



The University of Nottingham

School of Psychology

**Secondary school-based Restorative
Interventions – What are the perceptions and
experiences of the young people who are
identified as ‘wrong-doers’?**

By

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Abstract

The historical origins of Restorative Practices (RPs) can be traced back to the Māori communities in New Zealand (Wearmouth & Berryman, 2012). In the 1980s and 1990s RPs were applied in the criminal justice sector and a decade later in the educational sector (McCluskey, Lloyd, Stead, Kane, Riddell & Weedon, 2008b). According to a large-scale survey of English schools in 2009, some 69% reported to sometimes employ RPs (Kane, Lloyd, McCluskey, Maguire, Riddell, Stead & Weedon, 2009). The benefits of using RPs in schools are that it allows the focus to be shifted from punitive approaches to providing children with learning opportunities when conflict has occurred (Hopkins, 2003).

The evidence base in the United Kingdom (UK) consists largely of evaluation studies for example a study was commissioned by The Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) to measure the impact of RPs across 3 local authorities (Kane et al., 2009). The findings suggested that in 14 out of 18 schools, RPs had led to significant changes in practice, including increased positivity and reflectiveness in pupils and staff. Few research studies conducted in the UK have explored the perceptions of either the victim or 'identified wrong-doers' involved in RPs in school settings.

Therefore the current study aimed to gain an insight into the perceptions of young people 'identified as wrong-doers' by school staff and who had been involved in some form of Restorative Interventions (RIs) such as a Restorative Conference (RC) or a Restorative Mediation (RM). A qualitative study was designed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). 7 participants were recruited (5 males, 2 females aged between 11 and 16) from a Secondary school. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews which were conducted between one and six weeks after the mediation or conference had taken place.

The data was analysed and five master themes were created: the emotional component of being involved in the RI process; the experience of RIs as learning opportunities; the interactions between individuals before and during the RIs; the experience of feeling vulnerable and difficulties with recognising, processing and expressing thoughts and feelings. Some of these master themes directly related to the RP process and others related to the general experience of being an 'identified wrong-doer'.

Methodological issues and implications are considered. For instance, in terms of the research setting, the current study gives an indication of the elements of the RIs the participants valued (for example sharing stories) and found challenging (such as expressing their emotions). One of the implications for Educational Psychologists (EPs) could be supporting schools to employ RPs effectively to create an inclusive school environment.

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Glossary of terms

RJ = Restorative Justice

RPs = Restorative Practices

RAs = Restorative Approaches

RI= Restorative Interventions

RMs = Restorative Mediations

RCs = Restorative Conferences

TEP = Trainee Educational Psychologist

EP = Educational Psychologist

EPS = Educational Psychology Service

LA = Local Authority

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Aim of research

The aim of the current study was to explore the perceptions and experiences of ‘identified wrong-doers’ involved in Restorative Interventions (RIs) in a secondary school setting. Restorative Practices (RPs) can be traced back to the Māori communities in New Zealand where these processes have been used for millennia (Wearmouth & Berryman, 2012). Conflict in the community was resolved through meetings. These meetings followed the principles and customs of tribes such as speaking in turn, not interrupting others and respecting the views of the elders (Wearmouth & Berryman. 2012).

1.2 Personal interest in RPs

The researcher’s awareness of RPs developed during the first year of completing the Doctorate in Applied Educational Psychology (DAppEdPsy) at the University of Nottingham. During a placement at a Educational Psychology Service (EPS) the researcher consulted with a learning mentor in a primary school who used an array of approaches including RPs. The researcher was interested in an approach that moved away from punitive systems in schools as in her experience sanctions can be demoralising and isolating for young people. The researcher was in favour of an approach that emphasised restoring harm caused and belonging to the school community.

During the next placement the researcher discussed RPs with another EP who had recent experience of delivering training and supporting a school with implementing RPs. From this consultation the researcher learnt about the role that EPs can play enhancing the application of RP in the education sector.

1.3 Interests of LA

The current study was agreed by the Principal Educational Psychologist (PEP). During the process the researcher was supported by a number of EPs. One of the aims of the LA was to enhance inclusion across all schools and a small group of EPs argued that this could be achieved through RPs being adopted across the city. A project is in the process of being developed where RP training may be delivered by the EPS to all schools in the LA.

1.4 Overview of each chapter

The research study is presented across chapters 2-5 which are outlined below:

Chapter 2: Literature review

This chapter begins the theoretical underpinnings which provide an explanation for the different elements of RPs. The broad evidence base in the criminal justice sector and educational sector is presented, ending with the systematic literature review which focuses specifically on the views of the individuals involved in RPs.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter considers the epistemological and ontological standing of the researcher and the philosophy of IPA. The different aspects of the study's design are considered in detail. The study's trustworthiness is presented as well as ethical considerations which may impact the findings.

Chapter 4: Data analysis

IPA was used to analyse the data collected and the master themes are presented. The super-ordinate themes within each master theme are explored in more detail and are accompanied by excerpts from the original transcripts.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The last chapter answers the research question by summarising the findings and linking back to the literature presented in Chapter 2. The research methodology is evaluated and implications of the findings are considered. A final conclusion summarises the overall findings of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

RPs can be defined as:

“Emphasises the responsibility and accountability of offenders to make amends for their actions, and focuses on providing support to the victim” (Skinns, Rose, Hough, & London, 2009, pp.7).

Research studies use different definitions, this definition was deemed to be most relevant as not only is it applicable to both educational and criminal justice settings but it also focuses on the key aspect of RPs, which is bringing parties together to repair any harm caused.

2.1.1 Criminal Justice

RPs were adapted and applied in the criminal justice system during the 1980s and 1990s. In 1999 the United Nations’ Economic and Social Council encouraged its member states to employ RPs within criminal justice systems (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001). This was followed by a number of countries adopting RPs such as North America, Australia, New Zealand and parts of Europe. The alternative approach to RPs was a punitive approach such as enforcing rules and imposing sanctions. However, the limitation of the punitive system is that it can lead to stigmatising and disintegrative shaming which in turn can impact on an individual’s emotional well-being (Vaandering, 2010).

In the United Kingdom (UK), changes were made to government legislation, which encouraged the use of RPs. For instance in the ‘Crime and Disorder Act 1998’, changes were made to the Youth Justice system through the creation of a Youth Justice Board (YJB) and Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) (Crawford & Newburn, 2002). This was further supported by ‘The Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999’. which was built on the principles of RPs and focused on the

three R's; restoration, reintegration and responsibility (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001).

2.1.2 Education sector

When RPs were applied to the education sector it was argued that the terminology from the criminal justice system was no longer applicable (McCluskey, Lloyd, Kane, Riddell, Stead & Weedon, 2008a). Therefore RPs replaced RJ and 'wrong-doer' was adopted instead of 'offender'. The principles and philosophy of RJ and RPs remained the same; the difference was in how RPs were applied to the education sector and how RJ was applied to the criminal justice sector. To reflect the focus of the current study being educational, the researcher adopted RPs instead of RJ.

RPs were introduced to educational settings through the implementation of pilot programmes (Skinns, Rose, Hough, & London, 2009). In 2002, an evaluation of RPs was commissioned by the Youth Justice Board of England and Wales (Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, 2004). YOTs implemented a range of Restorative Interventions (RIs) which include Restorative Conferences (RCs), Restorative Mediations (RM) and Circle Time in 26 schools. This was followed by another evaluation commissioned by The Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED), which measured the impact of RPs across 3 local authorities (Kane et al., 2009).

There are a number of different ways in which RPs can be used by school settings. RPs can be applied broadly through a whole school approach or alternatively through targeted interventions such as Restorative Mediations (RMs), Restorative Conferences (RCs) and Restorative Circles.

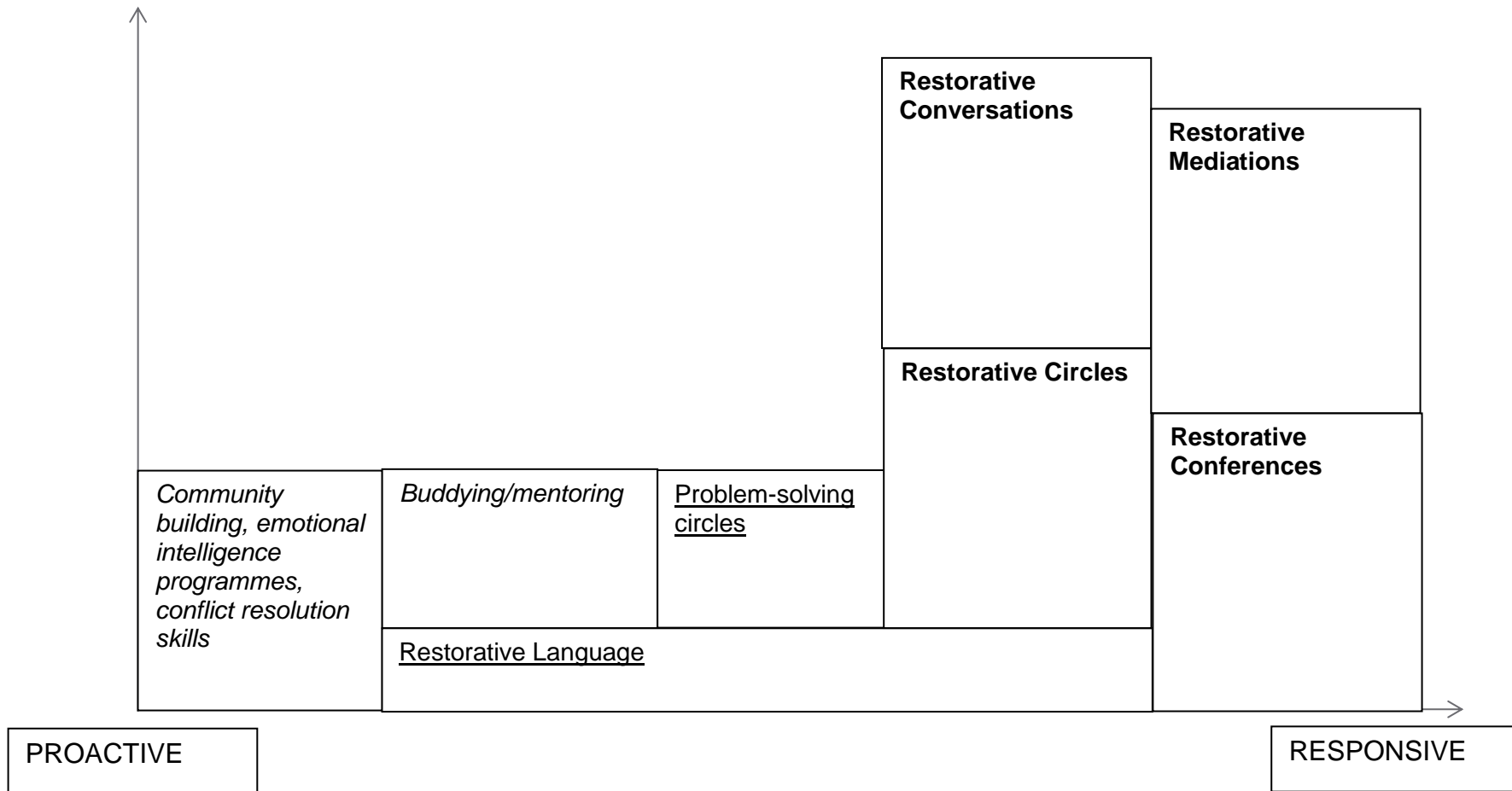


Figure 2.1: Different applications of RPs (adapted from Hendry, 2009 pp, 38)

In Figure 2.1 the different RPs applications are positioned on a continuum, to give an indication of the degree to which they are proactive or responsive in. A whole school approach would have elements of both proactive and responsive applications. Whereas, a school adopting solely responsive applications would use targeted interventions only such as RMs or RCs (Hendry, 2009).

In Figure 2.1 the applications have been separated into groups. The applications in *italic* focus on building relationships and developing a pupil's capacities and skills (Hendry, 2009). The applications underlined seek to resolve problems and interpersonal conflict. The applications in **bold** address harm caused with respect to the victim and the 'identified wrong-doer'. In the latter interventions the facilitator should ask both the victim and the wrong-doer the questions: what happened? What were you thinking? How were you feeling? Who else has been affected by this? And what needs to be done to repair the harm? (Hopkins, 2003).

In the current study the term RI is used to refer to responsive interventions such as RCs and RMs. A RM is conducted with 2 pupils typically the victim and wrong-doer (Hopkins, 2003). Whereas a RC is conducted with multiple young people and can consist of a number of victims and wrong-doers (Hopkins, 2003). The pupils' experience of RMs and RCs is different because the number of victims/wrong-doers can change from one RC to another, which could impact upon the group dynamics (this will be discussed further in Chapter 5).

RPs were utilised by schools because it allowed them to shift the focus from giving punishments to providing children with learning opportunities when conflict had occurred. According to a large-scale survey of English schools in 2009, 69% reported to sometimes employ RPs (Kane et al., 2009).

RPs are an important area to research as they can enhance student's connectedness to the school community and decrease anti-social

behaviour (Hendry, 2010). Being labelled with 'challenging behaviour' can be harmful for a young person and may lead to their exclusion from a mainstream school and consequently from society (Tobbell & Lawthom, 2005). Furthermore 'challenging behaviour' can also have an impact on teacher's emotional well-being, as they may feel deskilled and stressed (Miller, 2003). Educational Psychologists (EPs) support schools with pupils displaying challenging behaviour and RPs could be used as tools to re-engage this group of young people. EPs are therefore in a good position to contribute to the RPs evidence base in educational settings.

This literature review will present and evaluate the theories, which provide explanations as to why RPs may be effective. There will then be a consideration as to whether RPs are effective in the criminal justice and education sector and the evidence bases for both will be examined. In each section the language or terminology presented is dependent on the sector that it is drawn from (such as 'offender' or 'identified wrong-doer'). A systematic literature review will then be presented, which considers RPs from the perspective of those involved. The studies selected for this were conducted solely in the UK and in educational settings. Finally, the rationale for the current study will be outlined along with a description of the research question.

2.2 Theoretical Underpinnings

2.2.1 Aim

The aim of this section is to consider the reasons behind RPs efficacy and how RPs can be enhanced further to become more effective. The section will begin with theories that consider affective factors that have emerged from the criminal justice sector. Following this psychological approaches are presented, which provide theoretical underpinnings to RPs particularly stemming from cognitive and behavioural domains.

2.2.2 Search strategy

Literature searches were conducted in Google scholar and UNLOC:

- Search terms such as “*Restorative Practices AND theor**” was used as this would include a multitude of different endings
- Articles were selected by assessing the abstract for relevance. Further articles were handpicked from the reference list of the original articles.
- More focused searches were conducted on different databases such as ‘PsycINFO’ and ‘ERIC’
- Most articles found contained a section on theoretical background to RPs and the key theories presented in each were grouped together.

2.2.3 The journey of emotions: affective theories

The power of RPs seems to derive from the emotional involvement of the victim and the perpetrator (Rodogno, 2008). Emotions that can lead to change and therefore are deemed to be ‘productive’ are remorse, guilt, shame, empathy and hope. Emotions that may be detrimental to those involved are anger, humiliation, fear and disgust (Sherman, Strang, Angel, Woods, Barnes, Bennett, & Inkpen, 2005). The aim of RPs is for restoration to occur between the victim and the offender. Restoration can be achieved through reparation, which can be separated into material and symbolic: the former relating to compensation for damage caused and the latter is more difficult to measure as it involves being respectful, polite, apologising and forgiving (Rodogno, 2008).

Within RPs, specific emotions are often experienced by both the victim and the offender. For instance the victim frequently resents the offender initially and at various points the offender feels guilt, remorse and shame (Ttofi & Farrington, 2008). RPs involve both the victim and offender sharing their views. This exchange of perspectives is crucial as it increases the offender’s awareness of the victim’s distress and allows them to feel empathy. Furthermore, the victim has the opportunity to

see the offender feel ashamed and this leads them to potentially forgive (Reimer, 2011).

