THIRD SECTOR

Systems that Serve: Redesigning Juvenile Justice for Healing and Community-Centered Care

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Introduction

Juvenile justice systems are undergoing a period of transformation across the country, with increasing recognition that punitive models often exacerbate harm rather than reduce it. In San Francisco, this shift gained momentum after several years of sustained community advocacy calling for system reform, and more youth-, family-, and healing-centric alternatives to youth detention. These efforts successfully led to several key institutional reforms efforts: the creation of the Mayor's Juvenile Justice Blue Ribbon Panel in 2019, which aimed to identify comprehensive and system-wide reforms to San Francisco's Juvenile Justice System[1]; the closure of the Log Cabin Ranch in 2018, a designated juvenile detention center for adjudicated young men in the Santa Cruz mountains; and a city ordinance passed in 2019 to close Juvenile Hall[2], San Francisco's secure detention facility for youth under 18 who were arrested or awaiting court hearings[3]. At the state level, similar advocacy efforts led to the closure of California's Division of Juvenile Justice[4], ending the model of state-managed juvenile detention and assigning counties the responsibility and flexibility to develop more healing-centered models for youth detention.

While San Francisco's Juvenile Hall was ultimately kept open, the Close Juvenile Hall Working Group (CJHWG) established by the 2019 ordinance worked to develop an extensive list of recommendations to reduce detention and improve youth outcomes throughout the city. One key recommendation highlighted the need to strengthen collaboration between the Juvenile Probation Department (JPD) and community-based organizations (CBOs) in order to develop detention alternatives for youth. In response to CJHWG's recommendations—as well as recommendations from concurrent efforts to identify needed juvenile justice reforms—JPD hired Third Sector to design and facilitate a set of working groups with internal system partners and external community-based stakeholders to identify potential shifts in the juvenile probation system specifically.

From March 2021 to March 2022, JPD partnered with Third Sector to convene a series of structured peer-to-peer workgroups focused on improving intake, case planning, and case management processes within San Francisco's juvenile probation system. More than 30 participants, including probation officers, juvenile hall counselors, and staff from more than 15 CBOs, worked closely together to identify operational challenges, design new collaborative practices, and advance racial equity goals at a time in San Francisco where these kinds of efforts were placed under heavy public and political scrutiny. These efforts centered on youth and families with the most urgent needs, particularly those impacted by California's statute requiring mandatory detention for youth who allegedly commit certain violent or firearm-related offenses, to reduce the negative long term outcomes of unnecessary detention or system involvement.

One of the central recommendations stemming from the work facilitated by Third Sector was the creation of the **San Francisco Care Team model** as the collaborative process to better coordinate services, reduce duplicative assessments, and strengthen family-centered and culturally responsive approaches to detention alternatives ("Care Team Pilot" or "Pilot"). The Care Team Pilot was designed to integrate probation staff, CBO practitioners, and other trusted adults to support youth from the earliest points of contact with the juvenile justice system—to address immediate needs, promote healing, and ensure long-term stability. Most importantly, the Pilot was an attempt to operationalize behavioral shifts into policies and practices that could change organizational culture both within JPD, youth serving CBOs, and between JPD and CBOs.

This case study, commissioned by Third Sector and developed by Anavi Strategies, examines the early design and implementation of the San Francisco Care Team Pilot. It also describes how the Pilot laid the groundwork for JPD's current Juvenile Services Care Model, demonstrating how systems change can be institutionalized at the municipal level. Through the Water of Systems Change framework, it examines how the Pilot initiated structural, relational, and cultural shifts and what they signal about progress to date and the potential for lasting systems change in San Francisco's juvenile justice landscape.

Methodology

The Water of Systems Change Framework

This case study applies the Water of Systems Change framework, developed by FSG, a global nonprofit consulting firm that partners with foundations and corporations to create equitable systems change[5]. The framework suggests that meaningful transformation does not start with policies or structures alone, but often with shifts in how people relate to one another, how they see problems, and how power is shared. These shifts can later shape more formal changes in rules and institutions.

This framework identifies six interdependent conditions that hold complex social problems in place and that, when shifted, can drive meaningful progress. These conditions include policy, practices, resource flows, relationships, power dynamics, and mental models. The six conditions exist at three separate levels of visibility, from the explicit to the implicit: structural, relational, and transformative (Figure 1)[6].

The case study tracks change across systems, showing how JPD and Third Sector were able to collaboratively develop a youth probation model that centers support and successful outcomes, rather than focusing solely on programmatic compliance. In this context, compliance refers to meeting court- and state-mandated requirements such as release, documentation, and supervision conditions. The Care Team model instead emphasized voluntary participation, early connection to community-based supports, and collaborative planning that centered youth and family goals.

Anavi Strategies used a thematic coding approach informed by the Water of Systems Change framework, which categorizes change across six interrelated conditions: policies, practices, resource flows, relationships and connections, power dynamics, and mental models. We also examined how these six conditions were impacted by leadership and considerations associated

