

# Using Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports to Assist In the Transition of Youth from Juvenile Justice Facilities Back to Their Neighborhood School: An Illustrative Example

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## **Abstract**

*Each year numerous school-aged youth with and without disabilities are arrested and incarcerated. For those youth with disabilities who are ages 16 or older, it is mandated under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act that they receive transition planning and services. For those youth who will be transitioning back into a school environment where that school implements three-tiered supports using the positive behavioral interventions and supports (PBIS) framework, PBIS may be used to structure the educational component of the youth's transition plan. PBIS is a proactive and preventative three-tiered framework designed to meet the needs of all students through a consistently and equitably applied discipline approach. An illustrative example of how this may be accomplished for a youth transitioning from a long-term, secure juvenile justice facility to a new neighborhood school is provided.*

*Dimitri is a 16-year-old youth with emotional and behavioral disorders (E/BD) and reading and math difficulties who will be released from a secure, long-term juvenile justice facility within the next month. He has been living at the facility the past 17 months. He has stated he wants to finish high school and has been earning high school credits to apply towards his diploma. As part of his transition plan, his juvenile justice*

*(jj) case manager, his mother, and several facility educational staff have been meeting to discuss how best to transition Dimitri from the facility to his neighborhood and neighborhood school. While Dimitri was incarcerated, his mother and father divorced and his mother moved to a new neighborhood, resulting in a new school district for him. With that in mind, his jj transition team is focusing on how to alleviate some of Dimitri's expressed fears of going to a new home and school, to provide him with opportunities for success in the new school, and to acknowledge his desire for his peers at the new school not to know he was incarcerated. His jj case manager contacted the principal of Dimitri's new school to learn about the supports and resources available to him. During this conversation, the jj case manager learned that the school personnel, with district support, implement positive behavioral interventions and supports (PBIS) across the three tiers (e.g., universal, secondary, and tertiary) as a means to support the unique needs of all their students. In addition, the principal asked that a member of the PBIS leadership team from her school be an involved member of Dimitri's transition team.*

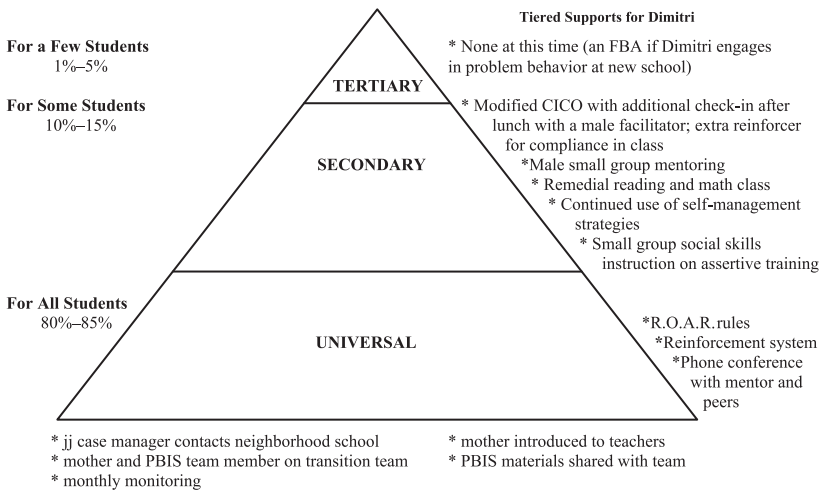
Each year, a large number of school-aged youth are arrested and incarcerated; approximately 93,000 any day of the week (National Juvenile Justice Network, 2009). Of these, 30% or more are eligible for special education services (Quinn, Rutherford, Leone, Osher & Poirier, 2005). Youth with disabilities often experience academic and social failure in school and are more susceptible to dropping out of school (Baltodano, Platt & Roberts, 2005). In addition, Christie, Jolivet, and Nelson (2005) suggested that school failure may result in a youth with or without disabilities experiencing higher rates of drop-out, delinquent behavior, and subsequent lifelong problems as adults. If a youth drops out of school, they are more likely to be involved with the juvenile court system than peers who stay in school (Baltodano, Platt & Roberts, 2005). Only about 43% of detained youth successfully reenter school (Hagner, Malloy, Mazzone & Cormier, 2008). Also, as few as 1.6% of previously incarcerated youth who reenter school graduated from high school (Haberman & Quinn, 1986). Because school-aged incarcerated youth are eventually released back to their neighborhoods, it is imperative that appropriate transition planning occur. However, for the many youth transitioning from juvenile justice facilities back to their neighborhoods and schools, the youth and family are not consistently provided useful transition services (Rutherford, Quinn, Leone, Garfinkel & Nelson, 2002). In fact, poor transition services for these youth fail to prevent future recidivism into the youth or adult legal systems as well as appropriate engagement and achievement in school, career, and life activities (Baltodano, Mathur & Rutherford, 2005).

