



Signature Report

Motion 15391

Proposed No. 2019-0147.1

Sponsors Gossett

1 A MOTION acknowledging receipt of the Report in
2 Response to Proviso on Zero Youth Detention in compliance
3 with the 2019-2020 Biennial Budget Ordinance, Ordinance
4 18835, Section 95, Proviso P4

5 BE IT ORDAINED BY THE COUNCIL OF KING COUNTY:

6 WHEREAS, the 2019-2020 Biennial Budget Ordinance, Ordinance 18835,
7 Section 95, Proviso P4, requires the executive to transmit a motion and report that
8 provides additional information on the public health approach to zero youth detention
9 strategy by March 29, 2019, and

10 WHEREAS, the attached report provides additional information on the public
11 health approach to zero youth detention strategy, and

12 WHEREAS, the report includes an explanation of how the public health approach
13 to zero youth detention strategy connects with the best starts for kids stopping the school-
14 to-prison pipeline strategy, and

15 WHEREAS, the report includes an overview of the five components of past
16 successful gang intervention programs in the county and assessment on how these
17 components can be incorporated into the public health approach to zero youth detention
18 strategy, and

19 WHEREAS, the report includes additional information on the public health

20 approach to zero youth detention strategy that have been developed since the adoption of
21 the 2019-2020 Biennial Budget Ordinance, Ordinance 18835, including detailed
22 information on the one million dollars proposed to expand community support related to
23 electronic home monitoring, and

24 WHEREAS, the council acknowledges receipt of the report submitted by the
25 executive;

26 NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT MOVED by the Council of King County:

27 The Report in Response to Proviso on Zero Youth Detention, which is
28 Attachment A to this motion provides additional information on the public health

29 approach to zero youth detention strategy, in compliance with the 2018-2019 Biennial
30 Budget Ordinance, Ordinance 18835, Section, 95, Proviso P4, is hereby received.
31

Motion 15391 was introduced on 4/17/2019 and passed by the Metropolitan King
County Council on 5/1/2019, by the following vote:

Yes: 9 - Mr. von Reichbauer, Mr. Gossett, Ms. Lambert, Mr. Dunn,
Mr. McDermott, Mr. Dembowski, Mr. Upthegrove, Ms. Kohl-Welles
and Ms. Balducci



KING COUNTY COUNCIL
KING COUNTY, WASHINGTON

Rod Dembowski, Chair

ATTEST:

Melani Pedroza, Clerk of the Council

Attachments: A. Report in Response to Proviso on Zero Youth Detention

Report in Response to Proviso on Zero Youth Detention

March 29, 2019

Report in Response to Proviso on Zero Youth Detention (Ordinance 18835)

The Road Map to Zero Youth Detention is King County's strategic plan to not only further reduce the use of secure detention for youth, but to launch this County on a journey to eliminate it.... Informed by youth and their families, communities, and employees whose work touches the lives of youth, the Road Map outlines practical solutions designed to improve community safety, help young people thrive, keep them from entering the juvenile legal system, divert them from further legal system involvement, and support strong, unified communities.¹

This report is in response to the following proviso included in Section 95 Public Health of the 2019-2020 Adopted Budget Ordinance (18835).

P4 PROVIDED FURTHER THAT:

Of this appropriation, \$2,700,000 shall not be expended or encumbered until the executive transmits a report that provides additional information on the public health approach to zero youth detention strategy and a motion that should acknowledge receipt of the report and reference the subject matter, the proviso's ordinance, ordinance section and proviso number in both the title and body of the motion and a motion acknowledging receipt of the report is passed by the council.

The report shall include, but not be limited to:

A. An explanation of how the public health approach to zero youth detention strategy connects with the best starts for kids's stopping the school-to-prison pipeline strategy. The explanation should include, but not be limited to, coordination of the two strategies, areas of overlap between the two strategies particularly with regards to community organizations that will be contracting with the county on implementing both strategies and the individuals that would benefit from the two strategies;

B. Evaluation of past successful gang intervention programs in the county such as the Seattle Team for Youth and Safety Mop and determine how the principles and strategies of these past programs can be incorporated into the public health approach to zero youth detention strategy;

C. Additional information on the public health approach to zero youth detention strategy that have been developed since the adoption of this ordinance, including, but not limited to, detailed information on the one million dollars proposed to expand community support related to electronic home monitoring.