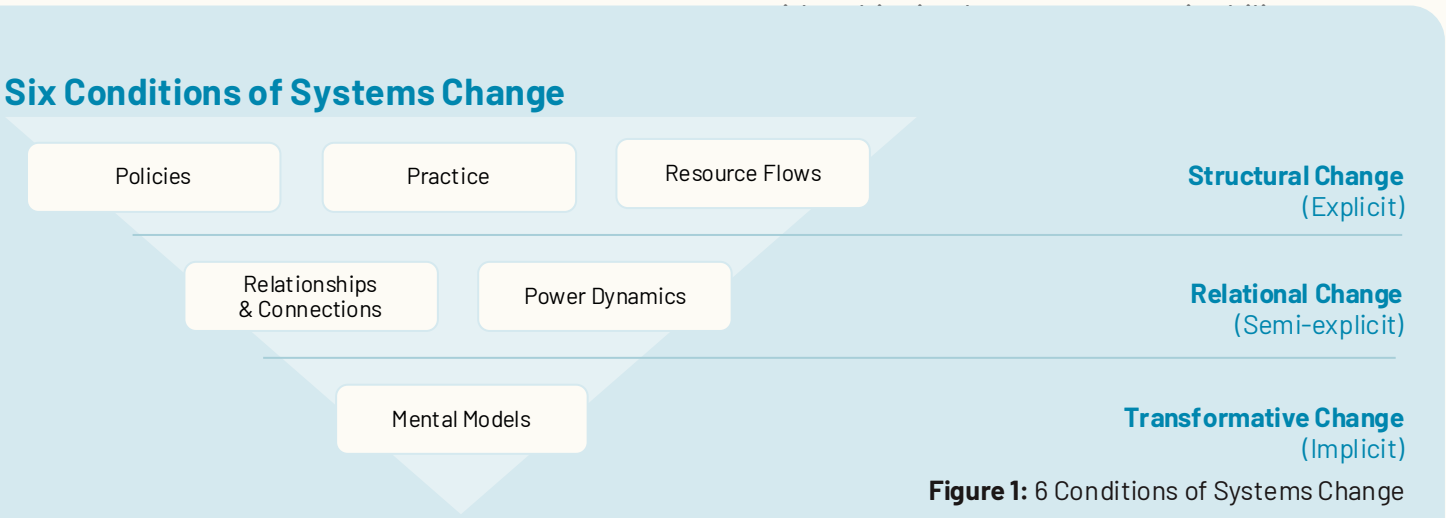

Figure 1: 6 Conditions of Systems Change

Contribution vs Attribution

It should be noted that true social change cannot happen in a silo or through the efforts of one organization or even one initiative alone. As one actor in complex systems, Third Sector cannot reasonably prove or claim attribution for most systems- and community-level impacts described in this report. Recognizing this, the current case study does not attempt to establish causation or attribution. Instead, it focuses on exploring how Third Sector and the client projects supported by Third Sector may have contributed to wider change and impact. This represents a unique and emerging approach to nonprofit impact case study evaluations that acknowledges the true nature of systems transformation and systems change work.

Data Collection Activities

Document and Material Review

Anavi Strategies reviewed a range of existing materials related to the Care Team Pilot and broader juvenile justice reform in San Francisco. These included internal planning documents, meeting notes from JPD–CBO workgroups, implementation memos, and evaluation planning materials. We also reviewed publicly available reports, such as city strategic planning documents, Juvenile Justice Providers Association (JJPA) advocacy blueprints, and summaries from the Close Juvenile Hall Working Group process. These documents provided context for understanding the origins of the Care Team Pilot, the policy environment in which it was launched, and the systemic reforms that shaped its evolution.

Interviews with Transcripts

In addition to document review, Anavi Strategies conducted and analyzed seven in-depth interviews with stakeholders directly involved in the Care Team Pilot–including reflections from JPD and Third Sector leaders. Interviewees included JPD leadership and probation officers, community-based organization (CBO) staff, coalition leaders, and program administrators. The interviews were conducted to capture perspectives on how the pilot worked in practice, what challenges arose, and what behavioral, relational, or organizational cultural changes participants observed. Interviewees also reflected on the importance of organizational leadership when designing for the sustainability of the approach beyond the implementation of the Pilot.

The interviews were analyzed using the Water of Systems Change framework to identify shifts in practices, relationships, power dynamics, and mental models. Participants described both the structural changes introduced through the Pilot (such as faster referrals and cross-agency meetings) and the relational and organizational culture dynamics that shaped implementation (such as uneven buy-in, trust-building, and the role of opting into services through the youth giving their consent).

The transcripts offered detailed accounts of youth and family experiences during the Pilot, reflections on organizational partnerships, and candid insights into the barriers and challenges of implementation. By weaving together perspectives from multiple vantage points, including probation, CBOs, and advocates, the interviews provided a nuanced picture of the Care Team Pilot's contributions to systems change.

Understanding the State Context

California is the most populous state in the United States, with 39.2 million residents as of 2023 and a median household income of $95,521[7]. The state is racially and ethnically diverse, with 39% of residents identifying as Latino or Hispanic, 35% as White, 15% as Asian, and 6% as Black or African American. Children under 18 comprise approximately 22% of the population, and more than 44% of households speak a language other than English at home[8]. Despite relatively high median incomes, economic inequality persists. The California Poverty Measure (CPM) found that 13.8% of children lived in poverty in early 2023. Racial disparities were also evident, with 18.2% of Hispanic/Latino children and 14.0% of Black children living in poverty, compared to 8.2% of White children[9].

With a population of about 809,000 residents in 2023[10], San Francisco has a highly diverse population–an outlier among comparable jurisdictions–with a significant proportion of the population being foreign-born. Thirty-four (34) percent of San Francisco residents were born outside the United States, while 43% of the population speaks a language other than English at home[11].

State-level demographic disparities are exacerbated within San Francisco by the city's high cost of living, significant asset poverty among communities of color, and the pre-pandemic trend of highly educated, affluent, and childless adults migrating to the city, while middle-income individuals and families have been migrating out of the city in search of more affordable areas. This is particularly the case among Black residents who have been leaving San Francisco at a disproportionate rate, leading to an overall decrease in the percentage of Black residents.[12] Overall, in 2024, the city's income inequality was the highest among California's most populated counties.[13]

These patterns have led to an increase in the percentage of the population being rent-burdened, as well as an overall increase in the number of homeless individuals across San Francisco. Communities of color are over-represented in both groups. For example, while Black residents represent 6% of the population in the nine-county Bay Area overall, close to 25% of all homeless residents in the region are Black.[14]

All of these demographic factors have added pressure to a juvenile justice system in which advocates and communities have been strongly advocating over decades for investment in community-based alternatives to youth detention.[15] The Juvenile Probation Department (JPD) pursued the Care Team Pilot as part of the Department's commitment to addressing pervasive racial disparities, recognizing that Black youth made up less than 5% of San Francisco's population but represented between 56% and 68% of detained youth and sustained petitions for serious offenses between 2016 and 2021.[16] JPD's priorities included reducing disproportionate referrals and detention, building trust with families, and creating more collaborative care models that elevated community expertise.[17,18]

Despite progress with juvenile justice reform in San Francisco, structural barriers have persisted. State law requires "mandatory booking" for youth aged 14 or older involved in firearm-related felonies or offenses listed under Welfare and Institutions Code (WIC) section 707(b), creating disproportionate system impacts on Black and Latino youth.[19] Intake and assessment processes were often fragmented, with youth questioned by multiple agencies in ways that exacerbated trauma. Gaps in information sharing between JPD, the Department of Public Health, and CBOs further delayed coordinated support.[20] Families, particularly those from historically marginalized communities, reported mistrust of system actors due to experiences of over-policing and racial bias.[21]

After years of advocacy for San Francisco to close Juvenile Hall and develop a more healing-centered approach to juvenile probation, the San Francisco Care Team Pilot was launched to directly address these inequities. By convening probation officers, community-based practitioners, and families in collaborative care planning, the pilot sought to reduce harm at intake, strengthen trust, and create more equitable pathways for youth and their caregivers.[22]

Literature Review: Juvenile Justice Reform and Structural Barriers

A growing body of research has examined the structural barriers that shape how youth and families experience the juvenile justice system, particularly in California.[23,24,25] These studies highlight how legal mandates, fragmented data systems, and systemic inequities limit the reach of reform efforts, even as jurisdictions seek to implement community-centered alternatives.