2.2.3.1 Shame and guilt

Shame and guilt are emotions that play a significant role in RPs (Vaandering, 2013). Shame can be defined as:

“The feeling that results from seeing one’s self negatively in the eyes of the other, such as feeling self-conscious, rejected, unworthy, or inadequate” (Retzinger & Scheff, 1996 pp. 306)

Guilt can be defined as:

“In guilt, one negatively appraises one’s behaviour as transgressing a norm to which one adheres.” Rodogno (2008 pp. 153).

Within the literature, theorists have different ideas in regards to the relationship between guilt and shame. Some argue that the emotions of guilt and shame are not the same, as shame directly influences one’s identity or self, whereas guilt is the negative appraisal of one’s actions (Lewis, 1971). On the other hand it can be argued that guilt and shame are a single emotion (Harris, Walgrave & Braithwaite, 2004). When guilt is experienced, one assumes responsibility for the action and this process impacts the self. By accepting responsibility an individual understands the effect that their behaviour has on their identity and therefore feels shame.

Furthermore, experiencing guilt in isolation is not sufficient to lead to a change in the offender’s behaviour (Moore, 1993). When guilt occurs alongside remorse the offender will be aware of the effect of their actions on the victim and responsibility will be taken. However Moore (1993) states that guilt combined with remorse are the same as the notion of shame.

2.2.3.2 The theory of unacknowledged shame

Shame can be avoided during one's life through emotional disengagement (McCluskey et al., 2008a). Some perpetrators may evade or bypass shame and this can lead to the destruction of social relationships (Retzinger & Scheff, 1996). Retzinger & Scheff (1996) conducted observations of nine RCs in Australia. The findings suggested that the victim also experience shame, although this is usually masked as anger, which is a defence mechanism guarding against the true hurt and helplessness felt. But the anger is perceived by the offender as an attack and they will therefore respond defensively.

As a result, the offender does not experience remorse and subsequently the victim does not forgive. Retzinger & Scheff (1996) found that in only one out of the nine cases did symbolic reparation occur due to the unacknowledged shame. This can have severe consequences for victims as unacknowledged shame can lead to them harming themselves or acting out on others (McCluskey et al, 2008a). The impact of unacknowledged shame on offenders is that they may reoffend or reoffend with greater aggression. If the parties involved have supporters at the conference this helps the victim and offender experience shame rather than bypass it (Vaandering, 2013).

The theory of unacknowledged shame is significant in providing an explanation as to why RPs may be at times ineffective and may lead to the perpetrator reoffending in the future (see further discussions regarding recidivism in section 2.3.5).

2.2.3.3 Reintegrative Shaming Theory (RST)

RST was developed by Braithwaite (1999) and can be defined as: “a *non-stigmatizing way of communicating the shamefulness of crime without rejecting the person who committed the act.*” (Ttofi & Farrington, 2008 pp. 352).

Braithwaite (2001) distinguished between disintegrative shaming and reintegrative shaming. Disintegrative shaming is where the offender is punished and rejected from the community. Reintegrative shaming is where the perpetrator experiences shame about their actions but is shown understanding, forgiveness and respect. Therefore the shame is experienced and subsequently removed in regards to the offender's actions or the crime committed. Reintegrative shame is central to the understanding and changing of an undesirable behaviour (Vaandering, 2013). RST relies upon the existence of strong social bonds between individuals and if this does not occur the shaming will not regulate the offender's behaviour.

TTofi & Farrington (2008) conducted a study exploring the role of RST in providing an explanation for bullying. Questionnaires were completed by 182 children aged 11 to 12 in Cyprus. Participants were given a vignette that explored children's perceptions of the type of shaming that would be delivered by their parents. The findings revealed that disintegrative shaming had a direct negative effect on the way that children managed shame, which then impacted on sibling or peer bullying. Reintegrative shaming did not have a direct effect on shame management. The researchers concluded that RST is useful in explaining the link between family and bullying and that RST has cross-cultural applicability. A limitation of this study was the sample size was relatively small considering the measures and statistical analysis used. Furthermore only one vignette was used in the study and any conclusions made regarding RST and bullying should be tentative.

2.2.3.4 Challenges to RST

Limitations of the theory are that it focuses on affective components more than cognitive and some have questioned the applicability of a theory developed in the criminal justice sector to children and young people in educational settings (Gillard, 2015). Moreover, Braithwaite (2001) has criticised his own theory for failing to consider the

relationship between shame and pride and also not presenting how it feels to experience shame. In addition, Vaandering (2010) argues that RST focuses solely on the victim and offender and fails to take account of the wider context such as the institutional and structural forces at play that influence the attitudes and actions of individuals. In summary, Rodogno (2008) urges to take caution when drawing conclusions as to the desirability of shame and guilt in a RI. Given the complex nature and interaction between shame and guilt it is not possible to apply a single concrete theory to all RIs.

2.2.3.5 Summary

The theories presented thus far have focused on affective factors that provide an insight into the interaction occurring between victims and offenders in RPs. The most prevalent theory derived from the criminal justice sector is RST, due to its important contribution to understanding what occurs in a RI. However the meaning of 'shame' varies within literature and RST has been criticised for being overly-simplistic, when, in fact, the range of emotions experienced in RPs are complex (Braithwaite, 2001). The next section will focus upon theories that have been developed or applied in the education sector. These theories move away from emotions to considering other factors, such as the interplay between cognitions and behaviour and the learning that takes place for both victims and offenders.

2.2.4 Theories of learning

Another theoretical root of RPs derives from Vygotskian and social constructivist theory. Vygotsky (as cited in Yeomans, 2008) theorised that children learn cognitive processes through direct interaction with the environment and also through social interactions with experienced individuals who provide guidance and support. Braithwaite (2001) argued that the formation of a social bond is key to the success of

restoration. Both Vygotsky and Braithwaite emphasise the importance of the social element to learning.

Another relevant Vygotskian concept is the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). The ZPD is the gap between what one can achieve independently and with adult support through scaffolding (Frederickson & Cline, 2009). This is also applicable to RPs as a facilitator should ask incremental questions that can be answered with ease (such as what happened?) and also questions that extend the individual's thoughts and imagination (such as what can be done to repair the harm caused?) (Macready, 2009). Vygotsky (as cited in Yeomans, 2008) argued that the process of questioning allows individuals to make new connections and greater intricacy in their cognitions. In a wider context this suggests that the school community needs to focus upon 'relationship learning', as children and young people need to learn the skills needed to build and repair relationships (Macready, 2009).

Vygotsky's (as cited in Yeomans, 2008) ideas are well-known and have gained popularity, particularly in the education sector. However such theories are not without its critics, for instance Gillen (2000) argues that Vygotsky's work has been misrepresented through translation from Russian to English. Despite this, Vygotsky's theory provides an explanation as to how efficacy may be achieved through the use of RPs particularly in schools. The theory of ZPD suggests that RPs are learning opportunities for both victim and perpetrator, as the facilitator can extend and challenge their cognitions.

RPs as learning opportunities are also supported by the theory of mediated learning experiences (MLE) (Feuerstein, 1998). MLE is an interactional process that involves an experienced mediator interjecting themselves between a task and the learner. Therefore within RIs the facilitator should not take an 'expert' role, but instead work collaboratively alongside the young people supporting their learning

journey. The mediator has to analyse both the task and the learner and base the MLE on such interpretations. In terms of RPs the facilitator might avoid giving young people 'the answers' and instead allow them to come to their own conclusions.

2.2.5 Cognitive Behavioural Theory (CBT)

A psychological strand that can contribute to the understanding of RPs is CBT. From the affective theories discussed, it appears as though both the victim and perpetrator experience an array of emotions during RPs. Both CBT and RPs provide victims with the opportunity to express their feelings, but also to think more rationally about the crime committed (Sherman et al., 2005). A victim may have negative thoughts about a perpetrator, but hearing the other individual's story may challenge the victim's perceptions and lead to more balanced and rational thoughts (Foa, Rothbaum & Molna, 1995).

Victims can experience 'Post Traumatic Stress Disorder' (PTSD) and CBT has been found to be an effective intervention to treat this (Foa, Rothbaum & Molna, 1995). One of the significant components of CBT is exposure of the victim to anxiety-inducing stimuli relating to the crime committed. According to conditioning theory, fear is a cognitive structure and therefore over-exposure will lead to new associations being developed that are not harmful but safe for the victim (Sherman et al, 2005). Over time, fear will subside as will the victim's emotional reaction to the trauma experienced.

It could be argued that RPs also exposes the victim to fear-provoking stimuli, which is the offender. Interacting with the offender in a safe environment de-conditions the fears and allows the victim to understand that anxiety does not have to lead to a lack of control (Sherman et al., 2005). This is relevant to the findings of Strang, Sherman, Angel, Woods, Bennett, Newbury-Birch & Inkpen (2006) which is discussed in the next section of the literature review. Victims were interviewed

retrospectively after attending a RC. The findings revealed that victims feared the offenders less after the RC and that the fear of the offender was heightened in abstract rather than reality. These findings suggest that the victims de-conditioned their fear of the offender during the RC, which provides support for the CBT theory.

2.2.6 Cognitive dissonance

Cognitive dissonance was selected because it is a psychological theory, which provides a possible explanation for the emotions experienced by the 'wrong-doer' in RPs. Festinger (Festinger, 1962 as cited in Roseman, Ritchie, & Laux, 2009) described cognitive dissonance as the psychological state an individual experiences when their thoughts and actions are inconsistent. Cognitive dissonance causes discomfort for the individual and it can be reduced by changing either cognitions or behaviour (Gillard, 2015). If the individual has been given an incentive to engage with behaviour that is inconsistent with their beliefs and attitude, change will not occur. For instance, in RPs if a perpetrator is given a reward for apologising such as a lesser sanctions, they may experience cognitive dissonance (Roseman, Ritchie & Laux 2009). If an individual genuinely expresses regret, it may lead to a change in cognitions or behaviour and reduce the cognitive dissonance. On the other hand, if the offender is coerced into asking for forgiveness this may not lead to a change in either thoughts or actions.

Davis (2009) conducted a study in the USA exploring the experiences of female youth offenders involved in RCs. The findings indicated that most of the six participants had experienced cognitive dissonance regarding the crime that they had committed and could not comprehend their behaviour. Nevertheless, during the RPs the participants were able to work through the discomfort experienced with the support of the facilitator, which led to more consistent thoughts and behaviour. A limitation of the study was that half of the participants were known to the researcher prior to the interviews. Therefore this could be an

example of researcher bias as the participants might have been eager to say the 'right' things. The researcher acknowledged that the participants wanted to be viewed as 'good people' as opposed to juvenile offenders.

Much of the criticism surrounding cognitive dissonance theory relates to the original empirical studies that were conducted by Festinger in the late 1950s to test the theory. Limitations were found in the methodology used and the ethical implications of controlling participants to experience cognitive dissonance (Robertson, 2001). However this might not be relevant to modern day research that investigates cognitive dissonance. For example, studies such as Davis (2009) focus on exploring the experiences of others rather than testing cognitive dissonance through the manipulation of variables.

2.2.7 Summary

This section of the literature review has focused upon the theoretical underpinnings of RPs in both the criminal justice and educational sector. A range of theories and concepts have been presented and their contribution to understanding how and why RPs works has been evaluated. RST is a prominent theory and emphasises the important role that shame plays in RPs for both victims and offenders. Psychological theories, such as cognitive dissonance, also provide an understanding of the perpetrator's experience of RPs. A general critique of the RPs theories is that a gap exists between everyday developing practice and potentially outdated understanding of RPs (Gavrielides, 2005). It is therefore important to continue to collect data which provides an insight into how RPs are being employed by schools. The next section focuses on the RPs evidence base that is derived from the criminal justice sector.

2.3 The RPs evidence base in the criminal justice sector

2.3.1 Aim

This section aims to describe and evaluate the evidence base for RPs in the criminal justice sector. Studies have been included from a range of countries including the UK. The studies will be grouped and initially the efficacy of RPs will be considered, followed by the perceptions of victims and offenders.

2.3.2 Search strategy

To obtain an overview of the relevant literature in this area, initial broad searches were conducted on search engines such as 'Google scholar'.

- Search terms such as *"Restorative Practice**"* were used, although this was later refined to *"Restorative Practice* AND criminal justice**"*.
- Articles were selected by assessing the abstract for relevance. Further articles were handpicked from the reference list of the original article.
- More focused searches were conducted on different databases such as 'PsycINFO' and 'ERIC'. Search terms included were *"Restorative Practice* AND criminal justice**"*.

2.3.3 The use of RPs in the criminal justice system

RPs were adapted and applied in the criminal justice system during the 1980s and 1990s. RPs were favoured over a traditional and authoritarian approach because the former process is deemed to be more effective in meeting victims' needs, improving one's connection to the community and changing offender behaviour (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2013). Within the UK, custody numbers have increased over the past few decades and therefore one could conclude that the 'traditional'

system is not achieving the aim of rehabilitating perpetrators (Mutter, Shemmings, Dugmore, & Hyare, 2008).

There are four common applications of RPs: Victim Offender Mediation (VOM), Family Group Conference (FGC), circle sentencing and reparative boards (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001). In the UK, RPs have been applied in youth offending panels and in the introduction of victim impact statements in court proceedings. RPs were used mostly with juvenile offenders (Rodogno, 2008).

2.3.4 Efficacy of RPs: measuring rates of reoffending

2.3.4.1 Family Group Conference (FGC)

The FGC model was developed in New Zealand and is based on Maori traditions (Mutter, Shemmings, Dugmore, & Hyare, 2008). The FGC model has been adopted by professional working with school pupils, individuals involved in domestic violence, young carers and adult offenders (Rodogno, 2008). The FGC model differs from RCs, since both the victim and the offender bring as many extended family members as possible. During a typical FGC, the offender may apologise and repair any harm caused. The victim will have the opportunity to share how the crime has affected them and the offender and their family generate ways in which the young person can change their 'anti-social' behaviour (Braithwaite & Mugford, 1994).

The FGC model originated in New Zealand, although is now used worldwide. An study was conducted in the UK by Mutter, Shemmings, Dugmore, & Hyare (2008) evaluating a FGC project, involving 33 young offenders within a social services department. Questionnaires were developed to measure the participants' general attitudes and used alongside the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) in order to measure attitude change across 3 different data points (pre, post and at a 6 month follow up). There was a highly statistically significant

decrease in the offenders' attitudes towards reoffending. Furthermore on the hyperactivity, conduct and emotionality scales of the SDQ, there was a decrease in means between the first and last data point.

The researchers concluded that the FGC project had successfully altered the perceptions and attitudes of young offenders. The findings also give support for RST, since shame is experienced by the offender and subsequently removed with regards to the crime committed. If the parties involved have supporters at the conference, this helps the victim and offender experience shame rather than to bypass it (Vaandering, 2013). There are limitations with this study, for instance (due to mortality) the total sample size included in analysis was limited to 12 participants. Furthermore, there is a possibility of selection bias, as young people were selected to attend a FGC based on 'professional judgement'. Despite these threats to internal validity, the study is useful in supporting the principle that RPs leads to a change in the offender's attitudes and behaviour (Reimer, 2011).

2.3.4.2 Characteristics of crimes committed and offenders

Bergseth & Bouffard (2013) conducted an experiment in the USA to ascertain whether RPs were effective with a particular 'type' of offender and offence. The sample consisted of 552 juvenile offenders, the majority of whom were white males and aged around 15. The experimental group were referred to the RPs programme and a comparison group had experienced traditional court proceedings. In the experimental group, there were statistically significant longer periods of time before re-offending occurred, in contrast to the comparison group. Moreover, RPs were effective with juveniles who committed both serious offences (those with previous offences and crime involving property or violence) and less serious offences.

Bergseth & Bouffard (2013) suggest caution should be taken in generalising findings to populations that are not based in small urban

communities. In addition, the sample in this study consisted of predominantly white males and therefore may not be reflective of juvenile offenders of different ethnicities. Furthermore, the treatment integrity of the study is jeopardised as researchers were unable to collect data regarding the nature of the intervention conducted. Nonetheless, the study still demonstrates the utility of RPs for a variety of juvenile offenders and offences.

