stable state*. New York: Random House.
- Sheehy, M. R. (2000). *Un/making place: A topological analysis of time and space representation in an urban Appalachian seventh grade civics project* (Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University).
- Sheehy, M. (2004). Between a thick and a thin place: Changing literacy practices. *Spatializing literacy research and practice*, 15, 91-114.
- Simonson, M. and Maushak, N. (2001). Instructional technology and attitude change. In D. Jonassen (Ed.), *Handbook of research for educational communications and technology* (pp. 984-1016). Mahway, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Smith, L. T. (2013). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books Ltd.
- Smith, N. (2001). "Global Social Cleansing: Postliberal Revanchism and the Export of Zero Tolerance," *Social Justice* 28, no. 3, p.73.
- Smith, P. & Ragan, T.J. (1999). *Instructional design*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

- Snow, David. (2001). *Collective Identity and Expressive Forms. Center for the Study of Democracy*. UC Irvine: Center for the Study of Democracy.
- Song, L.K. (2015). Race, transformative planning, and the just city. *Planning Theory*, 14(2), pp.152-173.
- Stansell, C. (1982, Summer). Women, Children, and the Uses of the Streets: Class and Gender Conflict in New York City. *Feminist Studies*, 8(2), 309–335. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3177566>
- State of Hawai'i (2010). *Hawai'i Youth Correctional Facility recidivism study*. Honolulu: Department of the Attorney General. Retrieved from: <http://ag.hawaii.gov/cpja/files/2013/01/HYCF-Recidivism-Study-2005-2007.pdf>
- State of Hawai'i. Browning, R.M., Matsuoka, C.T. (2013). *Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI) in Hawai'i: The State of the Initiative*. Hawai'i State Judiciary.
- State of Hawai'i. (2016). Department of Business, Economic Development & Tourism: Research & Economic Analysis. Retrieved from: <http://dbedt.hawaii.gov>
- State of Hawai'i. (2017). *Juvenile justice transformation: JDAI impact slides presentation to the Hawai'i JDAI Executive Committee*. Hawai'i Judiciary.
- State of Indiana. (2017). *Juvenile detention alternatives initiative*. Department of Youth Services. Retrieved from: <https://www.in.gov/idoc/dys/2407.htm>
- Stillman, A. K. (2002). Of the people who love the land: Vernacular history in the poetry of modern Hawaiian hula. *Amerasia Journal*, 28(3), 85–108.
- Streeck, W., & Thelen, Kathleen. (2009). Institutional change in advanced political economies. In *Debating varieties of capitalism : A reader* (pp. 95-131).
- Sugrue, T.J. (2005). *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in action: Symbols and strategies. *American sociological review*, 273-286.
- Talen, E. (2000). The problem with community in planning," *Journal of Planning Literature*, 15: 171.
- Tannen, D., Hamilton, H. E., & Schiffrin, D. (2015). *The handbook of discourse analysis* (Vol. 1). John Wiley & Sons.
- Taylor, E. W. (2000). Analyzing research on transformative learning theory. Learning as transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in progress, 285-328.
- Taylor, E. W. (2017). Transformative learning theory. In *Transformative Learning Meets Bildung* (pp. 17-29). Brill Sense.
- Taylor, E. W., & Cranton, P. (2012). *The handbook of transformative learning: Theory, research, and practice*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Teitz, M. (2007). Planning and the new institutionalisms. *Institutions and planning*, 17-36.