¹ King County Zero Youth Detention webpage within Public Health – Seattle and King County (<https://www.kingcounty.gov/depts/health/zero-youth-detention.aspx>)

The Road Map to Zero Youth Detention (ZYD) is an ambitious agenda to improve community safety and achieve better outcomes for youth and their families in crisis and at risk of involvement in the juvenile legal system. It is based on research that life outcomes improve for youth by engaging with culturally responsive and restorative community-based solutions instead of the formal juvenile legal system. The Road Map also demonstrates that achieving zero youth in detention will not be possible without focusing on eliminating the racial inequities that persist in systems and policies that touch the lives of youth and their families in the most impacted communities.

The Road Map outlines a wide-range of solutions organized by the following five objectives:

1. Lead with racial equity
2. Prevent youth from entering the juvenile legal system by focusing upstream and on systems to have the greatest impact
3. Divert youth from further law enforcement, formal legal processes, and secure detention into community-based options
4. Support youth and families to reduce recurrence of legal system involvement and increase healthy outcomes
5. Align and optimize connections between systems to increase effectiveness²

One draw for many partners in supporting the Road Map is the adoption of a public health approach for serving youth and their families. This approach builds on historical and current reform efforts in the juvenile legal system to shift the focus on the well-being of all youth and their families, ensure solutions are based on the science of adolescent brain development, and engage families and communities at all stages of implementing the Road Map. A public health approach also brings partners and systems together to remove the systemic barriers preventing all youth and families from having the opportunity to thrive. In its *Initial Recommendations to the Path to Zero Youth Detention*, the Children and Youth Advisory Board describes that a public health approach “links upstream causes to downstream effects and understands the interconnectedness of multiple sectors in our communities.”

The Road Map to ZYD makes it clear that partnerships are essential. The strategies and actions in the Road Map are based on feedback and proposals from community partners such as the Juvenile Justice Equity Steering Committee (JJESC) and the Children and Youth Advisory Board (CYAB). Partnerships are also essential to implement the Road Map. By partnering with Best Starts for Kids (BSK), JJESC, CYAB, Mental Illness and Drug Dependency (MIDD), and Veterans, Seniors, and Human Services Levy (VSHSL), ZYD will join an ensemble of complementary initiatives that support each other to achieve better outcomes for youth, families, and communities.

This report is organized into three sections – one section for each topic as outlined in the proviso – followed by a conclusion.

