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Cultivating Safe and Supportive Schools: The Implementation and Institutionalization of
Restorative Justice Practices

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Abstract

Mounting public concern about a school-to-prison pipeline has put schools and districts under increasing pressure to reduce their use of suspensions, expulsions and arrests. Many are turning to restorative justice practices (RJP) as a promising alternative for addressing school discipline and improving school climate. However, implementing RJP in a high-quality, sustainable way has proven to be a persistent challenge. In this dissertation I address several facets of the broad problem: What would it take for restorative justice practices to meaningfully transform school discipline? At the organizational level, I draw on 150 hours of fieldwork I conducted in three high schools, to investigate sources of support both for traditional, exclusionary discipline and for RJP. I find evidence of modest institutionalization of RJP, yet also find that on the whole RJP do not replace exclusionary discipline practices, but rather operate alongside them. Recognizing that the quality and sustainability of new practices rests heavily on how front-line educators interpret their core ideas, I also draw on semi-structured interviews with 80 educators to analyze varying conceptions of RJP at the individual level. I find that different ways of framing the nature of RJP offer overlapping but distinct conceptual resources for recognizing its key features. The dissertation as a whole is undergirded by a conceptual framework for analyzing multi-level persistence and change rooted in theorizing from organization studies and policy implementation as well as the learning sciences.

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Dedication

To the educators at Rustin, Heritage and Southlake high schools. Know that your dedication, ingenuity, grace, and love do not go unseen.

To the young people of Chicago. Each of you is precious, loved, and needed. We owe you infinitely more than you receive.

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Part I: Restorative Justice Practices in the Chicago Public Schools

During the summer of 2014, a high school student named Michael Brown was shot and killed by local law enforcement in Ferguson, Missouri. His death, and subsequent clashes between protesters and militarized law enforcement, catapulted a movement organized around the assertion that Black Lives Matter to the national stage. Talking heads, protest leaders and everyday citizens articulated and grappled with the connections between police killings and a society that seems to treat Black and Brown youth as expendable, like criminals-to-be.

On October 14, 2014 I was walking the halls of Heritage High School¹. I was at the school to study its implementation of Restorative Justice Practices, an alternative to the zero-tolerance philosophy of discipline that has been criticized as pushing kids out of school and into the hands of the judicial system—a critique that felt especially timely given the national conversation. Portraits of prominent alumni are displayed around the school, a gallery that could be mistaken for the Who’s Who of African-

Figure I.1: Poster at Heritage HS



¹ Heritage High School is a pseudonym, as are the names of all of the schools, educators and students referenced in this dissertation.

American leaders in Chicago. Between the portraits, next to a fire alarm, I was struck by the poster in Figure I.1.

The image is of a hooded figure behind bars with the text ‘WANTED’ in large print across the top and the word “CRIME” underlined beneath it. Read literally, the text indicated that pulling the fire alarm would result in immediate arrest, a five-day suspension and a \$500 fine. Metaphorically, it was a stark reminder of the depth of the challenge we face. If this poster can hang in this school, of all places, the forces that support the notion of Black children as would-be criminals, whose youthful misdeeds merit extreme punishments, are powerful indeed.

It is against this backdrop that I seek to understand whether and how the adoption and implementation of restorative justice practices might lead to a meaningful and sustained change in school discipline. The challenge is very real. And the stakes are very high.

Chapter 1: School Discipline and the Implementation and Institutionalization of Restorative Justice Practices in Schools

Traditionally we think of schools as focused on academic instruction, with classroom management and discipline practices in a relatively trivial supporting role. But in reality, the way schools manage behavior has a huge impact on students' academic achievement and broader life outcomes. Punitive disciplinary consequences such as suspension and expulsion, that remove children from instruction, are surprisingly common: in 2009-2010 more than 3 million children across the United States received an exclusionary punishment of some sort (Losen & Gillespie, 2012). And while these practices are (ostensibly) intended to teach young people the importance of constructive school behavior, research indicates they are correlated with a slew of negative future outcomes. For example, a recent longitudinal study of Florida high school students indicated that students who were suspended even once in 9th grade were twice as likely to drop out of school (Balfanz, Byrnes, & Fox, 2012). Moreover, rather than supporting schools' potential as a pathway to greater social equality, school discipline practices frequently exacerbate ability- and race-based inequalities. Nationally, in the 2009-2010 school year, 17% of Black K-12 students were suspended, compared with 5% of White students; 13% of students with disabilities were suspended, compared with 7% of students without disabilities; indeed, fully 25% of Black children with disabilities received a suspension (Losen & Gillespie, 2012).

In light of these issues, many schools and districts are adopting policy reforms intended to reduce suspensions, expulsions, and arrests, and increase students' positive connections to schools (IIRP Graduate School, 2009; U.S. Department of Education, 2014). One popular approach is the use of restorative justice practices (RJP) (Fronius, Persson, Guckenburg, Hurley, & Petrosino, 2016). First used in schools in Australia in the 1990s, school-based RJP can take

many forms including peer jury, peer council, peer conference, peace rooms, peace circles, talking circles, and restorative conversations (Ashley & Burke, 2009; Gonzalez, 2012; McCluskey et al., 2008). These practices range from centralized procedures for addressing a harm that has already been done, to classroom strategies for de-escalating minor issues before they become serious. The philosophy behind all forms of RJP is to focus on strengthening relationships and repairing harm, rather than punishing student misbehavior (Mirsky & Wachtel, 2008). Studies of RJP in both schools and juvenile justice settings suggest they are a promising strategy for reducing future misbehavior and improving relationships (IIRP Graduate School, 2009; Nugent, Williams, & Umbreit, 2003; Szanyi, 2012; Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, 2004)

Although adopting such reforms is an important step, school discipline practices are shaped by far more than formal policy. The way that RJP are implemented—and in particular their capacity to be sustained over time—represents a pressing concern for advocates and school leaders. As one school administrator remarked to me:

We cannot have piecemeal things because it gets a piecemeal effect.... And in the end, it becomes another program that...came by and we were burdened with that responsibility and nothing came out of it.... Unless the key people either embrace it or continue to embrace it, it's gonna really just fall apart and it's gonna revert back to a more punitive state – Administrator, Rustin HS

As this educator suggests, the challenge of maintaining new practices over time is a perennial one. Addressing the use of punitive, exclusionary approaches in a meaningful and sustainable manner requires realistically attending to the ways that discipline practices are integrated into the social structures of school life (Kellogg, 2011; Lin, 2002; Lounsbury, 2001).

These include codified procedures for responding to student infractions, but they also encompass the taken-for-granted relations between students, teachers, administrators, and security staff, and the patterned ways that adults exercise discretion in responding to student behavior (Lipsky, 1980). Put another way, school discipline is an institutionalized structure, reproduced in multiple ways, at multiple levels.

The power of institutionalization is that once a practice is fully institutionalized, it becomes self-reproducing, meaning it will persist even when external sources of support like specialized funding, training, or advocacy are removed (Anderson & Colyvas, in preparation; Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011; Jepperson, 1991; Scott, 2014). At the school or departmental level, this can occur when practices become integrated into permanent organizational architecture or self-sustaining cycles and routines (Johnson, 2007; Scott, 2014). For example, schools may have a staff position dedicated to overseeing discipline, or regular internal review processes where certain types of discipline data are discussed. Practices can also be institutionalized at the individual level as they become part of people's taken-for-granted notions of the world, shaping their perception of what is and what is possible (Powell & Colyvas, 2008; Scott, 2014). For example, teachers' beliefs about what causes student misbehavior may shape their approach to classroom management, and what alternatives they are willing and able to explore.

Restorative Justice Practices in the Chicago Public Schools

Chicago is a particularly apt setting in which to study these dynamics. It is home to a strong community of long-time advocates and experts on Restorative Justice Practices, and a school district increasingly critical of exclusionary discipline and supportive of restorative alternatives. In February of 2014, the Chicago Public Schools (CPS) district announced a

Suspensions and Expulsions Reduction Plan intended to reduce the number of students experiencing exclusionary discipline. A summary of the plan released to the public read in part:

Suspensions and Expulsions matter because they impact student achievement.... Punitive responses are not as effective as improving school climate and changing behavior. We recognize that responses to misbehavior can be more instructive and restorative – to keep students in the classroom and to help them modify their behavior and build the skills needed for success. (Office of College and Career Success, 2014)

As this summary suggests, adopting restorative justice practices as an alternative to punitive responses to misbehavior was a piece of this project to transform school discipline. In a press release from July of the same year touting reduced suspensions, expulsions, and school violence, the Chicago Mayor's office articulated schools' adoption of restorative justice practices as: "Reversing a 'zero tolerance' disciplinary system and implementing a restorative, instructive approach to student misconduct with expanded social emotional learning for students."

At the same time the Chicago district offers fertile ground for studying the challenges to sustainable implementation that RJP may face. Figure 1.1 is a reproduction of a figure from a report produced by the UChicago Consortium on School Research illustrating the use of suspensions in CPS from 2009-2014 (Stevens, Sartain, Allensworth, & Levenstein, 2015). Data for students in the middle grades (6-8) is represented on the left with the corresponding data for high schools (grades 9-12) on the right. Each graph shows the percentage of unique students across the district who received an out-of-school suspension (OSS), an in-school suspension (ISS), or either in each school year from 2009-2014. It illustrates that suspension practices have been used at relatively high rates for many years.

Figure 1.1: CCSR Research Documenting High Rates of Suspension in CPS
Out-of-School Suspension Rates Declined in 2013-14, but Suspension Rates Remain High Overall

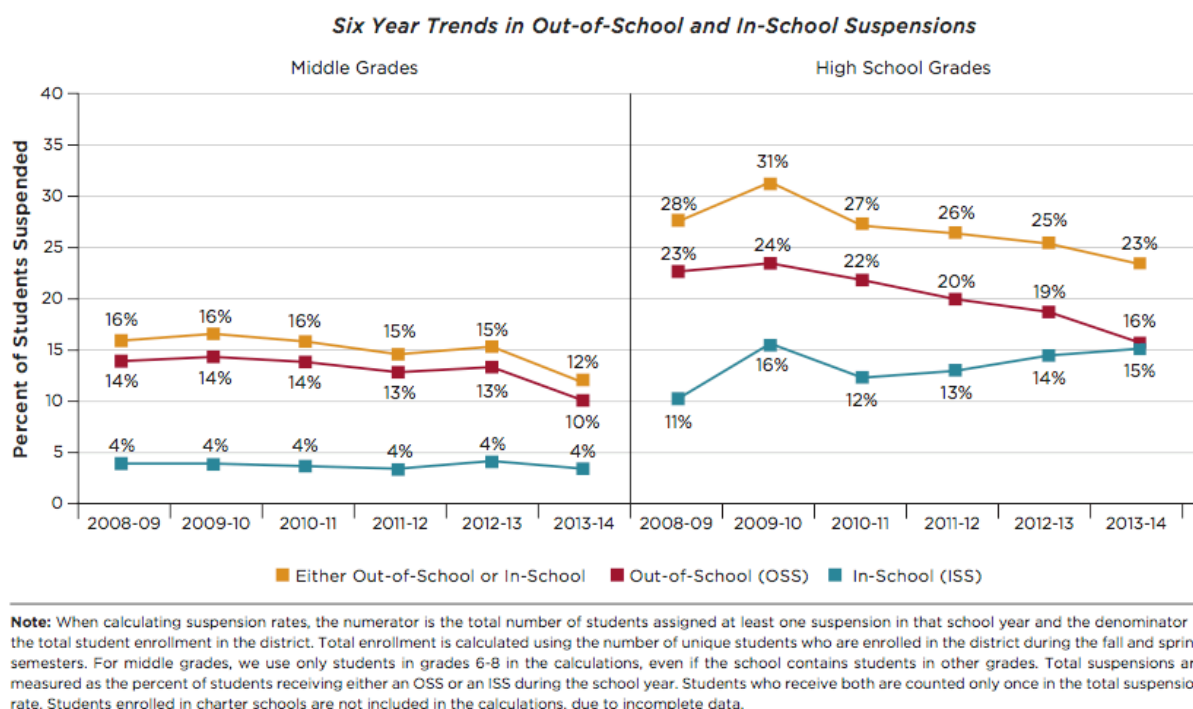
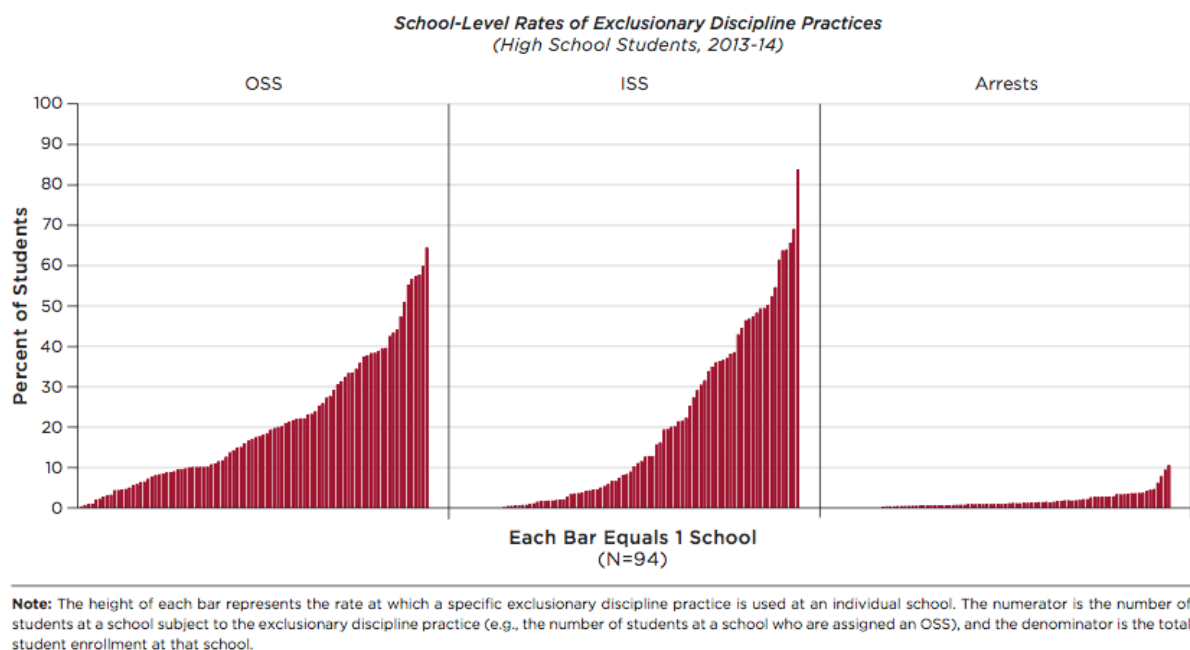


Figure 1.1 shows that more than 20% of high school students have been forbidden from attending class at least once every year, with a peak of 31% receiving a suspension in 2010. Despite district pressure against the use of suspensions, Figure 1 shows that reduction in their use over time has been only modest. In particular, the reduction in the use of out of school suspension has been accompanied by a rise in in-school suspension.

The use of suspensions is especially persistent in certain schools. Figure 1.2 is a reproduction of another figure from a related report produced by the UChicago Consortium on School Research illustrating wide variation in the use of exclusionary discipline across schools (Sartain et al., 2015). It shows the percent of unique students assigned an out-of-school suspension, in-school suspension, or arrested during the 2014 school year, for every school in the district (each vertical line corresponds to one school).

Figure 1.2: CCSR Research Documenting Variation in Use of Suspensions Across CPS High Schools

High Schools Vary Widely in Their Use of Suspensions and Arrests



Despite the Mayor's optimism, Figure 1.2 shows that more than a quarter of CPS high schools assigned an out of school suspension to 30% or more of their students during the 2013-2014 school year.

The ubiquity, persistence, and resistance to contestation of suspension that these data indicate suggest that it has become an institutionalized practice. However, this insight provides little guidance regarding the mechanisms that maintain this practice, or how restorative justice practices might or might not influence it.

Structure of the Dissertation

In this dissertation, I address the broad problem: What would it take for restorative justice practices to meaningfully transform school discipline? I will not fully answer this question—rather, I will attempt to shed light on several facets of the issue.

Part I of the dissertation (including this chapter) is intended to provide a broad overview and introduction. In Chapter 2, I articulate the conceptual framework that undergirds the work as a whole. Rooted in classic neo-institutional theorizing it reflects a specific, contemporary distillation of the construct of institutionalization as articulated by Colyvas & Anderson (under review): institutionalization as integration into self-activating modes of reproduction. I build on this existing framework, adapting it to the investigation of reform implementation. In doing so, I emphasize the importance of symmetrically identifying sources of support both for a new policy or practice—in this case restorative justice practices—and also for the school routines and structures that the reform is intended to alter.

With the broad context of RJP implementation in mind, in Part II I draw on data from fieldwork in three schools to examine processes of implementation and institutionalization at the school level. In Chapter 3, I use the lens of organizational routines to investigate the institutional and organization environment into which RJP are implemented. I describe how traditional exclusionary school discipline routines operate, documenting self-activating mechanisms of reproduction for these practices.

In Chapter 4, I turn to the implementation of RJP themselves. I begin by documenting the variation in restorative justice practices used across my field sites. I use the supports identified in Chapter 4 as a point of comparison to analyze the processes that support RJP and evaluate the extent to which these mechanisms are self-activating, finding evidence of modest institutionalization. Nonetheless, I also show that, on the whole, RJP did not replace exclusionary discipline practices at my field sites, but rather operated alongside them.

Recognizing that the quality and sustainability of new practices rests heavily on how compelling and sensible the core ideas come to seem to front-line educators, in Part III I turn to

the individual level. In Chapter 5, I use data from semi-structured interviews with 80 educators to analyze varying conceptions of RJP. I demonstrate how common cognitive elements are drawn upon in different ways. Similarly, I illustrate how different ways of framing the nature of RJP offer overlapping but distinct conceptual resources for recognizing its key features.

In Chapter 6, I conclude with a consideration of the dissertation's academic and practical contributions and directions for future research.

Chapter 2: Restorative Justice Practices and the Puzzle of Persistence and Change

The question of what it would take for restorative justice practices to meaningfully transform school discipline is fundamentally a problem of change and persistence. This duality is a central puzzle for education researchers, and a perennial challenge for policy makers, school leaders, and reform advocates. Change in schools is perpetual and yet often elusive. In order to support schools in achieving and maintaining the *right* changes, education researchers need a conceptual lens that can illuminate both persistence and change as they occur across levels and over time (Anderson & Colyvas, in preparation; Clemens & Cook, 1999).

Change is often sought after in educational settings. This is in part a reflection of the widespread perception of an urgent need for improvement. Inadequacies in the current system include concerns about the academic performance of American students as compared with students in other countries (Denning, 1983; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992); concerns about systematic differences in academic opportunities and achievement for American students according to income, race, and gender (Ladson-Billings, 2006); and also concerns about how schools contribute to broader disparities in life outcomes, such as rates of employment and incarceration (Chetty et al., 2011; Fabelo et al., 2011).

Efforts at reform intended to address various aspects of these challenges are initiated frequently. In some cases, these take the form of attempts at large scale changes in pedagogical approach and policy, even multiple contradictory attempts over a short period of time. For example, the “math wars” of the 1990s involved rapid policy shifts, first to “new math” and then back again (Schoenfeld, 2004). The “reading wars” followed a similar path as teachers of early literacy instruction received conflicting messages in rapid succession about using phonics-based

or whole language approaches (Coburn, 2004). A similar process occurs at smaller scales within individual districts and schools, as leaders often repeatedly take on new programs, technologies or curricula (Bryk, Easton, Kerbow, Rollow, & Sebring, 1993; Coburn, 2004). At the same time, leadership itself also turns over rapidly at both school and district levels (Grissom & Andersen, 2012; Miller, 2013). For example, from 2006 – 2016 the Chicago Public Schools has been led by seven different CEOs (Chicago Tribune, 2015; Dardick & Perez, 2015).

Yet, at the same time that change in the educational realm is both sought after and ubiquitous, it is not yet well understood.

Often, despite the frequency of apparent change, new theories, policies, and personnel fail to bring the sustained shift in teaching and learning practice their advocates hope for (Cohen, 1988; Tyack & Cuban, 1997; Rowan, 2006; Payne, 2008; Mehta, 2015). Many reforms are “faddish,” struggling to persist past a period of unusually high attention and funding (Birnbaum, 2000; Datnow, 2005). At times change takes the form of rapid reversals reflecting contradictory perspectives of different stakeholders, as in the math and reading wars mentioned above. At other times the reasons for abandoning a particular approach are less clear, yet no less destabilizing. For example, Comprehensive School Reforms were funded by the federal government for an average of \$269 million annually from 2000 to 2005, and showed some promise, albeit with highly mixed implementation (Borman, Hewes, Overman, & Brown, 2003; Vernez, Karam, Mariano, & DeMartini, 2006). Nonetheless, federal funding for the programs was reduced by more than 99% for 2006 through 2008 and ended in 2009.

Of course, some reforms do stick. While historically educational reforms have been characterized as superficial in nature and said not to permeate the core work of classroom instruction (John W. Meyer & Rowan, 1977), more recent empirical investigations in schools

have suggested that this classic dynamic of ‘loose coupling’ is changing (Coburn, 2004; H.-D. Meyer & Rowan, 2006). This is especially true with the advent of accountability policies, representing a reform approach that has demonstrably affected teaching and learning activities (Hallett, 2010; Spillane, Parise, & Sherer, 2011). Accountability policies and their corresponding patterns of instruction have also proven quite durable—stretching from the 1980s through the present (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002). At the same time, the effects of accountability policies on student achievement have been modest (Neal & Schanzenbach, 2010; Wong, Cook, & Steiner, 2009). And much of the change brought about in classrooms has been in the form of unintended consequences such as narrowing the curriculum to tested subjects and increasing the proportion of test prep that students experience (Au, 2007).

Thus, alongside considerable turbulence, many aspects of schooling have shown remarkable immunity to substantive change over time. Yet neither cases of change, nor stability have necessarily unfolded in the way their advocates envisioned.

Multiple Approaches to Understanding Persistence and Change

The challenging dynamics of new policies and practices that fail to take hold, and existing practices that resist being extinguished are not unique to the educational realm. On the contrary, multiple research traditions seek to explicate these and related dynamics. For example, program and policy evaluations across sectors investigate whether a particular intervention produces a change in outcomes relative to a counterfactual condition (Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002). These studies illuminate the impact (or lack thereof) of the formal adoption of a policy or program, although they are often silent on the mechanisms that account for these effects.

Policy implementation research is often more attuned to process, exploring the dynamics that affect the way a policy functions in real-world settings, while often documenting the tenacity of previous practices even in the face of formal change (Lipsky, 1980; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973). Literature on the diffusion of innovations has similarly illuminated the many different and unexpected ways that new technology can be taken up in organization—or not (Rogers, 2003). However, attention to how programs are implemented at the peak of funding and attention, does not reflect the full picture of persistence and change across time (Birnbaum, 2000; Coburn, 2003).

Organizational research more broadly addresses some mechanism that account for persistence and change in organizational structures over time. For example, ecological models consider organizational ‘births’ and ‘deaths’ in terms of the qualitative changes they reflect in a population of organizations (Hannan & Freeman, 1977). Scholarship on imprinting effects considers the long term impact of conditions at an organization’s founding (Johnson, 2007). Classic neo-institutional theory emphasized the impact of institutional pressures over technical pressures (John W. Meyer & Rowan, 1977). More recent scholarship on institutional work has emphasized the role of individual effort and skill in maintaining the status quo (Fligstein, 2001; Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2011).

Literature on the processes of learning and cognition is also highly relevant to dynamics of persistence and change. For example, research on conceptual change often investigates the remarkable tenacity of certain naïve conceptions of a particular phenomenon (e.g. Chi, 2005). Research on teacher education and teacher learning concerns ways to effectively shift current teachers’ thinking and practice and also ways to train new teachers in best practices (e.g. Dobie & Anderson, 2015). More socio-culturally situated conceptions of learning include individuals’

changing participation in stable communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), or the role of the individual in a larger activity system that both constrains and constitutes opportunities for individual action, and at the same time may be changed by individual action (Cole & Engeström, 1993). More broadly, scholarship on the role of culture and identity in schooling charts the ways that students, teachers and schools navigate, embody, and resist persistent social identities and roles (Ferguson, 2001; Morris, 2016; Tyson, 2003).

As social scientists, in order to aid policy-makers and the public, we need to better illuminate what causes certain patterns to be durable while others are transient and why some shifts persist while others revert back to the status quo. While each of these research traditions clearly hold a piece of the puzzle, no one lens gives us enough information to answer this central problem. This is especially challenging in the educational domain, because important processes of learning, transformation and maintenance operate at so many different levels. As Coburn recently put it (2016, pp. 471–472):

We need more multilevel studies that investigate how processes unfolding at one level implicate other levels, and how that influences social structure as a whole.... [W]hen can policy interrupt existing power relations, and when does it simply reinforce them? ... This question is especially urgent given that educational policy often seeks to reshape social structure as a mechanism to bring about positive outcomes for students. The question is, When and under what conditions is it able to do so?

I agree whole-heartedly with Coburn's charge, while also recognizing the complexity of this undertaking. Existing studies relevant to transformation and continuity in students' experiences and outcomes range in level of analysis from inside the mind of an individual up through federal policy and broad social conventions, and draw on methodological traditions

ranging from grounded ethnography, through design research, lab experiments, and econometric methods of causal inference. Variation in levels, epistemology, and theoretical ontology among varying research traditions pose significant challenges in integrating insights into unified explanations. Moreover, even in a single setting, one lens may illuminate change while another reveals persistence (Clemens & Cook, 1999). In order to pursue a multi-level research program on the dynamics of educational transformation, we need strong conceptual tools for identifying change in relation to persistence, connecting sources to outcomes, and drawing coherent inferences across levels.

Institutionalization Framework

I address this challenge here by building on a framework articulated in Colyvas and Anderson (under review) and Anderson & Colyvas (in preparation) that reflects both classic and contemporary theorizing in organization science. At its core, this framework includes two elements: First, an analytic definition of institutionalization as integration into self-activating modes of reproduction; and second, a conceptual distinction between the observable manifestations of institutionalized structures and the mechanisms that reproduce those structures. In using this approach to examine the implementation of an educational reform, I add a third element: tracing the multiple sources of support and reproduction for *both* the new model and existing practices in the setting. In combination, I argue that this approach offers three important advantages for investigating the ways in which Restorative Justice Practices are and/or are not effecting a meaningful and sustained transformation of school discipline. First, it allows for synthesizing research from different research traditions into an ontologically coherent framework to guide data collection and analysis. Second, it offers guidance on research design, providing indications of where to look for mechanisms likely to be relevant to the long-term sustainability

of RJP; Third, it allows for the interpretation of data in such a way as to be useful to practitioners seeking to increase the sustainability of RJP in schools.