Mandatory booking laws have been identified as one of the most significant constraints on local reform. California's Welfare and Institutions Code (WIC) §625.3 requires that young people who are at least 14 years old and are arrested for the personal use of a firearm in the attempt or commission of a felony be detained until they appear before a judge. Scholars argue that such mandates exacerbate racial inequities, as Black and Latino youth are disproportionately impacted by these categories of offenses.[26,27]

Another consistent theme in the literature is the fragmentation of data systems across probation, behavioral health, education, and community agencies. Without integrated data sharing, youth are often assessed multiple times by different agencies, which can be both retraumatizing and inefficient. Reports from counties across California, including Stanislaus and Sacramento, have documented how siloed databases slow referrals, complicate service coordination, and obscure accountability.[28,29]

Research also underscores the importance of trust and cultural responsiveness in overcoming systemic barriers. Programs that are voluntary, relationship-based, and culturally affirming demonstrate higher rates of family engagement and better outcomes for youth of color.[30,31] Conversely, reforms that fail to address cultural fit or family voice risk reinforcing mistrust and disengagement among marginalized communities.

Finally, sustainability remains a recurring challenge. Reform pilots frequently succeed in the short term but falter without long-term funding, staff capacity, and leadership continuity. Evaluations of youth justice initiatives in Alameda County and Los Angeles County have shown that embedding new practices into standard operating procedures, codifying data-sharing agreements, and aligning reforms with state or federal mandates are critical to sustaining progress over time.[32,33]

Together, this literature emphasizes that meaningful reform requires both structural change through new policies, data systems, and accountability measures, as well as cultural change that builds trust, centers families, and responds to systemic inequities. These insights provide important context for understanding the opportunities and challenges of San Francisco's Care Team Pilot.

The Opportunity

The San Francisco Care Team Pilot provides a unique lens to examine how collaborative case planning can shift relationships, redistribute power, and reshape mental models within the juvenile justice system.

This case study presents an opportunity to document how the Care Team Pilot changed organizational culture both between JPD and youth-serving CBOs, and within each stakeholder agency and organization–from building broad trust across stakeholder groups, to delineating how specific decisions would be made between probation officers, CBOs, and families. It also represents an opportunity to surface practical lessons about trust-building, centering youth and caregivers as partners, and embedding collaborative practices within both public and private agencies that make this possible.

Project History, Overview, and Goals

The Care Team Pilot emerged as part of San Francisco's broader efforts to redesign its juvenile justice system around healing, community partnership, and a more equitable approach that addressed racial, gender, and geographic disparities within the system. The Juvenile Probation Department (JPD) and community-based organizations (CBOs), many of them long-time members of the Juvenile Justice Providers Association (JJPA), came together to reimagine how youth and families could be supported earlier and more consistently.

In 2021, JPD engaged Third Sector as a technical assistance partner to facilitate this process. Its role was to convene stakeholders both within and outside of JPD, support the development of a set of more equitable tools and practices, and develop a process that could strengthen coordination between probation, families, and community partners. This work was carried out through focus groups, strategic planning sessions, and cross-agency workgroups and resulted in several recommendations, one of which was the adoption of the Care Team concept.

The purpose of the Care Team was to create a model of collaborative support for justice-involved youth and their families that:

- Supported youth to complete their system involvement successfully and meet personal goals;
- Centered the voice, needs, and goals of youth and their families;
- Facilitated collaboration and coordination between government and community partners;
- Promoted early connection to CBOs that serve justice-involved youth; and
- Improved access to San Francisco's broad array of community services, supports, and opportunities.

To achieve these goals, the Care Team pilot, which operated from February 2023 to June 2024, focused on supporting young people who had been booked into custody at the point of arrest and then released on "home supervision" by the court. It was designed as a voluntary model comprised of the youth, caregiver(s), assigned probation officer (PO), and a Lead CBO who met to develop a voluntary, rather than court-ordered, Care Plan to support the youth and family after the youth's release from custody into home supervision. The youth and caregiver were encouraged by the PO and CBO to engage in the Care Team, but participation was not court-mandated.

Juvenile Services Care Model

Lessons and system shifts from the Care Team Pilot became the foundation for JPD—working with CBO partners and other stakeholders—to design and launch the Juvenile Services Care Model in 2024. The pilot paved the way for this department-wide system, which now serves every young person arrested in San Francisco.

The effort reflects San Francisco juvenile justice system's shift toward a coordinated, front-end system of support in which every young person entering the justice system is quickly assessed and connected to a community-based provider. Under this new structure of the Justice Services Care Model (JSCM), all youth—whether booked into custody or cited and released by police—are immediately connected to the Community Assessment and Referral Center (CARC). There, they receive a standardized assessment that is shared with a team of five CBOs who make up the Justice Services Care Coordinators (JSCC).

CARC and the JSCC agencies meet three times a week (and more frequently when needed) to match each young person with the most appropriate CBO, using both the assessment and information shared through formalized multidisciplinary meetings with the school district, public health, and JPD. Once matched, the assigned CBO immediately engages the youth and family, coordinates with defense counsel and other service partners, develops a community support plan, and submits regular progress updates that become part of the official court record.

JPD also secured court orders that enabled confidential information to flow quickly from probation to CARC and JSCC agencies, reducing delays that previously slowed early engagement.

Long-term sustainability has been supported through five-year grants awarded by the Department of Children, Youth, and Their Families (DCYF), with funding from both JPD and DCYF. Additionally, the Juvenile Services Care Model is integrated into DCYF's entire justice services portfolio delivered by grant-funded CBOs. As a result, young people can access mentorship, education, workforce, mental health, and after-school programs—services not traditionally tied to probation—while also removing long-standing misconceptions that justice-involved young people could not receive services from multiple CBOs at once.

This model ensures every young person has access to culturally responsive, community-based supports that continue well beyond system-coordinated supervision ends.

Since the full implementation of the Justice Services Care Model started in October 2024, JPD has been tracking performance. For example, recent data show that between the end of 2024 and mid-2025, the length of time between young people being assessed at CARC and being enrolled in services with a JSCC provider went from several weeks to under one week – representing significantly faster connections for justice-involved young people.[34] These data will enable broader DCYF efforts evaluation to examine long-term outcomes for youth served through this coordinated network of support.