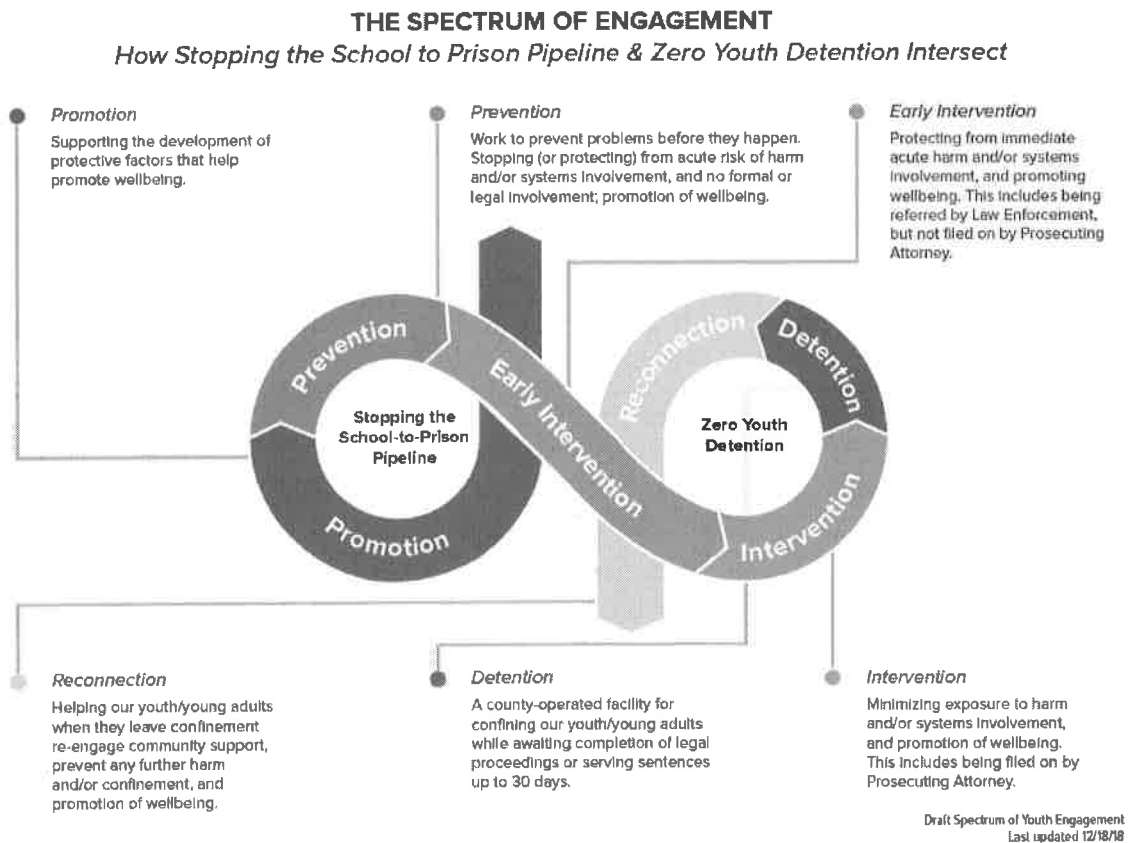
² The Road Map to ZYD can be found at <https://www.kingcounty.gov/depts/health/zero-youth-detention.aspx>.

Section A

An explanation of how the public health approach to zero youth detention strategy connects with the best starts for kids's stopping the school-to-prison pipeline strategy. The explanation should include, but not be limited to, coordination of the two strategies, areas of overlap between the two strategies particularly with regards to community organizations that will be contracting with the county on implementing both strategies and the individuals that would benefit from the two strategies.

The partnership between ZYD and BSK's Stopping the School to Prison Pipeline (SSPP) is a prime example of bringing together complementary efforts that will result in better outcomes for youth, families, and communities. Together, ZYD and SSPP cover the spectrum of engagement for working with youth, families, communities, and systems: promotion, prevention, early intervention, intervention, detention, and reconnection.

The chart below shows how ZYD and SSPP complement and partner with each other across this spectrum. SSPP primarily focuses on promotion, prevention, early intervention but also assists with intervention, detention, and reconnection. ZYD primarily focuses on intervention, detention, and reconnection but also supports in promotion, prevention, and early intervention.



Bolstered by a public health approach, this ZYD/SSPP partnership offers several crucial advantages:

- Allows each initiative to focus on specific parts of the spectrum and more effectively leverage resources.
- Provides an integrated approach for engaging with community and system partners.
- Creates a stronger network of allies to transform systems, structures, and policies from those that perpetuate inequities to those that support community-driven, restorative solutions.

The following section cites specific examples of how ZYD and SSPP work together.

Coordination: Staff supporting ZYD and SSPP collaborate to coordinate and align project efforts.

- SSPP's lead staff is a member of the ZYD Workgroup³ and other teams designing and implementing the ZYD strategies funded in the 2019-2020 budget. This position also is a member of the ZYD Support Team which is organizing the start-up activities to launch ZYD. These activities include convening work teams, maintaining and evolving ZYD's web presence, updating the ZYD Dashboard, coordinating community outreach, and helping with the hiring process for ZYD positions.
- Representatives from BSK and SSPP are participating on the interview panels to hire the ZYD Project Director.
- ZYD and SSPP will coordinate in engaging community partners in evolving Uniting for Youth as a venue to guide the direction of ZYD and monitor its progress.
- ZYD and SSPP together participate in and support the JJESC, a key partner to shape and implement strategies important to both efforts.
- ZYD is supporting SSPP on designing a framework for a coordinated and effective process for referring youth to community-based treatment and services no matter which system is interacting with the youth.
- Public Health is leading the implementation of the Road Map to ZYD and co-leading BSK with the Department of Community and Human Services (DCHS). Given these roles, the leadership for Public Health and DCHS is supporting the ongoing close coordination of SSPP and ZYD.