2.3.4.3 Meta-analyses

Meta-analyses are superior to individual studies, as they calculate an effect size based on multiple findings (Robson, 2011). Meta-analyses have not been conducted in the research drawn from the education sector, as the evidence base is deemed to be still developing. Whereas, the RPs evidence base in the criminal justice sector consists of a larger amount of studies and meta-analyses have been conducted to measure efficacy.

Bergseth & Bouffard (2013) argued that individual studies provided inconsistent support when considering whether RPs are effective at reducing recidivism. Meta-analyses conducted in the USA also have produced inconsistent findings. Some meta-analyses have found that RPs are effective in reducing the re-offending rate (Bonta, Law, & Hanson, 1998; Nugent, Williams & Umbreit, 2004). On the other hand some meta-analyses have not found an effect in reducing reoffending rates (Miers, Maguire, Goldie, Sharpe, Hale, Netten, ... & Newburn, 2001; Wilcox, Young & Hoyle, 2004).

Latimer, Dowden & Muise (2005) conducted a meta-analysis using studies including an experimental group of RPs and a control group with traditional punitive approaches. The results suggested that RPs were more effective at improving victim and offender satisfaction, increasing offender compliance and decreasing recidivism when compared to traditional sanctions such as imprisonment and probation.

However a limitation of this study is that there was a large range of effect sizes which the researchers were unable to explain. This is due to the fact that individual studies included did not report outcomes separately for offenders using variables such as age and gender.

2.3.5 Criminal justice literature: issues with recidivism

Research in the criminal justice sector measure reoffending rates as an indication of the efficacy of RPs (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2013). The use of recidivism rates as a measure is based upon the assumption that if a RI is effective, then perpetrators will not re-offend in the future. There is debate around the credibility of measuring recidivism as an outcome of efficacy. One could question whether this is a realistic expectation of RIs and a useful measure of its success (McCold & Wachtel, 1998). McCold & Wachtel (1998) argue that it is idealistic to assume that by being involved in RPs once, an offender will never commit a crime again, particularly considering the other factors that can impact on reoffending such as socio-economic status, family background and level of education.

Zehr (2002) stated that RPs are not 'designed' to reduce recidivism, although this is a 'by-product' when the intervention is delivered effectively. If reducing recidivism is achieved then that is advantageous, but this is not the sole focus of RIs. Bergseth & Bouffard (2013) also support the idea that reducing recidivism is not the central goal of RPs and when the focus is preventing the offender committing future crimes, this diminishes the importance of other aims such as meeting the victim's needs.

On the other hand, when policy makers used RPs as an alternative to traditional court proceedings a reduction in reoffending rates is significant, and it provides a rationale for adopting RPs (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2013). In 2001, the government committed to funding further RPs programmes in England and Wales. The 'appeal' of RPs was that

it reduced reoffending and met victims' needs. Braithwaite (1999) argued that RPs should reduce re-offending rates and should eventually lead to crime reduction. Furthermore, RST was developed as a theory of crime control and consequently created with the aim of reducing levels of re-offending. Moreover, during the last stage of a RI, the focus is on outcomes and goals for the future which is directed more to the offender than the victim (Robinson & Shapland, 2008). This final stage is an important part of RPs and may result in reducing recidivism.

Reducing recidivism is used in many studies as a measure of the effectiveness of RPs in the criminal justice sector. Reducing recidivism is an important factor to measure, however other aspects of the intervention should be evaluated as well such as the perceptions of the individuals involved in RPs.

2.3.6 Perceptions of individuals involved in RPs

Strang et al (2006) conducted a qualitative study prior to implementing a randomised controlled trial (RCT). This large scale study explored the perceptions of 210 victims based in the criminal justice system. Data was collected in Canberra, London, Northumbria and Thames Valley. The victims were interviewed retrospectively after attending a RC. The findings revealed that victims feared the offenders less after the conference and that the fearfulness of the offender was heightened in abstract rather than reality. Offenders' perspectives were not directly measured however Strang et al (2006) concluded that their reactions were variable if re-offending rates are considered. A limitation of the data was that a large number of victims refused to take part in the RC and therefore the sample may not have been representative of the general population.

Gromet, Okimoto, Wenzel & Darley (2012) conducted three studies investigating victim satisfaction with the RI process. 230 participants

were presented hypothetical situations which included a description of the crime committed and the RC. Participants were then provided with a victim statement that was either satisfied or dissatisfied. Scales measured the participant's perception of the severity of the crime, the harm caused and their moral outrage. The findings suggested that when victims were satisfied, participants were less likely to seek punishment for the offender regardless of the severity of the offence. The researchers concluded that participants had used victim satisfaction to inform their own thinking. Offender's remorse was insufficient in fulfilling participants' concerns about the offender.

2.3.7 Summary

This section of the literature review has presented the evidence base for RPs in the criminal justice sector. Mutter, Shemmings, Dugmore & Hyare (2008) found that FGCs led to young offenders changing their attitudes towards re-offending in the future. Studies have provided inconsistent findings when evaluating the efficacy of RPs reducing recidivism. This suggests that RPs may lead to a change in offender's attitudes but not their behaviour as external factors such as socio-economic status can influence an individual to reoffend. From the literature the researcher concludes that studies should consider additional outcomes alongside recidivism due to the inconsistency in the findings. In the next section the evidence base for RJ in the education sector will be examined.

2.4. The RPs evidence base in the education sector

2.4.1 Aim

This section aims to present the evidence base associated with the application of RPs in the education sector. Most of the studies recruited participants from secondary schools and are conducted in a range of countries. Firstly, the research evaluating the efficacy of RPs will be presented guided by the following question:

- *“How are RPs used in schools?”*
- *“Are RPs effective interventions for pupils in schools?”*

Subsequently further aspects of RPs evidence base will be considered guided by the following question:

- *“What are the views of the individuals involved in RPs?”*

2.4.2 Search strategy

To obtain an overview of the relevant literature in this area, initial broad searches were conducted on search engines such as ‘Google scholar’.

- Search terms such as *“Restorative Practice*”* were used although this was later refined to *“Restorative Practice* in school setting*”*.
- Articles were selected by assessing the abstract for relevance. Further articles were handpicked from the reference list from the original article.
- The key RPs evaluation studies were initially consulted to gain a broad understanding of the evidence base.
- More focused searches were conducted on different databases such as ‘PsycINFO and ‘ERIC’. Search terms included were *“Restorative Practice* AND school*”*.

2.4.3 The use of RPs in educational settings

In the last two decades, RPs have been applied in schools throughout the UK and other countries such as the United States of America (USA)

and New Zealand. There are a number of different ways in which RPs can be used in school settings. RPs can be applied broadly through the introduction of restorative skills or language throughout the school (Hendry, 2009). On the other hand, RPs can also involve targeted interventions such as RMs, RCs and Restorative Circles. Targeted interventions versus a whole school approach will therefore be explored in more detail.

2.4.3.1 Targeted Interventions

An example of a targeted intervention in the USA is 'Real Talk 4 Girls', which was delivered to African American female adolescents. Within schools, female aggression is exhibited through covert or indirect means such as spreading rumours, ostracism and social exclusion (Featherston, 2014). 'Real Talk 4 Girls' is a group intervention that focuses upon reducing social aggression through the implementation of typical restorative approaches. Featherston (2014) conducted an RCT to evaluate the effectiveness of 'Real Talk 4 Girls'. The sample consisted of 48 adolescents, who were assigned to either an experimental or control group. The study measured the effect of RPs on social aggression, social problem-solving skills and pro-social behaviour. The results found a significant decrease in social aggression and increase in social problem-solving skills and pro-social behaviour. These findings suggest that 'Real Talk 4 Girls' had a positive impact on African American females. However, other research seems to suggest that a whole school approach is a more effective utilisation of RPs.

2.4.3.2 A whole school approach

Literature seems to indicate that RPs are most effective when there is either a culture or paradigm shift as a result of adopting a whole school approach (Kane et al, 2009 ; Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, 2004). Nevertheless, a whole school approach is an area that is

deemed to be 'under-researched' in the evidence base (McCluskey et al., 2008b).

Fleming (2012) evaluated the efficacy of a whole-school approach in secondary schools in the UK. A longitudinal design was adopted with an experimental group (RPs implemented) and a control group (RPs not implemented). Two secondary schools were recruited with a total of 127 participants aged between 11 and 12. In the experimental group, RPs were employed by the school through informal and formal conferences that were delivered by senior management, pastoral and teaching staff. The school in the control group used punitive measures and sanctions, such as detentions and exclusions. The results showed no significant difference in changes of empathy and behavioural difficulties between the experimental and control group. Therefore implementing RPs as a whole school approach did not appear to lead to an increase in empathy and decline in behavioural difficulties.

Despite this, there are limitations within the study that make it difficult to draw conclusions. For instance, no adherence measures were returned to the researcher due to staff pressures and time commitments. Therefore it is unclear exactly which RPs were utilised and the manner in which they were delivered. This lack of clarity could explain insignificant findings obtained, as the interventions may have not followed the RPs principles. Furthermore, the schools were not matched in key areas such as geographical location and demographic, due to a small amount of schools showing interest in taking part in the study. This means that the schools in the sample may not have been comparable.

Wong, Cheng, Ngan, & Ma (2011) conducted a study in Hong Kong adopting a quasi-experimental design measuring the impact of a whole school approach to tackling bullying. Data was collected over the course of 2 years and included 4 different schools. Participants were placed into an experimental group, partial intervention group and a

control group. The results showed a significant reduction in bullying with an increase in empathy and self-esteem compared to the partial and control group.

On the other hand, Kane et al (2009) state that a whole school approach is futile, as a school's ability to mould the behaviour of all pupils is limited. These limitations are due to the fact that there will always be individual pupils who will work against school norms and do not want to part of the community. From the studies presented there appears to be inconsistency in the evidence around the benefits of the whole school approach. One could conclude that the impact of RPs is wider when a whole-school approach is taken as opposed to specific targeted interventions. There appear to be conditions that determine the efficacy of a whole school approach, although these are not identified in the current research studies.

2.4.4 Efficacy of RPs in the education sector

The major studies conducted in the UK that evaluate the efficacy of RPs are in the form of large scale evaluation or pilot projects.

2.4.4.1 Review of RPs evaluations

An evaluation of RPs in the UK was commissioned by the Youth Justice Board of England and Wales and was conducted between 2002 and 2004 (Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, 2004). In 2002, Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) implemented a range of RIs such as RCs, RMs and circle time in 26 schools (20 Secondary schools and 6 Primary schools). Pre-test and post-test survey data was collected with over 5000 pupils and 1150 staff, and 600 individual interviews with key stakeholders and those who had been part of the RPs process.

The pupil survey data found no significant difference in improvement in attitudes and levels of victimisation between the experimental and

control groups. This suggests that RPs did not have a statistical significant impact across schools. Nonetheless RPs appeared to have had a within-school effect, 92% of conferences led to resolution (apologies, repaired friendships) and 89% of pupils reported a high level of satisfaction with the RPs process. The interviews with pupils highlighted that they valued being listened to by peers and facilitators. A limitation of the study was that there were treatment fidelity issues, as there was no consistent definition of what a RC entailed. One could argue that this inconsistency threatens the validity and therefore generalizability of the findings.

A more recent evaluation was commissioned by The Scottish Executive Education Department (SEED) to measure the impact of RPs across 3 local authorities (Kane et al., 2009). 18 schools were involved in the project: 10 Secondary schools, 7 Primary schools and 1 special school. A mixed methods approach was adopted with data being collected via interviews and surveys with school staff and pupils. The findings suggested that 14 out of 18 schools had made significant changes. These changes included more positive pupil and staff feedback, an increased awareness of the principles of RPs and reflective staff members (McCluskey et al., 2008b).

Pupil data suggested that *“pupils valued that RPs had led to teachers not shouting, listening to both sides and [making] everyone feel equal”*(McCluskey et al., 2008a pp. 413). McCluskey et al. (2008b) argued that some aspects of the study limit the generalisations that can be made. For instance, the response rate to the survey was low and therefore conclusions drawn were based upon a small sample. The survey was also conducted at the beginning of the project and thus is not a reflection of the views of the individuals over a sustained period of time. However this is countered by the interviews, which were conducted over two years and consequently, it could be argued, provide a more accurate picture of the impact of the project.

2.4.5 Summary

The studies presented thus far have considered targeted interventions and a whole school approach as well as the challenges associated with the latter approach. Within the UK, the RPs evidence base consists primarily of evaluation studies. The evaluation studies showed that RPs had positive effects, although such effects did not always achieve statistical significance. The evaluation studies only touched upon pupils' views, and so this will be considered in more detail in the next section.

2.4.5. Perceptions of the individuals involved in RPs

Reimer (2011) explored the implementation of RPs in a school in Ontario, Canada. A qualitative case study approach was adopted exploring the perspectives of the facilitators delivering the intervention. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with two administrators and four teachers who used RPs in their classrooms and on the playground. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used to analyse the data collected and the findings suggested that the way in which RPs were used varied depending on the participant's role within the school.

RPs were viewed as a reactive approach as opposed to preventative. The four teachers used RPs informally through restorative conversations, whereas the administrators conducted formal conferences. All participants stated that being involved in RPs led to the development of pupil's empathy. From the participants' perspective, the 'identified wrong-doer' experienced a change in cognitions and subsequently behaviour when taking part in RPs. The participants stated that even before the study was conducted there was a strong sense of school community. The strength of the school community may have contributed to the success of RPs in this specific school.

A limitation of the study is that a case study approach was adopted, which has low external validity. The sample selected was not

representative of the wider school since the voice of students, parents and support staff was not included. Further bias within the sampling method was apparent, as participants were recruited based on response rate to an initial questionnaire. Therefore these participants might have had more positive experiences of RPs, which they were eager to share. The staff members with negative experiences might have felt restricted and unable to voice their views in a setting that supports the use of RPs.

Kaveney & Drewery (2011) explored the effect of the implementation of class meetings in a Secondary school in New Zealand. Four teachers were recruited and semi-structured interviews were conducted. Data was analysed using Thematic Analysis and the findings suggested that the class meetings had led to enhanced staff well-being, as the teachers felt more positive about their students. All participants noted a change in pupils' perceptions of their own behaviour and the impact that this had on others. Moreover, an improvement was observed in pupil engagement and the learning environment. The findings are important, since they provide an insight into the impact that RPs can have with entire classes, as opposed to a small group of individuals.

The studies presented thus far have explored the perceptions of teachers and facilitators solely. A study that considered pupils' views of RPs was conducted by Schumacher (2014). Schumacher (2014) explored the impact of 'Talking Circles' in a high school in the USA. The sample consisted of 60 adolescent females and the data was collected via observations and semi-structured interviews. The data suggested that the participants felt safe and able to express their emotions. Furthermore, participating in RPs improved their emotional literacy since they had improved listening skills, higher sensitivity and better conflict management, which empowered them. This study suggests that RPs may be beneficial in terms of improving the psychosocial and emotional needs of young people.

2.4.6 Summary

This section considered how RPs can be applied in schools either through a reactive approach such as targeted interventions or through preventative means such as via a whole school approach. Reimer's (2011) findings suggest that a strong sense of school community is a critical component in the successful implementation of RPs. The RPs evidence base in the UK consists of evaluation studies and as discussed in the previous section (The RPs evidence base in the criminal justice sector) there is a notable lack of meta-analyses. In terms of considering individual perspectives, most studies focus upon collecting teachers views as opposed to gaining the pupil voice. Furthermore, most of the qualitative studies exploring individual perspectives are not conducted in the UK. Due to this the next section is the systematic literature review and this will focus upon studies solely in the UK.