Implementation Timeline

Date	Implementation Stage
March 2021 - March 2022	Working groups designed and facilitated by Third Sector
February 2023 - June 2024	Care Team Pilot carried out between JPD and CBOs
May - August 2023	JPD and DCYF design Justice Services Care Model RFP
August 2023	DCYF Releases RFP to contract with CBOs and other providers to implement the Justice Services Care Model
April 2024	DCYF contract awards announced
July 2024	DCYF contracts come into effect
October 2024	Formal launch of the Justice Services Care Model

Spotlight on Third Sector

Prior to the Care Team Pilot's initial design and launch, Third Sector served as a strategic partner to the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department (JPD), providing technical assistance to design more equitable tools and practices, family voices, and community partnerships into the city's juvenile justice reforms. Its engagement came at a pivotal moment, as San Francisco worked to redesign youth justice services around alternatives to detention, diversion, healing, and community-centered care.

Third Sector anchored its role in convening and facilitation. It designed and staffed a series of focus groups with youth, families, and community-based organizations to surface needs and priorities. It supported the incorporation of CBOs and individuals with lived experience within the juvenile justice system in the working group tasked with identifying potential reform options–a key factor in helping bridge gaps and build trust across stakeholder groups early on. This process culminated in education and awareness of the kinds of improvements JPD would have jurisdiction to implement within the juvenile justice system, as well as an Implementation Plan that summarized strategic themes and made recommendations on how to structure new reforms. These insights informed the later design of the Care Team pilot, ensuring that early connections to services and culturally responsive practices reflected the voices of those most directly impacted.

From 2021 to 2022, Third Sector supported JPD in forming and sustaining three cross-stakeholder working groups:

- **Intake Workgroup** focused on how JPD, DPH, and CBOs could immediately support youth before a Detention Hearing. The group drafted a Universal Assessment process to reduce redundancies in youth questioning, clarify staff roles during intake, and improve information sharing between agencies.
- **Case Planning Workgroup** examined how to convene probation officers, CBOs, and trusted adults early in the process to co-develop care plans with families.
  The group proposed a Care Team model and the creation of a Well-Being Advocate role to help youth and caregivers navigate supports collaboratively.
- **Case Management Workgroup** developed standardized approaches for monitoring youth progress, aligning services to individual needs, and creating equitable feedback loops between JPD and CBO partners.

These workgroups shaped the foundation for the Care Team Pilot by defining the structures, roles, and collaborative practices that guide how youth, families, and partners engage throughout the juvenile justice process.

Third Sector's technical assistance approach blended facilitation, capacity building, and project management. Workgroup content clarified roles and responsibilities, reminded participants of state mandates and county responsibilities by department, and encouraged visioning exercises for success measures for youth, families, and practitioners. To some participants, the initial content was elementary or superfluous for advocacy interests. For others, it created an opportunity to reset expectations and reimagine working relationships among government and community practitioners within the purview of what JPD could control and influence. As one CBO executive shared about Third Sector's facilitation approach, "*the topics were cool... it was helpful to bring all the stakeholders together, and the topics were always purposeful.*" Third Sector staff drafted agendas, guided stakeholders to decision points, and supported JPD staff to co-lead meetings with community partners.

They also helped working groups produce three-, six-, and 12-month action plans, supported outcome measurement design, and created accountability tools to keep reforms on track.

Across all phases, Third Sector's activities helped build collaborative workspaces with probation, community organizations, and families. By embedding racial equity and continuous improvement principles, Third Sector enabled JPD and its partners to reimagine service delivery, measure progress, and institutionalize lessons learned and organizational culture shifts from the Care Team pilot into broader system reform. The facilitated process with each working group provided a valuable roadmap for JPD—in partnership with CBOs—to begin designing the details of the Care Team Model once the working groups' work was concluded.

Phase 1: Strategic Planning, Focus Groups, & Workshops	**Phase 2:** Capacity Building for JPD-CBO Partnership Workgroups	**Phase 3:** Sustained Support for Implementation
April - Aug 2021 • Detailed 12-month work plan (deliverables, milestones, and tasks) • Monthly strategic planning meetings with JPD leadership (10 meetings to date, 100% participation) • 9 two-hour focus groups with JPD staff from Probation Services and Juvenile Hall • Final report from JPD staff focus groups • Strategic outreach to and planning with various community-based organizations • Implementation Plan to launch 3 workgroups	**September 2021 - Jan 2022** • Launched 3 workgroups, each meeting every 2 weeks (23 workgroup meetings, +30 members, 100% participation) • Creation of oversight documents for each workgroup (roles and responsibilities, commitments, and decision making processes) • Identification and commitment to specific improvements by CBO and JPD staff for each workgroup through 3/31/22 (formation of Action Plans)	**February - March 2022** • Continued JPD & CBO Partnership Workgroup Meetings (12 meetings) • Implementation resources & cross-departmental stakeholder engagement plan for each Workgroup with a 3-, 6-, and 12-month time frame. • JPD and CBO leadership to initiate and update action plans for each workgroup

Understanding Systems Change Impacts

Policies

Before the Care Team Pilot, referrals to CBO services were ad hoc and often delayed until after adjudication, leaving families without support during critical weeks in young people's involvement in the juvenile justice system. The pilot established a formal referral pathway from Juvenile Probation to CARC and then to CBOs, replacing a discretionary and at times inconsistent process of connecting young people and their families with resources that best met their needs.

> *"The main thing was getting referrals in faster so youth weren't sitting at home without support."*
>
> **As one JPD supervisor described**

The new policies created during the Care Team Pilot—and then institutionalized system-wide through the Justice Care Services Model—were centered around the shared principle that families should be connected to community-based supports as quickly as possible, and that community-based organizations are in the best position to match youth with the right providers. This shift allowed referrals to flow through community-based partners, creating more consistent access and, more importantly, securing buy-in and ongoing partnership with young people and their families as the cornerstone of the new process.

One of the most significant factors that contributed to the development of these policy changes was the extensive, collaborative, and iterative nature of the deliberation and design process between JPD and community-based partners. This process started within the Close Juvenile Hall Working Group (CJHWG), extended through the working groups hosted by JPD and facilitated by Third Sector, informed the joint design of the Care Team Pilot between JPD and youth-serving CBOs, and culminated in the Justice Services Care Model (JSCM).

This five-year process of ongoing meetings and deliberations served as the foundation to build trust between different stakeholders, develop buy-in and investment, and continue to keep young people and their families at the center of the emerging blueprint for a more community-centered juvenile justice system. One CBO executive described this process as consistently *"advocating for a more community-centered approach."* These policy shifts created a foundation for lasting change. The CBO executive continued:

> *"Community being given more access has been powerful. We've had to expand drastically, and the immediate feedback we've received—from youth, families, even grandparents who've been through the system before—is that this kind of support at the front end makes a real difference. It feels like a door has opened for community to hold systems accountable in new ways."*

Third Sector played a key role in launching this process, helping JPD and other city agencies later adopt outcome goals, performance metrics, and a program design for the model. This ensured that *"faster connections"* were not just informal practices but tracked as part of a system-wide commitment to improvement.[35]

Practices

Frequent cross-agency Care Team meetings became a cornerstone of the pilot, bringing together probation, CBOs, youth, and families to jointly develop and support care plans. *"We would meet with the probation officer, the youth, and the parent [on an ongoing basis] to check in on what was going on,"* one JPD staff member explained. These meetings redefined the role of probation and gave CBOs and families a formal voice in planning. As one JPD staff member admitted, "I had to let go a little bit…it's *our* plan now."