Definitions of Institutionalization

Like Colyvas & Anderson, (under review) I begin from a precise yet flexible definition of institutionalization, following Jepperson (1991) (see also: Anderson & Colyvas, in preparation; Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011). In Jepperson's conception, an institutionalized structure is a "social order or pattern" that is "chronically reproduced" by "relatively self-activating social processes" (p. 145). Although it may not last forever, an institutionalized pattern is reproduced in a repeated or extended way. Critically, the process of reproduction is not one of special circumstance, or "intervention in social convention," but rather "routine reproductive procedures support and sustain the pattern, furthering its reproduction—unless collective action blocks, or environmental shock disrupts, the reproductive process" (p. 145). That is, the institutionalized pattern is continuously re-activated without external mobilization or resources. More succinctly, institutionalization is the process and outcome of integration into self-activating modes of reproduction.

I contrast self-activating modes of reproduction with processes of reinforcement or other relatively weak forms of support (Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011; Jepperson, 1991). While support via self-sustaining or permanent mechanisms are indicative of institutionalization, structures can be supported by a wide range of factors that do not possess these characteristics. For example, purposive action, extra funding, and advocacy can all be important in the spread or adoption of a new practice (Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011). However, as temporary forms of support requiring continuous effort, they are not indicative of institutionalization.

While analytically distinct, the empirical distinctions between reproduction and reinforcement can sometimes be subtle. For example, while an individual may go above and beyond her daily responsibilities to get a new practice started, such a source of support is not likely to be self-activating over time. In other words individual action can be a mode of reinforcement but not a mode of reproduction (Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011; Jepperson, 1991). In contrast, if an individual's effort towards a particular practice or routine is carried out as a routine part of his professional role, that effort will be sustained by that professional identity—even if the individual in it changes. Therefore the same behavior situated within and motivated by a professional role or norm can be a strong mechanism of reproduction (Kellogg, 2011; Lounsbury, 2001; Scott, 2014).

In addition, while self-activating modes of reproduction represent the defining feature of the institutionalization process, it is important to distinguish these sources of support from the structures and patterns they produce and reproduce (Colyvas & Anderson, under review). Indeed, our framework requires carefully tracing the connections between observed outcomes and the mechanisms that produce and reproduce them. This is important in part because these connections are often counter-intuitive. Indeed, at times, actions taken with the intent of changing a persistent pattern can end up reproducing it. For example Tyson (2003) observed adults in elementary schools serving all Black students unintentionally reproducing racialized expectations of failure. In a different context, Maroulis and Wilensky (2014) demonstrate that school improvement processes occurring before the introduction of a reform, can actually hinder the implementation of the new approach.

I also note that institutionalization—even as an outcome—is not a binary characteristic. One dimension of variation is that any given mechanism of reproduction may vary in its strength

(Colyvas & Anderson, under review). That is, some processes may be more powerful than others in reproducing a certain pattern. For example, Kellogg (2011) demonstrated how being ensconced in formal regulations did not act as a strong mechanism of reproduction for a reduction in surgical interns' work hours, while the development of a new local professional identity amongst doctors at particular hospitals did. Likewise, certain processes may act as stronger mechanisms of reproduction for some structures than others. For example, in the context of school discipline, I demonstrate in Chapter 4 that professional expectations more strongly reproduce some types of routines than others.

Institutionalization at Multiple Levels

This approach does not constrain the use of an institutionalization lens to any particular units or levels of analysis. On the contrary, for any given structure, many potential modes of reinforcement and reproduction exist, at many different levels. The use of an institutionalization lens for multi-level analysis appears to contrast with early institutional research that often portrayed institutions as macro level forces rooted in formal or informal social rules (Scott, 2013). Indeed, the legacy of conceiving of institutions in terms of their macro-level manifestations has had a powerful effect on scholarship, perhaps particularly in the educational realm, where institutional theory is often drawn upon primarily to address macro level forces (Wiseman, Astiz, & Baker, 2014), or combined with other theoretical traditions to address questions that cross levels (e.g. Bray & Russell, 2016; März et al., 2016; Ogawa, Crain, Loomis, & Ball, 2008). However, in organizational studies more broadly, a vibrant literature on micro-foundations, institutional entrepreneurship, inhabited institutions, and institutional work has emerged over the last decade that is explicitly rooted in the institutional theoretical tradition and also attends to both micro and macro levels (e.g. Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Bitektine

& Haack, 2015; Hallett, 2010; Hokyu Hwang & Colyvas, 2011; Lawrence et al., 2011; Powell & Colyvas, 2008).

Indeed, DiMaggio and Powell's (1983) seminal work on isomorphism across an organizational field of related organizations illustrates the inherently multi-level nature of an institutional lens. Although the pattern they observed manifested at the macro (field) level, the forces they identified as responsible for this pattern, were spread across levels. More specifically, coercive and normative pressures towards isomorphism both operate at level of the organizational field, like the outcome of isomorphism itself. However mimetic isomorphism, the practice of looking to similar organizations for guidance in situations of uncertainty, is not produced at the macro-level, but rather is an emergent macro-level pattern reproduced by the independent actions of many individual (micro-level) organizations. Put in terms of our framework, we would say that field level isomorphism is the observable manifestation of the reproduction processes of mimesis, coercion and normative pressure.

Institutionalization Through Multiple Mechanisms. In addition, the relationship between institutionalized structures and modes of reproduction is not one to one, but rather many to many. That is, the same pattern can be supported by multiple mechanisms, and the same mechanism can support multiple patterns (Colyvas & Anderson, under review). For example, the social role of Teacher may be supported by federal accountability policies, teachers' union bylaws, shared expectations of parents and recurrent classroom interactions between teachers and young people. Those same classroom interactions might also be supporting the social role of Young Black Men, and the definition of Success.

I refer to variation in the number of modes of reproduction supporting a given structure and variation in the levels at which these modes operate as reflecting the breadth and depth of

institutionalization respectively. A structure that is reproduced by a greater array of different mechanisms is more broadly institutionalized. A structure that is reproduced by mechanisms across more levels—e.g. by individual and societal level process in addition to organizational ones, is more deeply institutionalized (Colyvas & Anderson, under review).

The insight that institutions can be reinforced and reproduced by multiple forces, potentially operating at multiple levels is a particularly important one for those seeking institutional change. Although institutionalized structures tend to persist, they do sometimes change, become de-institutionalized, or supplanted by a new institution (Ahmadjian & Robinson, 2001; Clemente & Roulet, 2015; Hiatt, Sine, & Tolbert, 2009; Oliver, 1992). However, this multiplexity means that removing or altering one mode of reproduction will not necessarily result in a substantial change in the pattern as a whole. For example, changing federal policy may or may not change broader societal norms about what it means to be a teacher. Rather, institutions will be unraveled or de-institutionalized to the extent that the modes of reproduction that keep them in place are interrupted (Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011). A wise reformer will recognize and exploit the fact that the forces both supporting and disrupting a particular institutionalized pattern, can occur in multiple forms and at multiple levels (top down policy change being only one).

A Note on Terminology

The defining feature of a support that is indicative of institutionalization is that it is a self-activating mode of reproduction. Although some scholars refer to processes of ‘reproduction’ that are not self-activating (e.g. Jepperson, 1991), for the sake of clarity I avoid using the term except to refer to processes that are indeed self-activating and thus indicative of

institutionalization. Following Colyvas & Jonsson (2011) I use the term ‘reinforcement’ to refer to supports that are not self activating.

I also make a distinction between modes and mechanisms. I use modes of reinforcement or reproduction to refer to processes or entities that could act as sources of support (Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011). By a mechanism of reinforcement or reproduction I mean a specific causal relationship between a particular process entity and a particular structure that it is supporting (Hedström & Ylikoski, 2010).

Modes of Reproduction

In order to identify modes of reproduction as they operate with respect to school discipline, I turn to existing literature on self-activating modes of support—that is, modes of reproduction.

The importance of formal policy for producing and reproducing particular patterns of practice is implicitly recognized by the large literature on policy and program evaluation. Because, in most systems, once a particular rule has been created it will persist continuously until some other action changes it, integration into rules and regulations is also a form of institutionalization (Scott, 2014). Laws and other types of regulations often have associated enforcement mechanisms, like policing, or audits, that can sanction deviations from a new rule. Even without formal sanction, integration into formal rules confers legitimacy to a practice, which can serve to reproduce it (Dobbin, 2009). However, as scholars of policy implementation have long documented, formal regulations are powerful mechanisms of reproduction for only some observable patterns. For example, while schools’ formal policies may adhere to formal rules, behind the scenes prescriptions may be only loosely practiced (McLaughlin, 1987; J. W. Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

Professional roles, identities and norms are another powerful force and mode of reproduction (Heimer, 1999; H. Hwang & Powell, 2009; Lounsbury, 2001; Scott, 2014). These norms are produced and reproduced in professional training, and within professional communities and associations (Scott, 2014). They are often carried by individuals into more diverse organizational settings where they can exert a powerful influence. For example, Kellogg (2011) paints a picture of how the valued identities of surgeons conflicted with new regulations and made them quite difficult to implement—reproducing the status quo. In the educational realm, work by Drake and colleagues has demonstrated that teachers’ identities as teachers and learners of mathematics affects the way they approach implementing math curricula (Drake, Spillane, & Hufferd-Ackles, 2001; M. G. Sherin & Drake, 2009, 2009). To the extent that these identities are systematically produced and reproduced by teachers’ own personal and professional experiences, they will likewise continue to influence teachers’ practice in a persistent way.

In a similar vein, students’ chosen or assigned identities and other socially meaningful categories can also operate as modes of reproduction. For example, an enormous body of research has demonstrated that expectations associated with race, class and gender consistently affect patterns of behavior and interaction experienced by members of those groups (Ferguson, 2001; Ispa-Landa, 2013; Morris, 2016). Narrower, or more local categories such as learning disabled, or even “fast” and “slow” can also powerfully shape perceptions of students and can even be built into school systems, reifying the perceived reality of such designations (Horn, 2007; McDermott, 1996). For example, Horn (2007) illustrates how categorizations of students and of learning tasks can act as resources (or obstacles) for teachers in implementing equity-oriented reforms. When such categorizations affect the opportunities for learning students are

afforded, they can act as self-fulfilling prophecies. Such cycles of expectation based on social categories shaping perception and action, which in turn strengthens expectations, is an example of a mechanism that is self-activating because it operates as a positive feedback loop, continually making itself stronger.

Practitioners' expectations for how a tool or practice will (or won't) meet their needs can also act as a powerful mode of reproduction. In some cases, this process can operate like a self-fulfilling prophecy as people choose not to use what they do not perceive as useful (Leonardi, 2012). In other cases a permanent advocacy or interest group will consistently act to ensure that particular action do meet their needs (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983). In both of these cases the individuals or groups are working towards their own respective goals. However, to the extent that those goals are relatively stable and predictably linked to the identity of the actors, micro-level actions taken in self-interest can nonetheless reproduce a stable pattern at a more macro level.

The metrics used to assess performance and progress are another potential mode of reproduction (Stinchcombe, 2001). Once a particular measure is collected, and especially once it is used for accountability purposes, it creates a continuous support for further attention to that measure—often to the exclusion of other considerations. Moreover, these metrics carry ideas, categories and values with them, so that use of the metric reproduces these associated features (Colyvas, 2012). For example, research on the impact of high stakes testing has demonstrated that these metrics tend to produce and reproduce a pattern of instruction that is narrowed towards tested content, and even to the students most likely to affect school ratings (Au, 2007; Booher-Jennings, 2005; Neal & Schanzenbach, 2010). Espeland and Sauder (2007) similarly document

the impacts of US News and World Report rankings on university policy-making, demonstrating the systematic ways that making universities commensurable shapes their practices.

Finally, organizational routines can also be a powerful mode of reproduction. By their nature, routines are repetitively enacted (Feldman & Pentland, 2003). Their consistency has led many scholars to characterize them as a force of stability in maintaining organizations, for example, using metaphors of a script or DNA. Others have challenged the assumption that routines cannot also play a powerful role in organizational change (e.g. Aroles & McLean, 2016; Feldman & Pentland, 2003). Routines can also serve to produce and reproduce professional roles (Barley, 1986; Kellogg, 2011). In the educational context, organizational routines have been linked with re-coupling processes (Hallett, 2010; Spillane et al., 2011) providing a connection between instructional practice and policy prescriptions. Research on special education meetings has demonstrated that the routines tied to the production of IEP documents continuously reproduced roles and power dynamics between special education professionals and parents (Bray & Russell, 2016).

Observable Manifestations of Institutionalization

In addition to abstract, explicitly institutional outcomes like tight and loose coupling, or structural isomorphism, many common subjects of educational research can be understood as institutionalized structures. The markers of institutionalization identified by existing literature such as legitimacy, taken-for-grantedness, widespread usage, persistence, or connection with other institutionalized structures, point us to a wide range of technologies, patterns, and practices that are institutionalized, or are in the process of institutionalization. These can include large scale structures organizing millions of people's daily lives and supported and regulated by many levels of public policy such as K-12 schooling, the university, and the teaching profession. They

can also include widespread practices supported by strong traditions, like lecture-based instruction (Cohen, 1988) or math as an ordered set of content (Horn, 2007). They can take the form of categories tied to particular metrics like “bubble kids” (Booher-Jennings, 2005), gifted students, and failing schools (Figlio & Lucas, 2004); organizational structures like small schools, block scheduling, etc., all the way through micro-level self-fulfilling prophecies about individual students as “fast” or “slow” (Horn, 2007). Some of these outcomes, or manifestations of institutionalization can also act as self-activating modes of reproduction themselves, as described above, either operating as a self-reproducing cycle, or as a support for another observable pattern.

Towards an Institutional Research Framework for Educational Reforms

Given the tendency towards rapid turnover in educational reforms, I argue that this is a domain in which this institutional framework can be especially powerful. For the purposes of analyzing such reforms I seek to symmetrically trace the forces supporting patterns and structures reflecting both the new model—in this case restorative justice practices—and also existing school practices. In order to do so, I draw especially on two critical literature traditions: policy implementation, and practitioner thinking.

Implementation

Whenever a change is adopted at any but the most local of levels, a process of implementation follows. By implementation I mean practitioners’ enactment of a policy or program that has been adopted by those at a higher level of authority (Cohen & Moffitt, 2009). Literature on policy implementation, and literature on the implementation of technologies in organizations demonstrate clearly that changes planned by management are often implemented

on the ground very differently than intended (Desimone, 2002; Leonardi, 2009; McLaughlin, 1987; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Spillane, 2004; Weatherley & Lipsky, 1977; Weick, 1990).

Implementation has often been discussed in terms of fidelity to a model (Dane & Schneider, 1998; Fullan, 1983). This is quite important for evaluators concerned with the efficacy of a program or intervention. Even under experimental conditions, statistically estimated effects are hard to interpret without information about implementation. For example, null or mixed results might be attributable to the design of the program, or to poor or mixed program implementation-(Dusenbury, 2005; Flay, 1986; Linder & Peters, 1987; Shadish et al., 2002). At a practical level, program developers are also often concerned that if program elements are not implemented as intended, an intervention's ability to help will be undermined. However, whether rigid fidelity to program specifications as written always produces the best outcomes is a subject of some contention (Matland, 1995; McLaughlin, 1987; M. G. Sherin & Drake, 2009).

One limitation of the construct of fidelity is that it pre-supposes a model with prescriptions that are clearly enough defined to make deviations from the model readily apparent. For policies and programs that are more ambiguous this makes the notion of fidelity difficult to apply (Majone & Wildavsky, 1979; Matland, 1995).

Implementation can also be described in terms of qualitative variations in form. For example, Lin's description of the ways that different prisons implement 'rehabilitative' programming illustrates how a similar idea can take shape very differently in different organizational contexts (Lin, 2002). Ansari, Fiss, & Zajac (2010) also note how a technology's form can look quite different depending on whether an organization is an early or late adopter. The form a program or policy takes in a specific context can also have important implications for key outcomes. Not only may qualitatively different forms of implementation vary in their

effectiveness for improving student outcomes (Desimone, 2002); they may give practitioners varying impressions about the nature of the intended change (Leonardi, 2012); and they may vary in the manner and degree to which they become institutionalized (Kellogg, 2011; Lin, 2002; Lounsbury, 2001);.

Practitioner Thinking

Key to both implementation and institutionalization are the ways that front-line practitioners tasked with enacting a change think about the domain. Constructivist theories of learning indicate that people's understanding of new ideas are based on and built from their existing conceptions (Rumelhart, 1980; Schank & Abelson, 1977). Everyday learning means making minor changes in the organization of existing conceptions, or assimilating new ideas into existing structures (Carey, 1988; Posner, Strike, Hewson, & Gertzog, 1982; Rumelhart, 1980). Sometimes these pieces of information are connected in well-elaborated, flexible yet consistent structures (Chi, Feltovich, & Glaser, 1981; B. Sherin, 2006; Vosniadou & Brewer, 1992). At other times pieces may be relatively poorly interconnected, with inconsistencies and contradictions (DiMaggio, 1997; B. Sherin, 2006).

Learning theorists also note that learning and reasoning are highly contextualized activities (Hutchins, 1995; Lave, Murtaugh, & de la Rocha, 1984). This may be through participation in a larger community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), through participation in a particular activity system (Engeström, 1993; Roth & Lee, 2007), or in other ways. Although I conceptualize of practitioner thinking as something that occurs inside the mind of individuals, I also attend to the ways this process is facilitated and constrained by social interaction and factors at higher levels (Cobb, Boufi, McClain, & Whitenack, 1997; Nasir, 2005).

Implementation & Practitioner Thinking

Implementation and practitioner thinking are related. People implement new programs and policies through the lens of their existing knowledge (M. G. Sherin, 2002; Spillane, 2004; Spillane, Reiser, & Reimer, 2002). However, almost by definition, programs designed for educational reform are frequently built around ideas regarding content, instruction, or philosophy that differ substantially from those held by many practitioners. This means that reforms are highly susceptible to misunderstanding (Anderson, 2017; Coburn, 2005; Spillane, 2000, 2004). For example, Cohen's (1990) classic study illustrated a teacher who understood California mathematics reform through the lens of traditional teaching practices, resulting in pedagogical practices that adhered to some of the reform's prescriptions, but deviated significantly from others.

An additional linkage between implementation and learning exists in the other direction: the way a new program or policy is implemented or may affect practitioner's understanding of the relevant domain. Literature on the diffusion of technology has illustrated clearly that the purpose of technology is social constructed in use (Fulk, 1993; Leonardi, 2012; Pinch & Bijker, 1984; Wyatt, 2008). There is every reason to believe that the same is true in the case of educational program and policy implementation. As educators observe new programs being implemented by their colleagues, they may develop an understanding of the nature of the model based on the form it takes in their local context.

Implementation, Practitioner Thinking & Institutionalization

Implementation and practitioner thinking are also both interconnected with institutionalization. For changes organized around particular reform efforts, implementation is sometimes understood as an early stage in institutionalization. (Although Kim (n.d.) has pointed

out that processes of institutionalization can actually begin even before implementation.)

Likewise, institutionalization can be seen as advanced stage of implementation (Coburn, 2003).

Using this framework, I foreground a slightly different relationship between implementation and institutionalization. Identifying institutionalization as the integration of a particular pattern or structure into self-activating modes of reproduction draws attention to which elements of a program or policy are implemented, and how they connect with the school's existing reproduction processes. Some strategies of implementation may more effectively tap into such processes than others. For example, a reform that includes opportunities for collective strategizing among advocates (Kellogg, 2011), or creates a constituency to advocate for continued change (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983) will improve the chances that the reform stays in place.

Recognizing that modes of reproduction can operate at multiple levels including that of the individual, practitioner thinking and learning also has a role to play in institutionalization. Shared taken-for-granted notions constitute and constrain actors and action (J. W. Meyer & Jepperson, 2000). Micro, or individual level changes in opinion or beliefs (i.e. learning) can be a powerful force towards the institutionalization, or de-institutionalization of a structure (Powell & Colyvas, 2008).

Conclusion

This approach pushes us to move beyond generic characterizations of the institutional environment, towards specifying what is institutionalized and by what mechanisms at what levels. Closer analysis of the patterns of existing and emerging institutionalized structures will help build our knowledge of how these processes function, in turn offering better guidance for

promoting the institutionalization of improvements in schooling. The chapters that follow operationalize this framework in an empirical setting: the implementation and institutionalization of restorative justice practices in schools.

Part II: School Routines

Walking through the halls of Rustin High School on February 27, 2015, the bulletin board shown in Figure II.1 caught my eye. The image shows the names of three Freshmen of the Month for December. Presumably, by the very title, this is honor intended to rotate monthly. Yet seeing the names from December still posted at the end of February makes clear the board hasn't been updated for two months.

Figure II.1: Rustin Bulletin Board at the end of February



Why is it that some organizational routines, like school suspension practices are so “sticky” that they persist despite pressure against them? And yet others, even simple ones like choosing Students of the Month, fall by the wayside despite the best intentions of those who initiate them?

Chapter 3: Existing School Discipline Routines

Encouraging schools to use restorative justice practices and make suspension a last resort represents a significant shift for a district that, a few years before, mandated that any student engaging in “persistent defiance” miss two full weeks of school as punishment. Nonetheless, a legacy of research into policy implementation alerts us to the challenges of implementing such a change (e.g. Coburn, Hill, & Spillane, 2016; Cohen & Moffitt, 2009; Lipsky, 1980; McLaughlin, 1987; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Spillane, 2004). Longstanding, widespread practices can be highly institutionalized and difficult to undo (Cohen, 1988; Scott, 2014). And indeed, district data suggest that suspension practices are persistent and resistant to contestation—two classic hallmarks of institutionalization (Clemens & Cook, 1999; Jepperson, 1991; Scott, 2014).

In this chapter I seek to understand the local institutional environments that restorative justice practices enter into. That is, building on the institutionalization framework articulated in Chapter 2, I seek to investigate the school, group and individual level patterns or structures and their corresponding self-activating mechanisms of reproduction which the implementation of restorative justice practices may draw on, transform or disrupt. Reflecting the framing of restorative justice practices by the school district and Mayor’s office as an alternative to the use of exclusionary discipline, I focus my investigation on the set of organizational routines comprising school’s traditional punitive and exclusionary discipline practices.

School discipline is often talked about as if it happens in one step (e.g. “The student was suspended for his behavior”). In fact, however, the process is much more complex. In a sense, discipline routines may sound like an oxymoron, because they are responses to among the most unpredictable and sometimes volatile situations that occur in schools. However, while student

behavior is sometimes unpredictable, adults are expected to respond using a set of relatively consistent processes. Discipline routines are standardized ways to respond to non-standard situations.

My theoretical framework indicates that, like any structure, routines are institutionalized and thus will persist to the extent that they are supported by mechanisms of reproduction that are self-activating; they will fail to persist to the extent that their supports are not self-activating. Thus, in order to anticipate and contextualize the processes of implementing restorative justice practices, I look first at the structure of discipline routines already in place, investigating the following research question:

RQ 3.1: How are punitive and exclusionary discipline routines reproduced?

Conceptual Framework

Routines

Routines are ubiquitous in organizations. I follow Feldman and Pentland in defining routines as “recognizable, repetitive patterns of interdependent action carried out by multiple actors” (Feldman & Pentland, 2003, p. 95). Practitioners continually confront and negotiate questions and problems, individually exerting agency in many small and large ways. At the same time, much of the work that occurs in organizations is highly scripted, occurring in similar patterns over and over again.

In the school context, some routines are instructional, meaning they concern the ways teachers teach in the classroom, such as the use of particular activities, or participation structures (Booher-Jennings, 2005; Coburn, 2004; Datnow & Castellano, 2000; Glazer, 2009). Many more routines operate in the large network of people, objects, and actions organized to support

classroom instruction, such as meeting routines, professional development routines, or tutoring and test-prep routines (Booher-Jennings, 2005; Hallett, 2010; Spillane et al., 2011). School discipline routines represent a link between the practices of individual classroom teachers and the larger structures of a school.

Routines, Persistence and Change

A great deal of scholarship on organizational routines concerns how routines figure in to organizational stability and change (Aroles & McLean, 2016; Feldman & Pentland, 2003; Feldman, Pentland, D'Adderio, & Lazaric, 2016; Leonardi, 2009). Feldman & Pentland (2003) offer a particularly influential pair of constructs that help to describe these relationships. They characterize routines as having two aspects: the ostensive and the performative. The ostensive aspect of a routine is its abstract form. This is the recognizable, socially meaningful set of actions, which may or may not be formalized but are understood by those in the social context. (Although Feldman and Pentland note, the 'same' routine may have many different ostensive aspects, as different individuals perceive and understand the routine differently.) Broadly, Feldman and Pentland argue, ostensive routines are sources of continuity and stability. They contrast the ostensive with the performative aspect of routines. Performative routines are what people actually do, always involving some amount of improvisation. Performative routines can be a source of change, as improvisation in the doing can lead to changes in the abstract ostensive routines. This approach has evolved into a broader study of routine dynamics (Feldman et al., 2016), which emphasizes dynamism in routines.

Drawing on our definition of institutionalization as reflecting integration into a self-activating mode of reproduction, we can also connect routines to processes of persistence and

change by considering in more detail how existing literature suggest that routines relate to institutionalization.

Routines as institutionalized patterns. One of the reasons that routines have often been associated with stability may be that routines are often institutionalized. As persistent and sometimes taken-for-granted structures they exhibit key markers of institutionalization (Scott, 2014). And indeed, existing scholarship has documented several modes of reproduction that can continually activate and sustain organizational routines. One important force is norms and pressures of professional roles (H. Hwang & Powell, 2009; Scott, 2014). For example, Kellogg (2011) demonstrated how modernized professional identities within the field of surgery supported different types of patient handoff practices as compared with traditional surgical professional norms. In the educational context, Bray and Russell (2016) document how Special Education teachers, school psychologists and parents all contributed to a certain highly routinized format for IEP meetings, according to their identities and roles.

Routines can also be continually reproduced via formal legislation (e.g. annual IEP meeting requirement (Bray & Russell, 2016)) or professional regulations (Kellogg, 2011) or features of the material artifacts that figure into them (Barley, 1986).