Areas of Overlap: Since the Road Map was developed with many of the same partners supporting SSPP, it is not surprising ZYD and SSPP share many similar priorities. As illustrated in the chart on Page 3 of this report, ZYD and SSPP are partnering to complement each in these shared areas. Below are examples of this partnership already in action or planned for this year within three ZYD objectives.

ZYD Objective 2 – Prevent youth from entering the juvenile legal system: This objective recognizes partnership between youth and families, schools and communities,

³ Membership is drawn from Superior Court, Prosecuting Attorney's Office, Department of Public Defense, Public Health – Seattle & King County, Department of Community and Human Services, Department of Adult and Juvenile Detention, and Office of Performance, Strategy and Budget.

and the County is needed to enhance positive youth development and help position the youth on a healthy life course.⁴

ZYD supports SSPP and other partners leading prevention strategies that avoid youth entering the juvenile legal and detention system and provide opportunities for youth to get on the path to be happy, healthy, safe, and thriving. For example, SSPP and JJESC intend to work with schools across King County to promote best practices around school discipline and alternative pathways for school completion. These efforts, if successful, will result in fewer referrals into detention and the legal system from incidents in schools. ZYD's role will include assisting JJESC and SSPP in such areas as the use of data, leveraging related school-based work, and identifying potential funding sources.

ZYD Objective 3 – Divert youth into community-based options: This objective calls on legal system partners and community to work together to create an effective continuum of community-based approaches, accessed at different points in the juvenile legal process, that provide for community safety and for the developmental needs of youth.⁵

Diverting youth from the legal system at the earliest point of contact into community-based, restorative solutions is a priority for ZYD and SSPP. As noted in the Road Map, research suggests that these solutions lead to better outcomes for youth and their families and safer communities.

- One such diversion point is law enforcement. ZYD and SSPP will partner with law enforcement and communities on diversion strategies that avoid arrest and provide youth with restorative opportunities to receive support and services.
- Another diversion point is after a case is filed in court. ZYD staff will help convene community and legal system partners on developing additional restorative justice⁶ diversion responses that provide supports, services, and accountability for youth. A multi-agency team is currently working on designing and implementing how to increase culturally responsive, community-based services to support placing more youth in electronic monitoring instead of secure detention. Based on the experience of SSPP and BSK in engaging and supporting community organizations who do similar work, SSPP staff will help design the process for engaging and supporting community organizations on this project.

⁴ Road Map to Zero Youth Detention, 2018. Page 3.

⁵ Road Map to Zero Youth Detention, 2018. Page 4.

⁶ As highlighted in the Road Map, restorative justice focuses on healing and accountability through bringing together those harmed by criminal behavior, those who caused the harm, and the larger involved community to discuss how they have been affected by the behavior and to decide what should be done to repair the harm. The restorative justice approach addresses three questions: 1) who was harmed; 2) what do they need; and 3) whose obligation is it to meet the needs of those harmed?

ZYD Objective 4 – Support youth and families to reduce recurrence of legal system involvement and increase healthy outcomes: The objective recognizes that young people who remain in their own community generally have better outcomes after contact with the juvenile legal system. However, when community-based resources are not a viable option and a youth must be placed in secure detention as a last resort, family engagement and reentry supports are essential.⁷

Another priority in the Road Map is to support youth in detention and reconnect them to services in the community so that the youth are less likely to return to the legal system. For example, ZYD is leading a team that includes SSPP and other County partners to develop a process for engaging youth and their families at their first contact with the legal system so that these families have the tools and supports to navigate the legal and human service systems to get the services they need.

Benefits for Individuals and System Reform: The partnership of ZYD and SSPP will have benefits for youth and families and support system-level reforms.