2.5. The systematic literature review

2.5.1 Purpose of the systematic literature review

A systematic literature review is a method of collating a large amount of information and analysing findings in order to gain an understanding about the efficacy of an intervention (Petticrew & Roberts, 2008). Furthermore, the evidence collated meets certain criteria and focuses upon a specific review question (Higgins & Green, 2008). Other key characteristics of a systematic review are *“an explicit, reproducible methodology, an assessment of the validity of the findings of the included studies, for example through the assessment of risk of bias; and a systematic presentation, and synthesis, of the characteristics and findings of the included studies”* (Higgins & Green, 2008 pp. 6).

Systematic literature reviews are also useful in highlighting areas that have a limited evidence base and indicates the future studies that are required. In terms of epistemology, this systematic literature review has

adopted a constructivist approach which argues that there are multiple realities, constructed by subjective experience (Robson, 2011). The interpretivist/constructivist researcher tends to explore the individual's perspective of the phenomenon being studied (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). This paradigm lends itself to a flexible research design and therefore qualitative studies will be presented.

2.5.2 Focus of the systematic literature review

The purpose of this systematic literature review is to gain an understanding of the evidence that exists surrounding the perceptions and thoughts of the individuals involved in RPs in the education sector. The previous section presented the evidence base in terms of how RPs are used in schools, whether this is effective or not and the perceptions of the individuals involved. The evidence base was drawn upon studies conducted all over the world.

This systematic literature review provides an updated evaluation of the evidence base that exists with a particular focus upon the perceptions of the individuals involved in RPs interventions in the UK. It is important to conduct a systematic literature review in this area to set the context and rationale in which the current study was conducted.

Therefore the research question guiding this systematic literature review is as follows:

“What are the participants’ perceptions and experiences of being involved in school-based Restorative Practices in the UK?”

2.5.3 Search strategy

These were the databases that were used in this systematic literature review:

- PsycINFO
- ERIC

- Web of Science
- British Psychological Society (BPS)
- Google scholar

The key words in the research question were highlighted and alternative words with the same meaning were generated. The alternative words led to the formation of the search terms.

Table 2.1: A table to show search terms used in systematic literature review

The Search Criteria						
Intervention: Restorative Interventions		Impact: perceptions		Sample: school based		Sample: individuals
“restorative conference*” <u>OR</u>		“awareness*” <u>OR</u>		" school" <u>OR</u>		“wrong doer*” <u>OR</u>
“restorative practice*” <u>OR</u>	A	“understanding*” <u>OR</u>	A	"school pupil*" <u>OR</u>	A	“perpetrator*” <u>OR</u>
“restorative approach*” <u>OR</u>	N	“perception*” <u>OR</u>	N	“school student*” <u>OR</u>	N	“individual*” <u>OR</u>
“restorative discipline” <u>OR</u>	D	“thought*” <u>OR</u>	D	“school based intervention*” <u>OR</u>	D	“facilitator” <u>OR</u>
“restorative mediation*”		“insight*” <u>OR</u>				“people” <u>OR</u>
		“view*” <u>OR</u>				“victim*”
		“experience*”				

The search terms in the table were the ‘end-product’ as cycles of refinement had occurred. For instance initially the focus was on perpetrators’ views but this generated no results, thus the group was broadened to individuals since this included facilitators, victims and

perpetrators. Similarly the school group originally focused upon secondary-aged pupils, as this is relevant to the sample of the current study. In spite of this, few articles were generated hence the search term widened to “school pupil/student”, which included both primary and secondary schools.

The search terms were inputted in the same way in each individual database. The process involved initially searching for all the words in one group. For instance, in the group “Restorative Interventions,” individual searches were conducted for each search term (restorative conference*, restorative practice* and so forth). After all the words in a group had been searched, the terms were combined to form a ‘super group’ which consisted of all the results. Four ‘super groups’ were created and the final step involved joining them all together with ‘AND’.

Combined Restorative Practices AND combined perception AND combined schools AND combined individuals.

This search strategy was selected due to the fact that it was thorough since it ensured a multitude of words were included in the searches.

Table 2.2: Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
Restorative Practices or an application of this should be the intervention used.	Restorative Practices or an application of this is not the intervention used.
Relevant to the research question of the systematic literature review.	Not relevant to the research question of the systematic literature review.
Written format is an article.	Written format is not an article.
Some of the sample is drawn from school settings.	None of the sample is drawn from school settings.
The study was conducted in the	The study was conducted outside

UK.	the UK.
Study is in a peer reviewed journal.	Study is not in a peer reviewed journal.
Study was conducted from 2000-present.	Study was conducted before 2000.
Perceptions and experiences are the sole focus of the study.	Perceptions and experiences are an additional focus of the study.

2.5.4 Database searches

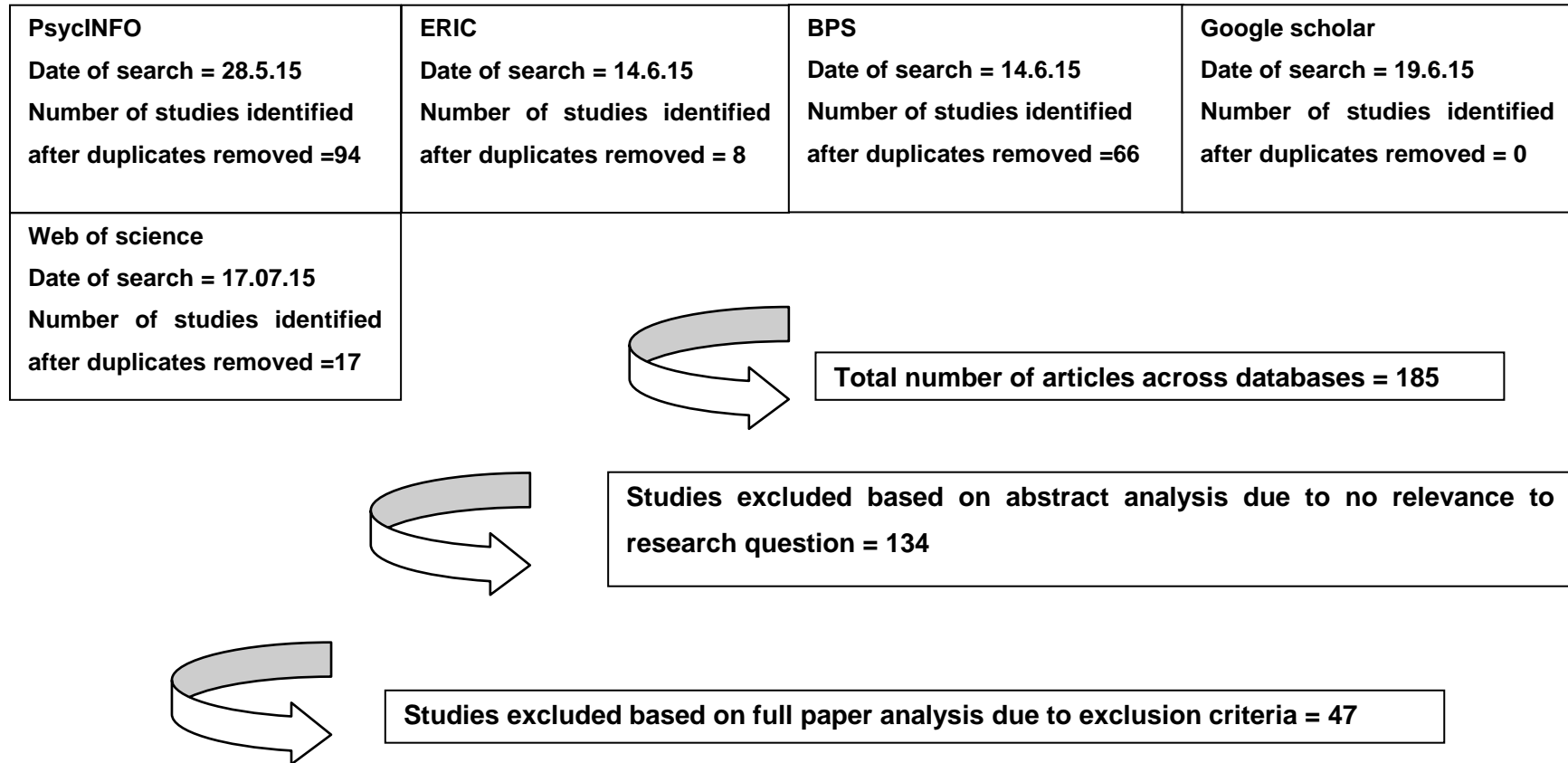


Figure 2.2: Flowchart to show search strategies

To view the table of included studies please refer to Appendix 1.

2.5.5 Appraisal of studies: Weight of Evidence framework

The four remaining studies were evaluated using The Weight of Evidence (WoE) model (Gough, 2007). This involves using pre-determined criteria that analyse the relevance and the quality of a study and provide an indication of how much importance should be given to the research findings (Gough, 2007). This process *“requires us to become clearer about the nature of the evaluative judgements we are making about the questions that we are asking, the evidence we select, and the manner in which we appraise and use it.”* (Gough, 2007 pp3).

Weight of Evidence A = *the accuracy, coherency and transparency of the design of the study*

Weight of Evidence B= *the appropriateness of the design in answering the study’s research question*

Weight of Evidence C = *relevance of the study to the systematic literature review research question.*

Weight of Evidence D = *a combination of the judgements made in Weight of Evidence A-C.*

Figure 2.3: Weight of Evidence framework

In this SLR, each study was analysed using the WoE framework and rated either low, medium or high. The purpose was to establish the relative value of the studies and their findings, before conclusions were drawn. One of the challenges of employing Gough's (2007) framework is that it does not precisely specify how each judgement A to C is to be made. Therefore to a certain extent, the researcher had to use subjective judgement in order to differentiate between low, medium or high ratings.

In WoE A the researcher assessed whether interventions were clearly explained, treatment integrity was evident and a detailed description of the methodology was provided. In WoE B the design of the study needed to be qualitative and exploratory in nature, in order for it to be appropriate to the review question. In WOE C the researcher gauged whether the findings were relevant to the review question. WOE D was based upon the ratings in judgments A-C.

Study one: Standing, V., Fearon, C., & Dee, T. (2012). Investigating the value of restorative practice: An action research study of one boy in a mixed secondary school. International Journal of Educational Management, 26(4), 354-369.

An action research approach was adopted to study the effect of RPs on one pupil's behaviour in a Secondary school. The school had recently adopted a whole school approach. The participant was male and aged 13. The student's oppositional behaviour had deteriorated at school and he was at risk of offending in the future. The pupil took part in the first RC facilitated by the researcher and was the 'identified wrong-doer' in the situation. The subject was chosen because he demonstrated some inconsistencies; he was articulate and reflective in meetings, but defiant in the classroom. Qualitative data was collected in 6 weeks through observations and staff and pupil interviews. Behaviour incidents and any RPs used were also logged on an electronic database by teaching staff.

Over the 6 week period the pupil continued to be involved in negative behavioural incidents in lessons, such as not following instructions, shouting out and throwing things across the room. The pupil was involved in a serious racial incident and another incident of minor theft. Such incidents were dealt with in a variety of ways such as meetings and impromptu conferences facilitated by teachers and pastoral staff members. Standing, Fearon, & Dee (2012) concluded that the introduction of RPs had not improved the pupil's behaviour.

In this study WoE A was rated as 'low' because whilst the participant sample was clearly explained there were some issues with the transparency of the study. For instance, the RPs used by the school were not clearly defined and therefore it was difficult to ascertain what a RC consisted of. Furthermore, there were some inaccuracies when describing the different applications used by teachers as everything was labelled a RC even when it may have been something else. Additionally, behaviour incidents were described by the researcher and it was clear that RPs had not been used to deal with these. The researchers stated that there was a lack of treatment fidelity and some teachers were 'telling off' the pupil. Due to these limitations it is difficult to gauge the effect of RPs when there were treatment fidelity issues.

WoE B was rated as 'medium' because there were uncertainties about how useful a case study approach was in measuring behaviour change. It is difficult to draw any conclusions about RPs ability to change pupil behaviour when only one participant was recruited for the study. To measure behaviour change a quantitative study may have been more useful. Moreover, the qualitative interview data collected was not presented separately to other data and more weighting was given to teacher's interpretation of the pupil's behaviour. Although the participant was interviewed, it is not clear what the findings of this were and therefore the young person's voice is lost. WoE C was rated as

'medium', as generally the findings bear relevance to the review question. The overall weighting (WoE D) has therefore been judged to be 'medium'.

Study two: Green, S., Johnstone, G., & Lambert, C. (2014). *Reshaping the field: building restorative capital. Restorative Practices, 2(1), 43-63.*

A longitudinal study was conducted in Kingston-Upon-Hull where an initiative began in 2008 to become the world's first restorative city. The Goodwin Development Trust was a local community organisation that trained 30,000 individuals to utilise RPs across a range of services such as school and social services. A study was then conducted to explore the views of the trained practitioners using RPs in their settings. Applications of RPs were everything from facilitating team meetings and restorative circles to resolve grievances between staff members. Qualitative data was collected through conducting 500 hours of observations, 50 interviews and 2 focus groups between 2009 and 2011. The data was analysed and grouped according to the positions held by the participants.

The predominant theme that emerged was improved communication in the workplace. Once the facilitator's familiarity increased with RPs, this led to enhanced team and interpersonal skills. This created an improved workplace harmony and stronger teams. The greatest impact of RPs was the way in which staff participated and contributed to team meetings, as personal problems were brought to team meetings and resolved which decreased the pressure and stress experienced by individuals. Green, Johnstone, & Lambert (2014) concluded that most participants reported a positive experience, although the degree of this positivity varied.

In this study WoE A was rated 'medium' since although the quality of the design was high, certain aspects were not clear or omitted from the

study. For instance, the number of participants included in the sample was not provided, although the sector in which they worked in was stated. Furthermore, the training that the participants received was briefly mentioned, however the researchers did not outline what this entailed. WoE B was rated 'high' because the aims of the research correlated strongly with the selected design. The researchers wanted to explore the perceptions, experiences and knowledge of individuals involved with or delivering RPs within a team, therefore they appropriately selected a qualitative methodology. WoE C was rated 'medium' as the study was not conducted solely in a school setting and included other services in the local authority. School staff were included in the sample so the study has some relevance to the research question, but not a significant amount, consequently the overall WoE D was deemed to be 'medium'.

Study three: *Bevington, T. J. (2015). Appreciative evaluation of restorative approaches in schools. Pastoral Care in Education, 33(2), 105-115.*

A case study approach was adopted in a primary school in London. The primary school had already been using RPs and the study was conducted to explore the perceptions of the staff members using it. Six staff members volunteered to take part in the study, five females and one male. The participants ranged from teaching assistants to individuals from the senior management team. Appreciative Inquiry (AI) was selected which consisted of four phases and took place over four months. The first phase involved individual interviews with a focus upon what was working well and building on this further. In the second phase the group had to imagine their school had won a national award for RPs in the future and create a rich picture of what this entailed. In the third phase the group had to write 'provocative propositions' which bridge the present with the future. The final phase involved the group devising an action plan based on the previous phase.

A clear theme that emerged from the data was congruence, in terms of values, expectations and outcomes. For example, participants said that the school's values should mirror RP values. The participants stated that whilst consistency was important they also needed flexibility in terms of the behaviour management policy. Moreover, participants identified different factors that might explain a lack of efficacy of the approach, for example pupil low self-esteem, staff members that might have low emotional intelligence, staff not having enough time or lacking confidence.

Bevington (2015) concluded that the application of RPs appears to be at odds with its humanistic roots, as hard working staff members were left feeling inadequate and guilty. Furthermore, the findings of this study suggest that it is not always appropriate to use RPs in response to conflict. The researcher questioned whether this is a limitation of practice or a natural boundary of the application of RPs in complex systems such as schools. These are interesting conclusions and overall WoE D was rated 'medium' which suggests that these are mostly reliable and valid findings. WoE A was rated 'medium', as a great deal of information was provided about the sample, data collection and analysis process. Although less detail was provided regarding how the school used RPs in their practice.