Routines as modes of reproduction. Routines can also act as a mode of reproduction maintaining other organizational structures and practices. For example, routines have been characterized as carriers of institutions (Scott, 2014). Early literature on routines emphasized the role of routines in promoting organizational stability (e.g. Hannan & Freeman, 1977; Nelson & Winter, 1982). Kellogg (2011) provides an empirical example showing how afternoon surgical rounds can operate as a time that does (or doesn't) reinforce certain organizational practices (Kellogg, 2011).

Interdependence and Routines

Routines and the actions that comprise them reflect complex interdependent relationships. Within a single routine, some have pointed out the importance of considering the interdependent roles and agency of both humans and material objects (Leonardi, 2011; Pentland, Recker, & Wyner, 2016a).

Scholars have also long recognized that routines are interrelated and interdependent with one another, a relationship which recent work has elaborated. Pentland, Recker, & Wyner (2016a) argue that classic constructs from Thompson's (1967) work on interdependence among organization sub-units can also be used to characterize interdependence among routines. For example, *pooled interdependence* refers to units that "act independently from each other but all contribute to the entire system (i.e., they share inputs and outputs)" (Pentland et al., 2016, p. 3). *Sequential interdependence* refers to "coupling via time: one unit produces an output necessary for the performance by the next unit" (Pentland et al., 2016, p. 3).

Kremser & Schreyögg (2016) offer up an additional construct, a new unit of analysis they refer to as a *routine cluster*. A routine cluster "consists of multiple, complementary routines, each contributing a partial result to the accomplishment of a common task" (p. 698). Kremser & Schreyögg note that individual routines within the cluster may vary and change as individuals make adjustments to account for specific circumstances, as literature on routine dynamics has highlighted. However, this variation is constrained by the standardization of interfaces between routines within a cluster: the outputs of routine(s) earlier in the cluster are structured so as to constitute appropriate inputs for routines downstream in the cluster. That is, routines in a cluster can also be characterized as having sequential interdependence. What defines routines within the

same cluster as distinct from one another is that internal variation in the performance of one routine does not affect the performance of the other.

Structure of Routines

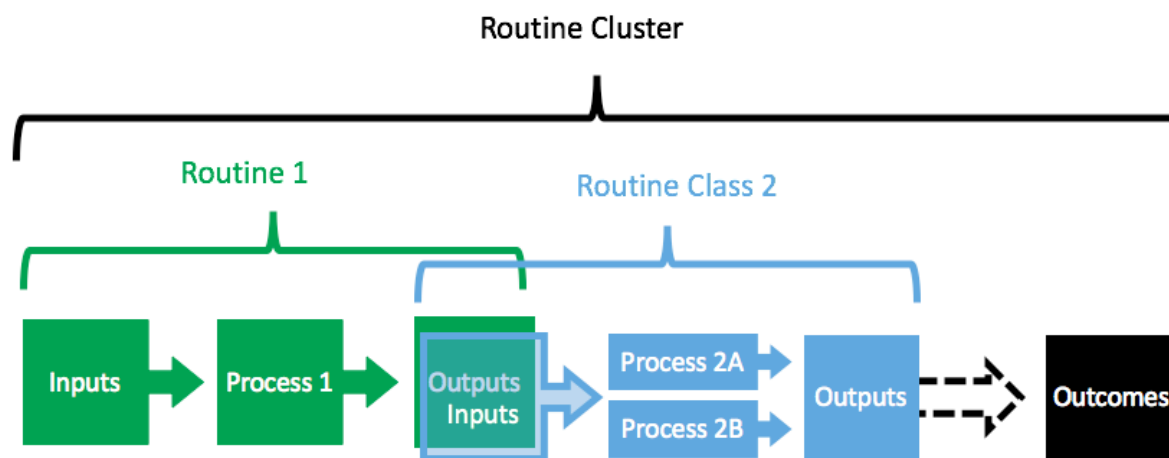
I draw this theorizing together, along with two additions, into the conceptual structure of routines represented in Figure 3.2. A single routine (e.g. Routine 1) includes a set of inputs, (Kremser and Schreyögg also refer to this as *triggering information*), a *process* consisting of the actions and agents (human and material) that constitute the routine itself, and a set of outputs that indicate the routine's successful completion. If Routine 1 is part of a Routine cluster, outputs from Routine 1 will represent the inputs to the following routine.

In some cases, multiple routines may have the same inputs and outputs but have different internal processes. That is, multiple routines may be related not sequentially like a typical routine cluster, but via pooled interdependence. I term the set of routines that share inputs and outputs and take the same structural place in a routine cluster a *routine class*. This relation is represented in Figure 3.2 by Routine Class 2.

In addition, recognizing that routines are often carried out not only for their own sake but with the intention of the accomplishing of some goal(s), I add to the constructs already described, the construct of an *outcome*. Drawn from program evaluation literature (Shadish et al., 2002), an outcome represents the medium or long term effects of a set of actions. While any successful enactment of a routine will produce its standardized output—since the output is defined as the criteria that determine the routine's successful completion—routines are related to their outcomes through more distal causal chains. For example, a program's output might be a certain number of hours of tutoring delivered to a certain number of students. An intended outcome might be an improvement in math GPA, caused by the tutoring students received

(output) increasing their understanding of the material which in turn causes them to score higher on classroom assessments which in turn causes an improvement in their end of semester grade.

Figure 3.2: Structural Elements of Routines



Breaches and Breakdowns

Of course, routines are not always carried out exactly according to their ostensive form. Often this variation occurs within a single routine and is relatively unproblematic. However, at times, breakdowns occur in which a routine is more thoroughly disrupted. I use *breakdowns* to refer to performative routines that fail in a significant way to match their ostensive counterpart. As scholars of psychology and sociology have long noted, breakdowns in the functioning of otherwise routine processes can be informative for understanding how everyday functioning is achieved (e.g. Weick, 1995).

Sometimes performative deviations are glossed over or repaired so as to maintain the ostensive routine as is. Other times when routines are not carried out in the way their ostensive aspect dictates, these deviations in the performative aspect can lead to changes in the ostensive (Feldman & Pentland, 2003). Breakdowns also prompt sensemaking, leading individuals to

verbalize what they regard as surprising, inappropriate, or confusing about a situation that might not otherwise elicit comment (Weick, Sutcliffe, & Obstfeld, 2005).

Data and Methods

Research Design

In order to investigate these questions, I conducted comparative ethnographic field work (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995; Miles & Huberman, 1994) over the course of 16 months at three urban public high schools, looking for mechanisms supporting traditional school discipline practices operating at the school, individual, and group levels. Data collection consisted of observing school routines, shadowing key individuals, conducting semi-structured interviews, and collecting school documents.

School Sample. School sites were selected based on two criteria: the first was that they should vary with respect to RJP adoption and implementation. This variation will be explored in depth in Chapter 4. The second was that all three sites should otherwise be as similar as possible with respect to organizational characteristics. Indeed, as I will demonstrate, in spite of variation in RJP use, all school sites used suspension and other traditional discipline practices in very similar ways. Table 3.3 shows the organizational characteristics of the three schools.

As Table 3.3 indicates, all three schools in the sample were small, enrolling fewer than 500 students. They served a demographically similar student body: predominantly African-American and overwhelmingly low income, ranging from 10-25% with diagnosed special education needs. Students' academic achievement was also similar, with the schools ranging between the 15-25 percentile on standardized test measures. The schools were also broadly similar in their use of suspension.

Table 3.3: Characteristics of School Sample²

	Rustin (2015)	Heritage (2015)	Southlake (2016)
# of students	325	475	275
% Af-Am students	80	95	95
% Low Income	95	95	95
% IEPs	25	15	10
2014 EPAS school attainment percentile	20	15	25
Suspension Use (OSS+ISS/100 students/Year)			
2013	85	110	
2014	105	105	85
2015	105	65	55
2016			Not available

The Chicago Public Schools (CPS) measures suspension in terms of suspensions per 100 students. (Thus if the same student is suspended twice in the same year, it counts as two suspensions.) The district provides this information about out of school suspension (OSS) as well as in school suspension (ISS). Since district-wide data suggest that schools often use in-school suspension as a sort of substitute for out of school suspension, I compare schools here by reporting on the number of total suspensions (including OSS and ISS) per 100 students. Each year in the left-hand column refers to the school year ending that spring. For example, 2013 refers to the 2012-2013 school year. I report here the suspension rates for the year of my observations at each school as well as the two years prior. During that window Rustin reported a modest increase in suspensions followed by a plateau, while Heritage and Southlake reported a substantial decrease.

² Note these numbers have been rounded to mask the identity of the schools.

Data Collection

Data collection consisted primarily of meeting observations, shadowing and semi-structured interviews. Table 3.4 summarizes the data collected.

Table 3.4: Data

	Rustin	Heritage	Southlake
Meeting Observations			
Grade Team Meetings			
9 th grade team	5	3	2
11 th grade team	no team	6	2
Department Meetings			
Math team	3	6	2
Social studies team	0	5	0
Other Meetings			
Professional Development Meetings	9	3	4
Instructional Leadership Team	3	3	1
Counseling/Clinical Team	6	1	n/a
Teacher Inquiry Group	2	n/a	n/a
Other grade/dept team meetings	0	3	0
Discipline team	n/a	0	1
Shadowing			
Dean	1	2	1
Security	2	2	0
Classroom Observation	3	4	2
RJP Specialist	2	0	n/a
Interviews			
Teachers	15	19	9
Other School Staff	9	11	4
Partners	2	5	0

Meeting observations. I organized my observations to focus on select school routines as a potential key mechanism of support for discipline practices. I focused on 9th and 11th grade team meetings, and Math and Social Studies department meetings, in addition to observing a variety of other regular school meetings.

Shadowing. I also shadowed a number of personnel at each school. The purpose of shadowing was to deeply understand the role of RJP in educator's daily experiences (Emerson et al., 1995). In addition, it created an opportunity to triangulate and contextualize the perceptions, opinions and beliefs participants shared in their interviews.

Interviews. I conducted semi-structured interviews in order to learn about educators' opinions on RJP, and how it fit into their daily practice (Kvale, 1996). Participants were asked to reflect on real and hypothetical instances of student misbehavior, and how RJP implementation has affected their classroom and discipline practice.

Data Analysis

Data analysis proceeded in two parts. In the first step I used data from my observations to characterize and classify discipline-related routines. I began by reading carefully through my fieldnotes and writing a series of memos summarizing my observations. Next I sought to identify all of the discipline routines I could from my fieldnotes and grouped them according to their role in the discipline process. Finally, I formalized this characterization in terms of each routine's inputs, processes, outputs and outcomes. For routines with the same input and output (but different processes) I classified them as part of the same routine class. For routines where the output of one is the same as in the input of another, I classified the routines as part of the same routine cluster.

In the second step, I used data from my fieldnotes and interviews to identify mechanisms of support for each of the discipline routines I identified within the discipline routine cluster. First I worked iteratively between interview and fieldnote data to identify candidate examples of breakdowns or breaches. Next, I developed categories of breakdowns according to where in the routine cluster they occurred and the type of evidence they provided regarding mechanisms of

support for each type of routine. I elaborate these breakdowns and the evidence they provide below.

Findings: Discipline Routines

I found remarkable similarity in discipline routines across all three schools. Table 3.5 outlines the disciplinary routines I observed and heard referenced at each of the three schools. A check mark indicates that this practice was present and minimally routine in the setting: a recognizable series of actions, repeatedly activated, involving multiple actors. The routines are ordered approximately in order of those considered least severe to most severe³.

Most, though not all, of these routines fell into a routine cluster that I term the Discipline Routine cluster. The routines not included in the cluster include Incentives, Management Strategies, Arrests and Counseling Out. While each of these routines was recognizable and activated periodically, none of them involved an input or output that overlapped with other discipline-related routine. For example, while all three schools seemed to have familiar procedures for Counseling students Out, this routine was not invoked in response to a specific or standardized input, but rather decisions were made by a variety of school staff on a case by case basis. This routine has serious—potentially lifelong—implications for students but further analysis of its dynamics is outside the scope of this study.

I focus the remainder of this analysis on the routines comprising the Discipline Routine cluster. This cluster was comprised of routines falling into two routine classes I termed Getting

³ The notion of a ladder of consequences in which subsequent disciplinary responses increase in severity is a very common way of characterizing of discipline practices in schools. However, this is a different way of classifying routines than the inputs and outputs-based classification I use, and therefore I do not expand on it further in this analysis.

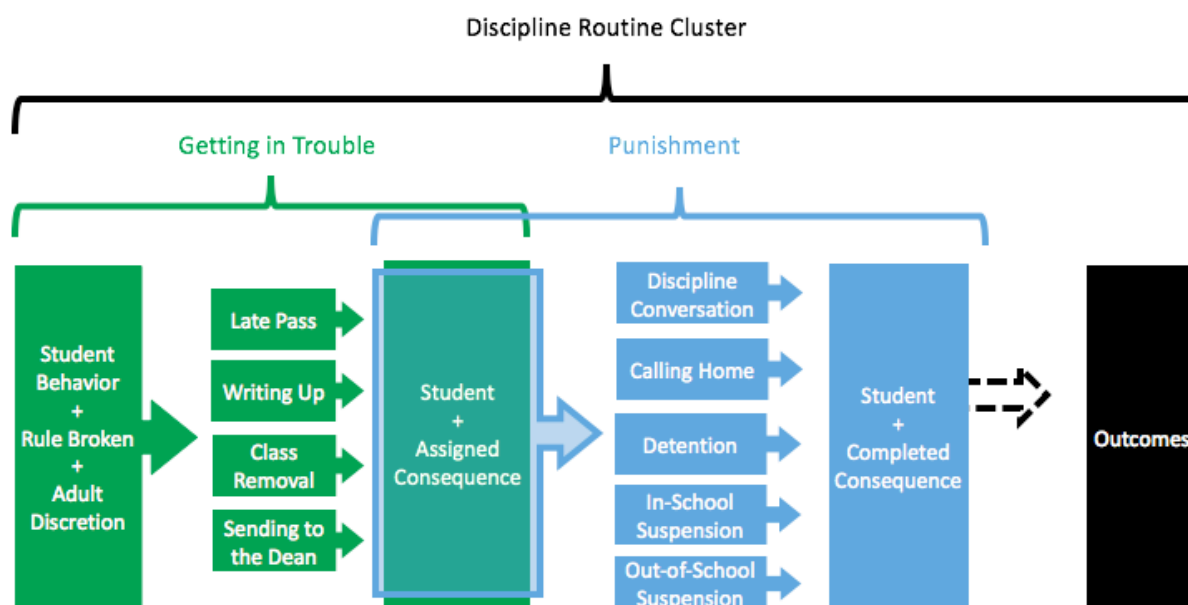
Table 3.5: Traditional Discipline Routines at Each School

Discipline Routine Cluster	Getting in Trouble Punishment		<u>Rustin</u> High Intensity Agency Partnership	<u>Heritage</u> Med Intensity Investment in Staff	<u>Southlake</u> No formal RJP
		Incentives	✓	✓	✓
		Management Strategies	✓	✓	✓
		Requiring a Late Pass	✓	✓	✓
		Writing Up	✓	✓	✓
		Class Removal / Calling Security	✓	✓	✓
		Sending to the Dean	✓	✓	✓
		Disciplinary Conversation	✓	✓	✓
		Calling Home	✓	✓	✓
		Detention	✓	✓	✓
		In-School Suspension	✓	✓	✓
		Out of School Suspension	✓	✓	✓
		Arrest	✓	✓	
		Counseling Out	✓	✓	✓

in Trouble, and Punishment. These classes and clusters are indicated in the left-most column of Table 3.5. While the actors and actions involved in the processes of both Getting in Trouble and Punishing routines varied considerably, the interface between them was mediated with the same standardized information. In addition, while actors made adjustments and improvisations within routines in each class, the exact context of how, when or why Getting in Trouble occurred did not influence the manner in which Punishment occurs. For example, In-School Suspension (ISS) was enacted the same way, for the same length of time, with the same rules, etc. whether a student had been assigned ISS in response to refusing to give up his phone, being disrespectful to a teacher, cutting class, etc. Indeed, these different types of routines were typically carried out by different individuals and supported by overlapping but distinct forces.

The relations among the routines included in the discipline routine clusters is represented in Figure 3.6. I explicate each of the elements of this figure in the sections below. I also describe breakdowns I observed in the enactment of this process.

Figure 3.6: Discipline Routine Cluster Structure



Getting in Trouble

It is a powerfully taken for granted assumption that school discipline is enacted in response to student behavior. However, students' behavior can only result in a student getting in trouble if there is an adult present to designate the behavior as problematic and initiate the process of assigning a disciplinary consequence. While students' behavior may vary widely, the practices and processes of engaging the school's disciplinary machinery are highly scripted. Therefore, I refer to the first class of discipline routines as routines for Getting (students) in Trouble.

Routines for Getting in Trouble have three inputs: a school rule, student behavior that is perceived as having broken it, and the complex, subtle and often tacit algorithm that teachers use to exercise their discretion about whether or not to initiate a Getting in Trouble routine in a given instance.

Getting in Trouble routines produce the output of a student or list of students and an assigned consequence, generally understood to be a punishment. Routines in this class include Requiring a Late Pass, Writing Students Up, Classroom Removal/Calling Security, and Sending to the Dean.

Requiring a Late Pass. All three schools had a stated expectation that students are to arrive on time to school and to class, and some variation on a routine for Getting students in Trouble if they were late. Most involve some version of requiring students to get a ‘late pass’ which creates a record of their lateness and is typically used to assign the student to detention. For example, at Rustin, students who arrived late to school were flagged and expected to serve lunch detention. At Heritage and Southlake, teachers were instructed to lock their doors when the bell rang. At Heritage security guards led a “hall sweep” in which students left in the hallway after the bell rang were herded to someone handing out late passes. Students caught in the hall sweep were expected to serve a detention. At Southlake some teachers posted signs on their doors reminding students of the school’s policy. For example, one sign read in part “If this door is closed and locked you are TARDY for class. Do not attempt to enter unless you have a pass from either the main office or a teacher.” Thus, while the processes were slightly different, at all three schools the routine of Requiring a Late Pass took a student who was late as an input and assigned that student to detention as an output.

Writing Up. Another way teachers employed Getting in Trouble routines was to Write students Up. This occurred in combination with a more severe action, like Sending to the Dean, as well as on its own. Writing Up involved a teacher logging in to a software program the school used to track disciplinary incidents and making an entry. It was sometimes done in the moment of a classroom incident, but more often later on that day. Teachers could designate a request for dean support in their write up—meaning that the Dean would be expected to follow up and assign a consequence to the student, or choose not to ask for Dean support—meaning that the write-up was only for recording purposes. In the latter case the write up might come into play later if a teacher or administrator needs a ‘paper trail’ to justify a more severe punishment for a student after a subsequent incident.

Classroom Removal / Calling Security. In all three schools, if a teacher exhausted her other classroom management strategies or if a students’ misbehavior was especially severe, teachers often enacted a routine of Classroom Removal. In some cases, this consisted of simply asking a student to step out of the room. Often this was followed by a Discipline Conversation between the teacher and student who was then permitted to re-enter the classroom. Other times teachers invoked a similar routine by Calling for Security. At Rustin, Calling Security typically involved pressing a button in the classroom that opened an intercom line with the main office. A teacher would ask someone for security and someone in the main office would alert security staff over the walkie-talkies they carried. At Heritage and Southlake calling security involved stepping out of the classroom and literally calling down the hallway for a security guard to come. When a security guard arrived at the classroom they enter and ask the student to leave. Sometimes security would calm the student down, admonish her and then send her back to class. More often, security removed the student from class and brought the student to the Dean.

Sending to the Dean. Either a teacher or a security guard could decide to escalate, or re-initiate Getting in Trouble by Sending a student to the Dean. Sometimes the dean was not in his office and so students waited in the main office until he returned. Next the dean would speak to the student, and make an assessment of what punishment he deemed appropriate. Sometimes the dean conducted a small investigation, often with the help of security staff, for example reviewing footage from security cameras. Ultimately, the dean assigned a punishment ranging from holding the student until the period was over, through an in-school suspension the following day, to a call home to have the student picked up from school immediately and serve an Out-of-School Suspension for the one to five days following.

Breakdowns within Getting in Trouble Routines

Breakdowns within Getting in Trouble routines occurred when the input conditions were met—a student misbehaved—but the process and/or output of the routine did not—that is, the student did not Get in Trouble. This occurred in several ways, each offering a different type of evidence about the sources of support for Getting in Trouble routines.

The first were cases where Getting in Trouble routines were not engaged because school staff used their discretion not to do so. For example, a security guard at Rustin expressed his frustration that teachers did not enforce the same rules in their classrooms that he felt obligated to enforce in the hallways.

[W]hen they in class is when--whatever's going on in there, it's not our job to, you know, go and interrupt teachers. But sometimes they come out of some of the classes and they be wired, [and] in they own mindset of doing things that's outside the rules we got to enforce...the teachers really, you know, try to be open and have an understanding, but....it

makes it harder on the whole program, you know, the whole- the whole staff, if some is doing it and some is not. (Security Guard, Rustin)

This security guard expressed a common sentiment that when rules are not enforced consistently across the building it results in students breaking the rules more often. He also indicated that handling discipline within the classroom is teachers' own prerogative, but expressed frustration at the way they chose to exercise it—by choosing not to Get (students) in Trouble when they broke the rules.

A teacher at Heritage addressed a similar issue from another perspective. She expressed frustration about feeling that she was not permitted to enact a Getting in Trouble routine—in particular Classroom Removal—because of pressure against it from her administration. She framed her dilemma as one of professionalism and success as a teacher:

Previously the accountability was on students. Now more so, it's on the teacher to somehow magically get students to be good. I don't know that magic trick.... I have old teacher beliefs--an old teacher's body with new teacher problems. Can't teach an old teacher new teacher beliefs. It's heartbreaking. [She starts to tear up]. It almost makes me want to leave teaching. [She walks to the back of the classroom, gets a roll of toilet paper and wipes her eyes] It's very frustrating. I used to feel like I had--not mastered--but I had enough skills and systems for success. Now I have no idea how to access success.... Before, I had a student come to class singing loud and being very disruptive. She does this all the time. I've called the mom, she won't call me back. So I would have said if you continue to be disruptive I'm going to ask you to leave. Now we're not supposed to ask students to leave because they are missing instructional time. (Teacher, Heritage)

This teacher equated responding appropriately to students who misbehave with professional success, and raised the possibility leaving her profession in frustration and sadness at not being able to use the routines she was familiar with.

Shared in the comments made by both the security guard and the teacher was an allusion to the professional norms and expectations of being a teacher. Both suggested that these norms dictate that teachers should enact Getting in Trouble routines in response to student misbehavior in the classroom.

Another type of breakdown occurred in coordinating among multiple actors involved in a Getting in Trouble routine. The importance of school staff feeling confidence that their colleagues would follow through was made visible in this teacher's articulation of its breach:

At this school I don't feel like there's really anyone to help with discipline other than – you know I just feel like if something goes wrong, I just have to deal with it. At other schools where I've worked there have been – you know you can send them to a counselor or the dean or somebody who try to work – help you work the situation out, so you could carry on teaching. I don't feel like we have that here.... I think they probably say that there's a protocol somewhere on paper, but like I'll—if a kid is being really disruptive and I step out to the hallway and I'll see that like a security guard and I'll be like “Hey can you take this student, can you make sure this student gets to the discipline office? I'm gonna write the referral up” which is what we're told to do. Usually the security guard doesn't even acknowledge that I've said anything, so he'll just sit there – depending on who it is. (Teacher, Heritage)

This teacher indicated that she no longer used Getting in Trouble routines that involve others—like Sending to the Dean—because she lacked confidence that other school staff would offer the necessary coordination and support. While many others in the school did continue to enact this routine, the consequences of the breakdown this teacher experienced highlight the importance of teachers' perception that enacting a Getting in Trouble routine will actually address their needs.

Punishment

Once students were assigned a consequence—which is the conclusion or output of Getting in Trouble routines, another class of routines were invoked to ensure that students received or carried out their assigned consequence. Punishing students took the input of a student and their assigned consequence. It produced the output of a student who had undergone their assigned consequence.

Disciplinary Conversation. Perhaps the simplest punishment I observed was a conversation with the relevant adult. It was common for teachers to use this strategy before escalating to calling security. For example, one strategy most teachers used was asking a student who was being disruptive to step outside briefly, and following up with a short conversation. In this case, having a conversation with the teacher was the assigned consequence itself. Security and the dean also used this consequence at times, using their discretion not to assign or carry out additional punishment.

Calling Home. Calling home was invoked in two types of scenarios. In one an individual teacher called the parent or guardian of one of her students. This could occur in response to a particular incident or in response to what the teacher perceived as a pattern of behavior. Calling home in this scenario was up to the discretion of the teacher, although some schools like

Heritage highly encouraged teachers to do so. Calling home was also invoked in combination with Out of School Suspension, as mandated by the district.

Detention. Detention means requiring students to sit in a room at a time when they would otherwise have more freedom. Detention occurred during lunch, after school or even on Saturday. At Rustin and Southlake, lunch detention was supervised by the Dean. Southlake also held Detention on Saturdays for part of the year. At Heritage Detention was held afterschool, supervised by the Associate Dean.

In-School Suspension (ISS). In-school suspension was similar to detention except it took place during class time—typically all day. A Rustin, ISS was staffed by a rotating schedule of teachers who supervised the room one period at a time during what would otherwise have been a prep period. For most of the year, in school suspension was held two days per week. In May, Rustin replaced their regular ISS routine with a modified version they called Restorative ISS.

At Heritage, In-school Suspension was held in a room adjoining the Dean's office. Formally it was supposed to be overseen by the Associate Dean. However, common staff absences meant that responsibility rotated between the Dean and Associate Dean.

At Southlake In-school Suspension took place in the Dean's office.

Out of School Suspension. Out of School Suspension is the disciplinary practice that has received perhaps the most attention in public discourse around school discipline, school push out and the need for discipline reform. However, as an organizational routine it is relatively simple. At all three schools, suspensions were carried out by the Dean. The following excerpt from my fieldnotes at Heritage illustrates the process.

Dean Campbell picks up the phone.... He leaves messages with both students' emergency contact saying that the student has been in a fight, has 3 days suspension, is ok, but needs someone to come pick them up. – (Dean shadow, Heritage, March 20, 2015)

As this excerpt demonstrates, Out of School Suspension involved sending students home for the remainder of the day and telling them not to return until a certain number of days had passed. Sometimes a parent conference was required upon their return.

