JOHN W. GARDNER CENTER
for Youth and Their Communities

Oakland Kids First:

Peers Advising Students to Succeed Implementation Study

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Table of Contents

Executive Summary 2
Project Overview 5
Research Methods 7
- Research Settings 7
- Data Collection 9
- Data Analysis 10

Findings: PASS-2 Preliminary Logic Model 10
Findings: Overview of Implementation 13
Findings: Youth and Adult Experiences of PASS-2 14
- PASS-2 fostered opportunities for youth leadership with a focus on reflection and contribution 15
- PASS-2 provided students with access to essential college knowledge. 19
- PASS-2 created classroom (setting-level) conditions that promoted positive relationships 19
- Summary 22

Findings: Conditions that Helped and Hindered Implementation 23
Revisiting the Preliminary Logic Model 26
Implications for Sustaining and Scaling PASS-2 28
References 30
Appendix A: OKF's Working Theory of Change 32
Appendix B: California's Subject Requirements ("a-g") 33
Appendix C: Expanded Discussion of Data Collection and Analysis 34
Appendix D: Overview of PASS-2 Class 36

Executive Summary

Oakland Kids First is an independent, non-profit organization that informs district-level policy regarding meaningful family and student engagement and implements year-round youth development programs serving thousands of high-school students throughout Oakland Unified School District. Through a 2004 youth organizing campaign supported by Oakland Kids First, a group of high school youth identified the high student-to-counselor ratio as a significant condition hindering on-time high school graduation and college-eligibility. Consistent with a youth organizing approach, youth identified the problem and identified themselves as a critical part of the solution. This vision led to the creation of Peers Advising Students to Succeed (PASS-2).

On one level, PASS-2 is a peer academic advising program that trains older students (tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders) to teach freshmen about high school graduation and college-eligibility requirements through workshops and one-on-one mentoring. On another level, PASS-2 is a core strategy for integrating the social justice foundation of youth organizing with the evidence-based practices associated with positive youth development within the school day. Positive youth development literature suggests that when youth develop across five important foundational dimensions (competence, confidence, connection, character, and caring), then they will have the capacity to develop in a sixth dimension: contribution. Drawing on its roots in youth organizing, however, PASS-2 sees contribution as an essential starting point for, rather than the endpoint of, youth development. PASS-2 provides a supported opportunity for youth to contribute by providing a direct service to ninth grade students in the form of academic mentoring and situates their contribution within a broader framework of leadership within and beyond their school community.

Research Questions and Methods

Over the years, PASS-2 has evolved to become a fairly complex program serving over 1,400 students in 11 high schools. As Oakland Kids First staff entered into a new strategic planning cycle that included attention to sustaining and scaling PASS-2, they needed to better understand how PASS-2 was implemented within and across school sites, how students and adults experienced PASS-2, and the conditions that supported and hindered implementation. Oakland Kids First engaged the John W. Gardner Center for Youth and Their Communities at Stanford University to conduct a year-long implementation study of PASS-2 designed to yield responses to these questions and, in turn, to inform its planning for effectively expanding and scaling PASS-2.

The research relied on qualitative data collected from students, teachers, and administrators in five high schools within Oakland Unified School District; Oakland Kids First staff; and PASS-2 mentor alumni over the course of the 2011-2012 academic year. Data collection included hundreds of pages of planning documents, curriculum materials, and samples of student work as well as more than 60 hours of observations, interviews, and focus groups involving over 40

participants. Researchers coded and analyzed data using qualitative data analysis software, *Nvivo 9*.2 to understand implementation processes and participant experiences within and across schools. They followed with a second phase of analysis that included further queries in order to triangulate preliminary themes and explore conditions that supported and hindered implementation.

Findings: Preliminary Logic Model and Overview of Implementation

- *Highly adaptive implementation.* While PASS-2's program design did lend itself to a preliminary logic model, actual implementation varied from site to site. The findings regarding variation within and across the five research sites were consistent with research on mutual adaptation in the context of implementation. In addition to the differences in implementation, the findings yielded an important point of consistency across all five settings: students became mentors in a number of different ways and as a result, a variety of students served as peer mentors. With the highly adaptive nature of PASS-2 in mind, the data provided important insight into participants' experiences as well as the conditions that facilitated implementation.

Findings: Youth and Adult Experiences of PASS-2

- *Youth leadership with an emphasis on reflection and contribution.* PASS-2 cultivated youth leadership with an emphasis on reflection and contribution, and through this approach, student and alumni mentors developed specific knowledge, habits, and skills that reflected all six dimensions of positive youth development. Through this experience, students began to think deeply about leadership and many of them came to understand that their strength as leaders came from their capacity to lead from a place of honesty, authenticity, and solidarity. Many students grew to believe that they could make a meaningful difference not *in spite of* who they were, but precisely *because* of who they were.
- *Access to college knowledge.* PASS-2 provided students with access to essential college knowledge, including high-school and college-eligibility requirements, the tools to develop a four-year academic plan, and a sense of what it will take (e.g., self-advocacy and tenacity) to graduate on-time and college-eligible. In settings like Oakland Unified High School District where high student-to-counselor ratios make it difficult to provide this information to all students, PASS-2 mentors made a very practical difference by providing freshmen with access to this information. Many student and alumni mentors also credited PASS-2 with helping them get and stay on track for graduation.
- *Classroom (setting) level conditions for positive relationships.* PASS-2 promoted classroom (setting level) conditions that promoted positive relationships between youth and adults *and* among youth. Youth and adults developed a greater sense of respect for one another and experienced their work in PASS-2 as "teamwork" which felt different from their experience in other classes. With regard to peer-to-peer relationships, student mentors grew in three dimensions: (1) understanding and connecting to a broader circle of peers, (2) caring for freshmen, and (3) feeling responsible for the academic success of other students.

Findings: Conditions that Facilitated Implementation

- *Concurrent attention to leadership theory and practice.* Student mentors experienced a unique combination of leadership theory and practice that was perceived by both youth and adults to yield growth and development in multiple dimensions of positive youth development.
- *Seamless integration within the classroom context.* When there was synergy between PASS-2 and the course in which it was embedded, students experienced PASS-2 as an integrated experience within their school experience, and the partner teacher experienced PASS-2 as a complement to her practice.
- *Complementary programs.* When complementary programs were implemented concurrently with PASS-2 in a school site, program participants experienced the combination of programs as one comprehensive effort and attributed positive changes to the interaction of the multiple efforts within the school setting.
- *Diverse student mentor cohorts.* PASS-2 classes included students with diverse academic records and leadership experiences. Some participants observed that PASS-2 seemed to be particularly effective for students who were not "natural" or "traditional" leaders. For a number of specific reasons discussed in the full report, youth and adults agreed that the heterogeneity of the cohort was an essential element of PASS-2.
- *An apprenticeship model of leadership development.* Oakland Kids First anchored PASS-2 in a framework of scaffolded responsibility that assumed participating youth and adults would move from peripheral roles to more central roles in the implementation of PASS-2. Many participants attributed their growth to this apprenticeship model.
- *A community of practice for PASS-2 partner teachers.* Within the teacher cohort, teachers experienced a sense of belonging, solidarity, and support, and they valued learning with and from their peers who taught in other school settings. Through participation in the cohort, teachers renewed their commitment to promoting social justice through their practice and developed a greater sense of responsibility for sustaining PASS-2 in partnership with Oakland Kids First.

Conclusion

The implementation study affirmed some of the elements of PASS-2's preliminary logic model and it also pointed to new elements that may help clarify and strengthen the vision for the work going forward; these are presented in a revised logic model and a discussion of implications for sustaining and scaling PASS-2. One of the most promising findings was the way in which PASS-2 expanded traditional notions of positive youth development to include a social justice framework that embraced contribution as an entry point rather than an end point in efforts to support positive youth development in Oakland's high schools. PASS-2's approach to positive youth development resonates with other efforts in Oakland (and more broadly) that focus on social and emotional learning, leadership development, college readiness, and meaningful student engagement. This synergy provides Oakland Kids First with a strong foundation from which to develop a thoughtful, evidence-based plan for sustaining and scaling PASS-2.

Project Overview

Oakland Kids First (OKF) was founded in 1995 as a collaborative effort of youth service agencies that drafted and passed Measure K, an initiative which set aside 72 million dollars in new funding for children and youth services in Oakland over 12 years. Since then, OKF has evolved into an independent, non-profit organization that informs district-level policy regarding meaningful family and student engagement and implements year-round youth development programs serving thousands of high-school students throughout Oakland Unified School District (OUSD). Grounded in a long history of successful youth organizing efforts, OKF's goal is to ensure that OUSD high schools are places where youth and adults work in partnership to transform the quality and equity of student learning, student experiences, and student outcomes. (See Appendix A for OKF's Working Theory of Change.) Through a 2004 OKF-supported youth organizing campaign, a group of high school youth identified the high student-to-counselor ratio in OUSD high schools as a significant condition hindering on-time high school graduation and college-eligibility.[1] Consistent with a youth organizing approach, youth identified the problem and identified themselves as a critical part of the solution. This vision led to the creation of Peers Advising Students to Succeed (PASS-2).

On one level, PASS-2 is a peer academic advising program. OKF trains older students (tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders) to teach freshmen about high school graduation and college-eligibility requirements through workshops and one-on-one mentoring within the context of the school day. Through PASS-2, student mentors have the opportunity to develop and exercise leadership while providing a direct service in their school community and freshmen receive essential college-readiness support in the form of "college knowledge" (Conley, 2007, 2008) and the support to develop an academic plan that will lead them to graduate on-time and college-eligible.