WoE B was rated as 'medium' as the study's aims were to move beyond merely evaluating efficacy via outcomes to drawing out people's experiences of RPs. Nonetheless it is questionable whether the methodology of AI was most appropriate to explore people's views. AI focuses primarily on the positives of a programme and therefore may not provide participants with the opportunity to share views deemed to be critical or negative. Furthermore, AI is a tool used to implement organisational change and thus one could argue that this structure and process did not provide participants the opportunity to talk freely and openly. WoE C was deemed to be 'high' because the study was

conducted in a school setting and focused on collecting the views of a range of staff members.

Study 4: Gillard, D. E. (2015). Restorative Practices-based practices in settings with children and young people: Examining the views of young people. International Journal of Police Science & Management, 17(1), 50-59.

An exploratory study was conducted in order to gain an insight into the experiences of young people, involved with RPs. Participants were selected from a local youth offending team (YOT) and a secondary school. Senior members of staff at both settings identified suitable individuals. Six participants were recruited, aged 14-18 and all had taken part in a restorative meeting. The sample represented a range of young people who could be deemed to be the victim, offender or neither category. Semi-structured interviews were conducted as soon as possible after the RPs and the longest period was 8 months.

Data was analysed thematically with two overarching themes developing: 'open and honest enquiry' and 'empowerment'. In the first theme the data suggested that RPs allowed all young people to acknowledge the role that they played in causing harm. Furthermore, creating a safe environment was sufficient in allowing some participants to be honest and repair harm, considering that being honest can be a highly upsetting and emotional experience for young people. Nevertheless when blame is removed from the situation, it is replaced by shared understanding and empathy. In addition, when young people felt empowered, they had a vested interest in the outcomes. Gillard (2015) concluded that young people do not experience RPs as a punishment and the process is both challenging yet enriching.

In this study WoE A was rated 'high' as the sample was clearly defined; the process of data analysis was transparent and enhanced by inter-rater reliability. A limitation in the design was the fact that the data

collected was retrospective and the amount of time between the intervention and the interview ranged between participants. This could have affected the participants' memory and ability to accurately recall their cognitions and emotions.

Another limitation was that the intervention that the participants were involved in was not described in any level of detail. The only information given was that it was based upon restorative principles. Since the participants were selected from a range of settings, it is highly likely that there was variation in the interventions delivered, which would have affected the validity of the findings. WoE B was rated 'high' because the flexible design appeared appropriate for exploring the young people's views. WoE C was rated 'medium' because the sample was drawn from both educational and the criminal justice settings and therefore some findings may not be applicable. Overall WoE D was deemed to be 'medium'.

Table 2.3: applying the Weight of Evidence model

Study	Authors	WoE A: Quality of design	WoE B: Appropriateness of design to research question	WoE C: Relevance to the review question	WoE D: Overall weighting
1	Standing, Fearon & Dee (2012)	Low	Medium	Medium	Medium
2	Green, Johnstone & Lambert (2014)	Medium	High	Medium	Medium

3	Bevington (2015)	Medium	Medium	High	Medium
4	Gillard (2015)	High	High	Medium	High

2.5.6 Synthesis of studies

This section will build upon the information already shared about the studies in the systematic literature review and consider the strengths and limitations of these. The focus of this section will be to evaluate how far the studies answered the following question:

“What are the individual’s perceptions and experiences of being involved in school-based Restorative Practices in the UK?”

2.5.6.1 Design

All four studies adopted a qualitative methodology, which was the most relevant research paradigm given that the review question focused on individual’s views, thoughts, perceptions and experiences. Quantitative approaches would have been useful had the review question focused on the efficacy of RPs in school settings. Three studies aimed to explore people’s perceptions and experiences and one study focused on measuring behaviour change (Standing, Fearon & Dee, 2012). The sample sizes were fairly small and ranged from 1 to 6. However this is fairly common in qualitative designs due to the depth of the analysis.

In Green, Johnstone & Lambert's (2014) study it was unclear how many participants were recruited, however due to the large amount of data collected one could assume the sample was fairly sizeable. Furthermore, an integral part of each study was the nature of the RPs delivered. Some studies were clear about the treatment fidelity and others were not. One reason for this might have been that some studies

included data from schools and other settings such as the YOT, where delivery of RPs would have been different. If the intervention between studies had been controlled in this systematic literature review this would have further enhanced the validity of the findings

2.5.6.2 Methodology

Two studies adopted a case study approach and limitations exist with this methodology. For instance a limitation of case studies is that they have low external validity. This suggests that any findings and conclusions cannot be generalised to the wider population. In terms of Standing, Fearon & Dee 's (2012) study RPs were found to have no effect on one pupil's behaviour, although this is not to say that this would be the same for other similar secondary schools. On the other hand, it could be argued that external generalisability is not relevant to the critique of this study, as the case study approach was intentionally utilised to explore one school in depth (Robson, 2011). The aim was not therefore to achieve external generalisability but internal generalisability, which refers to application of findings within the setting studied (Maxwell, 1992). However internal generalisability was threatened, as the sample selected were not representative of the wider school as the voice of students, parents, support staff was not included.

Furthermore researcher bias appears to be more apparent in case studies, as the researcher is extrinsically linked to all elements of data collection. This is relevant to the Standing, Fearon & Dee (2012) study, since the researcher was also employed by the school and was familiar to the participant. This may have had an impact on the responses of the participant in interviews or affected his behaviour when being observed. Nonetheless, case studies still provide detailed and rich information, giving an insight into topics or samples that would be difficult to study in a quantitative design such as an RCT.

2.5.6.3 Analysis

In most studies data was collected through interviews and focus groups and therefore analysed qualitatively. The only study that did not appear to analyse interview data using an analytical tool or that did not describe this in the article was Standing, Fearon & Dee's (2012). The other three studies employed thematic analysis with the addition of appreciative inquiry also being utilised by Bevington (2015). However thematic analysis has been criticised for not having stringent guidelines or quality criteria (Howitt, 2010b). A further limitation of thematic analysis is that it could be seen as generating 'surface level' themes with no theoretical orientation and therefore more akin to quantitative analysis than qualitative (Howitt, 2010).

2.5.6.4 Outcomes

The review question focused on perceptions and experiences of individuals, and as a consequence this section has been divided into staff and pupil perceptions.

2.5.6.4.1 Staff or facilitator perceptions

From the studies it appears as though RPs are implemented by specific staff members (facilitators) or by all school staff including teachers. In Standing, Fearon & Dee's (2012) study, staff views were not the focus of the case study, whereas the participants' behaviour in lessons was. Nevertheless, teachers provided either verbal or written feedback which was mostly negative. This feedback appears to be based upon the teacher's experience of teaching the participant, as opposed to conducting RIs. For instance, a Science teacher conducted a conference with the participant during a detention and then noted that the participant's behaviour remained challenging in the subsequent lesson. On the other hand an English teacher was more positive about the participant and stated that after she held a conference with him he was very mature in the next lesson and a 'different man'. One could

conclude that the perceived efficacy of RPs might be linked to whether the pupil teacher relationship is negative or positive.

Green, Johnstone & Lambert's (2014) study demonstrated how RPs can be applied in a systemic way. These findings suggested that adults can use RPs in their own teams with other colleagues as opposed to solely applying them to children and young people. The key principles of RPs were applied and this led to enhanced team morale and cohesiveness. These findings support use of a whole school approach to RPs including the different sub-systems within a school or any other organisation. Bevington's (2015) study was key in illustrating the perceptions of the staff members delivering RPs.

The findings highlighted the benefits of RPs as well as the challenges and limitations. For instance, staff members valued having a community where the school ethos matched the philosophy of RPs. A barrier to the implementation of RPs was inflexibility within the behaviour management policy. Other limitations were low self-esteem in pupils, staff members who might have low emotional intelligence and staff lacking time and confidence, which are important to consider when applying RPs in the education sector.

2.5.6.4.2 Young people's perceptions

Young people's views were only referred to in two out of the four studies. In Standing, Fearon & Dee's (2012) case study the focus was on one pupil and his voice is omitted in the write-up. 'Pupil interviews' were conducted, although it is unclear what these entailed and what the findings were. There is no reference to what the participant thought of RPs and what effect he perceived this to have on his behaviour despite this being a key factor. Instead the change in the participant's behaviour was measured through the perceptions of staff members. Staff views are not reliable measures as they are subjective and when formed around challenging behaviour can be highly emotive (Miller,

2003). Furthermore, RPs can influence pupil behaviour, although one could question whether a change in behaviour would be observed instantaneously.

There has been limited research into young people's views in the RPs evidence base in the UK. Few researchers have designed studies that explore solely the views of young people except for the Gillard (2015) study. These findings were insightful, as they suggest that young people experience an array of emotions during RPs and that at times they perceive some of these emotions to be challenging. This is important for a facilitator to be aware of and support mechanisms need to be in place when a pupil is feeling discomfort.

2.6 Rationale for current study

The literature and research presented gives an indication of the existing evidence base for RPs. A large amount of evidence is drawn from other countries in particular Australia and the USA. In the UK the evidence base is still developing and the theoretical understanding is continually evolving. The RPs evidence base in the UK consists predominantly of studies conducted in the criminal justice sector, although in the last twenty years this has extended to educational settings. The review will now consider the gaps in the UK evidence base focusing upon RPs applied to school settings, since this is most relevant to the current study.

The majority of this evidence has been collected through large scale evaluations measuring the efficacy of RPs through various outcomes. The systematic literature review indicates that there are few studies exploring the experiences of the individuals involved in RPs in school settings. The exploration that has taken place tend to use a flexible, qualitative design to allow for the collection of rich data. However, qualitative studies are lacking in the RPs evidence base. Such studies consider the underpinning mechanisms that make RPs effective. Most

of the qualitative studies that have been published utilise a case study approach.

Additionally, it appears as though the only study conducted in the UK thus far that directly explores the views of children and young people is Gillard (2015). This is surprising considering young people are the focus of RPs in schools. There are limitations in the extent that the findings can be generalised from this study as the sample was drawn from both youth offending teams and a secondary school. For this reason, the current study recruited pupils solely from the education sector, from one secondary school.

The current study proposed to explore the views and experiences of the 'identified wrong-doers' in situations where conflict had occurred. This group was selected because it offers an essential viewpoint and such perceptions would be valuable. It has been argued that ideally the 'wrong-doer' should experience a change in cognitions and subsequently behaviour when taking part in RPs (Reimer, 2011). Furthermore, with the debate that surrounds the concept of shame, it would be useful to gain an insight into the journey of emotions that a child experiences when involved in RIs.

RIs were to include both conferences and mediations. The researcher wanted to explore the views of children involved in everyday conflict. The researcher also wanted to gain an understanding about whether the 'identified wrong-doer' truly experiences the processes depicted in the literature or whether they feel obliged or compelled to 'do the right thing' because a member of staff is telling them to do so.

2.7 Research question

Due to this the following research question was derived:

Secondary school-based Restorative Interventions – What are the perceptions and experiences of the young people who are identified as ‘wrong-doers’?

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In Chapter 2 the literature relating to RPs was presented. The theory underpinning RPs was considered, as well as the evidence base drawn from both criminal justice and educational sectors. The systematic literature review indicated that the only study conducted in the UK thus far that directly explores the views of children and young people is Gillard (2015). This provides the rationale for gaining the views of young people (particularly the 'identified wrong-doers') involved in RIs.

Chapter 3 will present the epistemological considerations that influence the focus of the current study. The chapter will focus upon the ontological and epistemological decisions the researcher had to make, which in turn, influenced the nature of the study. The methodology used will be evaluated and details of the study described. The procedure and measures section will then be presented in detail and with transparency, so that another researcher could replicate the study. Finally, issues affecting the trustworthiness of the study will be considered.

3.1.1 An introduction to real world research

It is important to consider the idea of real world research and what it entails as this provides some context to the development and implementation of the current study.

Real world research can be defined as "*typically small in scale and modest in scope*" (Robson, 2011 pp. 3). These types of studies often evaluate an initiative, service or intervention with the aim of leading to some degree of change. Real world research differs from 'academic' research because it is usually carried out in applied fields, such as

educational settings, by the professionals and practitioners who work within them. Real world research often focuses on society's problems and understanding these issues from different perspectives (Robson, 2011).

Real world research can be challenging to implement and some elements, such as timing and conducting the intervention or measures, are outside the control of the researcher (Robson, 2011). Gray (2013) argues that such difficulties occur because of the nature of research settings. Often organisations find it difficult to dedicate the time and resources needed to successfully implement the study.

The current study therefore, fits in with the notion of 'real world research' because it was seeking to gain further information about RPs from the perspective of the 'identified wrong-doers'. The nature of research is determined by one's philosophical stance and view of reality and knowledge adopted by the researcher. This will be discussed in further detail in the next section.

3.2. Philosophical influences

Morgan (2007pp.50) stated that paradigms can be defined as "*shared belief systems that influence the kind of knowledge researchers seek and how they interpret the evidence they collect*". This definition suggests, that those adopting a particular paradigm have a shared belief about the nature of 'reality'. This is explained further by Guba (1990) who provides an illustration of the relationship between ontology, epistemology and methodology. According to Guba (1990) paradigms can be characterised through their ontology (what is reality?), epistemology (how do you know something?) and methodology (how do go about finding out?).

Therefore choosing a specific paradigm dictates the nature and focus of the research study. There are a range of theoretical paradigms and the

most prominent will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent sections, before presenting the ontological and epistemological positions of the researcher and the influence this had on the current study.

3.21 Positivist and post-positivist paradigm

Within psychological research, studies conducted in the positivist paradigm have dominated the field (Rossman & Rallis, 2011). Positivism is often referred to as a 'scientific approach'. The ontological perspective is that a single reality exists and therefore the scientific approach is 'credible' because "*every scientist looking at the same bit of reality sees the same thing*" (Robson, 2011 pp. 20). Positivists aim to test a theory or hypothesis through either direct experience or observation and anything unknown or in the sub-conscious is rejected (Robson, 2011). However, positivism has been criticised for only investigating observable phenomena and disregarding abstract entities (Rossman & Rallis, 2011).

As a response to these criticisms, post-positivism emerged after World War II (Mertens, 2014). Post-positivism acknowledged that the researcher can influence what is being observed (through values and beliefs) and that a reality does exist but it can only be known imperfectly (Robson, 2011). Furthermore, post-positivism rejects the positivist claim that only the observable can be studied. Post-positivism encourages researchers to study the elements of human experience that are not easily observed such as one's feelings and thoughts (Mertens, 2014).

3.22 Interpretivist/constructivist paradigm

Constructivism can be seen as the rejection of positivist notion of a single reality (Howitt, 2010c). Constructivism argues that there are multiple realities which are constructed by subjective experience (Robson, 2011). In this sense the epistemological stance is that

knowledge can be constructed from different perspectives. The constructivist paradigm was influenced by Husserl's notion of phenomenology (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). Phenomenology is a philosophical approach that relates to the study of human experience (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009) (This will be discussed later in the IPA section 3.5.2). The interpretivist/constructivist researcher tends to explore the individual's perspective of the phenomenon being studied (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). This paradigm lends itself to qualitative methods of data collection.

3.2.3 Pragmatic paradigm

Pragmatism can be defined as a paradigm that *"is not committed to any one system of philosophy or reality"* (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006 pp. 198). Pragmatism moves away from the previous 'paradigm wars' associated with the 'traditional dualism' between positivism and constructivism (Gage, 1989). Instead, the researcher can use any research approach or methodology that will provide answers to the research question (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006). This paradigm lends itself to a mixed methods approach to data collection.

3.3 Rationale for the research paradigm of the current study

Willig (2001) stated that in terms of ontology, there is a dichotomy that ranges from naïve realism to radical realism. A realist views reality as a law of nature waiting to be found. Whereas a relativist argues that a 'true' reality does not exist as knowledge is continually adapting and evolving.

The researcher does not agree with either extreme realism or relativism positions, but advocates a stance that is more aligned relativism than realism. In the researcher's view multiple realities exist and one can retrieve people's perceptions of their experiences and world. The researcher is focused upon the way meaning may be differently and

subjectively construed by participants experiencing a particular context (Creswell, 2009).

The researcher supports the idea that reality is constructed by subjective experience and therefore the current study is situated in the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm. The researcher is aiming to obtain the perspectives of 'identified wrong-doers' and make sense of these experiences.