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA, 2004) mandates that students with disabilities who are ages 16 and older (younger if appropriate)

receive transition planning and services guided by the student's Individual Education Plan team. Transition planning defined in IDEA (2004), focuses on transition from school to various post-school outcomes such as education, employment, and independent living activities. Such planning also is to be individualized and coordinated by various community, education, and vocation-based providers. The transition process for youth transitioning from secure facilities back to their community and neighborhood school is similar (Griller-Clark, 2004). Recommended transition practices for incarcerated youth are based on many factors, including (a) pre-placement, person-centered planning (Baltodano, Mathur & Rutherford, 2005; Hagner et al., 2008); (b) high school graduation focus with targeted educational support (Hagner et al., 2008); (c) employment support and career preparation (Unruh & Bullis, 2005); (d) wrap-around support services including mental health and counseling services (Hagner et al., 2008; Unruh & Bullis, 2005); (e) mentoring and social support (Baltodano, Platt & Roberts, 2005; Hagner et al., 2008); and (f) gender-specific interventions (Baltodano, Mathur & Rutherford, 2005; Unruh & Bullis, 2005).

One method for appropriately transitioning youth from juvenile justice facilities back to their neighborhood school is for the transition providers to be aware of what services and supports the youth's neighborhood school has available and which of these services and supports may be appropriate and useful to the youth. Youth with and without disabilities may require tiered-supports to address their short- and long-term behavioral and academic needs. One framework, positive behavioral interventions and supports (PBIS), may provide this type of tiered support during the transition process (Jolivette, Swoszowski, Josephs & McDaniel, 2011) and many researchers have been calling for its extension into the juvenile justice arena (e.g., Jolivette & Nelson, 2010; Nelson, Sprague, Jolivette, Smith & Tobin, 2009).

To illustrate how the PBIS framework may be used to assist in the transition of youth from juvenile justice facilities back to neighborhood schools, we provide a description of Dimitri and his family, a fictional illustration based on our (a) collective research and professional development experiences with PBIS in numerous typical schools and districts, and alternative education, residential, and juvenile justice facilities; (b) interactions with hundreds of youth with similar characteristics and needs as Dimitri; and (c) interactions with hundreds of teachers and administrators within these settings. In the example of Dimitri, it was disclosed that his new school implemented PBIS across the three tiers. PBIS complements the recommended transition practices for incarcerated youth



**Figure 1. PBIS Three-Tiered Triangle with Specific Supports for Dimitri**

by increasing collaboration and communication among providers and family members, frequent monitoring of student progress, and tiered support, which is flexible and data driven.

PBIS, a proactive and preventative three-tiered framework designed to meet the needs of all students with and without disabilities, has been successfully implemented in thousands of elementary, middle, and high schools across the nation ([www.pbis.org](http://www.pbis.org)) with increased academic performance and decreased behavioral incidents. The first tier, universal or primary interventions, focuses on the development of a PBIS leadership team for the school, the creation of three to five positively stated school rules, and the development of a behavioral matrix in which positive examples of student behavior per rule per area of the school (e.g., classrooms, hallways, cafeteria, library, bus area) are articulated. In addition, the PBIS leadership team and all staff within the school teach, model, and reinforce the school rules. This can be accomplished by using common lesson plans, reinforcement systems (e.g., added privileges for displays of expected positive behaviors), and consequences for displays of inappropriate behaviors. In all, the universal tier of PBIS, also referred to as school-wide PBIS, is the creation of a school-wide discipline program in which all students are equitably taught and fairly consequence for displays of appropriate and inappropriate behaviors in all areas of the school by all teachers and staff. When

school-wide PBIS is implemented with fidelity (a minimum of 80/80 per the School-wide Evaluation Tool: Horner et al., 2004), approximately 80% of the students will be successful (Simonsen, Sugai & Negron, 2008; Sugai et al., 2000).