- Thomas, J.M. (2008). The minority-race planner in the quest for a just city. *Planning Theory* 7(3): 227–247.
- Thornton, P. H., & Ocasio, W. 2008. Institutional logics. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, K. Sahlin-Andersson, & R. Suddaby (Eds.), *The sage handbook of organizational institutionalism*: SAGE.
- Thornton, P. H., Jones, C. & Kury, K. 2005. Institutional Logics and Institutional Change in Organizations: Transformation in Accounting, Architecture and Publishing. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*.
- Tong, B. (1974). A living death defended as the legacy of a superior culture. *Amerasia Journal*, 2(2), 178-202.
- Tuck, E. (2018). Biting the University That Feeds Us. In *dissident knowledge in higher education*. University of Regina Press.
- Tuck, E. (2012). "[Decolonization is not a metaphor.](#)" *Decolonization: indigeneity, education & society* 1(1), 1-40
- Umemoto, K., Spencer, J., Miao, T., and Momen, S. (2012). Disproportionate Minority Contact in the Hawai'i Juvenile Justice System, 2000-2010. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Department of Urban and Regional Planning.
- United States Census Bureau. (2010). QuickFacts, Santa Cruz County, California. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/table/PST045215/06087>
- United States Census Bureau. (2016). *QuickFacts, Hawai'i*. Retrieved from: <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/HI>
- VanDenBerg, J., & VanDenBerg, V. (2008). Reflecting on wraparound: Inspirations, innovations, and future directions. *The resource guide to wraparound. Portland, OR: National Wraparound Initiative, Research and Training Center for Family Support and Children's Mental Health*.
- Van Maanen, J. (2011). Ethnography as work: Some rules of engagement. *Journal of management studies*, 48(1), 218-234.
- Vaughan, D. (2005). On the relevance of ethnography for the production of public sociology and policy. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 56(3): 411-416.
- Verma, N. (Ed.). (2007). *Institutions and planning*. Elsevier.
- Vizenor, G. (2008). *Survivance: Narratives of native presence*. U of Nebraska Press.
- Wacquant, L.J.D. (1995). The comparative structure and experience of urban exclusion: 'race', class and space in Paris and Chicago. In: Katherine McFate, R. Lawson, and W.J. Wilson (eds.), *Poverty, inequality and the future of social policy: western states in the new world order*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation: pp. 543-70.
- Wacquant, L.J.D. (1996). The rise of advanced marginality: notes on its nature and implications. *Acta Sociologica*, 39: pp. 121-39.

- Wacquant, L. (2010, June). Crafting the neoliberal state: Workfare, prisonfare, and social insecurity. In *Sociological Forum* (Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 197-220). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Wacquant, L. (2014). Class, race and hyperincarceration in revanchist America. *Socialism and Democracy*, 28(3), 35-56.
- Wang, J. (2018). *Carceral capitalism*. Semiotext(e) intervention series.
- Weber, S. (2001). *Institutions and Interpretation*. Brooklyn: Zone Books.
- Weeks, J. and Galunic, C. (2005). The Origins of Institutions: An Evolutionary Perspective on Institutionalization. Working paper, INSEAD.
- Weick, K. E. (1989). Theory construction as disciplined imagination. *Academy of management review*, 14(4), 516-531.
- Weihner, G. R. (1989). Public policy and patterns of residential segregation. *Western Political Quarterly*, 42(4), 651-677.
- Weil, S. W., & McGill, I. (1989). Making sense of experiential learning: Diversity in theory and practice. Open University.
- Weiner, J. (2018). How Boots Riley infiltrated Hollywood. *New York Times*. Accessed from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/22/magazine/how-boots-riley-infiltrated-hollywood.html>
- Weir, M., & Skocpol, T. (1985). State structures and the possibilities for 'Keynesian' responses to the Great Depression in Sweden, Britain, and the United States. *Bringing the state back in*, 107.
- West, R. (1989). Feminism, Critical Social Theory, and Law, *University of Chicago Legal Review*; 1258.
- White, K.P. (2013). Person Role System Framework: Briefing Note.
- White, L. (1991). Seeking...the Faces of Otherness...: A Response to Professors Sarat Felstiner and Cahn, 77, *Cornell Law Review*, 1499-1511.
- Wicks, P. G., Reason, P., & Bradbury, H. (2008). Living inquiry: Personal, political and philosophical groundings for action research practice. *The Sage handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice*, 2, 15-30.
- Wildman, S., & Davis, A. (1995). Language and silence: Making systems of privilege invisible. *Santa Clara Law Review*, 35, 881-1379.
- Winkielman, P., Huber, D. E., Kavanagh, L., & Schwarz, N. (2012). Fluency of consistency: When thoughts fit nicely and flow smoothly. Cognitive consistency: A fundamental principle in social cognition, 89-111.
- Wood, B. E. (2012). Crafted within liminal spaces: Young people's everyday politics. *Political Geography*, 31(6), 337-346.
- Wu, D. P. (2007). Understanding transformation. Race, Poverty, & the Environment. Retrieved from: <http://www.reimaginerpe.org/files/Arguelles.14-2%20Education.pdf>

- Yiftachel, O., & Huxley, M. (2000). Debating dominance and relevance: notes on the 'communicative turn' in planning theory. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 24(4), 907-913.
- Yin, R.K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Zimbardo, P.G. & Leippe, M.R. (1991). *The psychology of attitude change and social influence*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Zinn, M. B., & Dill, B. T. (Eds.). (1993). *Women of color in US society*. Temple University Press.
- Zinn, D., Proteus, K., & Keet, A. (2009). Mutual vulnerability: A key principle in a humanising pedagogy in post-conflict societies. *Perspectives in Education*, 27(2), 109-119.