On another level, PASS-2 is OKF's core strategy for translating youth organizing principles into classroom-level practices. Youth organizing is an approach to integrating youth development and social justice that "trains young people in community organizing and advocacy, and assists them in employing these skills to alter power relations and create meaningful institutional change in their communities" (Funders Collaborative on Youth Organizing, 2012). Mentor training and ninth-grade workshops begin with a critical analysis of current educational outcomes that situates education in a larger framework of social justice. With this as the starting point, PASS-2 frames peer academic mentoring as an opportunity for young people to interrupt inequitable patterns of learning and achievement and, in so doing, create meaningful institutional change in their school community.

[1] "College eligible" refers to those students who complete California's a-g subject requirements for admission to the University of California or California State University system. See Appendix B for a detailed description of the a-g requirements.

OKF approaches the task of translating youth organizing into classroom practice by integrating the social justice foundation of youth organizing with the evidence-based practices associated with positive youth development (PYD). PYD, an approach to enhancing adolescent development, emphasizes the importance of seeing youth develop in multiple dimensions, or what many practitioners and researchers refer to as the "6 C's:" competence, confidence, connection, character, caring, and contribution (Lerner, Dowling & Anderson, 2003; Zarrett & Lerner, 2008). While all six dimensions of youth development are interdependent and mutually reinforcing, each one highlights specific skills and behaviors known to foster healthy development in young people. For example *competence* might include intellectual ability and social and behavioral skills; *character* might evidence of integrity and moral centeredness; and *connection* might involve indicators of empathy and a sense of social justice (Lerner, Fisher & Weinberg, 2000).

PYD literature suggests that when youth develop across the first five dimensions, then they will have the capacity to contribute to their community or to society. In other words, the 6th "C"— *contribution*— is traditionally thought to emerge after youth have developed sufficiently across the original 5 C's (Lerner, Dowling & Anderson 2003). Drawing on its roots in youth organizing, however, PASS-2 sees *contribution* as an essential starting point for, rather than the endpoint of, youth development. With this in mind, PASS-2 provides a supported opportunity for youth to contribute by providing a direct service to ninth grade student in the form of academic mentoring. Through this form of contribution, it is expected that competence, confidence, connection, character, and caring will develop and further enrich the youth's capacity for contribution. In this respect, PASS-2 offers a unique approach to PYD and the development of the 6 C's.

While OKF's long-term goal is to improve the lives of youth, scholars in the field of youth development (e.g., (Dukakis, London, McLaughlin, & Williamson, 2009) are clear that young people develop, in large part, in response to settings (e.g., schools and classrooms) that support (or frustrate) positive development. Like other effective PYD efforts, PASS-2 seeks to create settings that support OUSD youth to develop across the 6 C's. Traditionally, efforts to create settings that promote positive youth development have focused on opportunities created in out-of-school or after-school time (e.g., Eccles & Gootman, 2002; Hirsch, Deutsch, & DuBois, 2011). OKF, however, is committed to affecting changes in school and classroom settings. OKF employs several strategies designed to yield changes in school settings (e.g., actively participating in the development of the district's Meaningful Student, Family, and Community Engagement Principles) (OUSD, 2012b). Through PASS-2, OKF focuses specifically on transforming classroom settings such that they provide the conditions for positive relationships (specifically peer-to-peer relationships and youth-to-adult relationships).

For several years, OKF has been engaged in an ongoing research and development cycle of program development, implementation, and evaluation. PASS-2 has evolved to become a fairly complex program that is designed to affect outcomes for youth, their classrooms and their

schools. During the 2011-2012 academic year, PASS-2 served over 1,400 students in 11 OUSD high schools. The district's commitment to peer academic mentoring,[2] coupled with the high student-counselor ratio in OUSD and neighboring districts, means that OKF is being invited to expand its work to serve more and more students within and beyond OUSD. This presents OKF with a significant question: How do we effectively sustain and scale PASS-2?

Before OKF's staff can answer this question, it needs to better understand how PASS-2 is currently implemented within and across school sites, how students and adults experience PASS-2, and the conditions that support and hinder implementation. OKF engaged the John W. Gardner Center for Youth and Their Communities (JGC) at Stanford University to conduct a year-long implementation study of PASS-2 designed to yield responses to these questions and, in turn, inform OKF's planning for effectively expanding and scaling PASS-2.

Research Methods

The qualitative implementation study was designed to answer the following questions:

1. What is PASS-2's working logic model and how is it implemented in the five research sites?
2. How are participants experiencing the implementation of PASS-2's working logic model?
3. What conditions help and hinder implementation of PASS-2?

Research Settings

OUSD is a large urban district serving 46,000 young people in Northern California's East Bay (California Department of Education, 2012). For decades, OUSD and the communities it serves have been characterized by their challenges. The district acknowledged the persistence of these challenges in its introduction to the most recent strategic plan:

> The Oakland Unified School District, like school districts across America, is faced with great challenges. We are challenged in terms of finances and, more importantly, in terms of our ability to provide education systems which produces equitable results for all children. Our great task is to repair and rebuild a broken system in a time of dramatically declining revenues (Oakland Unified School District, 2010a).

In spite of the breadth and depth of OUSD's challenges and the confounding effects of unprecedented cuts in state education funds, there is a spirit of tenacity and a commitment among a large number of community leaders to transform the trajectory of Oakland's youth. During the course of this study, the district was in the first year of a five-year strategic plan designed to garner the support and active participation of community-based organizations, social service agencies, and regional partners in achieving a vision of OUSD as a district where

[2] OUSD's current strategic plan includes Peer Academic Mentors as a core strategy designed to facilitate meaningful student engagement (OUSD, 2012b)

students thrive academically and socially, and are prepared to be contributing citizens (Oakland Unified School District, 2012b).

There are 15 high schools in OUSD, ranging in size and scope from focused academies serving less than 300 students to large, comprehensive high schools serving 2,000 students.[3] During the 2011-2012 school year, PASS-2 was implemented in six schools; this study examined PASS-2 implementation in five of those schools.[4] As shown in Table 1, the five research sites enrolled between 122 and 1900 students who were primarily students of color and socioeconomically disadvantaged. There was variation between the schools in the numbers of English Language Learners served, ranging from 5% to 53%. The schools also represented a range in terms of graduation rates and the percentage of graduates who complete a-g requirements, but in most cases, no more than two-thirds of students graduated, and of those who graduated, no more than two-thirds graduated with the a-g requirements.

Table 1. Research Setting Demographics by School Site.[5]

	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E
Total Student Population	284	254	1,824	1900	122
Black or African American	33%	91%	41%	35%	40%
Asian	<5%	<5%	19%	20%	<5%
Hispanic or Latino	55%	<5%	19%	28%	43%
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	8%	<5%	<5%	<5%	<5%
American Indian or Alaskan Native	<5%	<5%	<5%	<5%	13%
White	<5%	<5%	16%	10%	<5%
Socioeconomically Disadvantaged Students	81%	66%	55%	62%	72%
English Language Learners	53%	5%	20%	25%	35%
Students with Disabilities	9%	11%	9%	12%	12%
Graduation Rate	47%	60%	62%	71%	57%
Percent of graduates who completed all a-g Requirements	53%	67%	47%	50%	0%

The five research sites represented a range of student demographics and history of engagement with OKF and PASS-2. As shown in Table 2, two of the schools had a long history with OKF

[3] During the 2011-2012 academic year, OUSD was home to 11 high schools, three continuation schools, and one independent study school serving high school youth, for a total of 15 high schools.
[4] One of the six PASS-2 sites declined the invitation to participate in the study.
[5] All demographic information was collected from 2010-2011 School Accountability Report Cards, published in the 2011-2012 school year (OUSD, 2012a).

through other programs prior to the introduction of PASS-2, and three of the sites engaged with OKF for the first time in the context of implementing PASS-2.

Table 2. OKF and PASS-2 Affiliation with Research Sites

	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E
Years of Engagement with OKF, including 2011-2012	1	9	10	2	2
Years of Engagement with PASS-2, including 2011-2012	1	4	5	2	2

Data Collection

The study of PASS-2 relied on qualitative data collected from students, teachers, and administrators in five implementation sites; OKF staff; and PASS-2 mentor alumni over the course of the 2011-2012 academic year. Data collection included more than 60 hours of field work involving over 40 participants (16 adults, 20 student mentors, 5 mentor alumni). As shown in Table 3, the research team conducted interviews, focus groups, observations, and document analysis (e.g., planning documents, program materials, student work) in all five research sites. As shown in Table 4, researchers also interviewed and observed OKF staff over the course of the year, including observation of strategic planning and design meetings and all four meetings of the teacher cohort. When OKF engaged the support of PASS-2 mentor alumni to implement additional ninth grade workshops in the winter and spring of 2012, the research team incorporated their perspectives through an interview, a focus group, and observations.

Table 3. Data Collection in Five Research Settings.

	School A	School B	School C	School D	School E
Interview with Principal	•	•	•	•	•
Interview with PASS-2 Partner Teacher	•	•	•	•	•
Focus Groups with Student Mentors	•		•	•	
Observations of PASS-2 Classes	•	•	•	•	•
Observations of Ninth Grade Workshops	•	•	•	•	•
Observations of Lunchtime Mentoring[6]	•	•	•	n/a	n/a
Planning Documents, Program Materials, Student Work	•	•	•	•	•

[6] Schools D and E did not implement lunchtime mentoring.

Table 4. Data Collection Involving PASS-2 Mentor Alumni and OKF Staff.