The second tier, targeted interventions, focuses on students for whom the first tier was not successful and targets their unique needs. For this tier, the PBIS leadership team focuses on small group or classwide interventions in which the needs of students with common academic or social difficulties can be addressed (e.g., Ennis & Jolivette, 2011; Hawken, Adolphson, McLeod & Schumann, 2009). Examples of research-based targeted interventions used with students with and without E/BD include (a) check in/check out (CICO), a mentoring program designed to support the student from the beginning through to the end of the school day as well as keep the family apprised of their child's behavioral performance (e.g., Ennis, Jolivette, Swoszowski & Johnson, 2011; Hawkins & Horner, 2003; Swoszowski, Jolivette, Fredrick, Heflin & Gagne, 2011); (b) small group social skills instruction, usually conducted as a pull-out program for a specific skill set such as conflict resolution or anger management (e.g., Lane et al., 2003); (c) Check, Connect, Expect, which blends CICO with explicit social skill instruction within a four-level system (e.g., Cheney, Stage & Hawken, 2009); and (d) choice-making, which provides teachers with ten different types of choices for use with students in a classroom or school setting, including residential facilities (e.g., Jolivette, Wehby, Canale & Massey, 2001; Ramsey, Jolivette, Kennedy, & Patterson, 2010). Secondary tier interventions typically assist approximately 10%–15% of those students requiring additional supports.

For the remaining 1%–5% of students, tertiary tier interventions are warranted in addition to both the universal and secondary tiers. Students requiring tertiary tier supports display chronic and severe behavioral problems related to the school-wide rules. Examples of research-based tertiary interventions include: (a) functional behavioral assessment, an assessment framework in which the function maintaining inappropriate behavior is identified to assist in the selection of functionally-indicated behavioral interventions (e.g., Blair, Umbreit & Dunlap, 2007); (b) behavioral intervention planning, where a variety of function-indicated interventions are implemented across the student's school day as well as a crisis plan created (e.g., Fairbanks, Simonsen & Sugai, 2008); and (c) wrap-around services, where supports and services outside the school (e.g., social services, county nursing, therapies) are implemented to support the student's needs (e.g., Eber, Breen, Rose, Unizycki & London, 2008).

### **PBIS Plan**

Dimitri's new school-wide PBIS program was anchored via the school mascot—a cougar. The PBIS acronym created was "R.O.A.R.," which stood for be Respectful, be Obedient, be Attentive, and be Responsible. This acronym served as a quick reminder teachers may say to students (i.e., in the hallway—"students need to 'R.O.A.R.' like a cougar") throughout the day of the school's behavioral expectations. The teachers taught the specific R.O.A.R. behaviors using lesson plans with examples appropriate to their students for each rule and prominently placed the R.O.A.R. behavioral matrix in all areas of the school. The behavioral matrix consisted of specific behaviors that illustrated each letter of R.O.A.R. (written in the far left column) for all school environments (each environment written as a header per column) using a grid format. For example, be Attentive in the hallway would include behaviors such as "look out for others" and "note time available; in the cafeteria"—"eat and be ready to leave on time" and "watch for others carrying food trays; and in the restrooms"—"turn off running water" and "report problems for repair/clean-up." Several "booster sessions" of re-teaching R.O.A.R. behaviors to staff and students occurred throughout the school year whenever new staff and students joined the school and when the school discipline data showed increases in inappropriate behaviors. Sometimes this was by grade level and other times for the whole school, especially after school holidays and during statewide testing. In addition, teachers and staff gave students R.O.A.R. bucks when they displayed the expected behaviors. R.O.A.R. bucks were pieces of colored paper with a cougar paw print on it with each toe representing each letter of R.O.A.R. with a place to check which behavior was observed and the location of the behavior, a line for the student's name, and a place for staff initials. These R.O.A.R. bucks could then be "cashed in" for privileges (e.g., discounted/free admittance to the fall dance or football games, a homework pass for one evening, a "jeans pass" for a day) and tangibles (e.g., donuts with the assistant principal and three peers of one's choice in the teachers' lounge, school supplies, free lunch) every other Friday during homeroom. Students and homerooms with the most R.O.A.R. bucks at each term were recognized for their positive behaviors through a feature story in the school newspaper, being able to be the voice of the morning announcements for a week, and VIP seating with a guest at the basketball or baseball games with free snacks. The administrators and teachers monitored behavioral incidents each month by the overall number of incidents, location of incidents, the time of incidents, the inappropriate behavior per incident, and number of incidents per youth. Based on the data, the administrators and teachers identified youth who