Breakdowns within Punishment Routines

Even more than Getting in Trouble routines, multiple types of breakdowns were evident within Punishment routines. These included cases where students were assigned a Punishment but did not serve it, cases where the policy or ostensive routine was changed mid-stream, and also cases where a Punishment routine was enacted but was radically transformed. All three of these types of breakdowns were especially evident with respect to Detention and In-School Suspension Routines.

Input does not lead to output. At Rustin, ISS was the subject of considerable discussion because the school was in the process of converting traditional ISS to a Restorative ISS process. In these conversations, the level of dissatisfaction that teachers expressed with the functioning of the ISS routine was high. For example, at a Teacher Group meeting after school in March, I observed the following conversation between teachers about how In-School Suspension had been carried out that day:

Kerr: They didn't even get [the students] 'til 3rd period.

Allen: The stupidity of even having it today [given that midterm exams were being held].

And then, oh just kidding we're not having it. No one is going to look for the students.

We haven't had it successfully in weeks. By successful I mean it was planned, they got the students, and it was reported.

(Teacher Group, Rustin, March 31, 2015)

Both teachers expressed frustration, not only about how the ISS routine was carried out that day, but by the pattern of difficulty executing the routine in a way that met teachers' expectations. Later in the spring, after Restorative ISS was implemented, a staff member from an agency partner oversaw the process in addition to the two teachers who were assigned to supervise ISS during their prep period. However, one period neither teacher showed up to supervise. The staff member explained:

In this case "nobody coming" was not disastrous since another adult was already in the room. However, prior to the Restorative version of ISS being implemented, only one teacher was assigned to supervise per period. This incident suggests that a teacher being absent might well have lead to a room full of students serving ISS with no supervision at all. It certainly reinforces the picture of a disorganized and frustrating routine like the teachers described.

I also observed some discussion amongst teachers about problems with the enactment of the Detention routine at Rustin. I quote from my fieldnotes here:

[The teachers] discuss whether students go to the tardy detentions. (No.) Someone says: If not then there's no point in me making them go back and get a pass, they just miss more class. (Teacher Group, May 5, 2015)

Similar issues occurred with respect to detention at Heritage and at Southlake. For example, at Heritage, I saw the signs pictured in Figure 3.7 at the end of April, indicating how

many un-served After
School Detentions

students had amassed.

Some range into the
double-digits:

If the Getting in
Trouble routine can be
used to assign students
13 detentions without
the student having

served any of the previous 12, it suggests the Detention routine is not operating as expected.

At Southlake, the situation was more extreme. I saw a similar list, shown in Figure 3.8 posted in the hallway there in early January 2016. It showed the number of Lunch Detentions students had amassed since September. The numbers ranged from 1 all the way to 70.

In all of these
cases, students were
continuing to be
assigned to Detention
and ISS via each
school's Getting in

Figure 3.7: Pending Detentions at Heritage

066361	Bayliss	6
187854	Bell	1
180342	Black	8
230099	Clark	4
219276	Coleman	10
202265	Dellar	2
120894	Hart	3
225644	Hatter	7
502289	Higgins	2
232098	Morgan	7
169736	Murray	8
144727	Powell	11
189820	Rose	4
286320	Sago	13
115365	Sims	5
225367	Thomas	7
109064	Waltonel	5
131244	Welch	4
006061	Williams	10
103500	Vinght	3

Division A503	183682	Bryant
	206244	Cruse
	221604	Davis
	203967	Farrington
	211372	Ford
	035607	Green
	115026	Green
	176131	Hall
	093922	Lutz
	194737	Rayford
	099656	Reed
	165798	Sharkey
	184953	Sloan
	226310	Smith
	103311	Talbert
	212458	Thomas
	226700	Thomas
	241673	Thompson
	210732	Washpun
	101190	Williams
	256451	Winfield

Figure 3.8: Pending Detentions at Southlake

Div	Student ID	# of Det	Div	Student ID	# of Det	Div	Student ID	# of Det	Div	Student ID	# of Det
A801	989521	22	A802	328007	1	A804	281172	16	A701	007181	10
A801	102085	17	A802	359625	32	A804	030872	1	A702	226034	25
A801	104110	19	A802	022759	4	A804	029572	4	A702	238376	17
A801	102535	11	A802	040733	11	A804	029708	27	A702	308708	34
A801	223908	31	A803	995265	1	A804	029750	24	A702	388881	19
A801	237781	8	A803	132629	34	A804	029830	29	A702	108312	65
A801	243634	14	A803	134179	15	A804	029838	16	A703	251105	46
A801	289909	24	A803	178798	42	A804	034210	1	A703	257307	37
A801	295166	4	A803	237579	3	A701	146818	26	A703	354894	14
A801	314640	13	A803	250769	35	A701	190490	23	A703	368747	41
A801	352833	9	A803	275629	1	A701	209701	24	A703	468759	5
A801	355065	8	A803	278295	7	A701	236571	31	A703	034813	29
A801	416250	5	A803	288128	48	A701	242636	14	A704	249487	45
A801	003055	6	A803	295967	2	A701	244622	50	A704	261052	1
A801	012203	38	A803	328777	12	A701	248488	8	A704	280994	43
A801	026976	9	A803	382834	19	A701	309255	9	A704	322950	59
A802	173988	28	A803	387852	7	A701	310522	21	A705	244427	33
A802	181514	19	A803	031612	23	A701	343214	13	A705	248367	44
A802	224333	6	A804	108828	4	A701	320374	20	A705	310138	26
A802	242008	24	A804	168553	4	A701	343214	13	A705	311521	24
A802	250908	4	A804	189429	43	A701	355009	11	A705	318321	28
A802	283299	11	A804	248074	24	A701	385130	14	A705	043511	6
A802	283682	4	A804	283682	32	A701	476713	4	A801	229020	51
A802	298683	16	A804	284832	11	A701	549315	23	A801	298309	27
A802	298733	30									

Div	Student ID	# of Det	Div	Student ID	# of Det	Div	Student ID	# of Det	Div	Student ID	# of Det
A801	300374	36	A802	002743	1	A804	325002	27	A801	280718	24
A801	302481	45	A802	029658	60	A804	328156	33	A801	388523	40
A801	311994	13	A803	054893	37	A804	356480	39	A801	070747	33
A801	353200	56	A803	139307	61	A804	361468	37	A801	371665	20
A801	357744	10	A803	255200	7	A804	366537	6	A801	376659	5
A801	361196	39	A803	297121	35	A804	378604	24	A801	380261	14
A801	367116	17	A803	300370	18	A805	135614	1	A801	388724	7
A801	384291	40	A803	317782	70	A805	214000	33	A801	405729	26
A801	401718	31	A803	352084	6	A805	301274	16	A801	440359	16
A801	416663	4	A803	365205	63	A805	305940	23	A801	467791	14
A801	436393	25	A803	395678	47	A805	353317	49	A801	469388	1
A802	070593	20	A803	395579	20	A805	364735	11	A801	472417	40
A802	189565	21	A803	409182	18	A805	370923	38	A801	472869	3
A802	289193	25	A803	417608	12	A805	396344	26	A801	485510	1
A802	292292	1	A803	468477	16	A805	402190	4	A802	382239	38
A802	300762	32	A803	554789	1	A805	410558	22	A802	377908	11
A802	302653	2	A803	017832	8	A805	462210	36	A802	377978	48
A802	308558	24	A804	073166	37	A805	472007	23	A802	387785	3
A802	318605	36	A804	286208	26	A805	000612	31	A802	436619	7
A802	354240	44	A804	300020	8	A805	007732	26	A802	446221	16
A802	361037	2	A804	315007	26	A801	257714	10	A802	446414	38
A802	370788	1	A804	315228	33	A801	329172	38	A802	456444	31
A802	384533	3	A804	318865	9	A801	349408	14	A802	476301	2
A802	388005	29	A804	320115	23	A801	387789	12	A802	489072	3
A802	489481	40	A804	322021	12	A801	387789	12	A802	803127	1

Trouble routines. This provided the Punishment routines with the input they needed. However, that input did not prove to be enough to regularly ensure that students were serving their detentions and ISS assignments. This demonstrates that Detention and ISS were not only supported by their connection with Getting in Trouble routines, but also by some other factor(s).

Changes to Policy. Perhaps related to the issues with carrying out Detention routines, both Rustin and Southlake changed their detention policies, or ostensive Detention routines, during my observation period. In May, the Dean at Rustin described lunch detention as being “phased out.” During a meeting with the Counseling team, the RJP specialist and the Dean were discussing the school’s policy around lateness. Elena, the RJP specialist asked the Dean for clarification:

Elena: So there's no lunch detention?

Dean Madison: We kinda moved away from it.

(Counseling Team Meeting, Rustin, May 13, 2015)

A month later, members of the team were discussing plans for the following year and expressed some uncertainty about the Dean’s assertion regarding the school policy on lunch detentions:

Kim: He told me they're phasing out lunch detention. Is that a real thing?

Isabelle: That’s what he told me, but I don’t know.

(Counseling Team Meeting, Rustin, June 17, 2015)

And, indeed, in an interview that summer the Restorative Justice Practices specialist at Rustin indicated her understanding from the principal was that lunch detention as a punishment for tardiness would in fact return in the fall after a period of inconsistency in its use:

A: [The Dean] is gonna be back on lunch detention duty.

Q: Did they drop lunch detention last year? But they're bringing it back?

A: Mmhhh. They didn't say that they were dropping it; they just stopped doing it for a little bit. (RJP Specialist, Rustin)

These vignettes illustrate rapid reversals in the ostensive routine around Lunch Detention at Rustin. This suggests that the formal policy itself was not a self-activating mode of reproduction for enacting the process of Detention.

At Southlake, I observed a meeting of the Discipline team, consisting of the Dean and two other teachers, in which they discussed implementing a new system of Saturday detention:

Teacher: How is this Saturday detention gonna work? Are the teachers going to volunteer? If each Saturday a teacher took one hour, then you only have to come in for an hour, that's not so bad.

Dean: The first one [Principal] Young will be here. It's 8am-11am....Two detentions are taken off each hour. So a total of 6 can be removed. I've been telling kids about it and some said they're going to do it—the ones that's real serious about it.

(Discipline Team, January 13, 2016)

The members of the Discipline team did not explicitly indicate that Saturday detention was being created to solve problems caused by the existing lunch Detention routine, although that was my understanding of its intent. Either way, the Dean's assertion that (only) certain students were planning to use the new detention process to serve the detentions they had been assigned is revealing. It suggests that the school's Detention routine(s) relied on the "seriousness" of students' desires to be in good standing in order to ensure that the routine was actually carried out. Moreover, it was not clear from the discussion who would oversee the Saturday detention, after the first one supervised by the Principal. One of the teachers suggested

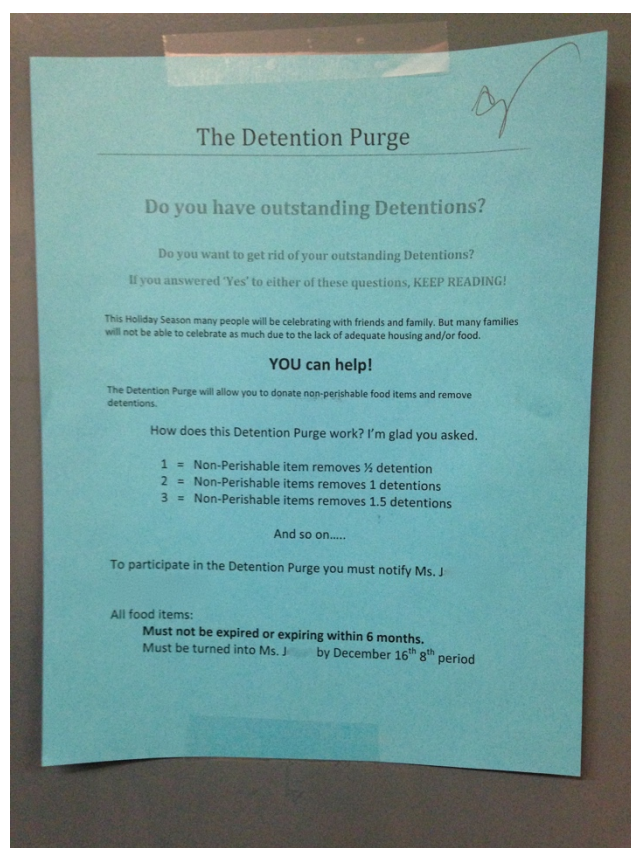
that teachers might volunteer to come in on Saturday and supervise students for an hour. While teachers frequently take on additional (often unpaid) work at schools, this system suggests relying not on teacher's professional norms, but on their individual willingness to go above and beyond the expectations of their role. In other words, it suggests that the school did not have a routine, institutionalized process for having students actually serve their detentions, but rather relied on the individual actions of particular staff members (and students) to support this process.

Radical Transformation. Around the same time that Southlake began instituting Saturday detention, I saw the sign shown in Figure 3.9 posted in the hallway. It indicated that students could “purge” their outstanding detentions by donating to a canned food drive, with two non-perishable items accounting for one detention.

While framed as an act of charity, this conversion of Detentions into canned goods can also be read as an opportunity for students to buy their way out of consequences for their misbehavior.

Especially in a high poverty district like CPS, this also introduces a potentially meaningful difference in treatment between students who have the financial ability to make these purchases and those who don't. Thus, on the grounds of both the actions involved, and its ability to offer

Figure 3.9: Radical Transformation of Detention at Southlake



consistent treatment to all students this represents a very radical transformation of a detention indeed.

I saw another example of a radical transformation of a Punishment routine while shadowing the Dean at Heritage. As we walked around the school, I noticed two female students who seemed to be following him. The students watched and chatted casually as a highly personal and disturbing situation unfolded in front of them. I quote at length from my fieldnotes here to illustrate the scene:

Ms. Rochester steps out of her classroom with a female student.

Rochester: Campbell, talk to her.

Dean Campbell: What's wrong?

Student: Nothing's wrong.

Dean Campbell: When you got that look on your face, I know something's wrong. Come, hold my hand.

The student pulls away from Campbell and yells, starting to cry: You got a rapist in the building! That's what's wrong, I just want you all to know you got a rapist in the building! Campbell, a parent volunteer, a security guard named Ben, two female students, and I are all standing around at this point.

Dean Campbell: Whoa, whoa. Talk to me. Come.

Ms. Santos appears from the other hallway and puts her arm around the student, walking her towards a classroom: This sounds like a girl thing.

Dean Campbell: Not necessarily.

Santos, Campbell and the student go into a classroom together

....

A few minutes later, another security guard, Ms. Watson knocks on the door. Campbell opens it saying: I got a crisis.

Watson: Oh, ok.

Ms. Santos pulls Ms. Watson by the arm stopping her from entering the room. She tells her quietly (but loud enough that I can hear): Her friend is saying [a fellow student] raped her, forcibly, in the building. He saved inappropriate texts that he said he would send around to everybody if she told, to make her embarrassed, and to discredit her legally.

As Ms. Santos walks away, she notices the two female students waiting by the wall.

Santos: And there were children here.

The two students are chatting with Mr. Compton.

Student: It's turned around from our freshman year.

Compton: There's less fights, but more serious things

Ben leaves the room, shaking his head: Imma put my hands on him, real talk.

...

Eventually Dean Campbell leaves the room. He says to the two female students: "Ok, bat girls. Let's go to the bat cave." They get up and follow at a distance behind.

(Dean Shadow, Heritage)

Eventually I became curious and asked why the students were present in the hallway with the dean and not in class. I learned that the students were assigned to be in ISS for the day.

However, there was no one other than the Dean available to oversee ISS that day, and so the students simply went where the Dean went for the day. This meant that not only did they miss a full day of class, they did not do any academic work (as students in ISS are technically expected to do), they did not even suffer the punishment of being forced to sit quietly in a room all day.

Rather they had a front-row seat for what was at best some extremely juicy gossip, and at worst a highly frightening, distressing and sensitive situation which should never have been exposed to either for their own sake, or for the sake of the students involved in the alleged rape.

I shadowed the Dean, Associate Dean, and security staff at Heritage at other times and never saw or heard about a situation like this being repeated. However, I did observe and hear multiple times about the challenges the Dean faced in carrying out his duties as Dean when he often had to fill in for security guards or other staff who were absent. Thus while this situation may not have been representative of the ISS routine it was illustrative of how extremely the routine sometimes deviated from its intended form.

In both of the breakdowns described here, the adults present choose not to cancel or “forgive” a student’s assignment to a Punishment routine even when it became clear that the Punishment would take a radically different form. These examples suggest that whatever supports existed to reproduce both ISS and Detention routines they were more closely tied to the output of the routine (a student being deemed to have served their punishment) than the process of either routine.

Coordination and Breakdowns Across Routines

In addition to the dynamics of breakdowns within Getting in Trouble and Punishment routines respectively addressed above, it is important to consider the dynamics of coordination and breakdowns occurring between and across these routine classes.

School staff frequently expressed opinions about whether various pathways through the discipline cluster were effective—in other words, whether they achieved their intended outcomes. For example, staff at Rustin repeatedly commented that ISS was not effective because the same students were serving ISS over and over again. In addition, teachers at all three schools

often indicated that school discipline as a whole at the school was enacted inconsistently including by the Dean. For example, one Heritage teacher said:

As far as the discipline that's given out it is completely all over the place. There's a kid who, um, threatened to beat up a teacher and didn't get any suspension or anything. Yet, there was a kid who missed too many days of school and got their whole prom and everything else taken away. Like it's—to me, it's—I-I don't understand it. It's completely subjective based on whatever they wanna do. (Teacher, Heritage)

However, although these comments reflect breakdowns in the way teachers believe the schools' discipline routine cluster should be functioning, whether teachers felt that a disciplinary pathway was effective did not necessarily change whether or not it happened.

These perceived breakdowns highlight the distribution of agency within the discipline routine cluster and in particular the role of the Dean in determining who was actually assigned and received what consequence. Some teachers claimed that they did not involve the Dean at all so as to avoid this, like the Heritage teacher above who said she dealt with things herself after her negative experience with security staff. However, this was not a viable option for many teachers, especially for those with less experience, and most did rely on the school's centralized discipline process.

Because of this distribution of agency, ultimately teachers' perceptions about the outcome of discipline routines did not represent a strong mode of reproduction for the discipline routine cluster as a whole.

Findings: School Routines and Mechanisms of Support

I use the findings above to answer RQ3.1: How are punitive and exclusionary discipline routines reinforced and reproduced? I address three potentially self-activating mechanisms through which traditional and exclusionary school discipline routines are reproduced, based on the breakdowns I observed.

Interdependence in a Routine Cluster. Connection via the same routine cluster represents a type of interdependence among routines. In the case of the school discipline cluster, Punishment routines took the output from Getting in Trouble routines as their input. This relation means that as long as Getting in Trouble routines are enacted, Punishment routines will automatically have the inputs they need to operate. In this sense Getting in Trouble routines continuously reproduced Punishing routines. Because this reproduction occurred not through special efforts but as a part of the normal functioning of the Getting in Trouble routines, this represents a form of institutionalization.

However, while Getting in Trouble routines continuously reproduced the input for Punishing Routines, they were not a sufficient support to ensure the continuous reproduction of the internal process of the Punishing routines. As the breakdowns associated with Detention and In-School Suspension routines illustrate, successful enactment of the processes of Detention and In-School Suspension often required considerable additional effort above and beyond the output of a Getting in Trouble routine.

In order to understand what other forces might be at play in supporting the process of these Punishment routines, I look to a comparison between Detention and In-School Suspension routines, which encountered major obstacles, and Out of School Suspension and Discipline Conversations which did not seem to encounter similar difficulties. OSS and Discipline

Conversations are at opposite ends of the spectrum of severity of Punishing routines. However, they shared two important features: minimal coordination and immediacy. At all three schools, it was the Dean's responsibility to assign an Out of School suspension and also his responsibility to carry it out by letting the student and parent know and entering the relevant information into the school database. Out of School Suspension sometimes requires a student to wait to be picked up by a parent, so at times there is some coordination needed with someone to supervise the student until the parent arrives. Still it is typically only one or two students at a time, so more informal supervision is often possible, either in the main office, or by the front security desk. A Discipline Conversation required no coordination at all with other staff. The Dean, security staff or any teacher could decide to have a Discipline Conversation with a student and do so entirely of their own accord.

Both of these routines also occurred immediately after a Getting in Trouble routine rather than on a different day. When students were suspended out of school, it was typically done immediately following the relevant behavior—students were either sent home, or a call was made to a parent to pick them up. Similarly, when a Discipline Conversation was enacted it was generally done right away—either just outside the classroom by the teacher, in the hallway by security, or in the dean's office.

Meets a Perceived Need. Another way that practices can be reproduced is when they meet a perceived need of the individual(s) responsible for activating them. This process can be self-activating when those individuals initiate a particular practice for this reason as a part of their daily work. This is similar to Leonardi's (2012) finding that when a new tool does not meet the need people perceive it to be for, or expect it to fulfil, they do not use that tool.

This mechanism showed up in school discipline processes in several ways. For example, sometimes teachers perceived students breaking rules as directly interfering with the work that teachers were trying to do. For example, a student talking loudly out of turn during class makes it difficult to continue instruction. Since Classroom Removal and Sending to the Dean routines involved physically removing a student from class, these routines immediately addressed the impediment to teaching caused by the students' behavior. As long as these problems continue to come up, this suggests that other things being equal, the Getting in Trouble routines would continue being invoked. In other words, meeting teachers' perceived needs was a mode of reproduction for exclusionary Getting in Trouble routines.

Although I do not have strong evidence in my data about it, this may also be related to why Punishment routines that were enacted immediately seemed to be more reliably carried out than those that were not. Enacting a punishment that responds to a student immediately in front of the relevant adult may be seen as addressing that adult's immediate need in a way that following through later is not.

Professional Norms. Getting in Trouble Routines were also supported by professional norms that teachers should respond when students misbehave. However, as the teacher at Heritage who expressed dismay about the mismatch between her sense of her professional obligations and the practices sanctioned by her school administration indicated, professional norms are not immutable. In addition, while one might guess that professional norms of being a dean would require that students assigned a punishment receive follow through, this did not seem to be an equally strong mechanism.

Discussion

In this chapter I used the lens of organizational routines to investigate processes of institutionalization in the sense of integration into self-activating modes of reproduction. I used classic hallmarks of institutionalization (persistence and resistance to contestation) as signs that traditional school discipline routines were likely institutionalized in some manner. Following this hunch, I used evidence primarily drawn from breakdowns in ‘normal’ functioning to empirically identify specific self-activating mechanisms of reproduction that worked together to keep these routines in place.

In doing so, I found that specifying mechanistic explanations of support required attention to routines’ internal structures. For example, Getting in Trouble routines reproduced the input for Punishing routines, but not their process. Similarly, the mechanism of Meeting a Perceived Need seemed to support routines differentially depending on whether the individual invoking a routine through this process was attending to the routine’s process, output or outcome. For example, while teachers’ perceptions of Getting in Trouble routines as meeting their needs or not did seem to operate as an important mode of reproduction for those routines, teachers perceptions of whether Discipline Routine cluster outcomes as a whole were meeting their needs seemed to be a less powerful force in affecting which routines were enacted. Thus, this analysis suggests it may be important to think about routines not as a unitary pattern but as having multiple facets that may be supported by different processes.

This analysis relies heavily on the constructs on inputs, process, and outputs as used by Kremser & Schreyögg (2016) and others. However, the discussion of immediacy above also raises the question of the distinction between an ‘input’ and a ‘trigger.’ Kremser & Schreyögg (2016) refer to ‘triggering information’ as interchangeable with an input. However, routines were

not initiated only on the basis of an accumulation of relevant information--there is a time component to the triggering of routines as well. Some occurred at unpredictable times in response to certain situations (like most Getting in Trouble routines). Others were pre-scheduled for a certain time and place (like Detention or ISS). Further theorizing may be needed to specify the distinction between routine inputs and triggers.

In addition, this analysis raises the question of the appropriate conception of causation. Being a mode of reproduction for a particular pattern implies a causal relationship but this relationship requires more specification. Causal relations may have different Boolean properties: for example, some causes may be necessary but not sufficient (Ragin & Amoroso, 2010). For example, Punishing Routines may require the input of Getting in Trouble routines, but Getting in Trouble Routines are not actually sufficient to support the process of Punishing routines.

This analysis also suggests a new layer to Feldman and Pentland's characterization of the roles of ostensive and performative routines in processes of persistence and change. In the setting of urban schooling, some formal policies relating to school routines change very rapidly. For example, at all three schools one or more parts of the school policy dictating expectations for teachers about how to respond to students' tardiness changed at least once over the course of a single school year. In these situations, some teachers' performative routines with regard to handling students who arrive late to class may be more stable than the formalized "routines" that the administration is changing underneath their feet. Of course, a formal policy is not the same as an ostensive routine—many formal policies never become true routines at all. Still, it raises the question of how performative routines may not only act as forces of change in a setting otherwise marked by persistence, but also how they may operate as forces of stability in settings otherwise marked by high turbulence.

Limitations

Using breakdowns is a powerful way to see the processes underlying otherwise taken for granted processes of reproduction. However, it does have limitations in terms of what is made visible and invisible. For example, processes that are so taken for granted and institutionalized that no visible breaches or breakdowns occurred are not illuminated. In the other direction, there may be processes that appear to be breakdowns because people in the setting express disapproval, but actually are quite institutionalized and stable nonetheless.

In addition, using the lens of interdependent routines allows us to see some of the ways that traditional discipline and restorative justice practices are interrelated as schools translate the restorative justice model to organizational practices and routines. However, a routines lens is not the full story. Here I offer two puzzles that point the way towards future analyses.

One straightforward explanation for the “stickiness” of Suspension that is sometimes offered is that Out-of-School Suspension is the least resource intensive consequence to administer. Thus, whether or not educators subscribe to an ideology that supports suspension, schools with limited resources are incentivized to use it for the sake of efficiency. My data support this claim, in the sense that other consequences such as Detention and In-school Suspension seemed more difficult to coordinate and administer.

Nonetheless, data from the district shown in Chapter 1 indicate that rates of In-school Suspension use are *increasing* in CPS. This is very hard to explain through a routines lens. In-school Suspension occupies the same structural place in the Discipline Routines cluster as any other punishment. From a routines perspective, substituting a different type of punishment or consequence would fit equally with existing routines, and could be significantly less resource intensive than assigning a staff member to sit with a small group of students for a full day.