	Fall	Winter	Spring
Observations of Teacher Cohort Meetings	•	•	•
Observation of OKF Planning & Design Meetings	•	•	•
Interviews with OKF Staff	•	•	•
Focus Groups with PASS-2 Alumni Mentors			•
Observations of PASS-2 Alumni Leading Ninth Grade Workshops			•
Focus Group and Interview with PASS-2 Mentor Alumni			•

Data Analysis

The researchers analyzed data using qualitative analysis software, *NVivo 9.2,* as well as additional analysis that reflected two stages: (1) open coding and (2) axial coding (Yin, 1994). In the first phase of analysis, the team engaged in open coding by developing descriptive and analytic codes to yield preliminary conceptual themes within each data source (e.g., transcripts, field notes). The team established inter-rater reliability prior to coding and reconfirmed reliability at two different points during the coding process. In phase two of analysis, the researchers engaged in an iterative process of reflection, discussion, and axial coding that focused on triangulating emerging themes from multiple data sources and exploring conditions that supported and hindered implementation within and across settings. (See Appendix C for further discussion of the analysis procedures.)

Findings: PASS-2 Preliminary Logic Model

The first phase of the implementation study involved clarifying OKF's assumptions regarding the relationship between the core strategies PASS-2 employed and the outcomes it intended to affect. Early in the study, researchers interviewed OKF staff, observed OKF design meetings and strategic planning retreats, and analyzed dozens of documents describing various components of PASS-2. Based on these analyses, the research team developed a preliminary logic model (see Figure 1) that described the design principles and program components intended to yield PASS-2's short-term goals.

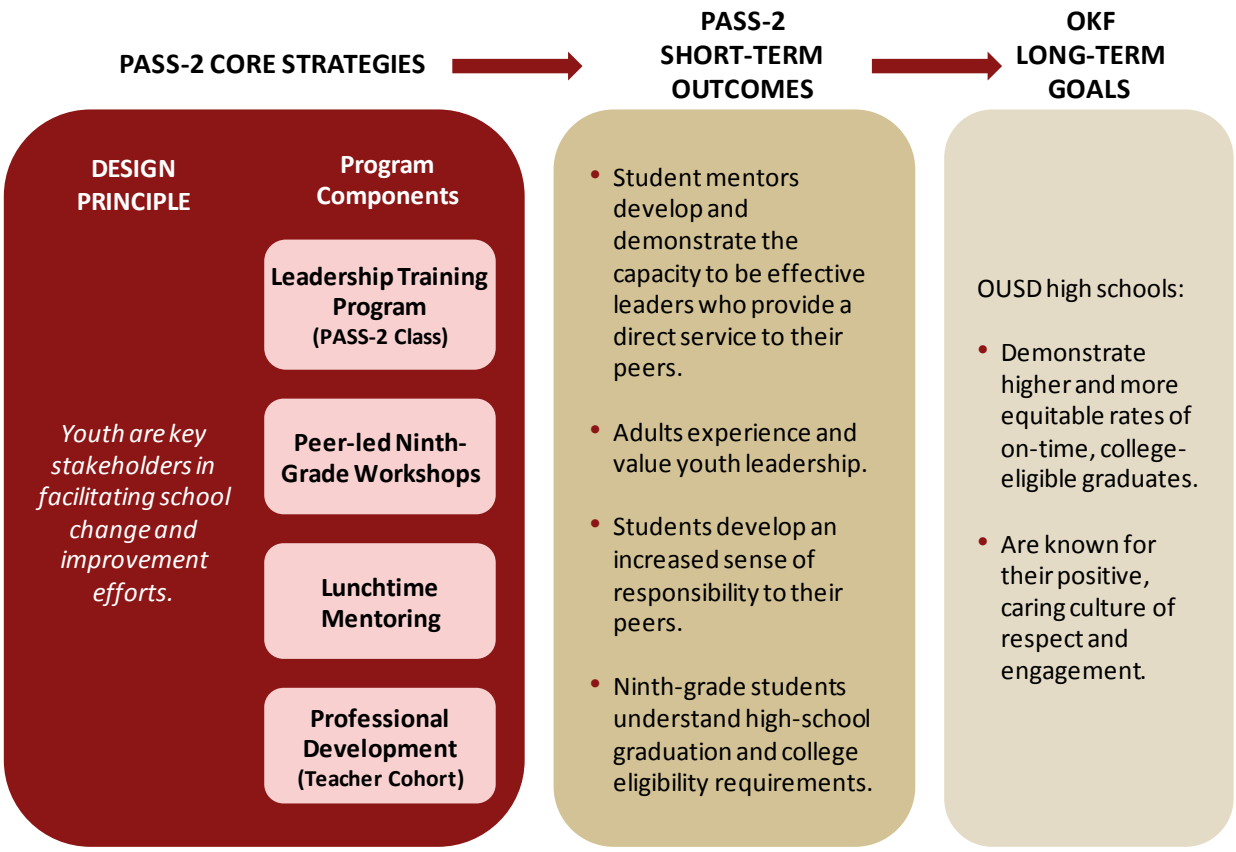

Figure 1. PASS-2 Preliminary Logic Model

Design principles. PASS-2's program components reflected an important assumptions or principle that was explicitly articulated by OKF staff: youth are key stakeholders in facilitating school change and improvement efforts.

PASS-2 program components. With the design principles in mind, OKF developed four specific strategies to accomplish PASS-2's goals:

1. **Leadership Training Program for Student Mentors (PASS-2 Class).** Co-taught by an OKF staff member and a classroom teacher ("PASS-2 partner teacher"), the PASS-2 class prepared tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade students to serve as academic mentors to their ninth grade peers. The class, developed by OKF, consisted of approximately 72 hours of instruction designed to be provided over the course of the academic year. The PASS-2 class was intended to be embedded within a class (e.g., Leadership, Sociology) to which it would have some sort of connection (e.g., in terms of content or pedagogy) and where it would have designated class time (e.g., Tuesdays and Thursdays). Informed by critical theory and restorative justice, the curriculum focused on the history of institutionalized oppression, the role of schools in perpetuating and interrupting

inequities, college knowledge, leadership theory, leadership skills (e.g., public speaking, facilitating large and small groups), and community building exercises intended to foster positive peer-to-peer relationships. (See Appendix D for an Overview of the PASS-2 class.)

2. **Peer-led Ninth Grade Workshops.** Teams of 4-5 student mentors in the PASS-2 class facilitated a minimum of four freshmen workshops each year. The purpose of the workshops was for youth mentors to exercise their leadership in a meaningful way (e.g., through direct service), for freshmen to access college knowledge, and to provide teachers with the opportunity to experience the power and potential of youth leaders. The specific elements of college knowledge provided in these workshops included information regarding college-eligibility requirements and transcript literacy including information regarding how to advocate for yourself in order to ensure that you get the courses you need to be college eligible.

3. **Lunchtime Mentoring (LTM).** LTM provided freshmen with the opportunity to meet with student mentors (most of whom were PASS-2 mentors) during lunch on a bi-weekly basis. The purpose of LTM was to help freshmen navigate the academic plan they developed in the ninth grade workshops and to foster positive peer relationships. Both mentors and mentees voluntarily attended lunchtime mentoring; no one was required to participate. OKF provided lunch for all youth who participated (at no cost to the youth) and an OKF staff member was present at each LTM session.

4. **Professional Development and Support for PASS-2 Partner Teachers (Teacher Cohort).** Implemented for the first time in January 2011, the Teacher Cohort was the newest component of PASS-2. The purpose of the Teacher Cohort was to improve the consistency and quality of PASS-2 implementation across sites and foster a more authentic partnership (rather than client/consultant relationship) between PASS-2 partner teachers and OKF staff. PASS-2 partner teachers met together four times per year with an OKF staff member to discuss and clarify implementation logistics (e.g., scheduling ninth grade workshops) and engage in relevant professional learning (e.g., a discussion of Duncan-Andrade's Harvard Educational Review article that explores the concept of hope as essential for nurturing urban youth) (Duncan & Andrade, 2009).

PASS-2 short-term outcomes. PASS-2's four program components were designed to affect four primary outcomes within the first three years of implementation:

1. Student mentors develop and demonstrate the capacity to be effective leaders.
2. Adults (principals and teachers) experience and value youth leadership.
3. Students develop an increased sense of responsibility to their peers.
4. Ninth grade students understand high school graduation and college eligibility requirements.

OKF's long-term goals. As shown in Figure 1, OKF theorized that when the four program components were implemented, PASS-2 would yield short-term outcomes that would, if sustained and scaled, contribute to the realization of OKF's long-term commitment to ensuring that OUSD high schools (a) demonstrate higher and more equitable rates of on-time and college-eligible graduates and (b) are known for their positive, caring culture of respect and engagement.

Findings: Overview of Implementation

OKF's commitment to adapting PASS-2 to each school context resulted in program implementation that departed a bit from the preliminary logic model. For example, full implementation of the Leadership Training Program for PASS-2 Mentors (PASS-2 class) curriculum assumes 72 hours of instruction distributed relatively evenly over the course of an academic year. In practice, OKF adapted the curriculum (e.g., eliminating, adding, and modifying elements of the curriculum) in response to a number of variables including the length and frequency of PASS-2 class meetings, student readiness for particular content, and the timing of ninth grade workshops. Depending on the class in which PASS-2 was placed as well as the school's bell schedule, class meetings ranged from 33-130 minutes; met anywhere from one day per week to five days per week; and enrolled a combination of tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grade students for one, two, and three trimesters. Variance in partner teachers' skills and knowledge also translated into differences in implementation. Therefore, while the PASS-2 class was implemented in each of the five research sites, there were some differences in how the course was implemented across sites.

Similarly, full implementation of the ninth grade workshops assumes that student mentors facilitate each workshops with ninth graders during one class period over two consecutive days. In practice, students and program alumni from various OUSD schools facilitated the workshops over 1-4 days and due to a variety of circumstances, some ninth graders did not participate in the workshops. Within the workshops themselves, there were differences in the quality of the workshop facilitation which created variation in curriculum delivery, pedagogy, and overall tone of the workshops. There were also differences observed and reported in the role and engagement of the ninth grade teachers. Thus, there were both elements of consistency and difference in the implementation of ninth grade workshops.