may need supports beyond the universal tier. For the secondary tier, the school had the following supports in place: check in/check out, small group mentoring separated by gender and co-led by the school psychologist and several sports coaches, daily behavior report cards, peer-mediated positive supports, academic remediation, and conflict management/mediation small group instruction. At the tertiary tier, the behavior specialist was enlisted to train teachers on how to assist in conducting functional behavioral assessments; to write, implement, and monitor behavioral intervention plans; and to maintain and create new relationships with local agencies (e.g., mentoring programs, social services, counseling, financial supports) so that appropriate links and supports could be extended to the student and his/her family as needed. Given the tiered support offered to youth at this school, Dimitri's jj case manager reviewed the options in light of Dimitri's strengths and areas for focus.

*Since the jj facility was located three hours away from both Dimitri's mother and the new school, the jj case manager suggested that video and phone conference calls be their primary venue for communication. The PBIS leadership team member, who represented the grade Dimitri would be entering, suggested that Dimitri's mother come to the school after work to use the school's video and phone conference capabilities together. Either prior to or after each video or phone conference, the team member and Dimitri's mother engaged in the following activities: (a) Dimitri's mother was introduced to each of his teachers, given his schedule, and shown where his classrooms would be; (b) a tour of the school was given with introductions to the assistant principal in charge of discipline and the school psychologist who conducted or scheduled the secondary and tertiary levels of support; (c) copies of the school-wide PBIS program procedures were distributed and reviewed (these also were mailed to the jj case manager so they could be used directly with Dimitri in the facility; see Table 1 for a sample); and (d) information regarding how to contact the school and his teachers should there be questions or concerns was shared.*

*During the whole group video and phone conferences, the team discussed the supports Dimitri would need to be successful. It was decided that in addition to the school-wide R.O.A.R. PBIS plan, Dimitri would need some additional, possibly temporary, secondary-tier supports to address his unique needs. For example, the team decided that CICO (see Figure 1) with the family component would be useful in assisting Dimitri in setting daily behavioral goals, receiving consistent positive feedback from a male mentor, and keeping his mother apprised of his progress. The team adapted the school's typical CICO process and added a second "check in" after lunch since Dimitri would remain on campus for lunch with his peers. The team thought that the implementation of CICO might be a temporary support until Dimitri assimilated into his new school and would provide him with an adult male mentor. In addition, the team decided that the*

**Table 1. Overview of R.O.A.R. PBIS Plan**

<i>Rules</i>	<i>Verbal Prompt</i>
be Respective	"Students need to R.O.A.R. like a cougar."
be Obedient	
be Attentive	
be Responsible	

***Behavioral Matrix***

	<b>Hallway</b>	<b>Cafeteria</b>	<b>Restrooms</b>
<b>be Respectful</b>	* Use a quiet voice * Hands and feet to self	* Use an inside voice * Clean up after yourself	* Keep restroom clean * Wash hands before leaving
<b>be Obedient</b>	* Go directly to your next class * Be where you belong	* Follow rules * Respond when an adult speaks to you	* Use restroom between classes * Do your business
<b>be Attentive</b>	* Look out for others * Note time available	* Eat and be ready to leave on time * Watch for others carrying food	* Turn off running water * Report problems for repair/cleanup
<b>be Responsible</b>	* Maintain neat locker * Be on time to class	* Keep account balance current * Be ready at register	* Put trash in trash can * Go in and get out

***Lesson Plans***

All grade level R.O.A.R. lesson plans, activities, and assessments are located in R.O.A.R. notebooks in the teacher lounge, workrooms, and copy room as well as posted online under "teacher resources."