Based on the ontology and epistemology adopted, the current study lends itself to qualitative methodologies.

3.4 Research methodology

This section provides information about the different research methodologies that exist such as, quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. A more detailed explanation will be presented for qualitative approaches and then the rationale for the current study's methodology will be discussed.

3.4.1 Quantitative (fixed) designs

Fixed designs are influenced by positivism and are driven by theory (Robson, 2011). Quantitative research is typically associated with turning information into numbers and usually using statistical analysis (Robson, 2011). The types of methodologies that can be designed include randomised controlled trials (RCTs), quasi-experimental designs and single case experimental designs (SCEDs).

3.4.2 Mixed methods

Mixed methods emerged as a research methodology in the 1990s (Robson, 2011). Mixed methods use both quantitative and qualitative methods in the same study and involve triangulating the data gathered. This can be particularly useful when a researcher has both evaluative

and exploratory questions. Mixed methods are influenced by the pragmatic paradigm.

3.4.3 Qualitative (flexible) designs

Qualitative research is typically associated with verbal information as opposed to numbers and there is no statistical analysis (Robson, 2011). No experimental hypotheses are generated instead data is collected and then theoretical concepts are devised. Flexible designs usually start with a single idea or problem that the researcher aims to understand in more depth. Due to the content or nature of the research question it is usually problematic to recruit a large sample. Therefore in flexible designs samples are usually small and data is analysed in depth. The next section will present the different methodologies that the researcher considered.

3.4.3.1 Case studies

Case studies have been prominent within psychology since the late nineteenth century. A case study involves the individual study of a person, group, setting or organisation (Robson, 2011). This approach usually involves collecting multiple perspectives and triangulating data. Case studies may focus on a phenomenon in a context where it may be difficult to recruit a large sample of participants. Moreover, qualitative case studies can involve conducting interview or observations (or both).

Case studies have been criticised for lacking rigour and have been considered a 'soft option' by some (Robson, 2011). Furthermore a limitation of case studies is that they have low external validity. This suggests that any findings and conclusions cannot be generalised to the wider population. On the other hand, it could be argued that the criticism of limited external generalisability is not relevant as the case study approach, is intentionally utilised to explore one setting or participant in depth (Robson, 2011). The aim is not therefore to achieve

external generalisability but internal generalisability which refers to application of findings within the setting studied (Maxwell, 1992).

A case study approach was considered, but it was eliminated because within the systematic literature review all the studies considered perspectives within a group. Therefore the researcher was motivated to focus on one perspective (the 'identified wrong-doer') in depth as this would provide insight into an under researched area.

3.4.3.2 Grounded theory

Hardy & Bryman (2004) argue that grounded theory is the most widely used analysis in qualitative research studies. It was developed in the 1960s due to criticisms that qualitative studies lacked rigour (Howitt, 2010). A study employing grounded theory seeks to develop theoretical categories closely linked to the focus of the study (Robson, 2011). Grounded theory is mostly used with qualitative data, however quantitative data can be used as well. Grounded theory is often favoured as an approach as it provides explicit procedures to follow in order to analyse data and generate theories (Robson, 2011).

However grounded theory has been criticised on the basis that it is difficult to start a research study without any pre-existing theoretical underpinning or assumptions influencing the researcher (Robson, 2011). Furthermore, it could be argued that the systematic approach of grounded theory is inconsistent with the notion of a flexible, exploratory design (Robson, 2011).

Grounded theory was considered by the researcher however after careful consideration this was also rejected. Grounded theory seemed too rigid and structured and the researcher wanted a methodology that could be used flexibly. Furthermore, the researcher understood grounded theory to be most useful when applied to areas with few existing theories. Chapter 2 demonstrated that within RPs there were a

number of well-established theories, therefore grounded theory was deemed to be inappropriate.

3.5 Interpretative Phenomenological Interpretation (IPA)

3.5.1 Definition

The aim of IPA is to “*explore in detail how participants are making sense of their personal and social world, and the main currency for an IPA study is the meanings particular experiences, events, states hold for participants*” (Smith & Osborn, 2008 pp. 53). IPA argues that individuals are connected in terms of their cognitions, language and emotional state, however it acknowledges that such connections are complex in nature. The connections are complex because often individuals experience difficulties in expressing their thoughts and feelings.

3.5.2 Philosophical and historical origins

IPA was largely developed in health psychology in the 1990s and was utilised to gain understanding about an individual’s experiences of medical issues such as chronic pain. In addition IPA has philosophical roots in phenomenology, hermeneutics and idiography (Howitt, 2010a).

Phenomenology is a philosophical approach that relates to the study of human experience (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). A key theorist in the 1920s was Edmund Husserl who stated that human experience should be explored without the researcher being influenced by pre-defined theories and assumptions. Furthermore, through using a series of ‘reductions’, the researcher moves away from their pre-disposed assumptions to understanding the experience of specific phenomena. The IPA researcher is fully immersed in the participant’s world.

Another prominent philosopher was Heidegger, a student of Husserl. Heidegger argued for a 'person in context' approach, whereby relatedness to the world cannot be removed and is a fundamental part of existence (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). In IPA the focus is on learning about a person in their context and their understanding of how something has occurred (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006).

Another theoretical underpinning of IPA derives from hermeneutics which is the theory of interpretation of the meaning of texts (Rennie, 1999). Schleiermacher was a theologian who emphasised the importance of grammatical and psychological analyses. Grammatical analyses related to the original meaning of the text and psychological analyses referred to looking at what was said and the uniqueness of the speaker. In terms of IPA, this relates to bringing together the context of the text (whole) and the author (part) (Smith, 2007).

Heidegger combined the phenomenological approach and the theories of hermeneutics. Heidegger moved away from Husserl's theory of bracketing and stated that interpretation is based upon 'fore-conception'. 'Fore-conception acknowledges the fact that researchers bring their own ideas, experiences and preconceptions and that actually these should be identified rather than completely suppressed (Rizwan, 2014).

The final influence upon IPA is idiography which focuses on the different experiences of particular people and the contexts in which their experiences occur (Rizwan, 2014). An idiographic approach is in contrast to a nomothetic approach, which considers establishing laws at a group or population level. The focus for an idiographic analysis is to understand the meaning of something for a given person.

3.5.3 The process

IPA is a methodology in its own right rather than simply a means of analysing data. Some critics of IPA have misinterpreted it to be a purely descriptive methodology, however this is an inaccurate understanding of the process (Larkin, Watts, & Clifton, 2006). IPA is a two staged interpretative process as not only are participants trying to make sense of their experiences but the researcher also attempts to make sense of their experiences. The researcher plays an active role in attempting to immerse themselves in another individual's world and interpreting cognition and affect from the things individuals say. In IPA studies data can be collected through focus groups or individual interviews which involves sharing ideas orally.

Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) identified a six stage process of analysis which the researcher followed:

1. The first step involved immersing oneself in the data. The researcher listened to the audio recording of the interview transcript whilst reading a printed version as this allowed the researcher to imagine the voice of the participant in subsequent readings of the transcript. During this stage the researcher recorded notes about recollections from the interview or observations about the transcript and placed these to one side to help with the 'bracketing off' process.
2. The next step involved annotating the transcript which the researcher did using Microsoft Excel. During this stage the researcher remained open-minded and recorded anything of significance. Descriptive comments were documented, which considered the key words that participants used and highlighted the objects that they described. The researcher then identified linguistic comments, which were associated with the language used by the participant, for example the use of pronouns or pauses. Finally, conceptual comments were detailed which were more interpretative in nature. The researcher then noted further questions that arose

during the analysis of comments and opened up the meaning the comment may have had for the participant.

3. Following this, emergent themes were generated based upon the conceptual comments in the previous stage. The researcher moved from analysing the transcript to focusing on the conceptual comments. The researcher created concise statements about what was important in the conceptual comments.
4. The researcher then printed out the emergent themes and began to group things together to form super-ordinate themes. The researcher re-organised the emergent themes through finding connections between them to create superordinate themes. The newly created super-ordinate themes were then recorded electronically.
5. This process was repeated for all the other transcripts. The final stage of the analysis involved printing the super-ordinate themes across all participants and placing them on a large surface. The super-ordinate themes that were most prevalent and frequent in the data were identified. Patterns were found which led to clusters of super-ordinate themes being created. These clusters were re-labelled and formed master themes.

(Refer to Appendix 9 – 11 to view an example of the full analysis process).

3.5.4 Limitations

IPA has been criticised at different levels (Willig, 2001; Langdrige, 2007). One criticism of IPA is that it relies on the participant's ability to communicate their views and experiences through language. In IPA studies data can be collected through focus groups or individual interviews which involves sharing ideas orally. This can be a limitation when conducting studies with populations that may find it difficult to articulate themselves. Larkin, Watts & Clifton (2006) stated that accessing the experience of the individual can be problematic.

A more fundamental limitation of the approach is the role of the researcher in an IPA study. Larkin, Watts & Clifton (2006) argue that within IPA one must accept that the analysis is a third person view of a first person account. Moreover, there are drawbacks to the interpretative element of IPA in that the analysis presented may not be reflective of the participant's initial views. It is well noted that IPA researchers are balancing representation against interpretation and contextualisation (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009).

A further critique of IPA is that it has progressed from phenomenology towards cognitive psychology. In IPA cognition is given a central role. Cognitions are not seen as detached thoughts but part of one's attitude of the world (Eatough & Smith, 2006). Husserl also argued that some aspects of experience are non-discursive and unable to be articulated by an individual for example moods or ideas within the sub-conscious (O'Connor & Hallam, 2000).

This perspective appears to be at odds with an IPA approach that relies on the verbal, articulated views and reports of experience which could be argued is more akin to the cognitive paradigm (Willig, 2001). Additionally, IPA poses difficulties for 'novice' researchers as they may be unable to analyse with the level of depth required and generate 'surface level' themes instead (Langridge, 2007). Nonetheless IPA was selected because it allowed for a rich and interpretative analysis of the views of 'identified wrong-doers'.

3.6 Rationale for the research methodology of the current study

The current study is situated in the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm and therefore qualitative methodologies were selected. There were a range of approaches that the researcher could have selected. Case studies and grounded theory have been discussed and the rationale for their rejection provided.

Due to such limitations, IPA was selected as the most relevant methodology according to the research aims. IPA is unique due to the phenomenological and interpretative focus of the analysis which is not evident in these other qualitative methodologies. IPA was considered to be the most useful way of exploring the perceptions and experiences of the 'identified wrong-doers' in RIs. IPA will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

3.7 Method of data collection: Semi-structured interviews

Within IPA studies data is collected through either individual interviews or focus groups. Individual interviews were selected for the current study because of the potential sensitivity of the topics being discussed (conflict with another student). Furthermore, the researcher perceived there to be a need to collect individual stories as each participant had a different experience of being in conflict with others and involved in a RI. Such diversity might have been lost in a group setting.

One purpose of an interview is to explore an individual's responses and the reasons for these (Kerlinger, 1973). Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) describe a qualitative interview as a conversation with a purpose. The 'conversation' is usually focused into the area of the research question. Different types of interviews exist with varying levels of flexibility. Structured interviews are usually employed through surveys or questionnaires ranging to unstructured interviews where the participant is able to say whatever they like with minimal prompting.

A semi-structured interview was selected as this involves designing an interview schedule with relevant questions ordered in a hierarchy (Robson, 2011). However, within semi-structured interviews there is also a degree of flexibility as additional unplanned questions can be posed on the basis of the participant's responses. The benefit of using a semi-structured interview is that it is a flexible and adaptable way of

exploring viewpoints around a certain topic (Robson, 2011). Furthermore, the researcher can support and aid the participant to share perceptions and experience they may deem to be irrelevant from mentioning in their normal social context. In this sense a semi-structured interview allows voices to be heard and for participants to talk about things that are meaningful to them that they might not have the opportunity to do in everyday life (Howitt, 2010).

However, there are limitations with using this method of collecting data. For instance the 'success' of an interview relies largely on the skills of the interviewer (Howitt, 2010). An interviewer needs to be able to structure questions clearly, allow time for pauses, give the participant sufficient time to answer questions and encourage participants to talk freely. In addition, an interviewer needs to have good interpersonal skills such as being humorous and actively listening which are essential in establishing rapport and trust (Opie & Sikes, 2004). If an interviewer lacks these skills then they will be less likely to draw rich data from the participant.

A further limitation is the lack of standardisation, as the nature of semi-structured interviews varies a great deal between research studies (Robson, 2011). Moreover, even within the same research study interviews can vary significantly in terms of sequencing and the wording of questions which could potentially affect the reliability of the study. Nonetheless, a semi-structured interview was deemed to be the most appropriate form of data collection, because they allowed the researcher direct access to the participant's views without them being influenced by a focus group.

3.8 Stakeholders

Robson (2011) states that stakeholder can be defined as an individual, group of individuals or organisation that may be interested in the

research due to their personal contribution or because they may be affected by the findings.

Within the current study there were three main stakeholder groups:

1. The University of Nottingham.
2. The Local Authority (LA) within which the research is conducted and the associated Educational Psychology Service, with whom the researcher is on a professional placement.
3. The participating school.

Each group will be discussed in further detail in the sections below.

3.8.1 University of Nottingham

This research is a requirement of the Doctorate in Applied Educational Psychology at the University of Nottingham. The University of Nottingham Educational Psychology training has supported students in developing a focus on the evaluation of interventions. The rationale for this focus is partly reliant upon the need for evidence-based practice in education.

The researcher believes that the current study meets those criteria specified by the University of Nottingham. Ethical consent was also sought and received from the University of Nottingham Ethics Committee (please refer to Appendix 2).

3.8.2 The LA

The researcher was placed, as a trainee educational psychologist (TEP), within an inner city EPS on a bursary supported placement. The current research study was agreed with the Senior Educational Psychologists working in the team. Since the study has been conducted there has been an increased interest in RPs within the EPS and the LA.

The EPS have been asked to support the LA's priority of promoting inclusion in schools, and EPs are proposing the idea to deliver 'free' whole school training in RPs for all schools within the city.

3.8.3 The Secondary school

The staff members and pupils in the current study are all stakeholders. When the research was negotiated with the executive head teacher it was important to be clear about the commitment required in terms of pupil and staff time. The study involved pupils being taken out of lessons to be interviewed and for one Head of House to act as the lead link within the school.

In addition, the stakeholders needed to be made aware of the potential findings that could have emerged and the implications of these. For instance, the 'identified wrong-doers' could have negative perceptions about their experiences of RIs. The implication for the school might have questioned the practice of the staff members delivering RPs. At the end of the data analysis process the school received feedback on the findings.

3.8.4 The researcher

Within qualitative research a degree of reflexivity is important. Reflexivity can be defined as "*the explicit consideration of specific ways in which it is likely that the research was influenced by the researcher.*" (Smith, 2007b pp. 250). This consideration involves reflecting upon the researcher's background and interest.

Therefore it is important to state that the researcher is a female trainee educational psychologist of Indian ethnicity, aged in her late twenties. The researcher has a background in working as a teaching assistant in secondary education, which could have led to the development of beliefs and values about the strengths and limitations of working within

such settings. Such ideas could have led to bias in the data analysis stage.

Furthermore the researcher has an interest in RPs and implementing them within different educational settings which could have led to a desire to generate more positive themes and findings.

3.9 Participants

3.9.1 Selection of school and participants

3.9.1.1 School

Initially consultation was conducted with EPs within the EPS in which the researcher was placed. This consultation process involved the EPs identifying schools that used RPs. Following this a small number of primary and secondary schools were identified. The potential schools were approached by the researcher with the aim of clarifying whether RPs were used. If RPs were used the school was presented with an opportunity to become involved in this study. In the first instance, one primary school showed interest however, after some time they withdrew from the study. Following this a secondary school agreed to take part in the study and consent was gained from the head teacher (refer to Appendix 3 and 4).

3.9.1.2 Pupils

The Head of House recruited participants for the study. The sample could be recruited from Years 7-11 and be either male or female. The final criterion set was that participants had to be 'identified wrong-doers' in a situation where conflict had occurred.