The process of implementing the Care Team Pilot was also highly illustrative of the types of practices that would need to be explicitly created or adjusted in order to institutionalize this new model with youth and family voice at the center. For example, throughout the Care Team Pilot, it became clear that in order to maintain a rapid referral and engagement process with families, both JPD and CBOs would need to develop new internal policies and ensure that staff within each organization adhered to new and at times more demanding timelines for processing information and initiating family engagement. This process created clarity and informed the design of both internal JPD and CBO policies prior to implementing the Justice Services Care Model, as well as the contracting process for CBOs through DCYF prior to launching this new model in 2024.

It also illuminated the need for formal data-sharing agreements, approved by the juvenile court, in order to share sensitive information in alignment with legal mandates.

Additionally, the Care Team Pilot emphasized a relationship-based, voluntary approach rather than compliance-driven monitoring. In this context, compliance-driven monitoring refers to oversight focused on enforcing court orders and documentation requirements, rather than building voluntary, trust-based relationships with youth and families. As one community-based partner explained, *"We're a relationship-based, not compliance-based organization…we've never kicked a kid out for anything."* This reflected a healing-centered justice philosophy where accountability was maintained through regular check-ins, collaborative problem-solving, and persistence in engagement rather than punitive sanctions.

Third Sector's facilitation frameworks and working groups helped develop the practices and tools for these cross-agency practices to become routine.

> *"For this kind of partnership to work, you have to be prepared for an enormous amount of meetings. Building trust and building a collective work culture doesn't happen quickly; it requires a lot of facilitated meetings. And it's going to be bumpy in the beginning. It's OK for things to be just OK and not perfect when building trust across systems. It's OK to take two steps towards the 'better' than wait for the 'perfect…' If everybody is in the room for the right reason, the stuff that matters is going to bubble up, and then you can build on those things, and you can sort through the more challenging stuff when there's more trust built."*

By guiding probation and CBO staff through structured collaboration, Third Sector helped institutionalize collaborative and outcomes-focused planning instead of defaulting to adversarial negotiation or advocacy tactics. As one CBO executive shared about the ongoing facilitated meetings:

One key factor that allowed for equitable participation in the Care Team Model initially was the allocation of language access resources within JPD and CBOs when working with young people and families who were English Language Learners (ELLs). For example, Spanish-speaking probation officers were regularly paired with the same Spanish-speaking CBO case managers across different cases with youth and families, creating continuity and clarity on how to best support families, which in turn increased families' comfort level in terms of being open to collaborating with the system.

> *"I liked this part of the model because it was me and the same Spanish-speaking case manager working together with the same caseload. We got to learn each other's style and work closely together, and I already knew who I'd be referring the young person to."*
>
> **As one Spanish-speaking JPD staff member shared**

Resource Flows

A key way in which the Care Team Pilot changed the way JPD utilized existing relationships and resources was the rearticulation of the role of CARC as a central hub for managing referrals and case information, streamlining a process that had previously been fragmented. One JPD staff member noted, "*When CARC became the hub, it improved communication... it was one place, not many.*" Before the implementation of the pilot, CBOs would typically receive youth background information like their school, family make-up, and home life from JPD only after a young person's case was adjudicated. The Care Team Pilot model ensured CBOs received this information within days of a young person being arrested, and –more importantly– it meant CBOs could prepare *before* meeting a youth and their families. One CBO staff member described, *"We'd get the referral with details... so we could plan before we even met the youth."* This experience was key in institutionalizing the role of CARC within the new Justice Services Care Model.

Most importantly, the success of the Care Team Pilot in increasing buy-in and services uptake by young people and their families was crucial in allowing JPD, as well as external stakeholders, to effectively advocate for consistent funding for a system-wide model that could use the same approach with all young people entering the juvenile justice system. While JPD had previously set an internal objective to obtain additional funding for a model that connected all arrested youth to community support quickly, the implementation of the Care Team Pilot was a pivotal opportunity to test out elements of the system-wide model JPD wanted to create. By the time DCYF released the results of the Requests for Proposals (RFPs) to staff different components of the JSCM the city of San Francisco had agreed to allocate an annual budget of $4.86 million per year to sustain the Justice Services Care Model through 2029.

Relational and Organizational Culture Shifts

By the time the Care Team Pilot launched, JPD was able to leverage years of trust built across multiple systems partners, particularly between JPD and CBOs. One CBO executive explained:

> *"It's not uncommon to see CBOs pitted against each other... There's a set number of dollars, who is going to fight over it? But through our collaboration in the JJPA [Juvenile Justice Providers Association] as part of the Care Team Pilot, we were able to cultivate a different dynamic. We would ask: 'who is going to go after this money?' 'Do you need support?' 'Ok, we are both going to go after it, good luck!' or 'Maybe we can collaborate together on this project...' or 'It's OK if you are going after it to fill a capacity gap, we'll step back.' In the budgetary and political climate at the time, this was very hard, but we made it happen."*

Trust also grew between families and CBO staff. One JPD supervisor explained, "*We tried to make sure someone reached out within two days so the family didn't feel abandoned.*" This consistent follow-up built confidence that support would be available quickly and reliably. As one CBO executive shared: *"Just even in this past year, which was informed by what we did through the Care Team Pilot, our CBOs have built a lot of trust with families directly. In the end, all that matters is my case manager's word that if they tell mom or dad that they're going to connect them with a certain organization, that they are going to respond. This goes a huge way with our families."*

However, the process of building trust and deepening relationships between JPD and CBOs was not always smooth, and required consistent and deliberate engagement across all stakeholders. Third Sector's role in convening and facilitating the working groups prior to the launch of the Care Team Pilot helped reinforce ongoing relational trust between JPD and CBOs by providing structured, facilitated spaces where probation, CBOs, and families could navigate challenges, speak honestly, and collaborate productively. These processes ensured that initial relational gains were not dependent on individual goodwill but supported through consistent structures that were later leveraged for the Care Team Pilot, and ultimately the Justice Services Care Model.