Indeed my analyses suggest the process of In-School Suspension is not as strongly reproduced as some other punishment routines. However, while they differ in resource requirements, In-school Suspension and Out of School suspension are very similar in other ways. The popularity of In-school Suspension as a substitute for Out of School Suspension suggests that there is more to the story of what makes suspension practices broadly so “sticky.” It suggests that underlying assumptions, values, frames, professional norms, etc. may play a significant role in leading to change (or non-change) in discipline practices.

The second puzzle also concerns in school suspension. At Rustin, one of the infractions that regularly resulted in students being assigned to In-school Suspension was cutting class. That is, students were punished for intentionally missing instruction by being removed from instruction—not only for the class they chose to skip, but for all their classes. This arrangement may strike many as nonsensical. Indeed, many teachers at the school expressed similar sentiments. And yet I heard informally from staff at the RJP-supporting agencies that such policies are not uncommon in CPS schools. And certainly the practice persisted and was knowingly and continually activated by the Dean at Rustin, a man who spoke supportively of restorative justice, and related to his students as a basketball coach, and even a neighbor—having grown up in the same neighborhood where Rustin is located—as well through his role as a disciplinarian. Working from the axiom that people act sensibly within their own framework and context: What is the context in which we can understand Mr. Madison’s choice to assign students who cut class to ISS as reasonable and appropriate? This suggests the importance of understanding individual’s taken for granted assumptions and how they play in to ideas about school discipline and restorative justice.

Chapter 4: Implementation and Institutionalization of Restorative Justice Practices

In implementing a new policy or program, one of the key processes that needs to occur is translating the model into concrete organizational practices and routines (Coburn, 2004; Spillane, 2004). In some cases, programs specify practices in detail. For example, some curricula are highly prescriptive, providing detailed instructions about materials, activities, student grouping, etc. (e.g. Slavin & Madden, 2000). More often, policies are more ambiguous, and rely heavily on the discretion of implementers (Cohen, Moffitt, & Goldin, 2007; Matland, 1995). Either way, the same model can look substantially different in different settings depending on choices made in the implementation process.

Moreover, innovations do not enter into a vacuum, but rather are implemented in organizations with existing routines, culture, etc. Often new approaches are specifically intended to replace existing practices—indeed this is the impetus for adoption in the first place (Cohen et al., 2007). Yet examinations of program and policy implementation have demonstrated that new practices often do not fully replace old practices, but rather modify them slightly, or co-exist alongside them (Coburn, 2004; Cohen, 1988; Kellogg, 2011; Leonardi, 2012). In order to understand the success (or failure) of implementing a new program or policy then, it is helpful to attend both to the ways the new policy itself is realized, and also to whether and in what ways existing practices are modified.

Restorative Justice Practices have been embraced by the Chicago Public Schools district largely as a strategy to reduce the use of exclusionary discipline. Yet, as shown in Chapter 1, suspension has a history of extensive use in Chicago, and in spite of the advent of RJP, has

proven remarkably “sticky.” Therefore, in this chapter, I address the following research questions:

RQ4.1: What new practices and routines does the implementation of RJP in schools bring about?

RQ4.2: How are RJP reinforced and reproduced in schools?

RQ4.3: How does the implementation of restorative justice practices and routines relate to the de-institutionalization of exclusionary discipline practices?

Conceptual Framework

Adoption to Implementation

When a new program, policy, reform, or technology is adopted by a state, district or school, it is followed by a process of implementation. By implementation I mean practitioners’ enactment of a policy or program that has been adopted by those at a higher level of authority (Cohen & Moffitt, 2009). As ample literature on policy implementation, and the implementation of technologies in organizations has demonstrated, changes planned by management are often enacted on the ground in ways that look very different from what was intended or expected (Desimone, 2002; Leonardi, 2009; McLaughlin, 1987; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Spillane, 2004; Weatherley & Lipsky, 1977; Weick, 1990).

Implementation has often been characterized in terms of fidelity to a model (Dane & Schneider, 1998; Fullan, 1983). However, this construct has limited utility for programs that are ambiguous in their specifications. Moreover, a unitary measure of fidelity can mask meaningful differences in implementation. Here, I characterize adoption and implementation broadly in two ways: form and intensity.

Rather than a focus on similarities or differences in comparison to a single model, implementation can also be described in terms of qualitative variations in form. For example, Lin's description of the ways that different prisons implement 'rehabilitative' programming illustrates how a similar idea can take shape very differently in different organizational contexts (Lin, 2002). Because RJP do not represent a single prescription, but a family of related practices, it is perhaps especially likely that schools that adopt RJP will do so in very different ways.

Implementation can also be conceived of in terms of degrees of intensity. In the evaluation literature, the amount of a given intervention that students receive is sometimes referred to as dosage (Cordray & Pion, 2006). This conception, based on a medical model, is typically focused on the amount of a given intervention that a particular student is exposed to. In an organizational-level program like restorative justice practices, a similar idea can be applied to the organization as a whole. For example, Ansari, Fiss, & Zajac, (2010) articulate a similar concept of extensiveness, meaning: "how far the adapted practice presents far-reaching or restricted efforts toward implementation" (p. 72). Here I use intensity to refer in a global way to the amount of resources directed at implementation.

Implementation to Institutionalization

In seeking to understanding how implementation is linked to institutionalization, I also examine implementation in a more fine-grained manner, in terms of routines, practices, and sources of support.

As in the prior chapter, I define routines as "recognizable, repetitive patterns of interdependent action carried out by multiple actors" (Feldman & Pentland, 2003, p. 95). I attend to components of routines including their input process, output and outcome. However, I recognize that many of the elements brought about by the adoption of a new program or policy

are not actually routine. Therefore, I use the term *practice* to refer to actions that may or may not be routines.

I also attend to sources of support for restorative justice practices because, in line with my broader conceptual framework, I define institutionalization in terms of the nature of the supports for a given practice. I use *modes of reproduction* to refer to self-activating supports indicative of institutionalization. Supports that are not self-activating I refer to as *modes of reinforcement* (Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011). Both modes of reproduction and reinforcement may occur at different levels and can take many forms including formal policy, professional norms, or links with other school routines. In addition, they can vary in terms of the strength of any individual mode of reproduction and the breadth and depth of the collection of supports for a given structure.

When a new practice is implemented, it may be supported by either new or existing modes of reproduction and reinforcement. For example, it is common for policies and programs to come with associated funding or at times even a new staff position (e.g. Lounsbury, 2001), representing new modes of support. New practices may also tap into existing modes of reproduction already operating in the setting. For example, Dobbin (2009) describes how new affirmative action hiring policies were created and then reproduced by the existing norms and institutionalized practices of the human resources profession.

Investigating institutionalization via attention to modes of reproduction also has implications for analyzing de-institutionalization. While often normatively tied to implementation and institutionalization—in that new programs and policies are adopted with the intention of de-institutionalizing old ones—analytically (and often empirically) these processes are quite distinct. De-institutionalization occurs when the mechanisms of reproduction

supporting a given practice are weakened or removed (Colyvas & Anderson, under review; Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011). Whether and how this occurs in concert with the implementation of a new practice are matters of empirical investigation.

Restorative Justice Practices

Existing research on restorative justice practices has indicated that they can take a long time to be fully implemented, estimated at three to five years (Morrison, Blood, & Thorsborne, 2005).

In order to understand better the relationship between RJP and existing discipline, it is helpful to consider the theories of change that RJP are built on. Restorative justice practices are intended to identify and address the underlying issues that lead to students Getting in Trouble. This includes attention to students' developmental and socio-emotional learning needs, needs for more intensive services, and resolution of interpersonal conflicts. It can also include attention to the role that teachers, and larger school policies and practices play in making school a welcoming, safe and engaging place for students.

Data and Methods

Research Design

In this chapter I draw on the same data sources articulated in Chapter 3: 16 months of fieldwork at three high schools, each of which adopted restorative justice practice at differing intensities and in different forms. I use the differences in the way RJP were implemented across these schools as a point of comparison.

Rustin – Intensive Agency Partnership. Rustin High adopted restorative justice practices through an intensive partnership with a local youth development non-profit called the

Empowerment Foundation. This partnership meant that Rustin had an Empowerment Foundation staff person, named Elena, on site at the school as a Restorative Justice Practices Specialist approximately three days per week for the duration of the school year. In addition, Elena had a graduate student intern two days per week, resulting in approximately 1.0 FTE onsite RJP Specialist. These staff members worked out of an unused classroom designed as a Peace Room.

Heritage – Investing in Staff. Leadership at Heritage took a different path to adopting RJP at their school. The year prior to my observation, they modified the title and expectations of the Dean to make the position a Restorative Justice Dean, and hired a person to fill it who had a professional background in school-based restorative justice from the early days of RJP—then Peer Jury—in CPS. Heritage also had a Restorative Coach a few hours a week for approximately one semester. In addition, a group of students and two to three teachers attended a city-wide RJP training.

Southlake – No formal RJP. At Southlake, no formal restorative justice practices were adopted. However, I include the school in my analyses nonetheless because some practices designated as restorative at other schools occurred at Southlake as well.

Data Analysis

In order to identify and characterize restorative justice practices at each school, I drew on data from my field notes and interviews with key informants. In order to identify the sources of support for these practices, I first categorized them into groups corresponding to each practice's inputs, outputs, and intended outcomes. For practices that shared inputs and outputs with traditional discipline routines, I compared restorative justice practices to the dynamics of traditional school discipline practices, looking for similarities and differences in sources of support. For practices not connected to traditional discipline, I interrogated my fieldnotes to

identify sources of support, and then analyzed these mechanisms looking for possibilities of self-activation.

Findings: Translating RJP to Routine (and Non-Routine) Practice

I begin with RQ4.1: What new practices and routines does the implementation of RJP in schools bring about? Restorative justice practices were adopted in diverse ways both within and across schools. I identified three categories into which these practices fell: Restorative Responses to Harm, Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm, and Building RJP Capacity. Restorative Responses to Harm I term a *practice class*. Like the routine classes described in Chapter 3, practices in the same class share relatively standardized inputs and outputs. Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm and Building RJP Capacity are not practice classes because their routines did not share inputs and outputs. Instead, the practices in these categories were connected by a shared intended outcome. In other words, they are collections of practices connected by a relation of pooled interdependence.

Table 4.4 reflects the full list of restorative justice practices at each school. The left-hand column lists each practice according to its practice category. Check marks in the columns corresponding to each school indicate that I observed the practice, or heard it described in my observations or interviews at that school at least once.

Although all three schools used very similar sets of traditional discipline practices, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, the adoption of RJP included substantially different elements at each school. At Rustin, the school implementing RJP through a partnership with the Empowerment Foundation, every one of these practices occurred at the school at some point during my

fieldwork. This breadth of implementation, along with the high frequency of many of these practices (as described in more detail below) is indicative of its high intensity of implementation.

At Heritage, where the school renamed their disciplinarian position Restorative Justice Dean, and worked with an RJ coach for a few months, a smaller subset of practices occurred. The majority of these practices were in the class of Restorative Responses to Harm, but at least one Restorative Process to Prevent Harm and RJP Capacity Building practice were also present.

At Southlake, there was no formal adoption of RJP at all, so it not surprising that the vast majority of restorative justice practices were not visible here. However, it is notable that staff at Southlake engaged in Informal Relationship Building—an example of a Restorative Process to Prevent Harm—even without the framework of a restorative approach.

Table 4.4: Restorative Justice Practices Adopted at Each School

	<u>Rustin</u> High Intensity RJP Agency Partnership	<u>Heritage</u> Med Intensity RJP Investment in Staff	<u>Southlake</u> No formal RJP
<u>Restorative Responses to Harm</u>			
• Peer Conference	✓	✓	
• Peace Circles	✓	✓	
• Restorative Conversations	✓	✓	
• Restorative In-School Suspension	✓		
<u>Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm</u>			
• Informal Relationship Building	✓	✓	✓
• Talking circles	✓		
• Restorative mentoring	✓		
<u>RJP Capacity Building</u>			
• Staff PD on RJP	✓	✓	
• Student Training on RJP	✓	✓	
• Building Restorative ISS	✓		
• Building Restorative Mentoring	✓		

Restorative Responses to Harm

Restorative Responses to Harm are the most prototypical restorative justice practices. Restorative Responses to Harm take as an input some type of harm that has been committed within the school community. This might take the form of a fight, a conflict between a student and teacher or a disruption of classroom learning, for example. In terms of process, as the Restorative Justice Specialist at Rustin explained, although Restorative Responses to Harm can involve different individuals and take different forms, they share a common structure:

“So it could get handled in a peer conference, it could get handled in a restorative conversation by me or somebody else, it could be- it could be a circle with the teacher, him, a friend, his mom, classmates, I mean that part doesn’t matter as much. Like which process we use because I mean in theory they’re all gonna do the same thing ... Go through the process of like having people tell their perspectives, look at where this is coming from, look at the impact, and come up with a plan for repairing--preventing the harm.” – Elena, Interview Fall 2015

As Elena articulates, through the course of a restorative process people who have been affected or involved in a situation are brought together. They go through a process of asking and answering questions to better understand who was impacted in what ways, and why the harm occurred, and to develop a plan for repairing the harm and/or preventing future harm. As Elena’s comment suggests, these practices share similar outputs: people who were affected by the harm participating in a structured process, sometimes ending with a formal agreement. They also share similar intended outcomes: building skills of empathy and conflict resolution for students (and teachers), and addressing the underlying issues that cause harms to be committed.

Across Rustin and Heritage, I saw Restorative Response to Harm practices include different combinations of Peer Conference, Peace Circles, Restorative Conversations and Restorative In-School Suspension.

Peace Circles. Peace circles are among the most well known restorative justice practices. As the name implies, peace circles typically involve all participants sitting in a circle. A facilitator or Circle Keeper opens the circle, often using elements of ritual to explain the symbolic meaning of a circle centerpiece and talking piece. Participants take turns, passing the talking piece around the circle, each person taking a turn to answer a question posed by the circle keeper.

At Both Rustin and Heritage Peace Circles were sometimes used after a fight or other conflict between students.

Peer Conference. Peer conference is a student-led restorative process focused on helping a student who has committed a harm reflect on her actions and make a plan for making them right. For a peer conference to occur, at least one or two trained peace ambassadors (students trained in facilitating peer conferences) need to be gathered together in an available space, at one time with the referred student and an adult.

At Rustin, the class schedule was divided such that students had 3 different lunch periods, and peace ambassadors were listed on the wall of the Peace Room according to their lunch period. The Peace Room was explicitly to be used for activities such as peer conferences, and Elena and Casey both took responsibility for gathering peace ambassadors and referred students to allow the peer conference to happen.

At Heritage, all students ate lunch at the same time, so there was only one period per day when students were available to conduct peer conferences. This was also teachers' lunch time.

There was not a dedicated room for restorative justice practices. And the dean sometimes had responsibilities to sit in the cafeteria during lunch, or supervise students in in-school suspension as they got their lunch. At Heritage, while students and teachers attended a training on Peer Conference, very few conferences were actually held.

Restorative Conversations. A restorative conversation refers to a conversation between an adult and a student about the student's behavior. Such a conversation is restorative (rather than being a traditional Disciplinary Conversation) if it proceeds through the use of questions to the student, rather than language that blames and criticizes the student. The term restorative conversation is sometimes used to refer to brief conversations teachers might have with students during a few moments during or immediately after class. However, at both Rustin and Heritage the term restorative conversation was used more often to refer to a conversation between a student and the Restorative Justice Specialist or Restorative Justice Dean, respectively. At Rustin, when students were assigned to a restorative conversation with her, in addition to engaging in restorative questioning with the student, Elena typically conducted pre- and post-conferences with the teachers who had referred the student (via a Write-up), or in whose class the incident had occurred. In addition, teachers and students themselves sometimes made referrals to Elena without going through the formal discipline routines, simply by asking her to speak with some students.

Restorative In-school Suspension. At Rustin, a group of teachers worked with staff from the Empowerment Foundation and a Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) specialist from the District to create a more restorative version of the school's existing in-school suspension process. Restorative ISS took place once per week. A pair of teachers were assigned to supervise each period of the day, with the idea that one teacher could be in the room while another picked

up work for students, or conferred with an individual. The first three periods of the day were set aside for students to do academic work. After lunch, an Empowerment staff person led students in a circle process. For the final periods of the day, a different outside agency provided a workshop for students. Students were assigned to Restorative ISS in the same way they would have been assigned to traditional ISS.

Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm

Not all restorative practices begin with a harm having been committed. Another category of restorative justice practices implemented in schools are those that begin simply with two or more individuals in the school and have the intent of preventing harm. Restorative processes to prevent harm could be initiated at any time. They do not represent a class of practices like the Restorative Responses to Harm because they do not all share the same output. However, they do all share the same intended outcome: building relationships and social and emotional skills in advance of any conflict, or other issue arising. As a staff person at the district central office explained:

So a lot of the same types of restorative practices such as like circles that they do in response to an incident occurring can also be done kind of a preventative end. So things like community building circles, and community building, like in the classroom, like activities that you might do with students, with all students like within the school or classroom rather than in response to an incident. And then I think like a lot of our philosophy is just that the basis of anything that happens in school should begin with relationships right? – District Social and Emotional Learning Specialist

As the district specialist indicated, Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm can take the form of formal practices, similar to those used in response to harm. Or they can take the form of

more informal efforts at building relationships between educators and students. At Rustin, Elena also worked to create a more formalized restorative mentoring process.

Talking circles. Talking circles have much the same form as peace circles, in that participants sit in a circle, and speak one at a time, using a talking piece, and may begin and end in ritual. However, rather than answering questions about a specific incident, the prompts or questions participants speak to may be on any topic. One common facilitation strategy is to start with a ‘light’ or ‘easy’ question, followed by questions that encourage increasingly personal sharing, and then ending with a lighter question at the end.

Talking circles can take different configurations of individuals as input and as part of the process. Their intended outcome is to build community and understanding among participants. At Rustin, at the beginning of the year, Elena coordinated with the teachers to run a circle in every Math and English class at the school—ensuring that every student experienced a circle at least twice. Later in the year, students trained as Peace Ambassadors also held a weekly talking circle for other students during lunch.

At Heritage, there were no talking circles organized for the full student body. However, the school had a partnership with a youth development agency that ran counseling groups for students, incorporating circle processes.

Informal Relationship Building. Educators across roles at all three schools articulated the importance of having positive relationships with their students. For example, at Rustin, Elena spoke about her work with one of the security staff at the school who she saw as an especially valuable partner because of his relationships with students.

“I hold what Michael does in awe. I talk to him a lot, not to try to train him, but to consult with him, like what do you know about this kid? He's really got the relationship piece.

And then I'll try to say something here or there about how he could be more restorative.”

–Elena, March 13, 2015

At Heritage, the Restorative Justice Dean emphasized to me the importance of building relationships. As he walked the hallways of the school he interacted continually with students, often teasing and joking with them. For example:

Campbell speaks to a female student, who is grinning shyly: “You got some money?”

She shakes her head, looking excited and a little scared. “Now and Later?”

He asks her and other students around if they have different kinds of candy.

– Dean shadow, Heritage, March 20, 2015

Although Southlake did not adopt any formal restorative justice practices, informally building relationships was also seen as important by many school staff. For example, during an observation of her AP classroom one teacher commented to me during a pause in instruction:

Teacher: You can see we're like a little family. We're getting together for pizza over break. We're getting T shirts made. (Classroom Observation, Southlake, December 2, 2015)

Efforts towards building positive relationships take the input of a student and a school staff member. However, they have no structured steps or output—individuals do this in widely varying and idiosyncratic ways. What they do share is the intended outcome of improving the relationship.

Restorative Mentoring. At Rustin, Elena worked with others to develop a restorative mentoring process for students with especially high needs. This was conceived of as a way to formalize and systematize the informal relationship building and mentoring already occurring at the school. Teachers, security staff, staff from other agency partners and even other students

were recruited to act as mentors. The expectation was the students would meet with their mentors regularly, but also that it could count as a consequence to be used in response to harm as well. The program never got running, making it difficult to know for sure how it would have operated. However, the intent would have been for a matched mentor-mentee pair to have served as input with positive interactions between them serving as output.

Building RJP Capacity

In addition to conducting restorative practices proper, implementing the model also includes a substantial amount of work in creating capacity within school systems. At Rustin, Elena was very clear that this was an important part of her role. In a follow up interview in the fall of the year following my observations, she explained to me:

I think that the second year was about starting to kind of initiate stuff beyond just running restorative discipline program...like peer conference and restorative conversation.... At the beginning of last year, train- did a, just a quick training in circles with the teachers.... And then it was expanding what the peace ambassadors were doing beyond just peer conference to learning how to do circles and there was an attempt to try to have them tackle some of the patterns or issues that they were seeing... And then finishing out the year like trying to get supports for students that were- that needed more than just the model of a restorative conversation or a peer conference, and so the- the mentoring project was an extension to that.

As Elena alluded to above, Building RJP Capacity included training for both staff and students, and building new school systems and processes.

Practices associated with this work differ in an important way from both Restorative Responses to Harm and Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm, in that they are not intended to become routine. Rather, by their nature, Capacity Building practices are intended to modify or build *other* practices. In this case, practices for Building RJP Capacity have the intended outcome of increasing or sustaining the use of other restorative justice practices and/or of reducing the incidence of exclusionary discipline.

Professional development for staff. At Rustin, Elena worked with the school administration to provide several sessions of professional development for staff on various aspects of restorative justice and restorative practices. For example, in the early fall, during a staff PD session held before school started, Elena reminded staff of the basics of a circle, and went through a role play on using restorative, non-blaming language in talking with students. Throughout the year, she also led several professional development meetings. At some, she worked with teachers on identifying emotional ‘hooks’ that lead them to reacting in anger to some student behavior, rather than to the calm response they would give to other behavior.

At Heritage, three teachers attended a city-wide training on restorative justice practices. In addition, the school worked with a restorative justice coach for the first semester, who worked more intensively with the students in one teacher’s class.

Professional development sessions for staff (like the one attended by Heritage teachers) can be used with the intent of giving those teachers administrative responsibilities for running a Peer Conference program, or directly facilitating Peace Circles, although the latter is a skill for which it takes many hours of training and practice to reach mastery. These approaches assume that trained teachers will take on a relatively well-specified additional role (above and beyond their teaching responsibilities) in leading a centralized restorative discipline program.

Professional development for staff can also be aimed at affecting teachers' day to day discipline practices. This approach does not assume that teachers will take on additional responsibilities but that the PD session will change the skills or beliefs teachers hold that influence their everyday practice. For example, the work Elena did with teachers at Rustin to identify their emotional "hooks"—situations that make them lose their cool—was intended to reduce enactment of Getting in Trouble Routines by changing the choices teachers' made in their classrooms in non-routine moments.

Training for Students. At both Rustin and Heritage, groups of students were trained in a Peer Conference process, trained to be Peace Ambassadors. At Rustin, this training was conducted by Elena. In addition to an initial training, Elena continually worked with students to expand their skills. At Heritage students attended a city-wide training with students from other schools. Initial training for students is necessary for creating a Peer Conference program, along with periodic trainings as "boosters" and to train new Peace Ambassadors. Empowerment staff also see involving students in restorative processes as important philosophically as well as in making school a place where students feel invested and like they have personal agency.

Building Restorative ISS. From February to May, Rustin staff worked with Elena, another Empowerment staff person named Kim, and a District SEL specialist to develop a more restorative version of their existing in school suspension process (known as ISS). This process involved several meetings within the planning group, meetings with the Counseling team, and meetings with the whole staff. Kim was available to assist in this work—and to staff the Restorative ISS room—because of a short term grant the school had received.

Building Restorative Mentoring. Elena also worked with other Empowerment staff to develop a restorative mentoring program, enrolling adults from across the school and from other organizations. This work included training mentees and carefully matching mentor-mentee pairs.

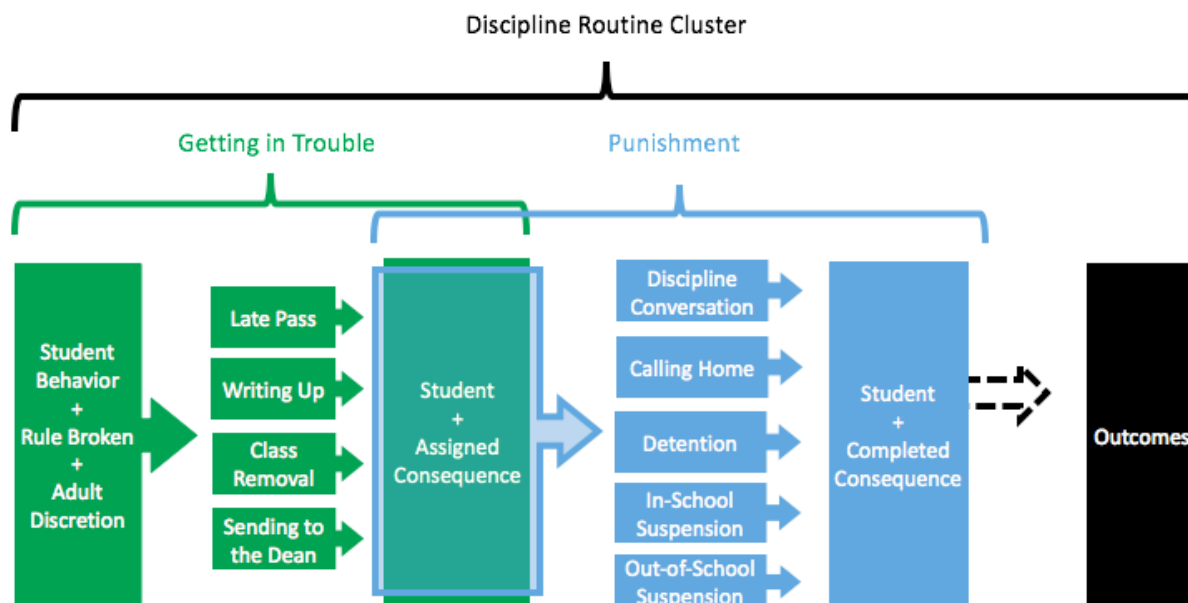
Findings: Supports for Restorative Justice Practices & Routines

Next, I turn to RQ4.2: How are RJP reinforced and reproduced? I proceed in 3 parts. First, in order to understand what processes are supporting Restorative Responses to Harm and whether they are self-activating I compare the implementation of Restorative Response to Harm to the Discipline Routine Cluster described in Chapter 3. Second, I use data from my fieldnotes and selected interviews about the functioning of Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm to first look for evidence of institutionalization and then for evidence of non-self-activating supports. Third, I look for evidence about the ways that practices for Building RJP Capacity are or are not creating or connecting RJP to self-activating mechanisms of reproduction.