- **Individuals:** A benefit of the partnership of ZYD and SSPP highlighted above is to increase the capacity in the community for culturally responsive and restorative services. The expected result is that more youth and families in crisis can access these services at the earliest point possible with the longer-term goal of avoiding involvement in the legal system and detention.
- **System Reform:** The partnership of ZYD and SSPP will strengthen efforts to identify and enact the structural and policy changes needed to eliminate racial inequities and support restorative outcomes for youth, families, and communities.

⁷ Road Map to Zero Youth Detention, 2018. Page4.

Section B

Evaluation of past successful gang intervention programs in the county such as the Seattle Team for Youth and Safety Mop and determine how the principles and strategies of these past programs can be incorporated into the public health approach to zero youth detention strategy;

Review of the past gang intervention efforts in King County and from across the country finds that successful programs share five key components: a) community mobilization, b) opportunities provision, c) social intervention, d) suppression, and e) organizational change and development. As King County continues to implement a public health approach to zero youth detention and in juvenile detention, it is assessing how these five components of the model can become normed and implemented within appropriate ZYD strategies.

Background

In the late 1980's through early 2000's, the City of Seattle developed Seattle Team for Youth (STFY) and Safety Mop. These efforts contracted with 12 community-based agencies to serve as geographic hubs across the City of Seattle to serve youth involved and at risk of involvement in gangs. The community-based hubs hired case managers and outreach specialists from the community to help support youth on building healthy life choices, promote positive pro-social activities and help transition back into education and employment. This model was validated by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) as evidence-based and replicated by the City of Seattle again in 2015 with the creation of the Seattle Youth Violence Prevention Initiative (SYVPI). The lessons learned from both of these efforts provided King County with guidance for what components to include in a public health approach to zero youth detention strategy. The goal is to better support youth and young adults involved or at risk of involvement in gangs or associated behaviors.

Components of an Evidenced-Based Gang Intervention Model

- **Community Mobilization:** Community mobilization requires 1) involving local residents, including former gang involved youth, community groups, and agencies and 2) the coordination of programs and staff functions across agencies. Convening stakeholders, particularly communities most impacted, supports delivering culturally responsive programs and services that meet the unique needs of youth in specific communities and sharing successful strategies and interventions. The longer term vision is to create a network of service hubs in the communities most impacted by the criminal legal system.
- **Opportunities Provision:** Opportunities provision includes developing a variety of specific education, training and employment programs focused on gang and legal system involved youth. By partnering with community-based agencies and other community partners, a vast array of these specific interventions can have the reach and impact on this population. This requires an additional layer of support to partner with employers and work with youth so that long term stability can be obtained and reduce the pressure and lure to return to old habits.

- **Social Interventions:** Social interventions involves youth-serving agencies, schools, grassroots groups, faith-based organizations, law enforcement and other juvenile/criminal justice organizations in “reaching out” and serving gang involved youth and their families, including linking them with needed services. King County has a rich history in bringing systems and community partners together for large reform efforts and ZYD will be able to lean on that experience as was exemplified in putting together the Road Map for ZYD.
- **Suppression:** Suppression consists of formal and informal social control procedures, including close supervision and monitoring of gang involved youth by agencies of the juvenile/criminal legal system and community agencies, schools and grassroots agencies alike. Local experience shows that if one of these components is out of sync then youth slip through the cracks exposing youth, families and communities to episodes of violence and harm. It is important to acknowledge that suppression is the most controversial component of the model and that keeping communities safe requires the courage of all sides to build trust and communication.
- **Organizational Change and Development:** This component addresses developing and implementing policies and procedures that result in the most effective use of available resources, within and across agencies, to better address the gang problem and build up protective factors.

Incorporating the Five Components into ZYD Strategies

The Road Map to ZYD was built in alignment with SSPP and input from communities and other stakeholders to ensure the five components were addressed in ZYD strategies. Overall, the focus is transforming the underlying systems by using community-based organizations that prioritize hiring people from the community who have personal experience and life connections similar to what the youth are going through. This approach helps youth process their experiences and emotions and make healthier decisions. As youth make the transition from the juvenile legal system to community, a network of available resources will be available to support youth through each stage of this process.

ZYD and SSPP staff recognize that the successful application of the components noted above depend on relationships; building and tending relationships take time and commitment to each other and the process of change. Partnering organizations are working on building a supportive community-based network and shared accountability among providers, youth, families, and the County.