Power Dynamics

The Care Team pilot shifted how decisions were made about youth support. Families were no longer subject only to probation officers' discretion. As one JPD supervisor explained, the model "*removed probation officers' [sole] individual authority to assess what the young person needed, and instead families were connected to a CBO that they determined was best suited to support them.*"

Community-based organizations also stepped into a new role. A CBO executive observed that while many probation officers already saw their role as being "*partners rather than adversaries to CBOs*," the Care Team Model allowed JPD to standardize this approach to their work. This organizational culture shift made collaboration possible in ways that had not been the norm. Another CBO executive shared:

> *"I think it came down to just actual time in the room together... being in proximity with people's humanity. Now you're not just someone I may have to oppose, now I'm learning about your life, I'm learning about your children...it humanizes the process. I think it was really helpful to keep hearing from both sides a similar message: we really want what's best for kids. And, even though we might be in two different lanes, we actually don't have to be in opposition. Our lanes can work together towards this goal."*

For both probation officers and CBO staff, these changes required adjustment. A JPD staff member reflected that while giving up control was difficult, the model ultimately "*evolved into a true collaboration with shared responsibilities*." This points to a broader change in mindset about how youth, families, and community partners could all share ownership of outcomes. As the JPD staff member noted:

> *"Before the Pilot, I was responsible for creating the plans linked to a specific young person. With the Pilot, I had to let go a little bit because now the family was involved in helping shape my plan, as well as the CBO. This was a little challenging for me at first... It felt like: 'wait, are you doing my job now?' But in the end, it ended up feeling like an actual collaboration between everyone at the table."*

Similarly, CBO leaders had to shift internal staffing and accountability structures within their organization to ensure that staff could meet newly adopted requirements around engaging youth and their families within set timelines to ensure the proper functioning of the program.

Leadership from the Chief Probation Officer played a decisive role in making the pilot work. As one JPD supervisor explained, "*We advocated for [the chief] to be in that [leadership] role [within JPD] because we believe in their vision... they have brought a new kind of lens.*" Interviewees consistently emphasized that this leadership created the conditions for families and community-based organizations (CBOs) to participate as partners.

A JPD supervisor highlighted that having the same Chief for five years provided stability and accountability during a period of significant change and political scrutiny of the juvenile probation system. Similarly, another JPD staff member pointed to the Chief's vision as essential for getting probation officers and community agencies to collaborate toward a shared goal of connecting kids and families to services. A second JPD supervisor recalled that the pilot gained momentum because the Chief and mayor prioritized it, even providing political cover for experimenting with a new approach.

CBO leaders echoed this view. A CBO executive described how the Chief helped ease tensions between probation and community partners, making it possible for trust-building conversations to happen. Two separate CBO staff members noted that the Chief's support made it possible for probation to share data with community agencies earlier in the process, a change that transformed how quickly youth and families were connected to services. Similarly, a second CBO executive underscored the importance of the Chief's presence at monthly oversight meetings, where they openly addressed problems raised by community partners. This was a level of transparency she described as "a significant shift."

These examples show that leadership from the top was more than symbolic. It provided continuity, political backing, and accountability structures that allowed families and CBOs to take on new roles in shaping youth support. Without this visible and sustained commitment, the organizational culture and relational changes described in the pilot would likely have stalled. Conversely, they also demonstrate how reliant these kinds of systemic changes can be on the consistent leadership of specific decision-makers. Third Sector's approach of peer-to-peer practitioner working groups helped center collaboration between JPD and community partners as a standard part of San Francisco's juvenile justice system. However, sustaining these changes may become vulnerable if JPD and CBO leadership were to change direction in the short- or medium-term.

Mental Model Shifts

The pilot also reshaped how individuals throughout the system thought about youth probation in general. It reinforced the belief that voluntary and family-centered approaches are more effective than punitive models. A JPD supervisor reflected that, ultimately, it was about *"creating a process that was better overall for the youth and the family... we know that this experience can be very traumatizing for youth people, and this Pilot created a process where it wasn't what probation wanted, it's not even what the court wanted, it's what the youth and family want. This is now driven by them. We had been saying we wanted a youth and family-driven community approach, and this was organically happening."* Families echoed this change. A parent shared that "*families started to believe that someone actually cared about their kid's future.*"[36]

By the time the Care Team Model launched, there were instances in which the courts and traditional oversight systems sometimes came into tension with the voluntary ethos of the model. For instance, probation officers were occasionally required to report family participation to the court, which blurred the line between voluntary and court-ordered engagement. In other cases, judicial skepticism toward non-mandated services created pressure to revert to compliance-based practices. These moments reminded participants that culture change within justice systems is fragile and iterative.

Yet transparency and a disposition from leadership towards consistently building trust across stakeholder groups made a difference. One CBO leader recalled a pivotal moment in which the JPD Chief openly acknowledged an instance of a JPD misstep in the room with community partners, and delineated concrete steps to address the issue–a gesture that reinforced accountability and partnership. This reminded participants that mindset change is not permanent, and can require consistent reinforcement. Yet transparency from leadership made a difference.[37]

Third Sector's role in facilitating the initial working groups also played a role in helping shift perspectives among all stakeholders. Their approach helped align all stakeholders on creating a collaborative process that required authentic engagement with youth and families. By supporting the process of designing new policies and practices, Third Sector helped JPD and CBOs later embed these values into performance frameworks, and helped ensure that mental model shifts and changes in organizational culture influenced both policy and practice through both the Care Team Pilot and the Justice Services Care Model.[38]

Challenges with the Model

While the Care Team Pilot introduced meaningful structural and organizational culture shifts, implementation was not without its challenges. These challenges reveal both the fragility of reform and the complexity of shifting long-standing practices within juvenile justice.

Learning Across the System

The pilot highlighted that shifting behaviors, roles, and practices takes time. Officers with different levels of experience and history with community partners responded in different ways to the new requirements of the Care Team Pilot. For some probation officers accustomed to making their own referral decisions, adapting to a new, collaborative process less focused on compliance and more focused on youth and family choice was a learning curve. Some found the transition to shared decisionmaking straightforward, while others needed more time to adjust. Similarly, some CBO leaders and staff also experienced challenges adjusting to new forms of collaboration with probation officers and JPD staff.

Accountability and Alignment

Community-based organizations also faced challenges around accountability. While many provided consistent, relationship-based support, participants noted that promised services sometimes eroded over time when accountability mechanisms were not in place. Success stories often hinged on alignment among youth, families, probation, and CBOs, but when even one party disengaged, the model faltered. This required both JPD staff and CBOs to work hard to regain trust whenever there had been a breach, and consistent messaging from JPD leadership in terms of the Department's commitment to the model.