LTM reflected similar degrees of variation across sites. Many freshmen attended regularly, meeting with their assigned PASS-2 mentor every other week, while others participated less frequently and/or met with mentors to whom they were not assigned. The PASS-2 staff member present at LTM facilitated the matching of freshmen to mentors and resolved logistical issues (e.g., changing locations for LTM if the regular room was in use). PASS-2 partner teachers were present at some, but not all, LTM sessions. While most LTM mentors were PASS-2 mentors, there were some who were not part of PASS-2; OKF provided training for these students,

though the timing and format for the training varied a bit from site to site depending on a number of variables (e.g., school schedules, student schedules, launch dates of LTM).

In spite of the fact that actual implementation of each program component departed a bit from the vision articulated in the preliminary logic model and varied from site to site, the findings yielded an important point of consistency across all five research settings: students became mentors in a number of different ways, and as a result, a variety of students served as peer mentors.

Students became mentors in a number of different ways. Both within and across schools, some students self-selected into becoming a PASS-2 mentor and others were required to participate. When school staff influenced or determined which students became mentors, they considered a number of different criteria. Adults placed students in PASS-2 or personally encouraged students to enroll in PASS-2 when they were high-achieving students or "traditional" leaders, lower-achieving students with "potential," and students who needed a course to fill out their schedule when the class that they were scheduled to take was canceled. When students had the option of self-selecting to be a PASS-2 mentor, they tended to do so as a result of hearing their friends describe how much fun they had in the class. The end result was that there were a number of different messages and recruiting practices which meant PASS-2 mentors entered the first class meeting with a wide range of feelings and expectations.

A variety of students served as peer mentors. As a result of the different ways students came to register in the PASS-2 Class, there was not one "type" of student who served as a PASS-2 mentor. Cross-site analysis yielded evidence that youth mentors were diverse by race, gender, level of academic achievement, and grade level, though some groups seemed to be disproportionately represented in comparison to school and district demographics (e.g., higher proportion of female mentors, lower proportion of African-American male mentors). Student mentors also reflected a range of academic histories including students on track to enroll in a four-year college or university and students struggling to successfully complete their high school graduation requirements.

The findings regarding variation within and across the five research sites were consistent with research on mutual adaptation in the context of implementation (see, for example, McLaughlin, 1976, McLaughlin 2009, and Datnow & Park, 2012). With this context in mind, the next step was to understand participants' experiences of the program implementation sufficiently to inform program improvement, sustainability, and scalability. The following section discusses how participants (students, teachers, principals, alumni, and OKF staff) experienced PASS-2 and it is followed by a discussion regarding how these findings may inform a revised logic model.

Findings: Youth and Adult Experiences of PASS-2

In examining youth and adult participant experiences of PASS-2, the most significant findings centered on the ways in which PASS-2 fostered positive youth development by supporting:

- Opportunities for youth leadership, with a focus on reflection and contribution;
- Access to essential college knowledge; and
- Classroom (setting-level) conditions that promoted positive relationships.

PASS-2 fostered opportunities for youth leadership with a focus on reflection and contribution

Across all five research settings and all five role groups (students, alumni, PASS-2 partner teachers, school principals, OKF staff), one of the central themes that emerged was the way in which PASS-2 cultivated youth leadership. All five principals noted that the primary reason they valued PASS-2 was that it provided a "unique" and "effective" opportunity for students to grow as leaders. All five partner teachers echoed the sentiments of the principals and expanded on this theme by describing specific leadership skills and qualities they observed in their students and attributed to their participation in PASS-2. Analyses of teacher interview data revealed that the particular skills and qualities teachers characterized as "leadership skills" were resonant with PYD's 6 C's (competence, confidence, connection, character, caring, and contribution). For example, partner teachers noticed growth in the *confidence* of student mentors, recounting a number of stories illustrating how PASS-2 student mentors became more comfortable talking to different groups of people (e.g., younger students, peers outside of their friendship circles, and adults).

When asked what they learned by being part of PASS-2, student and alumni mentors listed a number of specific leadership skills and qualities that were consistent with PYD's 6 C's. For example, all of the youth who participated in the study reported that they learned how important it was to "know your material" *(competence)* and to "try to understand another person's point of view" *(connection).*

Further analysis of student and alumni mentor interview and focus group data yielded evidence that participants experienced two nuances of youth leadership: reflection and contribution.

Reflection. Student mentors described new definitions of leadership and new lenses or approaches to thinking about what kind of leader they wanted to be. They also reflected on their particular leadership experiences through these various lenses. Together, these new definitions, approaches, and reflections on practice came together as a form of "reflective leadership."

Many students reflected on the tension they felt between their desire to step up as leaders and their concern that leading would require them to sell out or become part of the system that had created and sustained oppression and injustice. Students in one focus group spoke passionately about not wanting to become "the man." This response was resonant with John Ogbu's work that explores the relationships between identity, engagement, learning, and achievement among students of color (see, for example, Ogbu, 2003). Students in another focus group hesitated to

refer to their work with PASS-2 as "leadership" until another student mentor introduced the concept of "leadership as helping others" into the conversation. OKF understood and respected the tension students felt, and PASS-2 supported students to find an authentic way to integrate, rather than resolve, this tension in their approach to leadership by (1) consistently inviting students to speak openly and honestly about their emerging identity as a leader, and (2) grounding their work in a history of critical pedagogy and social change.

Student and alumni mentors described two types of leaders: those who tried to be *above* the people they are leading and those who worked *shoulder to shoulder* to lead by helping and guiding those around them. Youth felt that the type of leadership OKF staff modeled and youth developed through PASS-2 was of the latter variety. Across the three sites where researchers conducted student focus groups, student mentors framed their leadership as helping and guiding others from a place of "having been there," rather than from a place of being "better than." In fact, some mentors felt that they were still very much on the same journey as the younger students they were mentoring. One student mentor said (in reference to a "map to graduation" that was a part of the ninth grade workshops), "I never got any map. I gave out the map before I got the map." A student at another school said her first reaction to hearing she would be a mentor was that she, too, needed a mentor. These two young leaders, like all PASS-2 mentors, came to understand that their strength as leaders came from their capacity to lead from a place of honesty, authenticity, and solidarity. Both student and alumni mentors became animated and vibrant when they described how the PASS-2 Class curriculum, combined with the opportunity to teach ninth grade workshops and mentor ninth graders, allowed them to experience first-hand that they could make a meaningful difference not *in spite of* who they were, but precisely *because* of who they were.

Contribution. Student mentors noted that while PASS-2 was not the first time they learned about social justice issues, it was the first time they had an opportunity to respond in a meaningful way. Researchers spoke with student mentors at different stages in their training (e.g. some had facilitated ninth grade workshops and some had not; some had provided one-on-one mentoring, others had not). More experienced student and alumni mentors had developed a greater sense of competency in their facilitation skills and a genuine connection to younger students. The same students and alumni reported that they had learned to hold two truths simultaneously: (1) I can make a difference and (2) I cannot guarantee that ninth graders will graduate on time and become college eligible. In other words, the actual experience of leading yielded new insight: while one's leadership may not guarantee a particular outcome, it still makes a valuable contribution.

One student mentor described how she integrated these two truths into her practice:

> *In order for you to stay and be able to become good at [leading in PASS-2], you have to be open minded, and you have to understand there's going be some kids who are just not going to be feeling it at all. So you have to kind of understand okay, is this the kind of kid where I could push*

them, and then they'll become involved in the end, or is the kind of kid where if I push them, they're going to end up just walking out the class. Honestly, me personally, I'd rather have a kid just sit there and just be listening to it, and not really want to do anything, than for them to actually just leave the class. [At least] then they'll still be hearing the information.

All student and alumni mentors felt that PASS-2 allowed them to help younger students avoid some of the mistakes they had made themselves. They noticed that the information they provided was new to the ninth graders and they appreciated that there was still time for the younger students to make the right choices regarding their academic pursuits. For example, during one workshop, the following exchange took place between a ninth grade student and an alumni mentor who was facilitating the workshop—both were African-American males:

Ninth grade student: *Are you in college now?*

Alumni mentor: *Yes.*

Ninth grade student: *Which college?*

Alumni mentor: *[A local community college.]*

Ninth grade student: *Is it a good school?*

Alumni mentor: *It's ok. You can do better. I wish I had done better so that I could be at a better school. That's why I'm here – so you can do better than I did. I didn't have this information when I was a freshman. But now you do. So you can do better.*

This alumni mentor, like his peers, shared that the opportunity to make a positive difference for freshmen was the primary reason he remained involved with OKF beyond high school.

Every student mentor who had led a workshop prior to participating in a focus group described ways in which (s)he had impacted ninth grade students; however, students who also supported ninth grade students through lunchtime mentoring or other one-on-one interactions felt they had made the strongest difference. In some instances, it was only in the context of individual interactions with mentees that student mentors really felt they had a chance to get to know the ninth graders enough to influence them:

At first, I wasn't really sure how much of a change I was making because I'm a senior, you're a freshman, so you might not really want to pay attention to what I'm saying. But then, once we started doing the lunchtime mentoring, I felt like that was important because they were kind of saying 'All right, we liked what you guys said in class, so I kind of want to go deeper into that.' So I felt like that was making a change because now you have somebody that's always going to be able to look up to you.