Despite the apparent clarity of meaning in the term 'identified wrong-doer', the distinction between the person who is seen as having 'done wrong' and the perceived victim is far from clear cut. The incidents that lead to RIs take place in a context (not all of which is known) and one

needs to acknowledge the possibility that the 'identified wrong-doer' could also perceive that they themselves are also a victim in their interaction with the other person.

Nevertheless, it is in the nature of the process of RIs that one person is indeed identified as the 'wrong-doer', irrespective of other possible positions. Therefore, in this study, the positioning of one young person as the 'identified wrong-doer' is done by the school and this is accepted for the purposes of the research. To sustain the ethical aspects of the study, the researcher takes care not to reinforce either perspective or to ally herself with either positioning.

Therefore an 'identified wrong-doer' is defined as a person who causes harm to another person. For instance, the pupil who initiated conflict or was verbally or physically aggressive to another. Not only did the pupil have to be the 'identified wrong-doer' they also had to have been involved in either a Restorative Mediation (RM) or a Restorative Conference (RC). Furthermore, the participants needed to have a good level of English and be fairly articulate.

The total number of participants identified in the data collection process was 7. IPA research typically has small sample sizes due to the level of detail in the interpretation and analysis of the interviews involved. Therefore "*one is sacrificing breadth for depth*" in an IPA study (Smith & Osborn, 2008 pp. 56). IPA samples should have both divergence and convergence, which could be defined as similarities and differences (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). Therefore, the intention of the sample is not to represent the general population. The sample was homogenous because participants were all pupils from the same school. However, the researcher gained divergence in terms of the participant's ethnicity and gender.

3.9.2 Description of school and participants

3.9.2.1 School

The school where the research was conducted is a smaller than average secondary school with approximately 800 pupils on roll. According to the latest Ofsted report (2012) around three-quarters of students come from several minority ethnic groups with the majority being of Pakistani heritage. More than half of the students' first language is not English. The school is based in an inner city area with high levels of socio-economic deprivation. The school is organised into 4 houses with mixed age form groups in each house. The school has a well-established relationship with the EPS and continued to buy back service ever since the decision to trade was made.

3.9.2.2 Pupils

The sample consisted of 7 pupils recruited from Year 7 to Year 11. There were 5 boys and 2 girls; 3 were of Slovakian origin, 3 were of White British origin and 1 was of Pakistani origin. As described above, the participants were selected by the Head of House at the school where the research was conducted. Further description of the participants can be found in the table below.

Table 3.1: A table to show information about participants

Research name	Ethnicity	Gender	Year group	No. of weeks between RI and interview	RM or RC
1. Sebastian	Slovakian	Male	7	1	RM
2. Tom	White British	Male	8	3	RC
3. Molly	White British	Female	11	4	RM
4. Jan	Slovakian	Male	7	2	RM
5. Robert	White British	Male	11	4	RM
6. Suzy	Slovakian	Female	11	6	RC

7. Hameed	Pakistani	Male	9	1	RC
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3.9.2.2.1 Pen picture

Sebastian

Sebastian described a football match in a Physical Education (PE) lesson that got out of control and both the victim and Sebastian became aggressive towards each other. Sebastian was deemed to be the 'identified wrong-doer' because the PE teacher saw him punch the victim.

Tom

Tom was deemed to be the 'identified wrong-doer' because he approached another pupil and called him 'Vilma' (under the instructions of his friends). The other pupil took offence to this and argued with Tom. Tom also called some other pupil's names.

Molly

Molly experienced conflict with her best friend, Katie. Molly was informed by a third party that Katie had said some unpleasant things about her. Katie denied any wrong-doing however Molly believed the rumours until she heard Katie's side of the story in the RM.

Jan

Jan heard that the victim had said something unpleasant about him and threatened to fight him. The conflict lasted four days and during this time the victim was scared of him. Jan approached his Head of House for support to resolve the conflict.

Robert

Robert and the victim had a tumultuous relationship and in the past had both caused harm to each other. In this situation Robert was deemed to be the 'wrong-doer' because he called the victim names. Robert had attempted to initiate a friendship with the victim (when they first met) however this had been rejected.

Suzy

Suzy heard that the victim had said something unpleasant about her and confronted her aggressively with her friends. In the RC the facilitator stated that being identified as the wrong-doer was out of character for Suzy.

Hameed

Hameed was friends with the victim and was informed by a third party that he had said some unpleasant things about him. The victim denied any wrong-doing although Hameed believed the rumours until he heard from a mutual friend that the victim was telling the truth.

3.10 The intervention

3.10.1 Restorative Practices in schools

In a 'purist' definition RPs are a broad approach that involves having an understanding of the (school) community and the roles and responsibilities that one plays in this. Furthermore, this approach encourages all to be included in the community targeting those individuals that do not have a sense of belonging.

Schools often apply the principles of RPs in a number of different ways. One application is using a whole-school approach whereby elements of RPs are applied to all sub-systems of a setting (Hendry, 2009). This could be through staff or department meetings, peer mediation, classroom norm, restorative circles, restorative conversations and emotional literacy programmes (Hendry, 2009).

Alternatively, some schools choose to apply RPs in terms of conflict management. This can be through informal or formal conferencing which is an official, structured meeting that brings together all parties that have been involved in the incident (Hendry, 2009). RCs can also include family members of the pupils involved in the conflict (Mutter et al, 2008). An RM involves only a victim and an 'identified wrong-doer' (Hopkins, 2003). All of these applications mentioned involve a facilitator who focuses on the needs of the victim and guides the 'identified wrong-doer' to take responsibility for their actions (Hopkins, 2003).

The process used in a RC or RM is similar as both begin with asking one party to share their story. This involves discussing from their perspective: what happened in the incident, what they were thinking at the time, what they have been thinking since, how it had affected others and what they can do to repair the harm caused (Hopkins, 2003).. The facilitator then gives the other party time to answer the same questions and therefore provide their views about the conflict that occurred. Following this both the victim and 'identified wrong-doer' are given the opportunity to reflect back on what the other has said (Hopkins, 2003). Finally agreements are made collaboratively as to how both parties will move forward and the facilitator asks what has been learned in the future (Hendry, 2009).

3.10.2 RPs in the research setting

The school where the research took place employs RPs using a whole-school approach. In the behaviour policy the principles of RPs are evident as it states that "problems are dealt with by listening to pupils, establishing the facts and using sanctions sparingly". RPs are used by the school to deal with conflict and this is delivered mostly by the Heads of House. The Head of House is a pastoral role and therefore RPs can be delivered at any point in the school day. If an incident has occurred at lunch time, midday supervisors will communicate this with the

associated Head of House. Alternatively if an incident occurs in a lesson the teacher will email the Head of House. These facilitators conduct either a RC or RM as soon as possible after the conflict has occurred and especially before the end of the day.

After each RI is completed, notes are written about what happened, what was discussed and how it ended. The school still uses sanctions however these occur after the intervention and are sometimes decided by the pupils. Pupils are aware of the terminology “RPs” and know what to expect when it comes to the process. Some pupils request to have a RI to resolve a situation. The school also encourage teacher and pupil conferences when problems occur.

During the stakeholder engagement phase, one Head of House expressed interest in the study. This Head of House was consulted and she stated that she conducted 1 or 2 RIs a day. The Head of House used RPs informally and said that she had to do “a lot of thinking on her feet”. The Head of House had an extensive background in RPs. This began in the criminal justice sector when she was involved in a RC as a victim of a crime committed by a young offender. The member of staff became interested in RPs and received formal training when she was working as a teaching assistant in a Primary school three years ago. The member of staff was also a teacher in a Secondary school before she took a pastoral post at the current school.

3.11 Procedure

Within the school there were four Heads of House who held pastoral roles. Whenever the Heads of House conducted a RI with an ‘identified wrong-doer’ that met the criteria they contacted the link Head of House. This member of staff contacted the potential participant’s parents to gain consent for them to be contacted by the researcher. If parental consent was obtained the member of staff contacted the researcher through email or telephone and shared the parent’s contact details. The

researcher contacted the parents and provided them with information about the research study and interview process. If parents gave consent for their child to be interviewed the researcher visited the home address in the subsequent days to give them an information letter and ask them to sign a letter of consent (refer to Appendix 5).

The interviews were conducted between one and six weeks after the RI had taken place. (For more information please refer to Table 3.1). At the beginning of the interview, the researcher read the information sheet to the pupil and asked if they wanted to take part in the study and interview (refer to Appendix 6). If they agreed they signed at the bottom of the information sheet. If they did not agree they were told they could return to the Head of House. All participants consented to take part in the study. The interviews lasted from 30-50 minutes and were audio-recorded and then transcribed. The pupils were informed that they could terminate the interview at any time and abstain from answering any questions.

The approach to interviewing was guided by IPA principles. For instance both interviewer and interviewee share active involvement during the interview process (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). Furthermore, IPA analysis is reliant on a 'good' interview and therefore it was essential to reach a certain level of 'depth' in the interviews. This depth was achieved by listening attentively to the young person and following up new areas that they touched upon. Furthermore probing their feelings about things through prompts such 'why?' and 'can you tell me more about that?' Participants were encouraged to talk at length about meaningful topics and the researcher's verbal input was kept to a minimum (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009).

The data was collected from November 2015 to January 2016.

3.12 Measures

An interview schedule is a method of preparing for the likely content of an interview. In this sense a schedule is a planning tool to think about what areas the interview will cover and the challenges with this (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). It also reduces a novice interviewer's anxiety which can have harmful effects such as making the participant feel uncomfortable. IPA states that questions should be open as opposed to closed to allow for more detailed answers.

The original interview was created based on the guidance stated above (this can be viewed in Appendix 7). Different areas deemed to be significant were; the conflict that had occurred, the RI process and the participant's identity. The RI process directly linked to the research question, however the researcher deemed it important to gain the participant's story as to what led to the RI and what they perceived their role to be in the conflict.

Identity was selected to allow for questions that explored the participant's self-concept and relationships with others. It was anticipated that questions around identity may lead to revealing information about how the participant sees themselves and, more importantly, whether any changes had occurred as a result of the learning that took place in the RI. Moreover, Smith, Flowers & Larkin (2009) stated that interview questions should move from descriptive to analytical or evaluative.

A pilot study was conducted in October 2015 with the aim of allowing the Head of House an opportunity to practise the process of identifying a participant, telephoning parents for consent for the researcher to contact them and then also contacting researcher. The pilot study allowed the researcher to practise gaining consent from parents and a pupil and practise the interview process. The participant was given the research name 'Crystal'. Crystal was White British, female and in Year 9. Crystal was deemed to be the 'identified wrong-doer' because she

was physically aggressive towards another pupil. Crystal was a reflective and articulate pupil who answered the questions in an insightful way.

The interviewing process led to the refinement of some of the interview questions (please refer to Appendix 8), although the broad areas remained the same as they provoked useful conversation. One of the changes that occurred was the introduction of '*what were you thinking and feeling?*' after each significant point. This was to allow the participant to reflect on the array of emotions experienced from the conflict to the RI. Another adaptation that was made was to include more detailed questions about the RI process to gain information from the participant about what it felt like to be the "identified wrong-doer" in that situation. Crystal's interview was transcribed but not included in the data analysis stage.

3.13 Challenges to data quality

3.13.1 Trustworthiness

Validity and reliability are not considered discrete categories in qualitative research. One could argue that validity and reliability are in line with positivism and relate to quantitative studies (Shenton, 2004). Some argue that qualitative studies should not seek reliability from the findings (Willig, 2001). On the other hand whilst the positivist understanding of reliability is not applicable, reliability can be interpreted in a different way. For instance, the focus of reliability in qualitative research could be related to the interpretations made by the researcher (Stenbacka, 2001)

Instead of evaluating validity and reliability, the 'trustworthiness' of studies is analysed. There are different frameworks to measure trustworthiness, however the researcher found Shenton's (2004) model (originally influenced by Guba, 1990) particularly useful as it covers a

range of factors. The table below illustrates the trustworthiness criteria and how these were met in the current study.

Table 3.2: A table to demonstrate the trustworthiness of the current study

Criteria	Description (Shenton, 2004).	Steps taken to meet criteria
Credibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relates to how much the researcher's interpretation of the data is consistent with the perceptions and experiences of the participants. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Using well established measures and data analysis process Data was analysed using IPA which is deemed to be an 'emerging' approach in Psychology. Nonetheless, there is still an evidence base to support IPA and literature to guide novice researchers. Gaining familiarity with research setting or organisation. The researcher made a number of initial visits to the school. During this time, the researcher was introduced to key staff members and learnt about how the school employed RPs and the processes in place. Enhancing the participant's ability to be honest throughout the research process. (This is discussed further in the ethical considerations section) The researcher made it clear to participants that despite consent being obtained from their parents they still had the right to withdraw at any point.

		<p>The participants involved in the study were willing to be open and reflective in their interviews. If participants were unsure of how to answer questions they were told that there was no 'right' answer. Furthermore, they did not have to only say positive things, they were free to share negative things about the school or their experiences.</p>
Transferability	<p>Shenton (2004) states that if practitioners come across a study, they may relate to some aspects of the setting described. If this happens then they may link the findings of the study with their own job context.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sufficient contextual information needs to be provided in the study to allow the reader to relate and transfer. <p>This was achieved by providing complete details of key aspects of the current study. For example, a description of the school, where the research took place and how they used RPs in everyday practice were included. Furthermore, a full description of the participants involved in the study was also provided.</p>
Dependability	<p>Is the research process described in enough detail that a future researcher would be able to repeat the work? (But not necessarily replicate the findings).</p>	<p>This was achieved by providing information about the research design, why it was created and how it was implemented.</p> <p>Additionally, a comprehensive explanation of things that occurred in the field was provided, such as gaining consent and stakeholder engagement.</p>

	Have proper research practices been followed?	Furthermore throughout the study, the researcher has been critically reflective and has included a section in the discussion where the methodology was evaluated and obstacles in the study considered. This would provide future researchers with the opportunity to counter such challenges when designing studies.
Confirmability	<p>Researchers must take steps to demonstrate that findings emerge from the data and not their own predispositions.</p> <p>Links to notion of reflexivity.</p> <p>Need to reduce researcher bias.</p>	<p>In the current study the researcher ensured that the justification and explanations behind key decisions were clear throughout.</p> <p>Moreover, the researcher also sought the views of supervisors and peers in regards to the interpretations made in order to enhance the authenticity of the data analysis process.</p> <p>Additionally, throughout the research process, the researcher maintained a research journal where all thoughts regarding the study were recorded and put aside at the beginning of the data analysis stage.</p>

3.13.2 Ethical considerations

Ethical consent was sought and received from the University of Nottingham Ethics Committee (please refer to Appendix 2).

The British Psychological Society's (BPS) Code of Ethics and Conduct (2006) and the School of Psychology's ethical guidelines were considered. The current study was conducted with school-aged

participants. The age of participants posed potential risks because the young people may not have understood how to respond to being treated as competent 'adults' with the right to exercise their opinions. This is something that is not always apparent in schools where pupils are expected to follow instructions (Freeman & Mathison, 2009). The following ethical issues were apparent in the current study:

Risk of harm

In the current study there was potential risk of harm to the participant as the interview could have affected their mood in a negative way. Furthermore, the interview was centred on topics that could be deemed to be "sensitive or distressing". Questions were posed about the conflict that occurred and the subsequent intervention, which could have been associated with unresolved feelings or a negative affective state such as anger or anxiety. This could have been apparent if the child being interviewed, did not believe that they were treated fairly and respectfully by the facilitator, which did occur in some interviews.

These issues were countered by taking a careful and considered approach to the interview process as can be seen by the interview schedule. Open-ended questions were devised, as this enabled the participant to answer more freely and move away from potentially uncomfortable topics. During the interview, the researcher was aware of how the participant was responding to questions and when some topics were causing potential harm. In such cases these questions were avoided or rephrased and if the participant was still distressed the interview could have been terminated.