Administrative Burden

The pilot also placed an administrative burden on probation officers, who had to adjust to additional meetings, tracking requirements, and shared planning processes. For some, this created strain as they balanced new responsibilities with existing caseloads. *"It created a lot of work... but there was flexibility with using Zoom or phone, so families didn't have to take off work."*[39] The added responsibilities were challenging, yet they reflected a deliberate focus on making the system easier for families to navigate and ensuring that services could meet families where they were.

Navigating Cultural and Procedural Shifts

Similarly, the voluntary nature of the program, while critical for family trust and buy-in, raised information-sharing challenges, in part because permission from families was needed to release personal information. JPD and CBO staff working directly with families grappled with how to balance confidentiality and court processes without undermining the voluntary nature of the program, a tension that required both cultural and procedural adjustments.

Adjustments in Response to Ongoing Challenges

Stakeholder groups throughout the pilot worked hard to implement key adjustments that worked to maintain the operational integrity of the program, and–more importantly–maintain the ongoing and fragile process of building trust across stakeholder groups.

Cultural Adjustments

Both probation officers and CBO staff described needing to redefine their roles. Instead of relying solely on their own discretion, they worked to center the voices of youth and their families in planning conversations. This shift required probation staff to share authority with CBOs, which in turn fostered more collaborative and balanced decision making. At the same time, it required CBOs to change internal practices and, in some instances, strengthen responsiveness and accountability within new and more demanding processes, which were time-sensitive. Over time, what began as a difficult adjustment evolved into a model where responsibilities were distributed and support was co-created.

Community partners observed a shift in how probation staff approached their role, moving away from an adversarial stance and toward genuine partnership. In turn, CBOs also underwent a process of shifting their orientation towards collaboration with JPD. This cultural adjustment unfolded gradually but signaled a meaningful change in practice. Families noticed the difference as well, with parents expressing that the pilot's voluntary design helped restore trust and made them feel that staff truly cared about their children's future.

Even within probation, staff emphasized the importance of a different orientation toward youth. In the department's own survey, one staff member described their role as "*to LISTEN. To listen to the young person about what is holding them back and what avenues they see viable towards a constructive life*."[40] Another noted that success meant youth and families were "*grateful for the non-judgmental, devotion, and sincerity shown by those working in collaboration in their child's best interest*." These reflections illustrate the cultural adjustment toward seeing young people and families as partners, and finding value in engaging in a collaborative process to support them.[41]

Procedural Adjustments

Alongside cultural changes, the Care Team Pilot also required concrete procedural adjustments. One challenge was information-sharing. Probation and CBOs needed enough information to coordinate services, but they also had to safeguard confidentiality and respect the voluntary nature of the program. Staff wrestled with how to share enough information to coordinate services while still honoring this voluntary nature and adhering to legal requirements. One of the most important lessons of the Care Team Pilot was the recognition that timely information-sharing was a key ingredient. Two significant components of the Justice Services Care Model are both court orders which enable

JPD to immediately share information regarding juvenile justice-involved young people with the six agencies involved in the model, in compliance with California state law, and cybersecurity provisions which allow JPD to share the information securely.

Court mandates added another layer of complexity. Because participation in the Care Team was voluntary, staff had to carefully explain the difference between what the court required and what was optional. Young people themselves highlighted the risk of being overwhelmed. Members of the Juvenile Advisory Council shared that "*interacting with all of the people on a Care Team in the first few days after being processed can be way too overwhelming for a young person who has just come into custody*" and stressed that youth "*should not be required to participate in the Care Team model, or with certain members of the Care Team, if they don't want to*."[42]

In preparation to launch the Justice Services Care Model, JPD also worked with CARC and other stakeholders to streamline the intake and assessment process using trauma-informed principles to reduce redundant and potentially traumatic questioning. Once CARC began conducting youth custody assessments in March 2025 (several months after the Care Teams Pilot launched in October 2024), JPD worked with CARC to reduce the over-assessment of young people in detention by eliminating questions in the required medical/behavioral health assessment conducted by the San Francisco Department of Public Health's Special Programs for Youth (SPY), the provider of health services in the Juvenile Justice Center.

In July 2025, JPD then collaborated with systems partners such as SPY, the County Office of Education, and the Human Services Agency to include CARC in regular Juvenile Justice Multidisciplinary Team meetings. This allowed CARC to gather information about young people directly from system partners in order to match them with the appropriate CBOs to receive supports, rather than asking young people the same questions again. Finally, through the Care Team Pilot, both probation officers and community partners recognized the need for clearer role definitions and accountability. Staff feedback emphasized that "*accountability for who has primary engagement with the youth may be unclear, leading to youth and families who are confused or disengaged*."[43] In order to launch the new Justice Services Care Model, JPD, CARC, and the five Justice Services Care Coordinator agencies, as well as DCYF as the funder, participated in several months of facilitated planning meetings resulting in a detailed process document, including communication protocols, roles and responsibilities, and mutual expectations. Together, these cultural and procedural adjustments marked a departure from past practices and moved the system closer to one where youth and families were at the center of decision making.

Equity & Accessibility

Finally, issues of language access and follow-up highlighted the importance of culturally responsive practices. Some immigrant and monolingual Spanish-speaking young people were often eager to engage with services, but sometimes became overwhelmed by multiple follow-up calls and other types of engagement, given the difficulty of navigating language barriers, as well as a lack of familiarity with the juvenile justice system. This at times led to disengagement and underscored that accessibility is not only about language capacity but also about pacing, communication styles, and cultural fit.

These challenges point to the ongoing work needed to sustain and scale reforms. The Care Team Pilot demonstrated that **meaningful systems change is possible, but that it also requires continuous attention to buy-in, accountability, workload, and cultural responsiveness in order to thrive.**

Structural Constraints and Systemic Barriers

Despite the progress of the Care Team Pilot, several structural and systemic barriers constrained what was possible within the initiative. One enduring barrier was the fragmented nature of data systems across agencies. JPD, DCYF, CARC, and community-based organizations each maintained separate databases, with limited interoperability. Participants described challenges in receiving timely and complete information, which sometimes delayed service engagement or created duplication. The absence of shared data collection and analysis tools made it difficult to track youth outcomes consistently across probation, CBOs, and courts, limiting the ability to fully measure the pilot's impact.

Additionally, the sustainability of reforms was shaped by broader systemic issues. Staffing constraints, high turnover, and shifting city budget priorities threatened to undermine momentum. Community partners worried about the continuity of trust-based relationships if funding cycles changed or leadership transitions occurred. As one CBO leader reflected, pilots can advance culture change, but "*without structures and resources to sustain it, we risk slipping back into the old way*." Fortunately, the work done by JPD and CBOs to institutionalize lessons from the Care Team Model pilot in the development of the Justice Services Care Model—including securing the five-year funding commitment from DCYF—represents clear evidence of how system redesign can be protected and maintained across potential leadership shifts through durable organizational tools and policies, funding commitments, and of alignment of policies across different city departments.