These positive experiences were reported by a wide variety of student mentors. Youth and adults spoke at length about how the structure of the PASS-2 Class allowed for a variety of young people to discover their leadership abilities. One administrator observed that PASS-2 seemed to be particularly effective for students who were not "natural" or "traditional" leaders, noting, "They may not be the perfect model of leadership to begin with, but [through PASS-2] they learn to be leaders." One partner teacher attributed students' growth as leaders to the scaffolding provided by PASS-2:

> *[The youth mentors] are given a pretty solid structure with the workshops, and I think that's probably a good scaffold, to be able to get in front of a group of freshman and give instructions, even for what would be considered not a traditional leader…I just think of a few students in my class who I don't think would choose to be in [leadership]. For them to be able to work with three or four other seniors and stand up in front a group of freshmen for a couple of days is a pretty big deal for them.*

Student mentors felt they made a difference in the lives of the younger students in their schools, particularly if they were able to create extended relationships with those students. Students in one focus group were somewhat skeptical of their ability to affect systemic changes, yet they saw the action steps they were able to take in PASS-2 as "kicking it up" a level or at least moving in the right direction. They also credited PASS-2 with helping them see the connection between the small changes they were making in their own school and the bigger changes they wanted to see (e.g., high quality schools, higher and more equitable graduation rates).

While most student mentors spoke of contribution in terms of making a difference for younger students, four student mentors and two alumni mentors referred to helping adults in their school communities. One program alumnus felt that PASS-2 made the teachers' jobs easier:

> *It wasn't like we were just going around just doing nonsense. We were actually trying to do something that could help change the school around, that could possibly make her job as a teacher easier in the next couple of years because the freshmen that we were talking to, in the course of two or three years, they'll be taking [her classes]. If they understand what they have to do as students, then it'll make her life a lot easier.*

In another focus group, students talked about how PASS-2 made the jobs of school counselors easier because it provided ninth graders with basic information regarding high school graduation requirements and (from their perspective), freed up the counselors to support students in other ways.

Student mentors focused more on younger students than on adults in the school community when they talked about ways in which they were making a difference. As student mentors described their experiences working with students, it was clear that PASS-2 allowed them to begin thinking deeply about leadership, reflecting on the kind of leader they would (and would not) like to be, and developing a sense of their own agency as leaders within and beyond their school community.

PASS-2 provided students with access to essential college knowledge. PASS-2's ninth grade workshops specifically taught students what courses they need to pass in order to graduate from high school and be considered for admission to the University of California or California's State University system. The workshops also pointed to some of the resources and personal skills freshmen needed to successfully navigate the path to graduation. All of the partner teachers, student mentors, and alumni mentors were confident that PASS-2 provided freshmen with practical information regarding high school graduation and college eligibility requirements. A growing body of research highlights the importance of providing all students, particularly low-income and first-generation college-going youth, with access to this information (Conley, 2008; Roderick, Nagaoka, & Coca, 2009). The research speaks specifically to the importance of providing students with access to "contextual skills and awareness" which includes college admission requirements and "academic behaviors" which include persistence and awareness of performance (e.g., transcript literacy). Historically, some students have had greater access to this information than others. Conley (2008) and others suggest that schools have some responsibility for leveling the playing field. In settings such as OUSD where a high student-to-counselor ratio makes it hard to provide this support to every student, PASS-2 mentors made a very practical difference by providing freshmen with access to this information.

What was surprising, however, was the degree to which student mentors reported developing their own college knowledge through PASS-2. About one-third of the student and alumni mentors reported learning about high school and college eligibility requirements for the first time in the context of PASS-2. Student mentors also reported a heightened sense of urgency and motivation to graduate as a result of the social justice education and college knowledge gained through the PASS-2 class. As one student said,

> *Just knowing how many of us would graduate and the two-track system that [our PASS-2 teacher] told us about, to me that was a big shock because I didn't know anything about that. It just made me more aware and really pay attention to what I'm doing in the class and what kind of classes I have so that I am eligible for a four-year and things of that nature.*

It made sense that many student mentors credited the PASS-2 class or the PASS-2 partner teacher with helping them get and stay on track, for many of the same skills that were important for successfully engaging in PASS-2 are also associated with the type of tenacity scholars have found to be an important indicator of college readiness (Roderick, 2009).

PASS-2 created classroom (setting-level) conditions that promoted positive relationships

As noted in the project overview, effective PYD efforts often include explicit attention to creating settings that foster multiple dimensions of youth development. While most PYD efforts focus on affecting settings outside of the school day (e.g., after school programs), OKF situated its work within the school day—and perhaps even more ambitiously—within the classroom setting. Student mentors, alumni mentors, and partner teachers all spoke to the ways in which they experienced PASS-2 as a setting that effectively promoted:

- Positive relationships between youth and adults; and
- Positive relationships among youth.

Positive relationships between youth and adults. PYD researchers assert that "positive relationships with adults are perhaps the single most important ingredient in promoting positive youth development" (Pianta & Allen, 2008, p. 24). Student mentors, alumni mentors, and partner teachers reported that youth-adult relationships within the PASS-2 setting were quite different from the typical student-teacher relationships experienced in the five research sites and they pointed to OKF staff presence in the PASS-2 class as the catalyst for shifting youth and adult relationships. Students in every school felt that OKF staff understood their lives, including the complex and serious issues that they were navigating, and at the same time, expected youth to fully engage in the experience of PASS-2. Students felt deeply respected by OKF staff from the moment they entered class and were addressed as *young scholars* or *young leaders*. As youth experienced positive relationships with OKF staff, and as partner teachers observed the interactions between OKF staff and the students in their classrooms, students and partner teachers reported that they felt their relationships with one another begin to improve. Student mentors often described partner teachers as different from other teachers at the school, both in terms of how they related to students and in terms of how they conducted their classrooms. Because of the nature of the PASS-2 curriculum and the way it encouraged students and teachers to share personal stories including their hopes and dreams, student mentors and teachers felt known and understood by one another. While students expressed this as a sense of *respect*, partner teachers used the language of *teamwork* to describe their relationships with student mentors. As one teacher said:

> *It's helped me develop better relationships with students. It's almost like we're a team in terms of getting them to become a great mentor, when in other senses, it kind of feels like, 'Okay, this is the lesson that I'm bringing to you.' But definitely, [PASS-2] feels much more defined in terms of we're working on this project together…So that feels really good.*

PASS-2's influence on the relationships between students and teachers beyond the PASS-2 class was less consistent. Ninth grade workshops were held in ninth grade classes and therefore depended upon the cooperation of ninth grade teachers. While most ninth grade teachers welcomed mentors into their classrooms on the agreed upon date of the workshops, students described a few situations where they were turned away for various reasons (e.g., a last minute field trip or needing extra instructional time to prepare students for standardized testing). While the strength of participant voices in this respect does not support teacher resistance as a main effect of PASS-2 on relationships between students and teachers, it did come up in most focus groups. As a counterpoint, one student mentor specifically noted that he had formed new, positive relationships with teachers (other than his PASS-2 partner teacher) because of his experience in PASS-2, noting, "I think the ninth grade teachers [are] more onboard with the entire thing. I have personally formed relationships with [ninth grade] teachers strictly through this program."

Mentors also experienced a wide variety of responses from ninth grade teachers during the workshops; while some teachers actively supported student mentors' facilitation by helping with classroom management, others worked at their desks and some stepped out of the classroom. Likewise, following the workshop, students experienced different responses from ninth grade teachers; some teachers said "thank you," and others offered feedback or critique on the mentors' teaching methods. Even when student mentors reported that they did not necessarily hear anyone except their PASS-2 partner teacher thank them for their work, they quickly noted, "But that's not why I do this. I do this because it helps the students." All of the students and alumni interviewed were respectful of teachers' varied responses to PASS-2. They extended the same respect and understanding to school administrators and they spoke openly about their empathy for both teachers and administrators.

Positive relationships among youth. The findings were most significant regarding three dimensions of positive peer-to-peer relationships within the context of PASS-2:

- **Understanding and connecting to a broader circle of peers.** Student mentors credited the PASS-2 class for facilitating new peer-to-peer relationships. Practices like restorative justice circles, collaborative planning, and collaborative workshop facilitation were noted as an important part of fostering relationships among peers. Students also acknowledged that the various pathways by which students came to participate in PASS-2 resulted in a unique combination of students that would not normally have had the opportunity to interact in the school setting. Students and alumni reported that they developed friendships with students they would have never had a chance to know if it were not for PASS-2. Teachers observed these new relationships as well and noticed that even when close friendships were not forming, students were demonstrating respect for one another and supporting one another to be successful.

- **Caring for freshmen.** Student mentors so valued the care they felt from OKF staff and PASS-2 partner teachers that they sought to express that same level of care to the ninth graders they mentored. Mentors' concern for freshmen came through in their descriptions of their practice. For example, one student mentor said, "You can't give up on them, because if you give up on them, they are going to be like, 'See I told you, you didn't really care.'" Mentors believed that their success was dependent on ninth graders trusting them and knowing that they were genuinely (and consistently) there to support them. Several student mentors noted that prior to PASS-2, they did not care to know the ninth graders, but that through workshops and lunchtime mentoring, they found out they were, as one youth put it, "cool." Another student noted, "Students in the hall, they'll say 'hi' if you've taught them in [the ninth grade workshops]. I think that bond is forming, which is not something that usually would form between a counselor and a student because one counselor takes care of hundreds of freshmen." A partner teacher confirmed these changes in cross-age relationships, noting, "The mentors know the freshmen's names, and the freshmen get to know the seniors and the juniors. And it's

just much harder to be disrespectful to somebody when you have met them and had those moments with them." While the study did not include interviews with ninth grade students, OKF surveyed ninth graders in June 2012 and found that they echoed some of the sentiments found in the student mentor and partner teacher data; for example, ninth graders noted that they appreciated learning from older students because they "could become a family" and it fostered "a better community."

- **Feeling responsible for the academic success of other students.**
  Several student mentors noticed that they had become more concerned about the academic success of freshmen. One noted, "Now I see freshmen walking out of the classroom, and sometimes I just tell them, 'Why are you in the hallway? You have class. Where are you going?' So I take the lead a little bit." Partner teachers also described situations where they had observed student mentors checking up on younger students in the hallways. Students in two focus groups also described how they had begun talking to their siblings, cousins, and friends about the information they were learning through PASS-2.