Below are current examples of incorporating the five components into specific ZYD strategies:

- ZYD Objective Three (Divert Youth into Community-Based Options) includes a strategy to expand the use of electronic monitoring for youth in secure detention. This “go first” strategy increases community supports so that youth on electronic monitoring can receive services tailored to their needs and meet the conditions set

by the Court. King County will seek community providers that have proven experience with these youth to provide services and supports that will lead to avoiding future legal involvement.

- The development of employment and education services for youth/young adults was one of the biggest areas of needs in the gang intervention space. As direct service staff work to transition youth/young adults to education and employment resources, it is less likely that they will return to old behaviors. Success in this area is individualized and requires care and consideration by developing a robust array of services, supports, and funding to address the needs across King County.
- Working with schools and contracted providers to alter the discipline process and bringing restorative practices, healing centered approaches, teacher and school administration training (capacity building), and support on dealing with youth involved in gangs and other forms of traumatic stress. This approach will help create an authentic community partnership for the safety and well-being of the individuals, families, schools, and impacted communities.

As the work on these and other strategies advances, culturally responsive providers will have access to the following resources to support this population:

- **Out-of-School Youth Consortium (OSY):** The OSY Consortium is led by Employment and Education Resources (EER) and is a partnership with the YMCA of Greater Seattle, Shoreline Community College, Bellevue College, Multiservice Center, and Neighborhood House. The program provides education, employment and training services to youth ages 16 to 24 who have dropped out of high school. The program strives to help youth complete a secondary credential and then enroll into post-secondary opportunities that place them on the path to self-sufficiency. The program serves approximately 400 students County-wide per year and many services are based at the County's *Learning Center North*, *YouthSource* and *Learning Center Seattle sites*.
- **Reconnect to Opportunity (ReOpp):** EER provides outreach and recruitment throughout King County to Opportunity Youth (young people ages 16-24 years and not working/not in school). ReOpp's team of Peer Connectors connect young people to an education and/or employment programs that will meet their needs and goals. (www.reopp.org)
- **Career Launch Pad:** Career Navigators provide low-income young people with case management, assessment, development of an individualized employment plan, job readiness training, job search assistance, job placement, job retention, and support services (transportation) throughout King County (Kent, Renton, Shoreline/Seattle, White Center, and Auburn).

- **Department of Vocational Rehabilitation Pre-Employment Services:** EER staff provides pre-employment training/job readiness training and internship placement and support to young people ages 16-21 with an individual employment plan or disability, and attend a partnering school district including Seattle, Kent, Tukwila, and Renton school districts.
- **Open Doors:** Young people ages 16-21 are reconnected to basic skills in order to gain their high school diploma (or equivalency) and move on to college. Services are offered at YouthSource Renton in partnership with Renton Technical College, Renton School District, and Tukwila School District.
- **New Family Services:** This program provides education and employment support to young mothers/families enrolled in King County Public Health's Nurse Family Partnership program. EER staff provide education, training, information/referral, and employment services to approximately 100 mothers/families per year. Public Health staff provide child development and family planning services.
- **Avanza:** In partnership with King County Superior Court (KCSC), staff provide educational interventions to truant youth in the Highline School District. Services are targeted to 30 Latino/Latina youth each year, with the goal of increased school engagement and completion.
- **Gang Intervention Project:** EER staff provide education and employment services to youth identified as moderate-high risk to re-offend by King County Superior Court. Youth are referred by their juvenile probation counselor (JPC) who works in partnership with EER staff to engage youth in positive education and employment activities, including internships.

Section C

Additional information on the public health approach to zero youth detention strategy that have been developed since the adoption of this ordinance, including, but not limited to, detailed information on the one million dollars proposed to expand community support related to electronic home monitoring.

Public Health and its partners are moving forward with the “start-up” activities for supporting ZYD and also the activities to design and implement ZYD’s “go first” strategies included in the 2019-2020 budget.

ZYD Start-Up

Even with the ZYD’s approach of building partnerships as described above, implementing the Road Map to ZYD remains a complex undertaking. The areas noted below outline the range of start-up activities for launching and supporting ZYD.