Supports for Restorative Response to Harm

Integration into the School Discipline Routine Cluster. As discussed in Chapter 3, traditional discipline occurs in a routine cluster comprised of two routine classes: Getting in Trouble and Punishment. This structure is represented in Figure 4.5 (a reproduction of Figure 3.6).

Figure 4.5: Discipline Routine Cluster Structure



At both Rustin and Heritage, Restorative Responses to Harm were integrated into this routine cluster by operating as potential consequences that students could be assigned to as a culmination of Getting in Trouble. Thus, although RJP practitioners do not think of their practices as punishments, within the context of school routines, Restorative Responses to Harm occupy the same position as Punishment routines.

More specifically, these connections occurred in three ways, each with slightly different sources of support, and corresponding implications for institutionalization: as an additional option, in combination with existing Punishment routines, and as a modification of existing Punishment routines. The examples I saw of different Restorative Response to Harm practices being integrated into school discipline routines in each of these ways are represented in Tables 4.6 and 4.7. A checkmark indicates I saw or heard about RJP being implemented this way at the relevant school at least once.

Table 4.6: Integration of Restorative Responses to Harm into School Discipline Cluster at Rustin HS

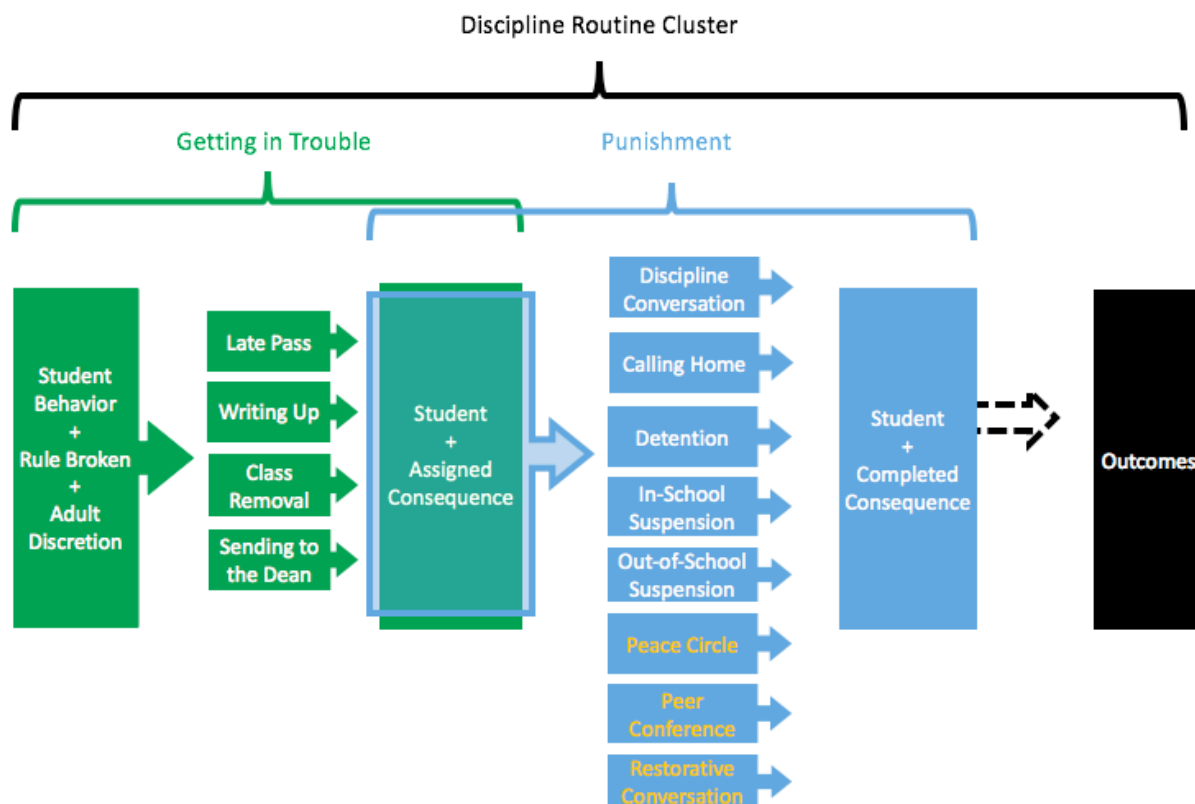
	Integration with School Discipline		
	<u>Additional Option</u>	<u>Combined with Existing</u>	<u>Modified</u>
<u>Restorative Responses to Harm</u>			
• Peer Conference	✓		
• Peace Circles	✓		
• Restorative Conversations	✓		
• Restorative In-School Suspension			✓

Table 4.7: Integration of Restorative Responses to Harm into School Discipline Cluster at Heritage HS

	Integration with School Discipline		
	<u>Additional Option</u>	<u>Combined with Existing</u>	<u>Modified</u>
<u>Restorative Responses to Harm</u>			
• Peer Conference	✓		
• Peace Circles	✓	✓	
• Restorative Conversations			✓
• Restorative In-School Suspension (n/a)			

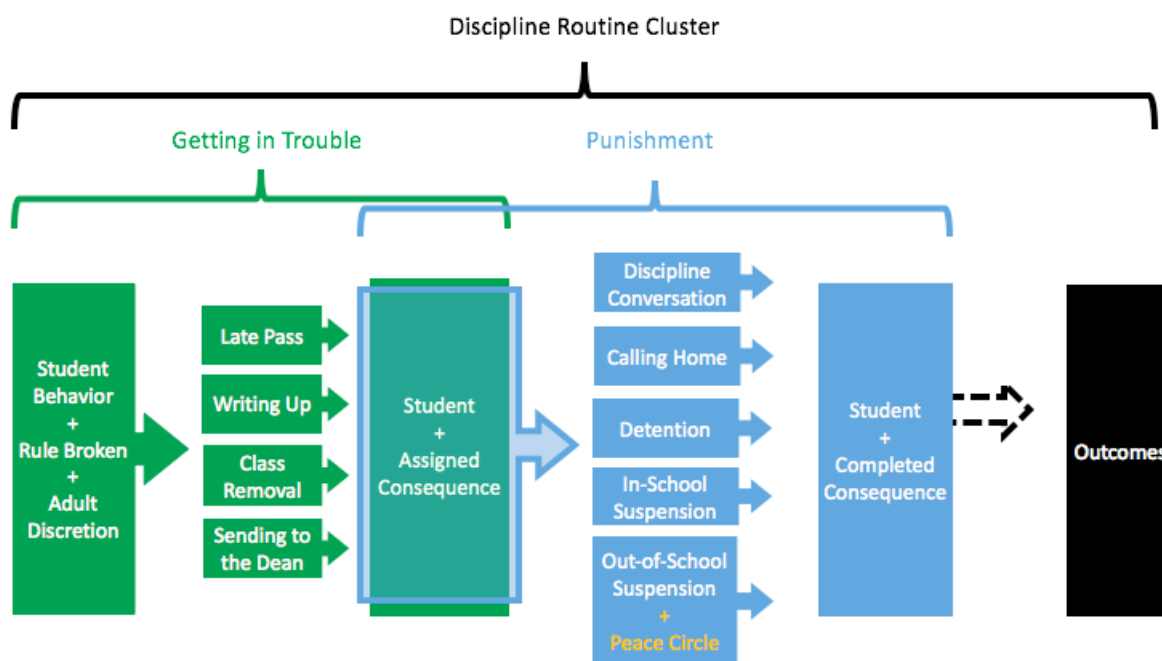
In some cases, as shown in Figure 4.8, RJP created a new kind of ‘punishment’ available. For example, at Rustin, the Dean added Peer Conference, Circles, and a Restorative Conversation with Elena to his repertoire of options for consequences to assign to students. This addition represented a slight modification of the standardized outputs of Getting in Trouble—the addition of Restorative Responses to Harm as a potential consequence to be assigned—and was dependent on the dean to make use of and communicate that option. At Rustin the dean typically communicated this information via email to Elena who then carried out the restorative justice practices. At Heritage, restorative justice practices were conducted by the dean himself when students were referred to him via teachers/security.

Figure 4.8: RJP as an Additional Punishment Option



A second form of integration was to add a restorative consequence on top of an existing punishment, as shown in Figure 4.9. For example, at some schools it became routine practice to have a circle or other restorative process for students returning from a suspension. I have less evidence about this approach, because none of the schools I observed in enacted it consistently, although it was discussed at both Rustin and Heritage. This process is similar to a common practice of requiring a ‘parent conference’ at the end of a suspension, before a student is allowed to return, which Southlake utilized.

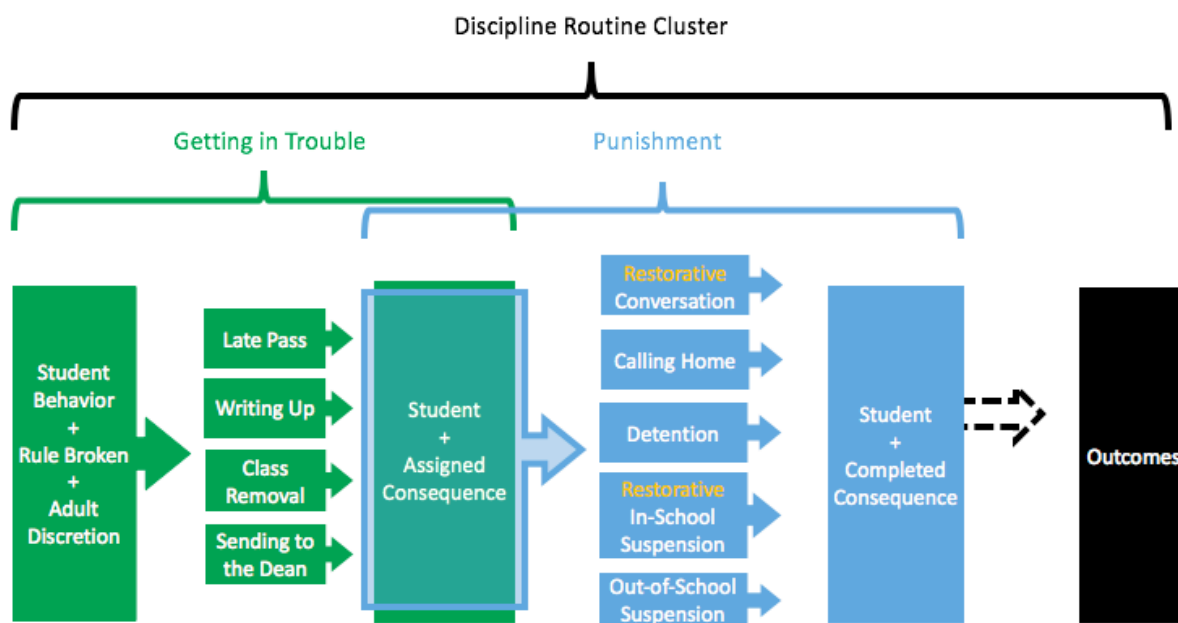
Figure 4.9 Combining RJP with an Existing Punishment



Finally, in some cases, an existing punishment was modified to be more restorative, as shown in Figure 4.10. This occurred at Rustin when in-school suspension was converted to “restorative in-school suspension.” Students and teachers enacted Getting in Trouble in exactly the same way as before the transition, but once students were assigned to ISS, the process of the routine involved more restorative elements than its previous form.

A similar process happened at Heritage with restorative conversations. At all three schools, when students are sent to the dean sometimes he chooses to have a conversation with them rather than assign further punishment. At Heritage, the dean modified those disciplinary conversations to be Restorative Conversations.

Figure 4.10: Modifying an Existing Punishment to be more Restorative



These three forms of integration into the discipline routine cluster each served to reproduce restorative responses to some degree. First, in all three of the situations described, Restorative Responses to Harm received the input they need to operate—information about a harm in the community—via the output of existing or only slightly modified Getting in Trouble routines. Assigning students to Restorative Responses to Harm does not require extra effort above and beyond the typical functioning of Getting in Trouble routines. Therefore, this form of support is self activating and represents a form of institutionalization.

In the case of Restorative Responses to Harm that were combined with existing Punishments, and restorative modifications to existing punishments, traditional discipline routines operated as a mechanisms of reproduction in an additional way. When RJP were implemented in combination with an existing punishment like OSS, a student being assigned an OSS becomes a triggering input for the Restorative Response to Harm. Likewise, when an existing punishment like ISS was modified to be somewhat more restorative, a student being

assigned to ISS becomes a triggering input for the restorative response to harm. In this way, restorative practices are supported not only by Getting in Trouble routines generally, but specifically by assignment to the very exclusionary punishments that RJP are intended to blunt or replace.

Role of RJP Providers. While Getting in Trouble routines provided Restorative Responses to Harm with the inputs they need to operate, the processes of Restorative practices that Respond to Harm relied on different resources and supports. At both Rustin and Heritage, although other staff members received some training, the vast majority of Restorative Responses to Harm were carried out by individuals with a formal RJP-related role: the Restorative Justice Specialist at Rustin, and the Restorative Justice Dean at Heritage. Thus, in addition to integration with the Discipline Routine cluster, Restorative Responses to Harm were reliant on the professional roles of RJP providers.

The extent to which this source of support was self-activating varied between Rustin and Heritage because of the difference in the form of their respective pathways to adopting RJP. Rustin adopted RJP through an intensive partnership with the Empowerment Foundation. As is typical of private funding for school-based programs Elena, the RJP specialist on site at Rustin was funded to be at Rustin via a temporary grant. As she explained to me:

A: Yeah I'll be gone by [2 years from now]

Q: Will you?

A: I mean they want an exit strategy cuz I'm supposed to fix it and be gone.

(Elena, Interview, August 2015)

While of course Rustin or the Empowerment Foundation might change course in the future and acquire additional funding for Elena to remain at the school, as of the time of my

observations this means that the support for the RJP provider role was not self-activating, but rather a temporary mode of reinforcement in the form of specialized funding.

By contrast, Heritage HS modified their existing Dean position to make it a Restorative Justice Dean position. To my knowledge, this role was created with the expectation that it would remain a permanent position at the school. In this way, the efforts towards enacting RJP at Heritage were institutionalized through the addition of a permanent position for an RJP professional at the school.

At the same time, the differences in form of adoption between the schools had an additional effect in terms of the scope of responsibility held by the schools' respective RJP providers. At Rustin, providing and supervising RJP were Elena's only responsibilities. At Heritage, the Restorative Justice Dean also had the responsibilities of a traditional Dean. As prior research has shown, adding additional responsibilities to an existing position typically operates as a less powerful mechanism of reproduction for new practices (Lounsbury, 2001). And indeed that was reflected in my field observations, where the Restorative Justice Dean at Heritage carried out far fewer restorative practices than Elena, the Restorative Justice Specialist at Rustin.

Restorative Responses outside of Discipline Routines. Although integration into the Discipline Routine cluster was the most common way that I saw Restorative Responses to Harm implemented, I did also observe situations where Restorative Responses to Harm were initiated without going through the school's formal disciplinary machinery. For example, at times students would refer themselves to Elena for assistance in resolving a conflict. Teachers also sometimes referred students for a conference or conversation with Elena in more informal ways. For example, while shadowing Elena, I observed her talk with a teacher about a student assigned to a restorative consequence. The teacher explained what had happened, and that in her view it

no longer required a conference. However, she also told Elena about a situation with another student who she would like to have a restorative conference with.

In cases like this, Restorative Responses to Harm were triggered not by integration in the discipline system but by the actions of individual(s) who chose to seek Elena out and ask for her services.

Supports for Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm

In the schools in my study, Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm were not integrated into school discipline routines or any routine cluster. Neither were they triggered by any particular events (like Getting in Trouble routines), or for the most part by a particular date or time (like Restorative ISS). Rather, when they occurred, it was through the efforts of individuals.

In some cases, I saw evidence that these individuals' actions were tied to a professional identity. For example, Informal Relationship Building took many forms. However, the practice was widespread, visible across all three schools and across many individual educators. For RJP Specialists, the focus on building and maintaining strong relationships was couched in the context of a broader restorative philosophy and their professional role. However, many teachers expressed the importance of these efforts as a part of their teaching as well.

However, other restorative processes to prevent harm did not seem to be strongly supported by professional norms or identity, except for the RJP specialists. While some individuals chose to take up Talking Circles, or agreed to participate in Restorative Mentoring, I did not see evidence that the practice had become connected to the role rather than the individual. Although practices can also be institutionalized within individuals if they become highly stable and habituated, I did not see evidence for that in this case for Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm other than Informal Relationship Building.

RJP Capacity Building as Supports

Given the intent of RJP Capacity Building practices, I attend here not to the reproduction of the capacity building processes themselves, but to how these practices did or did not build self-reproducing sources of support for other restorative practices at the schools in which I observed. Prior literature has demonstrated that the processes that put a structure in place are not necessarily the same as those that would maintain it (e.g. Colyvas & Maroulis, 2015). Therefore, here I attend particularly to processes of maintenance and reproduction.

Professional development as a pathway for building RJP capacity has different implications for institutionalization depending on the form it takes. I saw these differences corresponding to the different intensities of RJP implementation enacted at Rustin and Heritage.

At Heritage, professional development for staff primarily consisted of a small number of teachers attending a city-wide training on RJP. To my knowledge, this training was intended to prepare these teachers to act as supervisors for a Peer Conference process for students. In order for this type of training to connect RJP to a self-activating mode of reproduction, the Peer Conference program would need to be integrated in the school's regular routines—presumably through integration with the Discipline routine cluster. While Peer Conference did operate regularly at Rustin HS, at Heritage a lack of resources (notably, a dedicated room and staff with sufficient time available) prevented Peer Conference from becoming a routine part of the school's discipline process. Without connection to a regular school routine, this form of professional development for teachers had correspondingly limited potential for connecting to self-reproducing sources of support for RJP.

At Rustin, professional development for teachers was more intensive as all Rustin teachers received multiple sessions of RJP-related PD, led by Elena. In addition, this PD had a

different emphasis than at Heritage, focusing on opportunities for teachers to use Restorative Responses to Harm (especially Restorative Conversations), and Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm in their classrooms.

To the extent that these trainings encouraged teachers to step outside of their typical daily work and enact a set of unfamiliar practices, their success in promoting RJP was reliant primarily on individuals' purposive action for support. While potentially powerful in spreading a new practice, individual action is not self-activating and thus not indicative of institutionalization (Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011; Jepperson, 1991). At the same time, prior research has shown that PD also has the capability to tap into other processes of reproduction, like social networks among educators, (Coburn, Russell, Kaufman, & Stein, 2012) or a more collective sense of 'how we do things' in a given department or school (Boaler & Staples, 2008). However, I did not see strong evidence of this occurring in my data.

Prior literature also suggests that creating new restorative justice practices should be a strong strategy for institutionalization if those practices can be integrated into self-activating modes of reproduction, for example by becoming organizational routines (Kellogg, 2011; Kremser & Schreyögg, 2016). However, the two instances of this strategy that I observed at Rustin illustrate some of the challenges of this approach.

The Restorative Mentoring program never fully got off the ground. Although Elena and her colleagues were able to recruit a cohort of mentors and provide some training to them in restorative practices, they did not enact any routines for mentors to meet with their mentees, or to coordinate with school counseling staff.

Building Restorative In-School suspension did result in the implementation of a new restorative ISS in a relatively routine way. However, the process relied on a short term grant to

support an additional Empowerment Staff person on site to oversee Restorative ISS once a week. And at the close of the school year there were no plans to maintain or replace that staffing, or otherwise support restorative ISS in the coming year.

Findings: De-institutionalization of Exclusionary Discipline

Despite the common perception that the purpose of restorative justice practices is to replace exclusionary discipline, I saw minimal evidence for the de-institutionalization of exclusionary discipline at any of the schools I observed in. Rather than replacing exclusionary discipline, RJP primarily operated alongside them, and layered on top. Using the lens of institutionalization as integration into self-activating modes of reproduction allows us to make some observations about RJP's capacity to undermine, or de-institutionalize exclusionary discipline as implemented.

Integration into Discipline Routines. At Rustin, and to a lesser extent Heritage, Restorative Responses to Harm were integrated into the school discipline routine cluster, occupying the same slot as traditional Punishing routines. Just as those Punishing routines were dependent on Getting in Trouble routines, so too did Restorative Responses to Harm rely on school staff Getting students in Trouble to produce the students and situations to address via restorative justice practices. Indeed, in the cases where RJP were connected to existing punishments by being layered on top or modifying them, RJP are arguably dependent on students being assigned these consequences. From this lens, not only do RJP not undermine existing discipline practices they rely upon them to continue.

Reducing use of Discipline Routines. One of the central ways that RJP are intended to affect school discipline is by reducing the incidence of misbehavior and conflicts in classrooms.

This reflects the intended outcomes of all restorative justice practices: to build social and emotional skills like empathy and perspective-taking, to address the root causes of misbehavior and to build and maintain strong relationships among students and school staff. All of these are intended to reduce the use of exclusionary punishments by reducing the incidence of initiating the discipline routine cluster at all.

This may well have occurred on a modest scale—at Heritage at least, suspension numbers were significantly reduced during the year of my observations compared to the prior year. However, suspension rates did not fall at Rustin. And at Southlake they fell in the year prior to my observations without the use of RJP. A sample size of three schools is not adequate to draw conclusions about the effectiveness of RJP for reducing exclusionary discipline, but it is perhaps illustrative of the point that deinstitutionalization of exclusionary discipline does not necessarily walk hand in hand with the implementation or even institutionalization of RJP.

Making Exclusion More Restorative. One of the most promising strategies for the deinstitutionalization of exclusionary discipline, used at both Rustin and at Heritage, was to apply a restorative philosophy to existing traditional discipline routines to make them somewhat more restorative—notably creating Restorative Conversations with the dean and Restorative In-School Suspension. This approach offers promise as a process for weakening the institutionalization of exclusionary Punishment routines because unlike cases of combination, layering, or no connection to the discipline cluster, such an approach directly alters existing practices. In these cases, increasing the use of modified Punishment routines is directly connected to decreasing the use of the traditional versions of the routines.

However, while modifications of exiting Punishment routines are able to take advantage of their traditional counterparts' existing sources of support, they also inherit the weaknesses of

those supports. For example, while many students were quickly assigned to Restorative ISS—following the school’s existing Getting in Trouble routines that culminate in assignment to ISS—the school’s existing challenges with the logistics of the ISS process were likewise felt by Restorative ISS. This was exemplified in a meeting (also quoted in Chapter 3) in which Kim, the additional Empowerment Foundation staff person overseeing Restorative ISS, described a breakdown in the Restorative ISS routine. She said: “The transitions are rough. Both 7th period teachers were out so nobody came.” This example illustrates how making ISS restorative was not able to address issues of school communication and staffing that undermined the existing ISS routine, causing Restorative ISS to suffer from the same shortcomings.

In addition, if the modified version of a traditional routine requires additional resources to operate—as was the case for Restorative ISS which relied on a short term grant with Empowerment to provide additional staffing—these resources may not be sustained by the existing routine’s supports. This became clear at Rustin when the principal indicated that there were no plans to continue Restorative ISS in the following year given the need for additional staffing. I quote from my fieldnotes taken at all staff meeting in late May:

[A teacher] asks what will happen next year [with Restorative ISS] in terms of making sure new teachers are trained and getting community partners to fulfill those workshops for the whole year. [The Principal] says [another teacher] asked if I could pay for and hire a person to sit in ISS in afternoon. The answer was “absolutely not.” (Rustin, All-staff PD, May 20, 2015)

As the principal indicated, the temporary funding supporting Kim’s role at the school was not self-activating, undermining the institutionalization of Restorative ISS.

Discussion

In this chapter, I sought to investigate how restorative justice practices were reinforced and reproduced, and how these processes related to the de-institutionalization of exclusionary discipline. On the whole, I found evidence of modest institutionalization at both Rustin and Heritage. RJP at both Rustin and Heritage relied primarily on the same three sources of support: Integration with Discipline Routines, and the Professional Role of RJP Providers, and Educators' Individual Actions.

As discussed in the prior section, integration with discipline routines has some strengths as a mode of reproduction. One interesting issue it raises concerns the interactions between new and old routines in the process of change. This analysis makes clear that old routines don't simply prevent change—in the case of RJP's integration into the traditional discipline routine cluster, it is the presence and stability of Getting in Trouble routines that provides one of the strongest supports for the institutionalization of new restorative practices at the school. Nor does the presence of new, contrasting routines entail the removal of old ones. On the contrary, in cases where RJP are combined with existing punishments, it is students' assignment to the exclusionary punishment that triggers the enactment of RJP.

Professional identities can also be powerful mechanisms of reproduction. However, they are self-activating within a given organization only if the role itself is permanent. Elena's position was paid for by temporary private grants. Because of this arrangement, no structure reliant on her role to support it would likely be sustained beyond the term of her funding.

Beyond integration into discipline routines and support from RJP providers, Rustin relied substantially on individual action to support RJP—especially restorative processes to prevent

harm. This generally is not a self-activating process because it relies on a specific individual's extra effort.

On the whole I found little evidence for the de-institutionalization of exclusionary discipline across any of the three schools.

Limitations

This analysis offers insight into the ways that implementation of RJP are connected to its institutionalization. However, it includes several limitations.

Distinguishing Levels of Reproduction. I have argued here that supports for RJP outside of the discipline process relied largely on individual action, which is not a strong mode of reproduction. However, drawing from the data sources I did, I was not able to fully interrogate whether these pathways operated only through the mechanisms of individual action, or could be characterized as having also tapped into more self-reproducing forms of support.

For example, I describe above how on some occasions I saw teachers refer students to Elena without passing through the school's typical disciplinary routine cluster. To the extent that referring a student to a restorative process in the absence of behavior that has actually broken a rule (i.e. outside of the conditions that trigger Getting in Trouble routines) is perceived as going above and beyond one's professional obligations, or intentionally pushing for the use of restorative practices, this is indicative of a reliance on individual agentic action. However, one might also see referring a student directly to Elena as a relatively minor modification of the process of Writing Up a student and including a note recommending that she be referred to Restorative Justice—simply speaking to Elena directly rather than using the school's software to do so. To the extent that teachers experience these referrals as a normal part of participating in the school's disciplinary processes, the difference between a written and verbal referral is

relatively trivial. Moreover, to the extent that teachers' perceptions of their professional identity have shifted towards an expectation of using restorative practices, independent of the use of the traditional discipline cluster, this could represent a more substantial degree of institutionalization of RJP.