Summary

Resonant with youth organizing, PYD focuses on leveraging the strengths of *all* youth and cultivating the capacity of *all* young people to contribute to society (Damon, 2004). Participant experiences revealed the nuanced ways in which PASS-2 fostered PYD inclusive of the dimension of contribution. Through the participants' words, the connection between traditional PYD principles and PASS-2's program components became clear, and the reach of the college knowledge component of PASS-2's strategies broadened to include the student mentors. As shown in Table 5, there was evidence of student mentors developing new skills, knowledge, and habits in all six dimensions central to PYD.

Table 5. PASS-2 Promoted Student Mentors' Skills, Knowledge, and Habits Across all Six Dimensions of PYD.

Competence	
• Public speaking • Mastering content • Facilitating small and large groups • Adjusting communication style for different audiences	• Working in a team • Collaborating • Planning for and successfully completing long-term projects
Confidence	
• Seeing one's self as a leader within the school community • Actively participating in small and large groups • Experiencing graduated responsibility	• Feeling comfortable talking to different groups of people • Stepping up to take responsibility for positive changes • Feeling valued (e.g., by OKF staff, partner teachers) • Believing that one can lead from a place of solidarity
Connection	
• Understanding that each person has a unique and important life story and narrative • Seeking to understand another person's point of view • Sharing some of your story in order to allow those you lead to trust that you can relate to them • Working well with people you don't necessarily like	• Respecting others' opinions - especially when they are different from your own • Knowing when to "push" someone or help someone stretch beyond her comfort zone and when to give her space • Experiencing solidarity with others • Feeling accepted by adults (e.g., OKF staff, partner teachers)
Character	
• Open-mindedness • Awareness that there are things one can control, *and* there are things one cannot control • A positive attitude • Patience • Persistence	• Dependability • Reliability • Resourcefulness • Keeping commitments to a group • Insight into one's strengths and weaknesses
Caring	
• Caring for freshmen • Caring for fellow mentors with whom one has little connection outside of PASS-2 • Empathizing with adults	• Cultivating relationships with freshmen • Appreciating PASS-2 teachers • Appreciating OKF staff/OKF programs
Contribution	
• Helping others in one's immediate community (classroom, school) • Being seen by others as a leader and being selected for other leadership roles at school • Positively impacting the lives of freshmen • Seeing peer academic mentoring in the context of promoting educational equity	• Positively impacting the lives of adults in the school community • Believing that one can make a difference • Seeing evidence that one is making a difference • Believing that the difference one is making will promote social justice

Findings: Conditions that Helped and Hindered Implementation

While participants in all five sites benefitted from PASS-2, there was enough variation in their experience to yield several conditions that have implications for future implementation and scaling of PASS-2. This section describes the conditions that facilitated and hindered PASS-2

implementation within and across sites. Given that PASS-2 was intended to be adapted to each school setting, facilitating and hindering conditions were defined as those conditions that either affected the degree of adaptation (e.g., facilitating conditions required little accommodation and hindering conditions required a significant amount of accommodation) or affected the fidelity of PASS-2's design principles (e.g., facilitating conditions complemented or reinforced PASS-2's design principles and hindering conditions were in conflict with or eroded PASS-2's design principles).

1. **Concurrent attention to leadership theory and practice.** When student mentors participated in the PASS-2 class, facilitation of ninth grade workshops, and one-on-one mentoring through LTM or other informal mentoring opportunities such as impromptu hallway conversations, then they tended to experience a unique combination of leadership theory and practice that they perceived to yield growth and development in multiple dimensions of PYD. While all of the program components were important, students, teachers, and alumni agreed that one-on-one mentoring opportunities were an essential ingredient in this equation because they invited a degree of interpersonal connection and continuity of support that fostered individual- as well as setting-level changes.

2. **Seamless integration within the classroom context.** When there was synergy between PASS-2 and the course in which PASS-2 was embedded, the partner teacher had the opportunity to weave PASS-2 content and pedagogy into her practice throughout the week. Such integration allowed students to experience the PASS-2 class as a cohesive experience within their school day and their school week; it also allowed the partner teacher to experience PASS-2 as a complement to her practice. Any dissonance between the PASS-2 class and the course in which it was embedded (e.g., different teachers on PASS-2 and non-PASS-2 days, subject matter that could not be tied to PASS-2) hindered implementation.

3. **Complementary programs.** Implementation was enhanced by concurrent implementation of programs with design principles that complemented those of PASS-2 (e.g., REAL HARD[7], Restorative Justice[8]). When complementary programs were in place within a school setting, program participants did not distinguish between one program and another. Instead, they experienced the combination of programs as one comprehensive effort and attributed positive changes to the interaction of the multiple efforts within the school day.

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[7] Representing Educated Active Leaders Having a Righteous Dream (REAL HARD**)** is "a year-round, multiracial youth leadership development program that provides training and support for students to change their relationship to themselves, to their peers and to their education – in order to build a movement of students who are actively trying to improve their schools" (Oakland Kids First, 2012).

[8] Restorative justice "invites a fundamental shift in the way we think about and do justice. In the last few decades, many different programs have arisen out of a profound and virtually universal frustration with the dysfunction of our justice system. What distinguishes restorative justice from all these programs is that it is not a program. It is a theory of justice which challenges the fundamental assumptions in the dominant discourse about justice" (Restorative Justice for Oakland Youth, 2012).

4. **Diverse student mentor cohorts.** PASS-2 classes enrolled students with a range of academic records and diverse leadership experiences (e.g., elected leaders and students with no prior leadership experience); the diversity of the participants enriched the experience of both youth and adults. In spite of the ways the heterogeneity of the student mentor cohorts benefitted the youth, a few teachers mentioned that the students who self-selected into the class were "easier to teach" and therefore made it easier to implement the PASS-2 curriculum. However, even with this caveat, they felt that all students—particularly those who are not seen as "traditional" leaders (e.g., elected student body officers)—added value to the overall experience of PASS-2. Perhaps more importantly, teachers noticed that the non-traditional leaders were full and equal participants and grew as leaders through their engagement in PASS-2. While teachers spoke to the strengths and challenges of the diverse mentor cohorts, youth were unanimous: the heterogeneity of the cohort was essential to PASS-2. Several student mentors felt very strongly that they would not have self-selected into PASS-2, yet they had benefitted tremendously from the experience and they were grateful that they had been encouraged (or required) participate.

5. **An apprenticeship model of leadership development.** PASS-2 was anchored by a framework of graduated responsibility that assumed participating youth and adults would move from peripheral roles to more central implementation roles (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Within an apprenticeship model, both students and adults were participated in "guided participation" (Rogoff, 1990) where experts (OKF staff) and novices (PASS-2 mentors, partner teachers) came together to improve their practice and to gradually shift more central responsibility to the PASS-2 participants. Both youth and adults engaged in a process of observing OKF staff practice, engaging in guided practice (running through workshops in class, role playing), and participating in independent practice (youth leading ninth grade workshops, partner teachers taking on additional roles in the PASS-2 class). Many participants attributed their growth to PASS-2's apprenticeship model (Rogoff, 1990).

6. **A community of practice for PASS-2 partner teachers.** The original purpose of the teacher cohort was to improve the quality and consistency of PASS-2 implementation and to strengthen the partnership between OKF staff and partner teachers. The cohort achieved this goal, as evidenced by a number of statements made by all five partner teachers resonant with the following:

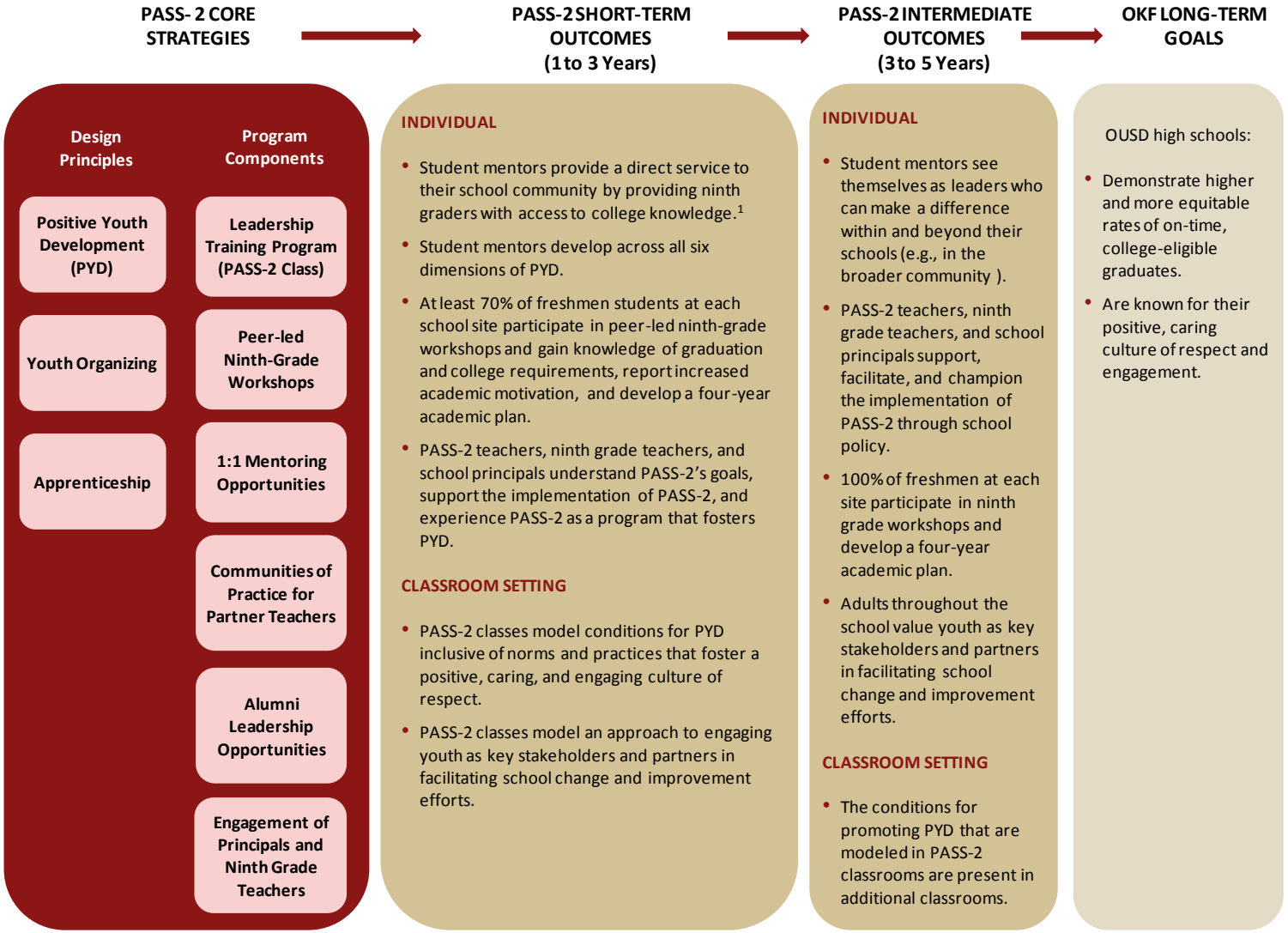
   > *I think the teacher cohort is what really got me connected more to the program. It's really just an anchor for me. I feel like otherwise—this might be particular to my situation because I have so many hats that it was really hard to dedicate myself to this, but once I went to the teacher cohort and heard what people were going through, oh, my God, it made me really feel connected and invested in the program.*