- **ZYD Staff:** The 2019-2020 budget includes 2.5 positions for ZYD – Project Director (1.0), Project Manager (1.0), and Epidemiologist (0.5). As of the writing of this report, the selection process for the Project Director is underway with an expected hire date of May 1, 2019. This position is expected to lead implementation of the Road Map, focusing on policy leadership, developing internal and external partnerships, communicating with County leadership, and ensuring transparent reporting and evaluation. The hiring of the ZYD Project Manager is expected to follow shortly thereafter. The Epidemiologist position, supporting reporting and evaluation, began in January 2019.
- **ZYD Dashboard:** The Dashboard is a publicly available platform for showing ZYD’s progress. The Dashboard will gradually roll out measures for the five ZYD objectives and strategies in the Road Map, making program adjustments and improvements along the way, driven by data and feedback from the public and stakeholders. Version 1.0 of the ZYD Dashboard was made available December 2018. Version 2.0 of the Dashboard will be released in April 2019 and include additional measures, updates to existing measures to include 2018 data, and improvements to language and terminology.
- **Reporting and Evaluation:** Evaluation and research staff in PSB and Public Health are developing an approach to maintain the metrics in the Dashboard and evaluate outcomes for specific strategies and actions. These staff will be coordinating with BSK and other related efforts to share data and ensure consistency in evaluation methods.
- **Web Presence:** The ZYD webpage and blog serve as sources of information about the efforts of ZYD and its partners to the community and stakeholders and an opportunity to receive questions and feedback. With a temporary communications position having begun early March, work is underway to enhance and maintain ZYD’s web presence.

- **Community Partner Engagement:** ZYD and SSPP will be planning a working session in early summer with community partners and system stakeholders to share progress on ZYD strategies and actions, receive guidance on the role of Uniting for Youth as an oversight group for ZYD, discuss plans for upcoming priorities, and receive feedback on the current web presence for ZYD including the Dashboard.

Go First Strategies

With funding in the 2019-2020 budget, ZYD teams have begun planning for several “go first” strategies.

- **Expand Electronic Monitoring:** The 2019-2020 budget includes about \$1 million to increase community supports for youth to move out of secure detention into alternatives such as electronic monitoring. Work is underway to define the scope of culturally responsive community services and revise the process for placing youth into electronic monitoring to incorporate these new services. This work will be reviewed by the Superior Court judges who make the decision to place youth on alternatives such as electronic monitoring. ZYD will work closely with SSPP and BSK to engage potential community organizations, provide the technical assistance for community organizations interested in this project, and develop the process for selecting community providers.
- **Family Engagement:** ZYD staff are conducting focus groups with families to understand their experiences in the legal system and in detention and develop actions to improve family engagement and supports. Potential near-term actions include improving materials and providing transportation resources. Longer term strategies under consideration include family navigators and peer support models, although funding will need to be identified.
- **Moving Access to Behavioral Health Services Upstream:** One priority in the Road Map is to build capacity in the community for youth and families in crisis to access needed services and supports before involvement in the criminal legal system. Public Health and DCHS have convened a team to identify gaps in services to youth in crisis who are at risk of involvement in the criminal legal system. The approach is to design and implement a pilot for services using one-time funds.

Conclusion

This Road Map is a work in progress. *The Road Map's ultimate destination is Zero Youth Detention, but the journey itself is expected to yield changes in systems, policies, and services leading to better outcomes for youth and communities. To drive this work, King County is using the public health approach for Zero Youth Detention, bringing together community and system partners guided by the latest science on positive youth development to understand and implement what best promotes the well-being of youth and families and community safety.*⁸

The journey to ZYD is one that few other jurisdictions in the country are undertaking. It is a journey of discovery, requiring an unrelenting commitment to challenge long held assumptions to achieve better outcomes for youth, families, and communities. For King County, this commitment requires acting cohesively when engaging youth, families, and partners. Only then will we have the credibility and trust to hear and understand the barriers to ZYD and be able to test the changes needed to remove them. This is the public health approach and, as noted in the report, ZYD and SSPP have started this journey.

⁸ Road Map to Zero Youth Detention, 2018. Page 6.