***Student Reinforcement***

Every student may earn R.O.A.R. bucks from all school staff for displaying the R.O.A.R. behaviors. R.O.A.R. bucks may be cashed in every other Friday before school for school supplies, free admission to school activities, and school privileges.

***Home-School Connection***

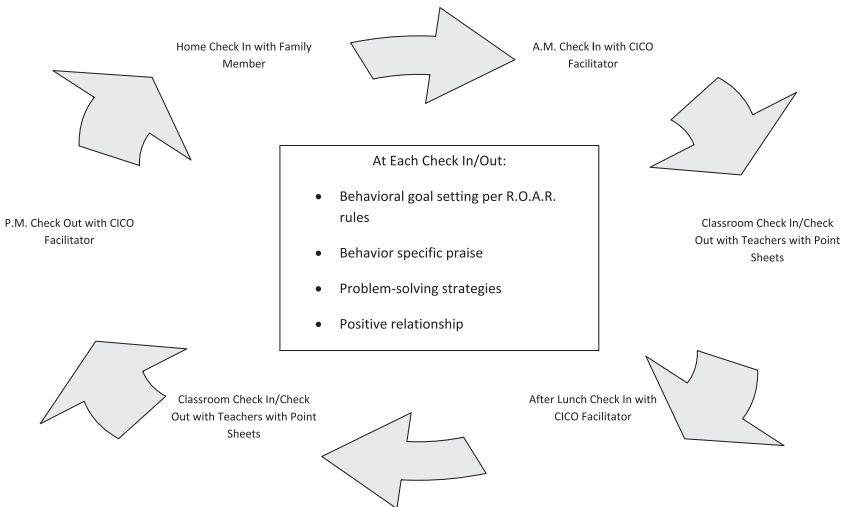
R.O.A.R. newsletter, conversation starters with your child, and data summaries are posted on the school website each month. Paper copies are available upon request.

***Data Review***

Monthly "BIG 5" (number of office discipline referrals, location, time, behavior type, and referrals per student) is electronically shared with all school staff and posted on the main bulletin board at the school entrance. Monthly and yearly behavioral goals also are posted.



male small group mentoring program held every Monday and Wednesday at lunch would be beneficial as it would provide Dimitri with a group of appropriate peers to interact with after school, a list of after-school activities supported by the school and other local agencies, and a venue for him to ask about male issues (e.g., hygiene, fashion, dating). A third support identified was remedial reading and math instruction as recent test results confirmed that Dimitri is performing two years below his peers in reading and one year below in math. The team adjusted his school schedule to include remedial reading provided during his study skills class and remedial math provided during the second half of the lunch hour two days a week. Because Dimitri had demonstrated both academic and social growth within the facility and earned a spot to live within the honors cottage, the team did not think that a functional behavioral assessment needed to be conducted until data at his new school suggested one. With the team in agreement of what classes and universal- and secondary-tier PBIS supports Dimitri would need once transitioned to his new school, the team devised a plan to prepare him for the transition. The transition plan focused on the following: (a) preparing Dimitri for his new school—a copy of his new schedule of classes and names of his teachers were sent to the jj case manager; (b) preparing Dimitri for his school’s expectations—a copy of the school’s school-wide PBIS plan, including the acronym, behavioral matrix, lesson plans, and reinforcement plans along with descriptions of the identified secondary-tier interventions were sent; and (c) preparing Dimitri for his new home and neighborhood—pictures of his



**Figure 2. Sample Check In/Check Out Secondary-Tier Intervention for Dimitri**

new school, home, and neighborhood were taken and sent along with a list of after-school activities and part-time employment options.