   The cohort grew to become a community of practice where teachers felt a powerful sense of belonging and received support to play a more central role in the implementation of PASS-

2. All of the partner teachers spoke highly of the experience of solidarity and support offered to them through their interactions with OKF staff and other teachers through the teacher cohort. They appreciated the chance to connect with like-minded teachers who taught in other Oakland schools, to share both their joys and their struggles, to renew their commitment to promoting social justice through their practice, and to develop a greater sense of responsibility for sustaining PASS-2 in partnership with—but not without the direct participation of—OKF.

Revisiting the Preliminary Logic Model

Overall, implementation efforts reflected many of the core elements of the preliminary logic model. The findings affirmed some of the elements of PASS-2's preliminary logic model and they also pointed to new elements that may help clarify and strengthen the vision for the work going forward. Overall, the research affirmed that PASS-2's design principles resonated with youth and PASS-2 partner teachers and it found that these principles reflected an integrated theoretical framework drawing on the work of positive youth development, youth organizing, and apprenticeship. The research also affirmed that the four program components reflected an important combination of practices that worked in concert to support progress toward the short- and long-term outcomes. However, the value of students' one-on-one mentoring experiences in the context of LTM did not seem to be tied to the resource-heavy elements (e.g., lunch provided, OKF staff person present) or the structure (e.g., all students meet in one room on a certain day) required to implement the current construction of LTM. Instead, the findings suggest that any opportunity—formal or informal—to connect one-on-one with ninth grade students is the essential element of LTM. With regard to core strategies or practices, the research found that school principals, ninth grade teachers, and PASS-2 alumni were central to implementation and worth situating within the logic model. With regard to the outcomes described in the preliminary logic model, the research found that while the short-term outcomes appeared to be attainable, they could be expanded to include individual and classroom (setting) level outcomes. The findings also suggested that intermediate outcomes would help to articulate the relationship between PASS-2's short-term outcomes and OKF's broader long-term goals. As shown in Figure 2, the findings lend themselves to a revised logic model.



[1] The ninth grade workshops provide access to college knowledge including high-school and college-eligibility requirements, the tools to develop a four-year academic plan, and a sense of what it will take (e.g., self-advocacy, tenacity) to graduate on-time and college-eligible.

Figure 2. Revised PASS-2 Logic Model

Implications for Sustaining and Scaling PASS-2

Based on the research findings, there are a few program elements that may lend themselves to sustaining and scaling PASS-2:

1. **Youth leaders (current student and alumni mentors) are poised to take on additional roles in the implementation and scaling of PASS-2.** PASS-2 effectively equipped and engaged youth as academic mentors within their own schools and it provided some youth mentors and alumni mentors with the opportunity to serve as leaders (e.g., ninth grade workshop facilitators) in other schools. Many youth leaders were interested in taking on additional roles to support, sustain, and scale PASS-2. How might OKF engage PASS-2 youth mentors and alumni in thinking about the prospect of sustaining and scaling PASS-2?

2. **PASS-2 student and alumni mentors provide a promising narrative.** Partner teachers and OKF staff made reference to the extreme obstacles that stood between Oakland youth and thriving adulthood including the direct and indirect experience of trauma. Unfortunately, our culture tends to blame for obstacles and traumas with youth deficiencies, apathy or anger (see Ginwright & James, 2002 for a discussion). Within a deficit-based narrative, youth in urban settings like Oakland are often characterized as part of the problem. Pedro Noguera (2012) recently posed the question, "What would happen if…we utilized hope and community as resources for learning?" An answer to this question is largely heard in the voices of student mentors represented in this report. How might OKF elevate the narratives of PASS-2 participants to grow an asset-based approach to youth development, youth engagement, and youth leadership?

3. **PASS-2 is reaching large numbers of ninth graders.** Through PASS-2, OKF provided a large number of OUSD freshmen with access to important college knowledge such as information regarding college eligibility requirements and transcript literacy including specific strategies and resources that may promote student tenacity and other social-emotional skills students need to successfully navigate their high school academic plan. How might OKF better understand ninth grade students' experiences of PASS-2 with regard to current literature and movements to provide more youth with access to college knowledge? How might OKF explore students' experiences over time and better understand the relationship between PASS-2 and students' trajectories within and beyond high school?

4. **PASS-2 informs changes in classroom settings.** When partner teachers experienced the value of PASS-2, they began to experiment with PASS-2 pedagogy (e.g., restorative justice circles) and incorporate PASS-2 content (e.g., social justice theory, practical leadership skills) in their other classes. How might OKF document and further support partner teachers' efforts to adapt PASS-2's principles and practices in their classrooms as one form of scaling up within current partner schools? How might OKF apprentice additional teachers?

5. **School principals value PASS-2.** While the study found that principals respected and valued PASS-2, there is an opportunity to deepen their understanding of PASS-2's logic model and to broaden the circle of site-level leaders who support and advocate for high-quality implementation in more schools. How might OKF create opportunities for district and site-level leaders to better understand, support, and advocate for PASS-2?

6. **PASS-2 is poised to inform the fields of social justice youth development and college readiness.** Many participants experienced PASS-2 as a program that expands PYD to include explicit attention to *contribution* and grounds this work in a social justice framework. The findings of the implementation study identified OKF's implementation of PASS-2 as an example of Social Justice Youth Development (SJYD) (Ginwright and James, 2002) or what other scholars have framed as the intersection of youth development, community development, and social change through youth organizing (Christens & Dolan, 20110). SJYD contends that prosocial youth development is not enough – systemic change must be addressed or youth in environments plagued by inequity and oppression will never fully develop. At the same time, PASS-2 is addressing several dimensions of youth development known to be positive indicators of college readiness. How might OKF elevate its work in ways that advance the field and also draw the support of allies and advocates of SJYD and college readiness?

One of OKF's primary goals for PASS-2 is that in simultaneously cultivating youth leadership, providing access to college knowledge, and creating classroom setting-level conditions that promote PYD, youth and adults will work in partnership together towards achieving equitable high school graduation and college-eligibility outcomes and establishing a positive, caring culture of respect and engagement within OUSD. At the beginning of this study, OKF staff wondered if there might be a gap between their goals and schools' reasons for implementing PASS-2. They wondered, specifically, whether schools fully understood or supported OKF's broader commitment to culture change. The findings from this study suggest that there may be more alignment between OKF's priorities and schools' reasons for implementing PASS-2 than OKF had originally thought. For example, both OKF and the partner schools (partner teachers, principals, and student mentors) valued *contribution* as a starting point for promoting PYD. In addition to this synergy, there are a number of stakeholders poised to support OKF's efforts to broaden and deepen their reach through work that is tied to social and emotional learning, leadership development, college readiness, and meaningful student engagement. This provides OKF with a strong foundation from which to develop a thoughtful, evidence-based plan for sustaining and scaling PASS-2.