Implications & Recommendations

The experience of the Care Team Pilot offers important lessons for the broader field of juvenile justice reform. The pilot showed that meaningful progress depends on practices that are voluntary, family-centered, and sustained through collaboration across systems.

First, keeping participation voluntary emerged as a cornerstone of trust. Youth and families were more likely to engage when they felt services were offered as a choice rather than imposed by court mandate. One CBO executive shared:

> *"After attempting to do around 10 involuntary referrals through the probation system, we finally tried to provide services to her through the Care Team Pilot. Even though we tried so many different resources, and after even being re-arrested multiple times, I think the process of "chasing" her over multiple attempts in a voluntary model finally made it feel safe enough for her to start responding to my calls, until we found the right fit!"*

The replication efforts in other jurisdictions should be careful to safeguard this element. It is important to make clear distinctions between what the court requires and what families may voluntarily accept. Early engagement also proved critical. Families responded more positively when services were offered quickly, often within days of a young person's arrest. This reduced the risk of disengagement at a vulnerable moment.

Structured collaboration was another essential ingredient. Regular cross-agency Care Team meetings gave probation officers, community-based organizations, and families the opportunity to jointly craft service plans. The process of launching the Care Team Pilot reduced duplication, improved alignment, and created accountability for follow-through. For example, given the new volume of referrals, JPD and CBOs had to standardize the process for logging and tracking each referred case with each CBO embedded in a Care Team. Embedding this kind of joint planning into standard practice can help other jurisdictions move beyond siloed approaches.

The pilot also revealed the importance of balancing reform with staff capacity. Probation officers and CBOs faced new responsibilities in meetings, data tracking, and collaborative planning. Without adjustments to workload and ongoing leadership reinforcement, even promising practices risk fatigue. Building sustainability will require careful attention to staff supports, training, and accountability structures. These measures help ensure promised services are delivered consistently.

The pilot underscored the role of cultural and linguistic responsiveness in sustaining family trust. Spanish-speaking youth often engaged initially but became overwhelmed given the language gap when already engaging with a complex and unfamiliar probation system.

This highlights the need to diversify staff, tailor communication strategies, and design practices that honor cultural context as well as language access. Within JPD, these lessons aligned with efforts to have Spanish-speaking probation officers work with Spanish-speaking young people whenever possible, which were already underway.

Finally, structural barriers pointed to long-term priorities. Fragmented data systems across probation, CARC, and community-based organizations slowed referrals and limited the ability to measure outcomes consistently. Developing shared platforms and data-sharing agreements is essential for scaling the model. Sustainability also depends on embedding reforms into policies and budgets. This helps ensure that culture change does not fade with leadership transitions or funding shifts.

Taken together, these lessons show that reform is possible, but fragile. Voluntary, early, and culturally responsive engagement, structured collaboration across agencies, strong accountability, and investments in new processes and tools are all necessary to move from promising pilots to durable systems change. The lessons from the Care Team Pilot offer a practical roadmap for how jurisdictions can begin building more equitable, healing-centered juvenile justice systems. Similarly, the work done by JPD to incorporate the lessons from the model and launch the subsequent system-wide Justice Services Care Model provides further evidence of how to move from successful, innovative pilots to sustainable system-wide reform.

Key Lessons for the Field of Juvenile Justice

- **Keep participation voluntary**
  Families engaged more when services were offered as a choice, not a mandate. Trust grew when court requirements were clearly distinguished from voluntary supports.
- **Engage families early**
  Support provided quickly, often within days of arrest, built confidence, and reduced the risk of disengagement.
- **Build structured collaboration**
  Regular cross-agency meetings allowed probation, CBOs, youth, and families to jointly plan services, reducing duplication and creating accountability.
- **Support staff capacity**
  Added responsibilities highlighted the need for workload adjustments, training, and leadership reinforcement to prevent fatigue.
- **Center cultural and linguistic responsiveness**
  Spanish-speaking youth engaged initially but sometimes disengaged when outreach was overwhelming. Tailored communication and diverse staff improved access.
- **Strengthen organizational tools and processes**
  Fragmented data systems slowed referrals and limited outcome tracking. Shared platforms, data agreements, and sustainable funding are critical for long-term success.

Conclusion

In response to growing calls from youth, families, and advocates to reform the juvenile justice system, the Care Team Pilot offered a critical proof point. Its implementation—and eventual evolution into the Justice Services Care Model—showed that systems can change when communities, probation, and city agencies commit to shared goals. Structurally, the pilot opened new referral pathways and created practices that cut delays and made services more consistent. Relationally, it helped probation officers and community-based organizations build a deeper level of trust across organizations in a way that prioritized giving young people and families a real voice in decisions. At a deeper level, it began shifting the mental models of how probation and the juvenile justice system overall can operate in more responsive ways. Instead of focusing on compliance with court-ordered conditions, the model moved towards a voluntary, healing-centered and family-driven approach anchored by the strengths of the family and expertise of CBO and JPD staff. These changes have become embedded not only in JPD's practices, but also in the cultural norms within the department and its relationship with CBO partners.

At the same time, these gains were fragile. Change did not happen evenly, and larger systemic forces limited how far the Pilot could go initially. Similarly, changes in organizational culture and practices within JPD were highly dependent on a strong vision and consistent reinforcement from JPD leadership, which presents the potential risk of backtracking in the future under different leadership.

Launching the Care Team Pilot, identifying lessons and gaps, and applying them to create a new system-wide model were interrelated efforts. Together, they led to a coordinated approach that now serves all young people entering the juvenile justice system in San Francisco. This experience shows how trust, relationships, and cultural responsiveness can become the building blocks of sustainable system reform. The Care Team Pilot's success shows how behavioral shifts and organizational cultural norms must change in tandem with policies,procedures, and funding mechanisms for systemic change to be sustainable over time.

Beginning in 2020, JPD leadership embarked on an intentional shift toward a collaborative community- and family-centered approach to supporting young people entering the juvenile justice system and reducing youth detention overall. These shifts were partly in response to and in collaboration with ongoing efforts to incorporate community-level input on reforming the juvenile justice system. The Care Team Pilot, and later the Justice Services Care Model, strengthened and institutionalized those commitments. For other jurisdictions, San Francisco's approach illustrates both the potential and the difficulty of centering families and community organizations in juvenile justice work regulated by state statutes and requiring involvement from various legal and support service departments. While the progress made by JPD and community partners is clear, sustaining it will require continued investment, stable leadership, and collective accountability. Even with its limits, the pilot and the subsequent system-wide reforms within the probation system have laid important groundwork for a more equitable, healing-oriented juvenile justice system.

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