### **Transitioning with PBIS**

*With the above decided, it was time for the jj case manager to continue Dimitri's transition. The case manager engaged in numerous activities and discussions with Dimitri prior to his release. These included (a) a discussion of how his mother has met his teachers, visited the school, and formed a positive relationship with the assistant principal who is in charge of discipline, and that his mother says this person is nice and fair; (b) a review of his new schedule including the types of books and topics being currently discussed/taught along with how some classes are taught one-on-one, some in small or large groups, while others involve class discussion and group work; (c) a comprehensive review of the school-wide PBIS plan; and (d) a discussion of the various other supports he will be given.*

*In regards to (c) and (d) above, the case manager taught, modeled, and reinforced the new school's PBIS rules. First, the name of the school and mascot were discussed along with how this school had very specific behavioral expectations. Second, R.O.A.R. was taught in terms of the acronym and how and when one would hear or see it. Third, specific behavioral examples of each letter of R.O.A.R. and how one would behave given specific locations in the school were discussed. In addition, the behavioral matrix and copies of R.O.A.R. posters displayed in the school were reviewed. A copy of the school's most current newsletter, which focused on R.O.A.R. from the viewpoint of students from each grade level in the school was read and discussed. At this point, the case manager and Dimitri discussed similarities and differences between his new school's expectations and those of the facility. In particular, they discussed how Dimitri would be provided with much more freedom and less supervision while at school and how R.O.A.R. is a framework for him to be successful. Also, they discussed and reviewed how some of the self-management strategies Dimitri used within the facility could be used in his new school as a means to help him problem-solve issues related to the transition of having more freedom within the new school. Fourth, they discussed the R.O.A.R. bucks and what privileges and tangibles Dimitri could purchase with them. The case manager provided many examples of how the other students used R.O.A.R. bucks and how students were provided with opportunities to make suggestions to the reinforcement list. During the discussion, they talked about how Dimitri may use R.O.A.R. bucks he earns. Fifth, they discussed how his discipline data would be monitored and that decisions would be made based on his progress. In addition, Dimitri was told that he could be provided with a monthly behavioral summary if he wanted. Sixth, specifics of CICO were discussed, including the name of his mentor, what R.O.A.R. form would be used for*

school and home, the timeline and location for each check in/out, and reinforcement available for compliance to the program. In addition, a video conference between Dimitri and his CICO facilitator was scheduled so that introductions could be made and a relationship could begin to be formed. Seventh, the small group male mentoring program was discussed. Topics that his peers wanted discussed that school year were presented and Dimitri was asked to contribute additional topics. A phone conference call was scheduled with the mentoring program coach and several of the other youth so introductions could be made. Dimitri could be informed as to what topics would be discussed next, and to determine if there were topics he wanted discussed too. Eighth, a phone conference call with the most recent male students who earned the most R.O.A.R. bucks was scheduled. This provided Dimitri with an opportunity to talk directly to his future peers and ask questions. During both of these phone conferences, Dimitri's location was not disclosed and he was termed as being a new student from out of town to protect his confidentiality. Ninth, the case manager and Dimitri "googled" his new school and took a virtual tour, saw pictures of his teachers and mentors, saw examples of student-made bulletin boards related to R.O.A.R., and read the last few monthly school newsletters, which were focused on R.O.A.R.

Dimitri's first few months back at home and at his new school went well with only a few rough spots. Dimitri's mother reported that he had some initial difficulties getting accustomed to living with just her as contact with his father was sporadic; however, they were both transitioning as best they could. In addition, Dimitri voiced that it was difficult to meet new friends and that activities he wanted to engage in cost money he did not have. His mother told Dimitri that he may apply for a part-time job in the neighborhood to help offset costs for the activities he wants to engage in and that she would match his funds. In addition, she encouraged him to engage in R.O.A.R. behaviors at school so he could earn R.O.A.R. bucks to apply towards the football games and spring mixers. In terms of his first three months of school transition, Dimitri received six office discipline referrals with one for classroom disruption, one for skipping math class, and the other four for bullying other students. His school PBIS leadership team member added another secondary-tier intervention to his support plan to address the bullying. Dimitri now is part of a small group of students who are being taught how to be assertive without using bullying tactics, which is led by the school psychologist, the first half of homeroom two mornings a week. Initial reports suggest this is helping Dimitri and he will continue in this group likely for the remainder of the school year. Dimitri also had difficulties following his school schedule and reported he did not like his remedial math class; however, after talking with his CICO facilitator, he is complying with his schedule and his behavior in math has improved. To assist Dimitri in attending his classes as scheduled and complying with teacher requests while in class, Dimitri is able to earn an