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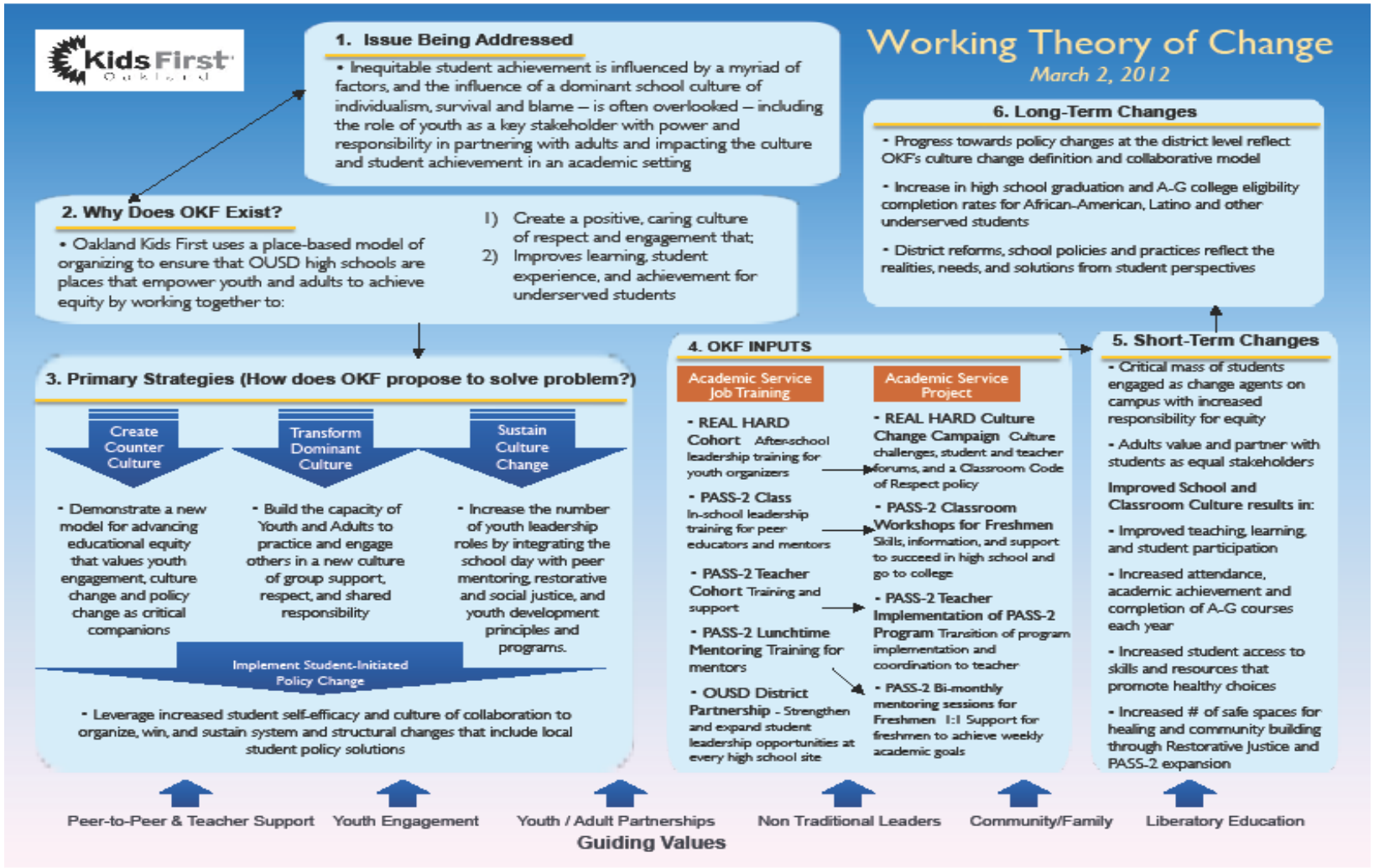
Appendix A: OKF's Working Theory of Change



Appendix B: California's Subject Requirements ("a-g")

According to the University of California:

The intent of the "a-g" Subject Requirements is to ensure that students can participate fully in the first-year program at the University in a wide variety of fields of study. The requirements are written deliberately for the benefit of all students expecting to enter the University, and not for preparation for specific majors. UC faculty considers the Subject Requirements to be effective preparation, on many levels, for undergraduate work at the University. This pattern of study assures the faculty that the student has attained a body of general knowledge that will provide breadth and perspective to new, more advanced study. Fulfillment of the "a-g" pattern also demonstrates that the student has attained essential critical thinking and study skills.

The "a-g" requirements can be summarized as follows:

(a) History / Social Science – Two years, including one year of world history, cultures, and historical geography **and** one year of us history or one-half year of us history and one-half year of civics or American government.

(b) English – Four years of college preparatory English that include frequent and regular writing, and reading of classic and modern literature.

(c) Mathematics – Three years of college preparatory mathematics that include the topics covered in elementary and advanced algebra and two- and three-dimensional geometry.

(d) Laboratory Science – Two years of laboratory science providing fundamental knowledge in at least two of these three disciplines: biology, chemistry, and physics.

(e) Language Other Than English – Two years of the same language other than English.

(f) Visual & Performing Arts – One year, including dance, drama/theater, music, or visual art.

(g) College Preparatory Elective – One year (two semesters), chosen from additional "a-f" courses beyond those used to satisfy the requirements above, or courses that have been approved solely for use as "g" electives.

Retrieved 9/16/12 from http://www.ucop.edu/a-gGuide/ag/a-g/ and http://www.ucop.edu/a-gGuide/ag/a-g/a-g_reqs.html

For more information, see "The 'a-g' Requirements – What Students and Families Need to Know" at http://publicportal.ousd.k12.ca.us/19941081118163031 7/site/default.asp.

Appendix C: Expanded Discussion of Data Collection and Analysis

Observations. The majority of our observations focused on school climate, relationship building and youth development principles, as well as on the conditions that were similar and different across sites.

Interviews. The research team conducted in-person interviews with adult participants – OKF staff, partner teachers and administrators at cooperating schools. We invited participants to take part in an interview, and conducted the interviews in a private place convenient to the participant. Interviews lasted between 20 minutes and one hour. Questions focused on participants' experiences with the PASS-2 program and OKF in general. We also asked questions about participants' individual school sites in order to understand PASS-2 uniformity and variation across sites. We audio-recorded the interviews and they were professionally transcribed.

Focus groups. We conducted focus groups with current and alumni mentors. Current student mentors were recruited through their PASS-2 classes. All of those who obtained parental consent were part of a focus group if they were in school on the day it was conducted and assented to participate. Alumni mentors were recruited with the assistance of OKF staff. Focus groups lasted between 45 minutes and one hour. As with the adult interviews, questions focused on the participants' experiences with PASS-2, and the particularities of implementation in their school site. Additionally, the research team asked questions concerning youth participants' high school and college planning and their dreams and plans for the future, in order to better understand the student population OKF intends to reach through PASS-2 and the influence PASS-2 might be having on them. We audio recorded the focus groups and they were professionally transcribed.

Document review. We reviewed documents provided to us by OKF and those made available on the OUSD website. We reviewed OKF documents to verify details about curriculum, understand the evolution and nuances of PASS-2's mission and goals, and understand the type of data OKF has collected to date to evaluate PASS-2. Documents from OUSD were reviewed to provide a better sense of how the work of OKF fits into larger district priorities and initiatives.

We analyzed the data using QSR's qualitative analysis software, *NVivo 9.2* and additional content analysis. All transcripts, memos and documents were professionally transcribed and entered into an *NVivo* project file. After a period during which we worked with a variety of codes and met with each other to determine their efficacy, we settled on a set of descriptive and analytic codes designed to help us examine all data that would be relevant to each of the research questions. For example, we coded for role group (e.g., PASS-2 partner teacher, PASS-2 alumni) and we coded for analytic themes (e.g., adult experience and youth experience). Both of these codes were developed to help us understand exactly how participants experienced the implementation of PASS-2 in their settings. Likewise, we developed codes like *school climate* to

better understand the settings in which PASS-2 was implemented and its potential influence on those settings. Additional codes, such as *conditions* and *connections to other OKF design elements*, were created to help us identify data that would be most useful in thinking about how the OKF and PASS-2 logic models took shape in different settings and across settings. Both members of the research team were involved throughout the coding process.

During the first stage of coding, we selected documents representative of different data types and independently coded them using a preliminary codebook that provided definitions of each of the codes. We then checked for acceptable agreement (Kappa >.60) using the coding comparison function in *NVivo 9.2*. For codes or document types for which we did not obtain acceptable agreement, we met and discussed points of disagreement in order to calibrate the team's thinking about these codes and refine the codebook. After several rounds of this process, we obtained acceptable agreement for all codes, with most having kappa values > .80. At that point, we individually coded documents, randomly selecting occasional documents that we would both code in order to recheck agreement. By using the process, the team felt confident that information retrieved using codes would be more than sufficient to answer the research questions.

During the final stage of analysis, we utilized the *query*, *retrieve*, and *relationship analysis* tools in *NVivo 9.2*, and conducted content analysis of all data retrieved in this way. We also turned back to the OKF logic model in order to understand where patterns in the data supported the existing logic model, and where patterns suggested a nuance or modification to the existing logic model.

Appendix D: Overview of PASS-2 Class

What is PASS-2?

The PASS-2 (Peers Advising Students to Succeed) program is a unique solution initiated in 2004 by Oakland Kids First youth program participants from REAL HARD (Representing Educated Active Leaders Having A Righteous Dream) who brought a distinct perspective to the issue – they were able to speak as experts on the problem of low graduation and college attendance rates. With insights gained through first-hand experience, they wisely identified themselves and their leadership as a critical part of the solution. After a successful youth-led campaign to realize their vision PASS-2 has now become a peer education and mentoring program that trains over 150 student leaders at six high schools in Oakland. These leaders provide critical information, skills, and supports to over 1000 students, so they become academically motivated, prepared, and contribute to a college-going culture where all students succeed.

PASS-2 Program Components

1. Academic Peer Mentor training program
2. Peer-led classroom workshops
3. Optional activities like lunchtime mentoring & community builder events
4. Support and training for school staff
5. Program Evaluation

Training for Mentors

PASS Mentors will receive their training in Leadership Class facilitated by Oakland Kids First staff and Teacher Allies. Training includes: leadership development, empathy, political education, public speaking, facilitation, research, classroom management, issue expertise, and community building.

Essential Skills and Knowledge

A. Background On A Specific Student Power issue: REAL HARD Peer Counseling Campaign
B. Content Expertise: Keys To My Future 1 & 2 Workshops
C. Plan and host: A Community Builder Event
D. Leadership Skills
E. Team Building and Team Work
F. Culture Work
G. Communication and Public Speaking Skills
H. Critical Thinking and Critical Reflection Skills
I. Organizational Skills
J. Research and Data Analysis
K. Workshop Facilitation
L. Time Management

Curriculum Plan written by OKF. For more information on PASS-2, see www.kidsfirstoakland.org.