Other supports. Also notable but little addressed in this analysis is that, even in cases where integration into existing routines means that RJP are able to capitalize on the same routines as modes of reproduction, this is likely to be an incomplete picture of the similarities and differences between the collection of supports available to both RJP and exclusionary discipline. For example, as a modification of the existing ISS model, Restorative ISS required no change at all in the Getting in Trouble routines to be triggered. However, the process thus triggered—Restorative ISS itself—may be connected to a substantially different set of other supports than its non-restorative counterpart. Restorative ISS was held one day a week instead of two. It involved additional staffing as compared with traditional ISS. And it was perceived differently. As one teacher put it during a department team meeting: “Oh, ISS? It’s getting to where it’s almost not a punishment. Remember when it was in that little dark room over there? I dread going to ISS now. I never used to dread it.” This characterization highlights the way that the framing of a practice may change even if its interdependence with other routines does not.

Parallel Professionals. Similarly, I illustrated in this analysis how Elena, and to a lesser extent the Restorative Dean at Heritage, drew on their professional training and norms to bring high quality restorative justice practices including Restorative Responses to Harm, processes to prevent harm, and capacity building work. However, the presence of these individuals does not remove the presence of other individuals with contradictory professional norms. Notably, all three schools had police officers stationed within the school. Although not addressed here,

recognizing the way the professional norms of that role pulled schools towards arrests, just as the RJP professionals presence pulled schools towards restorative practices, is an important piece of the larger picture.

Types of routine integration. A question this analysis raises (not answerable with these data) is whether it matters where a new routine is located in the sequence of a routine cluster. RJP is in the final slot. This means that it has the ability to be repetitively activated by routines in the first slot, but it is not needed for any routine process operating down the line. A question for future research is whether new routines that provide the input for existing routines may be more demanded and more strongly institutionalized than those that receive the output from existing routines.

Comprehensiveness. The methods used here were not fully comprehensive in their analysis of my fieldnote and interview data. Further analysis will include additional systematic search for disconfirming evidence like changes in teachers' professional identities, alternative supports, and the role of parallel professionals, among others.

Part III: Restorative Elements and Frames

In late April 2015 I observed a training at Rustin High School for school staff and outside agency partners who were to participate in the school's newly forming Restorative Mentoring program. The idea of Restorative Mentoring was the invention of the school's Restorative Justice Specialist, Elena, applying the ideas of a restorative philosophy to formalize and expand some of the existing informal relationships between especially high-needs students and school staff. For the training, Elena, and one of her colleagues from the Empowerment Foundation led an interactive half day workshop including role plays, games, handouts and verbal descriptions of core restorative practices and skills. The training covered active listening, restorative questions, and strategies for supporting students in making tough decisions without giving overbearing advice.

In early June, I spoke with one of the security guards who had attended the training and asked what he had thought about it. He told me:

I mean, it was good to a sense. It's something we do all the time anyway, you know.... I mean, you can put another word on it but still, the way we go about it and handle all of our situations is the same steps that I seen on the paper. (S1G02)

How does this individual understand what RJP entail? Would Elena agree that he was already engaging in restorative mentoring practices? Or are there aspects of restorative practices or a restorative philosophy that are especially conceptually challenging or difficult to differentiate from existing approaches?

Chapter 5: Educators' Conceptualizations of Restorative Justice Practices

Like any policy, RJP are powerfully affected not only by organizational-level factors like the routines discussed Part II, but also by the ways that individual front-line educators interpret and enact the reform (Coburn, 2006; Cohen, 1990; Lipsky, 1980; Spillane, 2004; Spillane et al., 2002). As I discuss in Chapter 4, the way that RJP were implemented at Rustin in particular, with an emphasis on training teachers to use more restorative strategies in their classrooms meant that the sustainability of RJP relied heavily on the extent to which teachers would take up those messages and utilize them in a consistent way.

A great deal of research on education policy implementation has investigated similar dynamics, documenting the ways that teachers' conceptions of students' abilities, and the nature of the subject matter they teach relate to the ways they implement reform (e.g. Boaler & Staples, 2008; Coburn, 2006; Cohen, 1990; Drake, Spillane, & Hufferd-Ackles, 2001; Horn, 2007; Watanabe, Nunes, Mebane, Scalise, & Claesgens, 2007). For example, many years of math reform efforts have focused on fostering a conception of mathematics as quantitative problem solving, rather than memorization of formulas. However, these reforms have proven difficult to implement in part because they contradict strongly engrained ideas about math and math ability (Boaler & Staples, 2008; Cohen, 1988, 1990; Horn, 2007; Spillane, 2004).

Restorative justice practices face a similar implementation challenge, because RJP are built around a different set of ideas about student behavior and school discipline than the exclusionary or "zero-tolerance" style policies that preceded them. Zero-tolerance approaches focus on deterrence via harsh punishments, and removing negative or dangerous influences (i.e.

students) from the school setting. By contrast, RJP are focused on addressing the root causes of student behavior and promoting engagement in school through strong relationships.

This raises a challenge for educational leaders not only of communicating the practical elements of RJP clearly, but also of getting their underlying ideas across to educators who may be working within a different cognitive framework. Some restorative justice practitioners fear that many teachers hold “punitive mindsets,” requiring a radical shift in perspective in order to understand RJP on their own terms. However, seemingly coherent misconceptions may also reflect relatively simple differences in the organization of smaller pieces of knowledge (diSessa & Sherin, 1998; Philip, 2011). Thus, an empirical investigation of teachers’ constellations of ideas about discipline and restorative justice is needed in order to assess (and facilitate) the task facing school leaders seeking to implement RJP.

Therefore, in this chapter, I address the following research questions:

RQ5.1: How do educators conceptualize of restorative justice practices?

RQ5.2: How are educators’ conceptions and misconceptions about RJP related, if at all?

Conceptual Framework

Cognition and Implementation

Like workers in other sectors, educators implement new programs and policies through the lens of their existing knowledge (M. G. Sherin, 2002; Spillane, 2004; Spillane et al., 2002). However, almost by definition, programs designed for educational reform are frequently built around ideas regarding content, instruction, or philosophy that differ substantially from those held by many practitioners. This means that reforms are highly susceptible to misunderstanding (Coburn, 2005; Spillane, 2000, 2004). For example, Cohen’s (1990) classic study illustrated a teacher who understood California mathematics reform through the lens of traditional teaching

practices, resulting in pedagogical practices that adhered to some of the reform's prescriptions, but deviated significantly from others.

Existing research has documented a number of common features in the ways that reforms and other new technologies are interpreted—and misinterpreted. These include attention to the form—or superficial prescriptions of a reform rather than their intended function, or deep structure (e.g. Cohen, 1990; Spillane, 2000). They also include greater attention to and engagement with aspects of a reform that are more familiar compared with those that are less familiar (e.g. Coburn, 2004; Spillane, 2000, 2004).

Conceptual Change

Scholarship on conceptual change has also provided insight on processes of thinking and learning relevant to policy implementation (Gregoire, 2003). Historically, some scholarship on misconceptions in science has treated incorrect ideas as fully formed conceptions that must be replaced or radically transformed in order to make way for a correct understanding (e.g. Vosniadou & Brewer, 1992). However another school of thought suggests that correct and incorrect conceptions are largely formed of the same building blocks organized in different ways (diSessa, 1993; diSessa & Sherin, 1998; Hammer, Elby, Scherr, & Redish, 2005). For example, Hammer et al. (2005) advocate an approach built around the notion of cognitive resources. They posit that small *elements* are organized and activated together by cognitive *frames*. These frames “[activate] a locally coherent set of resources, where by “locally coherent” we mean that in the moment at hand the activations are mutually consistent and reinforcing” (Hammer et al., 2005, p. 9). That is, frames are ways of calling up the groupings of smaller elements about a particular domain that seem relevant for any given moment or task.

Analyses of conceptual change that attend to small cognitive elements and their organization in the mind have primarily been applied in relatively well-bounded STEM domains. A notable exception is Philip (2011). Philip uses data from several professional development sessions to trace the changes in a single teacher's conceptualization of the concept of 'Teachers Blaming Students.' He analyzes how a variety of small cognitive elements--concepts, stances and naturalized axioms--shift in their relative prominence and organization in relation to one another to produce differences in the teachers use of the core concept.

In this analysis, I seek to investigate educators' understandings of RJP in a way that draws on both of these sets of literatures, characterizing educators' conceptions and misconceptions of RJP in terms of the organization of elements that comprise them.

Data and Methods

Research Design

For this analysis, I draw on the interview data referenced in Chapter 4. In total, I conducted 80 interviews with teacher and administrators across 3 schools and the central district office, and Restorative Justice Specialists across two agencies. For this analysis I sought to focus on a group of educators who experienced as similar a set of messages about RJP as possible and compare their conceptions to the source of those messages. Therefore, here I limit the sample to the 26 staff members I interviewed at Rustin High School including the Restorative Justice Specialist who I treat as the source of messages about the nature of RJP, and a district social and emotional learning specialist, who along with the RJP specialist I treat as an informant regarding misconceptions about RJP.

Data Collection

Each semi-structured interview included two sections asking participants to reflect on instances of student misbehavior, and to describe and characterize the way they would respond as the teacher or adult in the situation. I asked each teacher to describe a real situation to me and then provided them with a scenario. For half of the sample, I asked for a real situation about a student who was defiant or disrespectful, and provided a scenario about a conflict between students. For the other half, I asked about a real situation of conflict between students and provided a scenario meant to illustrate student defiance. This allowed me to ask each participant about both defiance and student conflict—the two most common infractions that students are suspended for—without conflating the type of behavior with whether the situation was real or fabricated, while keeping the interview to a manageable length.

Data Analysis

Data analysis proceeded in two parts. In the first part I sought to characterize each teachers' conceptions of restorative justice practices at two levels: cognitive frames and cognitive elements. For this portion of the analysis, I coded the sections of each interview where I asked the participant whether they would characterize their approach to a given situation as restorative or restorative justice and why or why not. For most participants this resulted in two responses being coded—one corresponding to each scenario we discussed. However, for a few participants, time limitations or other obstacles meant that my data include only one response to this question. Table 5.3 represents the full list of data used for this analysis.

I coded each response twice: once for element and once for frames. In coding for elements I began with unique or nearly unique “in vivo” codes typically of a few words in length, resulting in 468 element codes. After several iterations of combining highly similar

elements I consolidated the list to 250 unique element codes. I coded frames at the level of the response.

Table 5.3: Sample for Interview Analysis

Unit of Analysis	Number of Units
Educators	26
Responses	48
Elements	468 total 250 unique

In the second part I wanted to understand how different frames might offer different affordances for avoiding ‘misconceptions’ about RJP. To do this, I first looked across the full interviews with Elena and Isabelle—the Restorative Justice Specialist from the Empowerment Foundation, and the District SEL Specialist respectively. I used these as informant interviews to identify what they perceived as a misconception among staff at the school. Next I characterized this misconception in terms of its cognitive elements. Finally, I compared the misconception to the patterns of elements’ presence and absence associated with each frame.

Findings: Elements and Frames

Messages about RJP

In order to interpret and provide context for the ways that educators at Rustin conceptualize of restorative justice practices, it is helpful to begin with a brief analysis of the messages about RJP that these educators were exposed to.

14 staff members (not including Elena herself or the District staff person) indicated in their interviews that they were familiar with restorative justice before they began working with Elena. Seven of those individuals had been working at Rustin when they had a peer jury

program—an earlier iteration of RJP—several years back. Ten staff members learned about restorative justice for the first time from Elena, or expressed that they had only a vague idea of what restorative justice practices entailed prior. For example, one counselor said:

So it wasn't until Elena from Empowerment came as like you know the restorative justice you know coordinator that like I felt like I started to understand—and I still I mean think I learn from her like whenever we have conversations kind of about what restorative justice is. Cuz it has so many layers to it so it's kind of like what is it on its own and then what is it when it operates within school, you know? So I feel like I'm learning stuff all the time but especially within the last year and a half as she's been here and facilitated a lot of trainings, conversations, you know, even just seeing the way that she like talks to students and responds to different like situations that have come up. (Counselor, Rustin)

Thus, while many educators brought some additional expertise, Elena's presence at the school represented the single most significant influx of messages about restorative justice for the organization. As the counselor above indicated, these messages were not simple or uni-dimensional, but rather took many forms, highlighting different aspects of RJP.

Elena described her understanding of her role and what she sought to bring to the school over the course of the year this way:

I think that [this] year was about starting to kind of initiative stuff beyond just running restorative discipline program. So like peer conference and restorative conversation. So I was trying to- at the beginning of last year train- did a, just a quick training in circles with the teachers and they got excited about it and they wanted to do from the beginning of the school year... And then it was expanding with the peace ambassadors were doing beyond just peer conference to learning how to do circles and there was an attempt to try to have

them tackle some of the patterns or issues that they were seeing so like when we had that string of fights in January, you know, trying to come up with a plan to get people talking about fights in a new way. Like the- the flash mob idea was a step in that direction, right?... And then finishing out the year like trying to get supports for students that were- that needed more than just the model of a restorative conversation or a peer conference, and so the- the mentoring project was an extension to that. (Elena, August 2015)

In this summary, Elena highlighted specific, named practices like peer conference, restorative conversations, and circles. She also made a broader distinction between a restorative discipline program and other ways of creating a restorative school like changing the school culture around fighting and creating structures for students who need more intensive supports. Elena emphasized to me that in addition to the concrete actions of specific restorative practices, a restorative approach represents a philosophy that she wanted to see Rustin adopt more broadly: “it’s basically just taking the philosophy and applying it here, taking the philosophy and applying it there.”

Cognitive Elements

Perhaps unsurprisingly given the wide-ranging approach to implementing RJP that they learned from Elena, educators at Rustin attended to a wide range of elements in articulating what made a particular discipline approach restorative or not. Across interviews with all 26 educators (including Elena and the network staff person) I identified 250 unique elements. These elements reflected many different types of knowledge or ideas about RJP. They ranged from mentions of named practices like circles or restorative conversations, to specific questions a teacher might ask a student in responding to a particular incident, to aspects of a situation that would make it appropriate for a restorative response, to the goals of a restorative approach, and beyond.

Similarity Between Practices and Principles. My expectation based on prior literature indicating that people tend to attend more to superficial features than organizing principles (e.g. Spillane, 2000) was that concrete practices would be more prominent in educators' descriptions of RJP than goals or principles. In order to be responsive to this, in an earlier iteration of the analysis I attempted to code practices separately from principles. However, over and over again I found examples of what seemed clearly to me to be the same element in terms of its content articulated both in terms of practices—when people explained what RJP looked like in terms of what they would say to a student, for example—and also in broader statements about what one is trying to accomplish with RJP. For example, one teacher offered a concrete description of the practices comprising his experience of a 'restorative justice conversation.'

A student was disrupting my class and he got into a restorative justice conversation so I come in there and we figure out this is what he said, this is what I said and why--same thing we're talking about here, like: "What made you feel that way? Why did you say that? What can we do to make it different?" And we did a contract to figure out you'll follow this, if you don't follow this procedure then you get in-school suspension. (S1T03)

This description referred to a number of elements including figuring out what each person said, asking questions about what happened, why it happened, and what can be done to make it different, and creating a contract with certain terms.

Another teacher offered an articulation of RJP that was more abstract, and seemed to refer primarily to principles undergirding it:

[K]knowing that a coach is involved, they're part of a team, they're teammates, they're in a class together, something might be going on. Then I guess that's more restorative then,

trying to come to a solution or a conclusion as to what's going on, trying to get the problem solved. (S1T01)

This teacher offered some contextual features that made her think a restorative approach would be appropriate and then indicated two goals or principles of a restorative approach: trying to come to a solution (later re-phrased as trying to get the problem solved), and trying to come to a conclusion as to what's going on.

While the first teacher's explanation was largely about practices and the latter about principles, each included elements that are conceptually similar. I used this conceptual similarity to decide when to combine codes, and when to distinguish them. For example, figuring out what each person said and what led to that—as the first teacher described—is very similar to coming to a conclusion or figuring out what's going on. Therefore, I used the code *Talk about what happened* for both. Asking about and then making a contract for how a situation of classroom disruption can be made different is related to coming to a solution, or getting a problem solved. However, the former is more specific, while the latter could refer to an agreement about classroom behavior or a different way of solving a problem. Thus I coded the first response with *Set up a Plan* and the second with *Trying to get the problem solved*.

Common Elements. Many elements appeared only once, either referring to a very specific situation, an idiosyncratic idea about RJP, or simply an aspect no one else mentioned. However, a substantial number of elements recurred multiple times across multiple responses. I identified 29 elements that appeared in three or more responses. These are listed in order of frequency in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Common Elements

Element	Description	# of Responses
<i>Talk</i>	Talking/engaging with a student about an incident (independent of content)	15
<i>Look at where this is coming from</i>	Looking into or talking about the causes of an incident	12
<i>Have people tell their perspectives</i>	More than one person speaking their perspective on an incident	7
<i>Restoration</i>	Fixing (general)	7
<i>Set up a plan</i>	Creating a plan for how to repair harm or prevent future incidents	7
<i>Talk about what happened</i>	Talking through what happened during an incident	7
<i>Not the classroom</i>	RJP can't be used in the moment of a classroom disruption	6
<i>Say here's why this doesn't work</i>	Talking through the impact of particular behavior	6
<i>Teaching kids to behave better</i>	Adults using RJP to teach students how to behave differently in the future	6
<i>A continuum</i>	Actions can be can be partially restorative	5
<i>Hear others</i>	Hearing another perspective	5
<i>I don't know</i>	Uncertainty about what makes something restorative	5
<i>Restoring damaged relationship</i>	Repairing a relationship between teacher and student	5
<i>Somebody has taken responsibility for their part in it</i>	Student taking responsibility for her/his role in an incident and the impact it had	5
<i>Understand others</i>	Student understanding another person's perspective	5
<i>How can we learn from this</i>	Student learning something from an incident	4
<i>How can we move on from that</i>	De-escalating a situation	4
<i>Student returned to class</i>	Student returning to class after being temporarily removed	4
<i>trying to get the problem solved</i>	Working towards solving the problem (independent of how)	4
<i>Disrupting class</i>	Class disruption as a trigger for RJP	3

<i>Lets think through your actions</i>	Talking through student behavior	3
<i>Not punishing student</i>	Not giving the student a punishment (general)	3
<i>Not say this is what you just did that was wrong</i>	Not blaming or yelling at students	3
<i>Restorative conference</i>	A restorative conference with peers or Elena	3
<i>Restorative conversation</i>	A restorative conversation with Elena or between student and teacher	3
<i>See the impact</i>	Student understanding consequences of her/his actions	3
<i>Seeing where you can support that</i>	Teacher taking responsibility for her/his role in an incident and the impact it had	3
<i>Sometimes restorative stuff just doesn't work</i>	Statement of RJP not being effective	3
<i>Take the time</i>	Teacher engaging with student in regard to an incident	3

As the examples above suggest, these elements are not of a uniform grain size or type. For example, the most commonly referenced element, *Talk* refers to mentions of having a conversation or talking with students. The second most common element *Look at where this is coming from* represents an action that might be taken within a conversation, although it might also be undertaken in a different context. The third element, *Not the classroom* refers explicitly to context for RJP, reflecting the repeated assertion that RJP is not something that can be undertaken in the moment while instruction is underway. These differences in type and granularity reflect the fact that these categories were identified inductively from the data and correspond to the different levels and angles from which people describe RJP.

Cognitive Frames

Of course, educators do not define RJP simply as an accumulation of elements. Rather, in any given setting educators draw elements together into constellations that seem relevant and appropriate for the context. Following Hammer et al. (2005) I refer to to the organizing

principles governing which elements are drawn upon together as cognitive frames. By iteratively reflecting on the cognitive elements codes I developed and comparing them to the data more comprehensively, I identified four cognitive frames that educators used to articulate the essence of restorative justice, restorative practices, or a restorative philosophy:

- The objective: to solve problems
- The alternative: avoiding harsh punishment
- The component parts: constitutive elements
- The lens: focus on relationships

Each of these frames reflects a core aspect of restorative justice practices—both in the larger RJP context, and as they were presented by Elena at Rustin. And yet each emphasizes a different facet of the approach.

These frames are not mutually exclusive. Many educators drew on more than one frame at a time in a single response. Most educators drew on multiple frames across the sum of both their responses. The number of responses and individuals who made use of each of these frameworks is represented in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5: Cognitive Frames

	Objective: Solve Problems	Component Parts: Constitutive Elements	Alternative: Avoiding Harsh Punishment	Lens: Focus on Relationships
Responses Using Frame	24	19	18	7
Responses Using ONLY 1 Frame	10	10	3	2
Educators Using Frame	18	15	14	6
Educators Using ONLY 1 Frame	1	2	1	1

The Objective: To Solve Problems. 24 out of 48 responses involved an articulation of the meaning of restorative justice as reflecting an objective or end goal of solving problems, or improving a situation. For example, returning to the teacher quoted above, a broader way to read her statement is that she felt a situation was appropriate for restorative justice, because the context suggested there might be a problem that could be solved:

But knowing that a coach is involved, they're part of a team, they're teammates, they're in a class together, something might be going on. Then I guess that's more restorative then, trying to come to a solution or a conclusion as to what's going on, trying to get the problem solved. (S1T01)

Thus, for this teacher, whether or not a restorative approach would be appropriate rested on whether it could achieve its central objective of “get[ting] the problem solved.”

Another teacher explained to me that an approach is restorative when its goal is to have a conversation that will lead to a change in a student's behavior:

Q: And what-what makes it restorative?

A: Cuz you're tryin' to get at the root of the problem, like not just dismissing, “You spoke to me this way,” and—you know—more of, “Why did you speak to this—to me this way? How can we change that behavior?”

Q: Mm-hmm.

A: “You've been acting this way. You-you used to not act this way.”

Q: Mm-hmm.

A: Just tryin' to change the negative into a positive.

(S1T09)

This teacher illustrated what this approach might look like in several ways, contrasting it with an alternative, and articulating specific questions or statements one might make. She summed up her approach as “tryin’ to change the negative into a positive” connecting the preceding elements to the larger objective of a restorative approach to improve a situation.

Another teacher echoed this emphasis on a change in students’ behavior:

Q: [What] makes it something restorative?

A: Um...

Q: For you.

A: I, I think, you know, I think change in behavior, right, I mean ultimately we wanna see change in behavior. We wanna see, you know, um, we wanna see him in instances where, you know, you can say "Well two months ago, it would've gone this way, but now it went in a different direction." (S1T15)

This teacher took the significance of a change in students’ behavior a step further indicating that it was the outcome of a process—whether or not it addressed the problem—that determined for him whether the approach was restorative.

The Component Parts: Constitutive Elements. Another common way of framing restorative justice was in terms of component parts of the practice. This characterization places less focus on the intended outcome, and more on the process and procedures that constitute restorative justice processes. 19 out of 48 responses framed restorative practices in this way.

One teacher hesitated in describing her own response to a situation as restorative because it lacked what she perceived as the component parts:

Um, I don't know if it's necessarily restorative. It's just—because when I think of restorative justice it's, okay—Here's what happened. Here's why it happened. And how can we, like, move on from that? (S1T07)

This teacher identified three elements that restorative processes address: what happened, why it happened, and how to move on.

Another teacher recalled training she had received in how to respond restoratively that challenged her to ask students particular questions, with a particular approach:

Q: What do you think would be an example of a restorative or restorative justice response to that kind of situation?

A: Um, well, that's where—we went through a training. That's where I would try to find, like, the—the cause of, like—just all the events that led up until that moment. Um, and so there's, like, the buzz questions, like, the buzz words. It's like, just—letting the student get a chance to just talk—and just be like, “Can you tell me what happened today?” or like, um—I don't even know. But they really want us to just almost take a step back—and ask questions that have, like, very open answers—so that the student gets a chance to talk, and then sometimes repeat what they say back to you—or back to them.

(S1T02)

This teacher highlighted one similar component to the previous teacher, in finding out what led up to a moment of misbehavior or harm, or why it happened. She also highlighted more specific components of how this question should be addressed through asking students a series of open ended questions, and sometimes repeating back what students say.

A third teacher also characterized a restorative approach as including several similar elements:

I'm no expert. But on some level, [to be restorative] there has to be some communication between people over where they are coming from over this particular incident. So the restorative approach. I guess, you know, even if the security happened at some point, being able to speak with that student afterwards, come to some understanding.

Understand why it was so important to him to hang on to that phone at that moment, and it was a school rule, for him to hear why I- in his words, why I'm _____ asking for the phone. Yeah, so yeah. Some of that involved conversation, I guess coming up with some kind of agreement for future actions or how we handle that situation, that would be more restorative. (S1T11)

Like the prior two, this teacher highlighted the importance coming to an understanding of why an incident occurred, in this case, why both the student and the teacher took the actions they did. Similar to the first teacher, she also identified making an agreement for future actions. This teacher also emphasized the importance of communication of multiple perspectives as a core component of a restorative approach.

The Alternative: Avoiding Harsh Punishment. 18 out of 48 responses framed restorative justice in contrast to a more punitive approach. Sometimes these characterizations took the form of a direct contrast with a disciplinary option. For example, one teacher drew a contrast between having a conversation with a student and ways of getting the student in trouble:

Q: Would you call it a restorative or a restorative justice response?

A: Um—only in the sense that he had the opportunity to talk to me versus being—you know—like I didn't just write him up, or I didn't just say, "You have a detention." You know? (S1T08)

This teacher did not emphasize the content or manner of his conversation with the student, like the teachers above who defined restorative justice in terms of its constitutive elements above, but rather indicated that the conversation was restorative because it was distinct from the alternative of taking disciplinary action.

The Dean marked a similar contrast in describing how he had helped a teacher handle a disciplinary incident in a restorative way, emphasizing the teacher's decision not to invoke a write-up or detention:

Our response was more restorative. More restorative. Instead of Mr. Sen taking a zero tolerance route and saying, "He's gonna fail. I'm writing him up. He should get a detention." You know what I mean, that's all negative and punitive. Um, instead of taking that route, he was more interested in restoring whatever rapport he could establish with Dewayne. He was interested in Dewayne taking the test so that his grade wouldn't suffer, and all of that is positive. (S1A01)

The Dean indicated that beyond concretely avoiding the use of punishment, he sees a restorative approach more generally as being positive, where a write up, detention, or allowing a student to fail are all negative.