*extra R.O.A.R. buck during his CICO check out at the end of the day if he attended each class and completed requests in all his classes. This extra reinforcement is temporary until Dimitri establishes a history of engaging in these behaviors.*

### **Possible Barriers to Transitioning within the PBIS Tiers**

As with any transition plan, possible barriers to the initial plan can and are likely to occur. In the illustrative example of Dimitri, his new teachers and CICO facilitator made several changes to his PBIS tiered supports given his behavior data and his individual requests. Although not barriers per se, it does highlight the flexibility of transition plans. There are several possible barriers which youth like Dimitri may face that could influence transition planning using the PBIS framework. First, a case manager may find that learning about and understanding to the point of being able to teach someone else a school's PBIS plan is time consuming and/or unrealistic given their own understanding of PBIS and the various tiers of support. With PBIS being implemented on such a wide scale across the country and with the availability of free, accessible training modules, presentations, school examples, etc., available from the National Technical Center of Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports ([www.pbis.org](http://www.pbis.org)), any person wanting to learn more about PBIS can do so. Second, the level of involvement of the youth's family can vary. For Dimitri, his mother was involved, interested, and part of the team making decisions regarding his transition plan. For other youth like Dimitri, family involvement may be sporadic or nonexistent. It will be important for the transition team to be realistic of the level of family involvement during the transition planning so that the youth is not provided with tiered support reliant on family participation to be successful. For example, CICO can include the home component or it can be school-based only depending on levels of family involvement. Third, the level of commitment and motivation of the youth to the transition plan and process is dependent on the individual. Dimitri was provided with opportunities to be directly involved in the process, a venue to express his fears and anxieties prior to transitioning, and adults within the new school to advocate for him. However, there will be some youth whose transition will not be smooth and may require more secondary- and/or tertiary-tiered supports either temporarily or long-term. Also, some youth may display higher levels of inappropriate behaviors within the new school during class, during transitions, and/or before and after school. Youth who were incarcerated prior to the transition may have difficulties adjusting to the new levels of freedom and less supervision, especially if returning to their home neighborhood. For those youth, additional check in/check outs may be

appropriate between classes, lunch periods or study skill classes may be more structured with required secondary-tiered supports, and specific after-school activities (e.g., joining a sports team, being a sports assistant to the coach) may be pre-selected. No matter the potential barriers the transition team and the youth may encounter, the PBIS framework and tiered supports provide a venue for possible facilitation of future success.

A primary component of effective PBIS frameworks is the positive relationship between family and school (Eber, Sugai & Smith, 2001). Transition from a jj facility to a neighborhood school exacerbates the need for this useful component. As seen with Dimitri, transitioning youth have complex and unique emotional and learning needs, which can be met with PBIS and its use in transition planning. This illustrative example is just one example of how PBIS can be embedded within a comprehensive transition plan for youth with disabilities who will return to their neighborhood school from secure juvenile facilities. The PBIS framework is positive and proactive but not prescriptive (Lewis & Sugai, 1999). Because available supports and interventions within neighborhood schools implementing PBIS vary, individual transition plans incorporating PBIS will differ. Successful integration of PBIS in jj transition plans also will depend on the youth's length of detention (short- or long-term) for planning purposes and whether the youth is returning to a familiar neighborhood school or not. With successful transition from a jj facility and positive academic and behavioral progress in the neighborhood school, once detained youth may reintegrate and engage in prosocial behaviors such as graduating high school, gaining employment, and living independently.

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