Other educators similarly contrasted a restorative approach not so much with formal punishment but with harsh or punitive language. For example, one teacher said:

[I]n a way, yes [it was restorative], just because, like, the first thing I—I probably said was, “Hey, like, what’s going on?” Or, like, at least giving them a minute to be, like, explain themselves, before I kind of jump into ‘You’re doing this, this, and this. You can’t be doing this. I don’t want you doing this’ Just be like, “Hey, what happened?” (S1T02)

Here the teacher characterized her question of “What’s going on” specifically in contrast to speaking harshly towards students in listing off what they were doing wrong. She emphasized that it was this contrast that made her approach restorative.

The Lens: Focus on Relationships. Seven responses framed restorative justice through the lens of relationships and school community. In these cases, the definitive aspect of a restorative approach was not the specific actions taken or not taken, or the desired outcome of the interaction, but a consistent attention to maintaining positive, meaningful relationships with students. For example, one teacher said:

A: [T]here’s a certain code that—a certain bond that comes if we find ways to always, you know, maybe that’s a way to deal with it. You know what I mean? Restorative like look, this was a bad day, or bad class, or bad 10 minutes, but there’s a bond between us you know... Like we’re in this together, man, you know, you, me, the class.... Like kids come in with a whole new day, you know if even if you- they tore up the class they’re like “What’s up for today?” and you have to give them that benefit. I don’t know if that’s good, I don’t know—I just think you have to be a restorative person, like you have to know—

Q: What does that mean, like, to be—?

A: Like you can’t- you can’t hold the grudge, you can’t say to a kid like “That kid treated me like a jerk today or was a jerk in class. Listen, I got a trick for him on the next day.”

You can’t do that, you know cuz you can’t, you just can’t. (S1T04)

This teacher characterized a restorative teacher as a person who holds a strong bond with his students and does not hold a grudge, but treats each day as a new day with each student.

Another teacher emphasized the importance of thorough knowledge about a student as a basis for any plan of action:

A: It's a restorative because you have to find out, you have to approach the whole student. You know, find out what the whole issue is before you could set up a plan. You have to get to know the student. (S1T14)

This teacher made reference to other elements of a restorative approach, such as finding out why something occurred, and making a plan for going forward. However, her repeated emphasis was on the importance of understanding a specific issue in the context of knowing a student well.

Findings: Misconceptions

Prior literature indicates that misconceptions are often built from the same building blocks as canonical conceptions. One measure of usefulness of the elements and frames analysis is how well it can account for common misconceptions.

Using interviews with Elena and the District SEL Specialist, I identified a common misconception about RJP: that restorative justice means removing student accountability. Elena explained the issue this way:

[Restorative justice is] not to be confused with like being like cosigning harmful behavior- it's not the point either.... [T]he point is really holding people accountable. So a restorative process does that in a way that, you know, sitting them in a suspension room, or hitting them, or yelling at them, kicking them out just make it so that they don't actually have to take responsibility for anything. It's just like add the effect of whatever consequences of the system, and they get to hold onto all of their justifications and pile more of them on top of that and not learn anything, you know? ... Or stuff that's kinda

like “I’m gonna let this one go [LAUGHTER] cuz I think it’s about this other thing.” It’s kinda like a- it’s not restorative and it’s not zero tolerance, it’s just neglect.

[LAUGHTER].

(Elena, interview Aug 18, 2015)

As Elena explained, a restorative approach does not entail ignoring misbehavior, let alone tacitly supporting it. Rather, a restorative approach entails a conception of accountability that is focused on individuals’ taking responsibility for their actions.

The District SEL Specialist articulated a similar point:

We try to help schools understand that restorative practices does not mean that there are no consequences, it means that consequences are restorative, or actions taken are for the purpose of repairing harm, not for the purpose of punishing. (S1N01)

Like Elena, she emphasized the importance of students experiencing consequences for their actions, while at the same time drawing a distinction between consequences that are intended to restore and consequences intended to punish. However, as both of these comments suggest, some educators’ articulations of RJP did seem to fall into this conceptual trap.

For example, one teacher defined RJP in terms of importance he placed on avoiding punishment and especially suspension:

It is restorative justice cuz I try to get ‘em to think more positively about their actions. I try to teach ‘em that rather than getting into a fight it’s better to walk away from it because I said, “You don’t wanna be suspended. You don’t want it to go on your record.” I give ‘em warnings first is a better way than just hit ‘em with immediate punishment. Because if I hit somebody with immediate punishment they’re just gonna be—there are students who are just cutting classes because of the fact that they just get written up so

many times. Where I don't like to write them up for that. I don't want 'em to think they have to, um, you know, think this is a negative place. You wanna try to encourage them to be involved with class. (S1T14)

This teacher emphasized the negative consequences of writing students up or otherwise punishing them, and explained that he responds to misbehavior with a warning rather than punishing students. However, what is missing from this articulation as an exemplar of restorative justice is the element of accountability for students that Elena and the District Specialist articulated above.

A security guard's response exemplified a similar pattern, as he described his use of a restorative approach this way:

That's—I mean we- it's all about fixing attitudes, social atmosphere, life problems, and I mean a lot of times we touch home. So I know that it can be restored probably 99% percent of the time, I can say 99% of the time we can be restored. Only 1% is if you physically put your hands on somebody, it's nothing we can do about it. We can talk to you about it, about what not to do—it can be restored in that sense still, but you're gonna suffer consequences, repercussions behind your actions. Other than that that's, it's restored. (S1G02)

This individual was enthusiastic in his support for “restor[ing]”. However, in his articulation he contrasted “suffer[ing] consequences, repercussions behind your actions] with being “restored.” This suggests that he saw a restorative approach as meaning (at least in part) that students should not experience consequences or repercussions for their actions.

Elements & Frames

In order to understand how the frames that educators draw on might contribute to articulations of RJP that miss or mistake core aspects of the model, I sought to investigate how different frames related to the common elements I uncovered.

Table 5.6 summarizes the frequencies with which the common elements I identified occurred in a response utilizing each of the four frames. Green fill indicates that the element was present in 15% or more of the usages of that frame. Gray fill indicates that the element occurred at less than half that frequency—7% or less.

Table 5.6 highlights that there was substantial overlap in the elements that educators referenced, regardless of what frame(s) they drew on. At the same time, elements did co-occur with one another in patterned ways that related to the frames people used. While each of the four frames gets at something important about what RJP are all about, they also each tend to foreground certain elements of RJP while backgrounding others. For example, *Not the classroom*, reflecting the context for using RJP, is foregrounded by a Component Parts frame, while backgrounded by all three other frames. *How can we learn from this* is foregrounded through a Problem Solving frame, but backgrounded by an Avoiding Punishment frame. Likewise, *Not say this is what you just did that was wrong* is an element that is foregrounded by a frame focused on Avoiding Punishment. That same element is backgrounded by a frame focused on Problem Solving.

Table 5.6: Elements Foregrounded and Backgrounded by Each Frame

Element	Objective: Solve Problems	Component Parts: Constitutive Elements	Alternative: Avoiding Harsh Punishment	Lens: Focus on Relationships
<i>Talk</i>	0.21	0.42	0.39	0.14
<i>Look at where this is coming from</i>	0.29	0.37	0.33	0.43
<i>Have people tell their perspectives</i>	0.13	0.21	0.11	0.14
<i>Restoration</i>	0.17	0.11	0.06	0.29
<i>Set up a plan</i>	0.21	0.11	0.11	0.29
<i>Talk about what happened</i>	0.13	0.21	0.17	0.00
<i>Not the classroom</i>	0.04	0.26	0.00	0.00
<i>Say here's why this doesn't work</i>	0.17	0.11	0.17	0.14
<i>Teaching kids to behave better</i>	0.17	0.05	0.11	0.00
<i>A continuum</i>	0.00	0.16	0.11	0.14
<i>Hear others</i>	0.08	0.05	0.17	0.14
<i>I don't know</i>	0.08	0.16	0.11	0.29
<i>Restoring damaged relationship</i>	0.13	0.16	0.11	0.14
<i>Somebody has taken responsibility for their part in it</i>	0.13	0.11	0.06	0.14
<i>Understand others</i>	0.08	0.16	0.06	0.00
<i>How can we learn from this</i>	0.17	0.11	0.06	0.14
<i>How can we move on from that</i>	0.13	0.05	0.06	0.00
<i>Student returned to class</i>	0.08	0.11	0.17	0.00
<i>Trying to get the problem solved</i>	0.08	0.11	0.00	0.00
<i>Disrupting class</i>	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.00
<i>Lets think through your actions</i>	0.04	0.11	0.06	0.00
<i>Not punishing student</i>	0.04	0.05	0.11	0.14
<i>Not say this is what you just did that was wrong</i>	0.08	0.16	0.11	0.14
<i>Restorative conference</i>	0.13	0.00	0.06	0.00
<i>Restorative conversation</i>	0.00	0.00	0.11	0.00
<i>See the impact</i>	0.04	0.05	0.06	0.00
<i>Seeing where you can support that</i>	0.04	0.05	0.00	0.00
<i>Sometimes restorative stuff just doesn't work</i>	0.04	0.00	0.17	0.00
<i>Take the time</i>	0.00	0.11	0.00	0.00

In her explanation of the misconception described above, Elena articulated some of the missing elements that define this misconception. These include students taking responsibility for their actions—what I have termed *Somebody has taken responsibility for their part in it*, and students learning from the experience—what I have termed *How can we learn from this*. The District Specialist highlighted another: that consequences undertaken in a restorative framework have the intention of repairing harm—similar to the notion of *Restoration*.

Each of these elements and their corresponding frequencies in each frame are reproduced in Table 5.7. As Table 5.7 highlights, different frames foreground and background each of these elements to different degrees. The one frame that backgrounds all three is The Alternative: Avoiding Harsh Punishment.

Table 5.7: Elements Missing in Misconception about RJP

Element	Objective: Solve Problems	Component Parts: Constitutive Elements	Alternative: Avoiding Harsh Punishment	Lens: Focus on Relationships
Restoration	0.17	0.11	0.06	0.29
Somebody has taken responsibility for their part in it	0.13	0.11	0.06	0.14
How can we learn from this	0.17	0.11	0.06	0.14

This does not indicate that framing RJP as an alternative to punishment or punitive measures is incorrect or leads inevitably to this misconception. Indeed, Elena contrasts a restorative approach with a punitive one frequently. However, it does suggest that on its own, this frame more readily affords that particular misconception than other cognitive frames do.

Discussion

In this analysis, I used a lens of cognitive resources to investigate how educators understand restorative justice practices. I found, as expected, that the meaning and use of RJP was extremely multi-faceted. Unlike the question of forces on a tossed ball, for example, where the universe of ideas that individuals might draw on is relatively constrained, RJP touch on teaching philosophy, ideas about student's personalities and motivations, interpersonal and political dynamics among school staff, timing and logistics, personal experiences with conflict and discipline, and much more. Thus it is perhaps unsurprising that a relatively small amount of data produced such a large number of different elements.

Nonetheless, the cognitive resources approach proved useful in that I was able to identify four frames that accounted for the data well. And, these frames helped to explain how intelligent and thoughtful educators might nonetheless misunderstand some central aspects of RJP's intent. Each of the frames I identified captures an important aspect of RJP and is used by experts and novices alike. Thus, an educator learning about RJP might appropriately pick up on any one of these frames in developing an understanding of RJP's central essence.

At the same time, these frames do have different affordances with regard to common misconceptions about RJP. The frame focused on The Alternative: Avoiding harsh punishment is especially important. Because of the way restorative justice practices are discussed more broadly—as an alternative to zero-tolerance discipline—this frame is especially powerful. However, it also offers the least protection from one of the most significant misconceptions about RJP—that is represents merely the reduction or absence of punishment, rather than being an alternative model of accountability. Thus an educator who—appropriately—identified RJP as essentially in contradiction to punitive disciplinary approaches, could nonetheless come to a

characterization of RJP that Elena or the District Specialist would characterize as a misconception, simply by attending to the common elements foregrounded and backgrounded by this frame.

Proponents of RJP often talk about the importance of a restorative philosophy, implying that such a philosophy is fundamentally unitary. For example, a restorative philosophy is often contrasted with a punitive philosophy or mindset. However, this analysis makes clear that not only does RJP encompass a range of specific practices, the philosophy itself also includes and entails multiple elements.

Limitations

The question of the prominence of the Avoiding Harsh Punishment frame connects to an important dynamic not directly addressed by this analysis: how the elements and frames educators draw upon in their thinking about RJP are connected with messages related to discipline that come from outside the school. The link between the Avoiding Punishment framework and the framing of RJP at the district level is one example. However, punishment is part of our social fabric and taken for granted ideas about the world at a much larger level. These ideas surely influence the way educators understand restorative justice just as they influence all of us.

In the other direction, because this analysis draws on data only from a single school it obscures the way features particular to that school may make these particular educators' conceptualizations of RJP unique. For example, Rustin implemented RJP with relatively high intensity (although institutionalization was modest); comparing the conceptions and misconceptions held by educators at school's with less intensive RJP might offer a different

picture. Moreover, Elena herself may have provided messages about the nature of RJP that were idiosyncratic.

This raises an additional issue about what constitutes a correct conception or a misconception. I use the term misconception here to refer to an idea about RJP that Elena and Isabelle agreed was problematic. However, there is not universal agreement about the true nature of RJP and how it should be understood.

This analysis also includes some methodological limitations. In particular, because elements took so many different forms, I found it challenging to bound them in a systematic way—especially for the less common elements where I had only one token by which to identify it. The effect of this uncertainty on the analysis is mitigated by the fact that I focused on elements that recurred several times; however further analysis might do more to theorize the boundaries of an element.

Finally, a challenge with the comparison of frames and elements comes from the relatively small amount of data I used to produce it. For example, with only seven responses using the relationships lens, there are relatively few examples of it co-occurring with anything. As a result, the number of elements that it “backgrounds” are exaggerated. Future analysis drawing on additional data—even additional segments of the interviews from the same participants would help to mitigate this issue.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

This dissertation was designed to shed light on the broad research problem of what it would take for restorative justice practices to meaningfully transform school discipline. There are many ways to conceptualize this puzzle. For example, one could imagine an approach focused on police presence in public schools, or changes to teacher certification programs, or social movements amplifying student and parent concerns. I have chosen interconnected facets organized around processes of institutionalization, implementation and teacher thinking. In doing so, I speak both to practical challenges facing school leaders and advocates of RJP, and also to each of the literature traditions I draw from.

Institutionalization

Scholarship on education has a long history of insights revealed through an organization science, and particularly an institutional analysis lens (Burch, 2007; H.-D. Meyer & Rowan, 2006). For example, building on seminal theorizing in neo-institutional scholarship, many have documented a loose coupling between schools' formally adopted structures (largely stemming from higher levels in the field) and the reality of their core work in classrooms (occurring at more local levels) (John W. Meyer & Rowan, 1977; John W. Meyer, Scott, & Deal, 1980; Olsen & Sexton, 2009). More recent literature has updated this classic assertion, demonstrating a considerable shift in school structure in this regard (Coburn, 2004; Hallett, 2010; H.-D. Meyer & Rowan, 2006; Spillane et al., 2011). Similarly, educational scholarship has investigated the classic field-level outcome of isomorphism, or structural similarity, stemming from environmental pressures in a variety of educational settings (e.g. LeTendre, Baker, Akiba, Goesling, & Wiseman, 2001), while also exploring its relationship to diversifying pressures

(Jaquette, 2013; Levy, 2006). More broadly, scholars of education have drawn on the language of the institutional environment, institutional logics, institutional regime, or institutional pressures to describe particular sets of norms or beliefs about schooling that dominate in various settings and time periods (Booher-Jennings, 2005; Coburn, 2004; Penuel, Frank, Sun, Kim, & Singleton, 2013; Russell, 2011).

These studies have applied a variety of conceptualizations of the nature of institutionalization, or indeed of institutions themselves. The framework I apply here reflects a distillation of core definitions of institutionalization that is highly compatible with existing work. Specifically, I define institutionalization as integration into self activating modes of reproduction (Anderson & Colyvas, in preparation; Colyvas & Anderson, under review; Colyvas & Jonsson, 2011; Jepperson, 1991). In using this definition to guide a multi-level empirical investigation, this dissertation offers several contributions.

Routines. In Chapters 3 and 4 I focus on the connection between processes of institutionalization and organizational routines. This work adds to the considerable scholarship examining the relationships between routines and organizational stability and change (Aroles & McLean, 2016; Bertels, Howard-Grenville, & Pek, 2016; Feldman & Pentland, 2003; Feldman et al., 2016; Leonardi, 2011). In particular I build on theorizing on interdependence among routines. I draw directly on the construct of routine clusters introduced in very recent work by Kremser & Schreyögg (2016). Using this construct allowed me to characterize the relations between difference routines in an apt and precise way—for example, illustrating how the output of Sending to the Dean routines became the input for In-School Suspension routines. I also offer a contribution back to this literature by introducing the construct of the routine class. In Chapter 3, using the notions of routine cluster and routine class in combination allowed me to

disaggregate the processes by which schools enact discipline into meaningfully distinct routine classes, *Getting in Trouble and Punishment*.

The notions of routine cluster and routine class highlight the importance of analyzing routines' internal structures—particularly their inputs and outputs—in order to understand the relations between routines. That is, although conceptually routine clusters and routine classes are descriptors of the interdependence between routines, they are defined and identified through investigation of the structures within each routine, specifically whether routines share inputs and outputs (indicating membership in the same routine class), or the output of one routine represents the input of another (indicating membership in the same routine cluster).

In addition, these constructs can deepen our understanding of the role of routines in institutionalization. First they illuminate a mechanism through which routines can operate as processes of reproduction for other routines: interdependence in a routine cluster, wherein one routine continually produces the input for a subsequent routine through the output of its own normal functioning. In addition, my analyses demonstrate that different internal elements of a routine may be reproduced differentially. For example, as I show in Chapter 3, while the inputs for Punishment routines are reproduced through their connection with *Getting in Trouble* routines, the process of Punishment routines are not necessarily supported in the same manner. This underlines the importance of attending to routines' internal structure in analyzing institutionalization.

Using the lens of routines and modes of reproduction also offers contributions to existing perspectives on persistence and change in policy implementation literature.

Implementation

Policy implementation research has long documented the tenacity of existing practices in the face of attempts at change. This resistance to change has sometimes been referred to as ‘inertia.’ (e.g. Becker, 1995; Yi, Knudsen, & Becker, 2016), evoking a physical metaphor. Yet people and organizations are not objects in a frictionless vacuum. When practices are maintained over time it is because there are processes and structures maintaining those practices (Becker, 1995; Fligstein, 2001; Kremser & Schreyögg, 2016; Yi et al., 2016). That is, I take organizational ‘inertia’ not as an axiomatic natural law, but rather an outcome requiring mechanistic explanation (Hedström & Ylikoski, 2010).

Recognizing that persistence and change are two sides of the same coin (Clemens & Cook, 1999), in this analysis I took a symmetrical approach to analyzing mechanisms that generate persistence both in existing practices and in the implementation of a reform model. Such an approach builds on the insights of policy implementation research that has documented the significance of existing ideas and structures in shaping the way that new practices enter (or fail to enter) an organization (e.g. Coburn, 2004; Elmore, 1979; Lin, 2002; Spillane, 2004).

In doing so, I align with scholarship that widens the focus of implementation research from the objects to be implemented to the structures targeted for change (e.g. Penuel, Fishman, Haugan Cheng, & Sabelli, 2011). Thus, for example, rather than attribute a lack of change solely to features of the intended reform that ‘doesn’t work,’ this approach allows us to examine the features of the existing structures that may be strongly institutionalized and thus highly resistant to contestation (Clemens & Cook, 1999; Jepperson, 1991; Scott, 2014).

This approach also emphasizes a conception of causality that is different than the unidirectional effect of a single cause on a single outcome, often used in policy evaluations. Rather,

I emphasize systems of interrelated structures that have continuous, multi-directional effects. Attention to positive feedback loops, emergent outcomes and other complex causes is aligned with research traditions on change and robustness in complex systems (Holland, 1996; Maroulis & Wilensky, 2014)). While I certainly acknowledge the importance of estimating an average treatment effect for certain policy questions, I believe this broader approach may be more useful for developing interventions that address the multi-level issues policies face in implementation.

Layering in to this approach a focus on organizational routines, this work makes a contribution to the implementation literature in documenting a complex and almost paradoxical relationship between new and existing routines in processes of persistence and change. In Chapter 4, I documented how Restorative Responses to Harm are were integrated into the existing Discipline Routine cluster, making RJP partially reliant on traditional (and sometimes exclusionary) Getting in Trouble Routines for their input. Indeed, in cases where RJP were combined with existing exclusionary punishments, it was the very punishments that RJP arguably seek to extinguish that operated as modes of reproduction for RJP itself. And indeed, one might argue that RJP even served to further institutionalize traditional discipline by providing additional layers of interconnectedness for existing routines.

In addition to the analysis of organizational-level routines, this dissertation also investigated the role of individual-level dynamics in the processes of implementing and institutionalizing RJP.

Practitioner Thinking and Learning

It is no surprise to researchers studying policy and program implementation that the perspectives of those tasked with enacting change are critical in determining the path implementation takes. However, using the lens of multi-level institutionalization adds a novel

and useful perspective. Taking this approach, practitioners' taken-for-granted notions of the domain are ontologically equivalent to legal codification, or professional norms—all are modes of reproduction supporting a particular institutionalized social pattern.

In Chapter 5, I demonstrate that educators attend to a wide range of unique elements in characterizing RJP. These elements are organized by overlapping cognitive frames, that foreground and background different elements of RJP. This suggests that we might do well to think of the level of the cognitive frame as a level of institutionalization in its own right, as it is these structures that seem to operate as modes of reproduction for common ideas about RJP.

My findings also build on existing research about what aspects of reforms educators are inclined to attend to. For example, prior investigations have shown educators attending more to form than to function in characterizing reform efforts (Spillane, 2000). However, I did not observe clear distinctions between attention to more and less concrete aspects of RJP. This may reflect the messages about RJP that educators at Rustin received emphasizing the notion of a restorative philosophy beyond specific restorative practices. However, it also raises questions about what features of educators' conceptions of reforms may be highlighted by different types of analyses—and in particular what an analysis of cognitive elements and frames may foreground and background in terms of teacher thinking.

This research also contributes to knowledge about teacher learning. Lee Shulman revolutionized the teacher learning literature by introducing the concept of pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1986). However, attention to the importance of school discipline in shaping student outcomes highlights the importance of teacher knowledge and beliefs that exist outside of a particular discipline. Not all schools and districts are using restorative justice practices, but attempts to reduce suspensions, expulsions and arrests are underway all across the

country. Information about the teacher beliefs these reforms are likely to interact with will be useful in all of these efforts.

RJP in Schools

This dissertation also speaks to practical and empirical puzzles relating to strategies for RJP implementation, capacity building and sustainability. One of the challenges of measuring institutionalization or sustainability has been the need for a long time scale and the difficulty of assessing whether something is “sticky” except by retrospective analyses of whether it “stuck.” This dissertation was designed not with a longitudinal design but rather to take an extended snapshot of the early stages of institutionalization. While these analyses don’t allow us to see into the future, they do represent a step towards building tools for real-time analysis of institutionalization.

For example, these analyses illuminate a series of tradeoffs to be navigated in strategizing around implementation and existing school routines. I show that there is a subtle interplay between new and old routines in both institutionalizing new practices and maintaining the status quo. In light of this, RJP advocates may continue to implement restorative responses to harm via integration into traditional discipline routines because of its capacity for institutionalization; or, recognizing the ways that such an approach fails to undermine exclusionary discipline, may choose to direct more resources elsewhere.

My analyses also contribute to our understanding of the role of professional development in the process of sustainable reform. Using the lens of institutionalization suggests that that in order for professional development to contribute to sustained change, it must in some manner connect with self-activating modes of reproduction. This may take the form of institutionalization at the individual level in the form of habit, ingrained beliefs, or sense of

professional role. In Chapter 4, I demonstrated that a substantial amount of implementation of RJP—especially Restorative Processes to Prevent Harm—was not built into school routines, but rather relied on individuals to carry it out. Thus, the institutionalization of these practices is dependent on the extent to which individuals come to view these actions as a taken-for-granted part of their individual or professional practices (as opposed to a special, strategic effort).

Professional development as a pathway for integrating new practices into modes of reproduction may also foster modes of reproduction by aggregating up to group-level norms. Indeed, it may be helpful for schools to consider engaging with these higher level mechanisms more directly, for example by investing more heavily in group-level structures like grade-team meeting as opportunities to build processes that support Restorative Responses to Harm.

In addition, in conducting teacher training, and in framing RJP more broadly, my analyses support constructivist pedagogical theories that suggest teacher-educators would do well to recognize the conceptual resources that educators bring to understanding the nature of RJP (Bransford, Brown, Cocking, & others, 2000). Rather than beginning “from scratch” trainings can build on the ideas educators already have and connect these to various restorative frames. However, my findings also highlight a risk in framing RJP as an alternative to suspension as that frame alone brings a tendency towards a misconception of RJP simply as the absence of punishment.

Future Research

These analyses showed that even in the high-intensity implementation school, RJP relied heavily on short term, temporary sources of support. Based on interviews and reviews of literature I do not think this is reflective of the full range of institutionalization of RJP in CPS. In

future research, I would like to extend the sample to add observations from schools with high degrees of institutionalization.

In addition, I see the results from these analyses as having implications for program and policy design. Recent innovations in designing for implementation have been highly fruitful, as developers of new programs—whether non-profit social service agencies, private developers, or design-based researchers—are increasingly attending to issues of implementation fidelity in their designs, and processes for roll-out and evaluation (Century & Cassata, 2016; Penuel et al., 2011). However, given the long history of policy churn in educational reforms, school leaders and their partners have another consideration to navigate as well: how to implement new programs and policies in ways that can be sustained over time. In order to meaningfully transform schools, leaders and program developers may need to take yet an additional step and design strategically for institutionalization.

At a broader level, there is a lot of concern among researchers (and perhaps among the general public) that there exists a gap between research and practice, such that research seems to be having little impact on ameliorating the critical social problems of the day. There are many reasons why this may be the case. However, issues relating to implementation and sustainability are extremely common, not only in the realm of education but across a range of sectors. Thus, I see this work as one piece of a larger research program concerning: What would it take for any efficacious, but ambitious reform to meaningfully transform its domain? A long legacy of work speaks to this problem; I hope that this dissertation will represent one additional step forward in this tradition.

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