Debriefing

Due to the potentially sensitive nature of the interview debriefing was an important element. At the end of each interview the researcher summarised the key points made and sought clarification that this resembled how the participant felt about the situation. Furthermore the

participant was asked about how they were feeling post interview and what their thoughts were about the process in order to assess their emotional state.

Participants were also asked whether they had any questions for the researcher and some took the opportunity to ask about the research study. After each interview, the researcher accompanied the participant back to the part of the school where the Head of House worked. This provided participants to speak alone with the Head of House (who they might have felt more comfortable with) and discuss any unresolved issues.

Right to withdraw

This is another key ethical consideration, since due to the age of the participants they may be unaware or lacking in confidence to express their right to withdraw. Freeman & Mathison (2009) argue that children's social positions in society make the concept of 'voluntary participation' in research studies problematic.

After a participant was identified through taking part in a RI, they were asked if they would like to take part in the study. At this point it was essential to explain that they had no obligation to do this whatsoever. Furthermore at any point during the interview they could end the interview with no explanation necessary. The researcher left the information sheet near the participant during the interview, as this contained sentences that the participant could say aloud to terminate the interview. The sheet was provided to aid the participants that lacked the linguistic ability to express their needs.

Additionally during the interview, if the researcher asked a question (particularly regarding their feelings about a situation) and the participant did not give an answer then the researcher would draw upon probes. However, only a certain amount of probing was carried out

because if the young person was reluctant to answer this was interpreted as them exercising their rights.

After the interview was conducted, if the participant or their parents decided that they did not want the data to be analysed and reported then they could exercise this right. Moreover, confidentiality was maintained throughout the study, for example all the data was transcribed and analysed anonymously with a code replacing the child's name. The document that contained the information of which codes correspond with the participants names was password encrypted.

3.14 Summary of methodology

The research question that influenced and guided the study was:

Secondary school-based Restorative Interventions – What are the perceptions and experiences of the young people who are identified as 'wrong-doers'?

The researcher supported the concept that reality is constructed by subjective experience and the current study was situated in the interpretivist/constructivist paradigm. IPA was selected due to its phenomenological and interpretative focus. IPA lends itself to small sample sizes and 7 participants were recruited. Data was conducted via semi-structured interviews with the 'identified wrong-doer's'. The next chapter will therefore focus upon illustrating the data analysis process.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Findings

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter three the research methodology was outlined in order to explore the following research question:

Secondary school-based Restorative Interventions – What are the perceptions and experiences of the young people who are identified as ‘wrong-doers’?

In this Chapter the overarching master themes will be presented as well as the super-ordinate themes within these. In the final stages of data analysis the following five master themes were created:

- 1. The emotional component of being involved in the RI process**
- 2. The experience of RIs as learning opportunities**
- 3. The interactions between individuals before and during the RIs**
- 4. The experience of feeling vulnerable**
- 5. Difficulties with recognising, processing and expressing thoughts and feelings.**

The master themes will be presented in individual sections. Each section will initially include a table displaying the master theme and the super-ordinate themes within this supported by quotations from the participant’s original transcript. All the participants’ names have been changed for anonymity and in the excerpts a ‘P’ denotes participant and ‘I’ means interviewer. The super-ordinate themes will then be described in further detail with more supporting excerpts from the interviews. At the end of each master theme a summary will be included which will bring together different elements of the super-ordinate themes.

4.2 Description of master themes

4.2.1 Master theme 1: the emotional component of being involved in the RI process.

Table 4.1: A table to demonstrate master theme 1

Master theme	Super-ordinate themes and line numbers
<p>1. The emotional component of being involved in the RI process.</p>	<p><i>Repairing harm caused through apologising</i></p> <p><u>Tom:</u> 194. I: Did you say sorry? 195. P: Yeah all of us did. 196. I: How did you feel when you said sorry? 197. P: I felt better. 198. I: Did you want to say sorry? 199. P: I really was sorry.</p> <p><u>Jan</u> 29. P: Then about on Thursday he came back he was 30.crying I saw him he was crying yeah and I said sorry to 31. him</p> <p><u>Suzy:</u> 153. P: Um we was ok we went back to friends and stuff 154. like I hug her.</p> <p><u>Hameed</u> 166. I: What did you say to Asneen when you saw him? 167. P: Asneen I've found out that the person wasn't you 168. and I'm sorry about it. 169. I: Did you want to say sorry or did you feel you had 170. to? 171. P: I wanted to say sorry.</p> <p><i>Sharing one's story and being heard</i></p> <p><u>Tom</u> 93. P: Mrs **** asked the other boys their side of the story and then my side of the story.</p> <p>94. P: The boys were listening. Mrs ***** was listening until I was finished.</p> <p><u>Molly</u> 142. I: What was Katie's side of the story? 143. P: She said that Zac had said that...that Zac had 144. been causing loads of stuff between her. Zac was 145. the one that told me and er he told me that she said I 146. was annoying as well so I spoke to her about that as 147. well.</p> <p><u>Robert</u></p>

	<p>121.P:We talked about each side of the stories</p> <p>122. P: When we had to tell each other's sides no one is 123. allowed to interrupt. He was trying to interrupt saying 124. I did more but he was stopped.</p> <p><u>Hameed</u> 145. P: Like I didn't really think about Asneen's side until 146. he said something and then I understood more him.</p> <p><i>Experiencing shame, guilt and remorse</i></p> <p><u>Sebastian</u> 103. P: I felt like...alone. 116. P: I just wanted to go outside because they were all 117. picking on me. 125. P: I felt like I was wrongly accused.</p> <p><u>Molly</u> 175. P: I was just relieved that she didn't say it. I felt 176. guilty, very guilty.</p> <p><u>Jan</u> 119. P: (pause) Miss I saw that he was scared of me and 120. he wasn't coming to lessons and outside yeah so I 121.was about you know like what's it called...like 122.sorry for him.</p> <p><u>Robert</u> 153. P: That I got it off my chest. It made me feel good but 154. not that good because I knew his side was coming 155. up next and he was going to say something. Then it 156. just got me even more stressed and annoyed.</p> <p><u>Hameed</u> 238. P: I didn't know that he was going to feel like this and 239. when I found out I felt really guilty.</p>
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Master theme 1 refers to the key processes that took place in the RIs and the emotions that are experienced when taking part in these. The super-ordinate themes were deemed to be important because multiple participants discussed these when remembering the RIs. The fact that these were aspects that the participants recalled about the RI suggests they must bear some significance to them.

4.2.1.1. Repairing harm caused through apologising

This super-ordinate theme refers to the 'identified wrong-doer' taking responsibility for their actions and apologising to the victim. The victim's apology is also significant, however this will be explored in master theme 3. Repairing harm caused through apologising, will consider the influential nature of the facilitator and how much influence they appeared to have over the participant's apologies.

For example, Sebastian had already apologised to the victim during the conflict that took place. However the apology alone was not enough to dispel the tension between other pupils and Sebastian apologised again in the RM. This is similar to Hameed who said sorry to the victim after he realised that he had wrongly accused him of spreading a rumour. As is indicated in Table 4.1, Hameed wanted to say sorry, which suggests that this apology was genuine:

P: First she goes 'What happened?' Jamal and me were like 'Don't worry Miss it is all sorted.' (lines 196-197).

The quotation above suggests that Hameed perceived the conflict to be resolved from his perspective and did not consider the victim's thoughts and feelings until the RC:

P: I said sorry to him already but I never asked him what he thought (lines 239-240).

In the interview Tom also described his role in the conflict:

P: I'm a victim of them hitting me but it's kind of my friends fault for making me say that word which I didn't think about (lines 37-39).

It appears as though Tom was slightly reluctant to accept complete responsibility for calling some pupils names. Tom needed the RC to understand the impact of his actions:

I: Did you learn anything from hearing other people's side of the story?

P: Yeah, to understand what they were thinking at the time (lines 149-150).

Tom apologised to the other victims and repaired the harm caused which made him feel better afterwards.

I: How did you feel when you said sorry?

P: I felt better (lines 196-197).

Jan's conflict with the victim extended over a period of four days. As can be seen in Table 4.1 for the majority of this time Jan was angry at the victim, although after he perceived the victim to be scared of him, he felt guilty. This led him to seek support from his Head of House, as he may have wanted guidance on how to repair harm caused. Jan apologised during the RM:

*P: Then Mrs ***** said 'Jan do you want to say anything to Haseeb?' Then I say 'Sorry yeah and I didn't mean to hurt you' then we shake hands (lines 151-153).*

Although the apology was prompted by the facilitator Jan later stated that repairing the harm caused made him feel better:

P: Like shake hands.

I: How did that make you feel?

P: Good (lines 199-201).

Although Molly felt remorse for believing the rumours about Katie she never stated that she apologised or said sorry for her actions:

I: So did Katie call you those names?

P: No, she didn't say it.

I: When you heard Katie's side of the story, what were you thinking?

P: It just annoyed me.

I: Why did it annoy you?

P: Because I didn't think that she would say something like that about me or even to me because normally like Katie if she's got something to say she will say it to your face (lines 158-167).

In two interviews it appeared as though the apologies were encouraged by the facilitators. Robert was told to 'shake hands' with the victim, a request which he complied with. Despite this the victim rejected the attempt to repair harm caused:

*P: Yeah...Mrs ***** said 'You are both in the wrong so you both need to shake hands and leave it at that'. I, I took my hand out and tried to shake his hand and he was saying 'No,no,no' (lines 181-184).*

Suzy did not think that she had done anything wrong, but still apologised to the victim due to the facilitator's instruction:

P: Because the teacher was like say sorry so she can hear you feel sorry for her she can calm down (lines 182-183).

4.2.1.2 Sharing one's story and being heard

This super-ordinate theme refers to a key principle of RPs, which is the idea that all pupils (victims and 'identified wrong-doers') should have the opportunity to tell their side of their story without judgement. This theme focuses on the participants that were able to tell their story and the effect that this had on their experience.

Tom appeared to place importance on being listened to and heard:

I: How did it make you feel to be listened to?

P: I felt better than I did at the time.

I: Why did you feel better?

P: Because I could tell them how I felt (lines 123-127).

As can be seen from Table 4.1, Tom also relayed that each pupil was given their opportunity to share their own story and asked to listen attentively to the stories of the others. Tom shared that he did not always feel heard in the school, so this feature of the RC was even more significant and powerful for him.

I: Are you able to get your point of view across in this school?

P: At times I can and at times I can't (lines 291-293).

Robert and the victim were also given the opportunity to share their sides of the story. Robert told his side of the story first and then the victim went after. Robert emphasised the importance of being able to

talk without being interrupted as he repeated this element multiple times in the interview.

Molly suggested that the victim could tell her side of the story first because she wanted to see if she would change her story. Molly perceived the rumours to be true and believed that her best friend had betrayed her. Through hearing the victim's story, Molly realised that another friend had been dishonest and said that the victim had not said unpleasant comments in regards to the 'identified wrong-doer'.

I: Who spoke first?

P: The Heads of Houses. They were just telling us what we were doing to try and solve it and then they said who is speaking first and I said Katie.

I: Why did you want Katie to go first?

P: Because I wanted to see if she had changed her story or not. (lines 122-128)

After hearing the victim's story, Molly shared her side of the story but stated that this made her feel uncomfortable:

P: It felt a little bit uncomfortable.

I: Why was that?

P: Because Katie was sat there. It was kind of like she was listening to the same conversation and the way like she was looking at me like as if she had no clue at all she didn't even understand (lines 200-205).

This suggests that the victim previously did not understand why the 'identified wrong-doer' was angry with her and now she was about to find out which made Molly feel uneasy.

Hameed decided to tell his side of the story first and initially did not take it seriously (along with his friend) because he thought the situation was resolved:

P: We were like laughing at each other and like smiling because we thought it was over (lines 215-216)

It was not until he heard the victim's side of the story that he really gained an understanding about what the victim was thinking and feeling during the conflict and during the RC. This was also indicative of Molly's experience as she stated that:

P: It felt alright. I felt that I understood some things that I didn't know before (lines 216-217).

4.2.1.3 Experiencing shame, guilt and remorse

From the analysis it can be seen that an array of emotions were experienced by the participants during RIs. These emotions were mostly linked to either repairing harm through apologising or sharing and listening to other people's stories. Molly experienced a range of emotions, such as feeling relieved when she found out the victim was telling the truth and annoyed at herself for doubting her. Molly also stated that she felt guilty and the repetition of the word 'very' suggests that this was a strong emotion.

Multiple participants reported feeling guilty during the RIs, which suggests that this emotion was prominent. Jan and Hameed both report having felt guilty about the way that they acted towards the victim during the time of conflict. Hameed had apologised before the RC, but when he heard how the victim felt he felt guilty about his actions. One could also interpret Jan's guilt to be significant, as this led to him seeking staff support.

*P:I went to go and find Mrs ****. I said 'Mrs **** you know can I speak to Asim yeah?' Then she called him and said 'Say sorry to him and shake hands'.(Lines 123-126)*

Interestingly, Robert felt some conflicting emotions immediately after telling his side of the story. As can be seen in Table 4.1 Robert felt 'good' to 'get it off his chest' and could be interpreted as feeling relieved. Robert then appeared to be apprehensive about having to

listen to the victim's side of the story. This apprehension may have arisen from the fact that Robert perceived the victim as being dishonest at times.

P: And then he explained his and he told some lies (lines 150-151)

Suzy also encountered some conflicting emotions during the RC. For instance, she felt sorry for the victim and what she was going through but also felt angry at her for being so upset.

P: Sorry. Sorry for her (line 108)

P: We was talking...I was angry at that time so I told her to stop crying and stuff (lines 156-157).

4.2.1.4 Summary of master theme 1: The emotional component of being involved in the RI process

In the first super-ordinate theme, Sebastian and Hameed both apologised to the victims during the conflict (before the RIs), although saying sorry did not dispel the tension. Some apologies from the participants were prompted by the facilitator and others were not. In the second super-ordinate theme, Tom stated that he 'felt better' when he was listened to and the RC provided him with a forum to share his feelings with others. Furthermore, Robert emphasised the importance of being able to tell his story without interruptions. A few participants such as Molly, Hameed and Tom needed to hear the victim's story to understand the impact of their actions.

The super-ordinate themes in this master theme are inter-related and inter-linked. For example when the 'identified wrong-doer' hears the victim's side of the story this results in them feeling guilty, which leads to them wanting to repair harm caused through apologising. However perhaps where the 'identified wrong-doer' does not truly 'hear' and process the victim's story (without any influence from the facilitator), this does not lead to them experiencing guilt and wanting to apologise

genuinely. The next master theme will explore the idea that RIs should be a learning journey for both the victim and the 'identified wrong-doer'.

4.2.2 Master theme 2: the experience of RIs as learning opportunities

Table 4.2: Table to demonstrate master theme 2

Master theme	Super-ordinate theme and line numbers
<p>2. The experience of RIs as learning opportunities</p>	<p><i>Valuable experience/opportunity to learn</i></p> <p><u>Tom</u> 148. I: Did you learn anything from hearing other 149. people's side of the story? 150. P: Yeah, to understand what they were thinking 151. at the time</p> <p>284. P: A bit of both. When the incident happened it 285. was negative but when we resolved it was 286. positive.</p> <p><u>Molly</u> 260. I: How did you feel about RPs at the end? 261. P: I was glad it had happened.</p> <p><u>Hameed</u> 262. P: I learnt not to believe everything what people 263. say the rumours and that.</p> <p><i>Less valuable experience/reduced opportunity to learn</i></p> <p><u>Sebastian</u> 126. P: It was just all about that I punched him. 180. I: Did you learn anything from the RM? 181. P: Not really much.</p> <p><u>Jan</u> 239. I: Did you learn anything else? 240. P: No.</p> <p><u>Robert</u> 217. I: Did you learn anything from the mediation? 219. P: No.</p> <p><u>Suzy</u> 266. I: Did you learn anything from the RC? 267. P: Umm...Yeah. Like next time I can deal with 268. the problem not in school like out of school</p>

	<p>269. because it makes me more in trouble you know 270. with the teachers.</p>
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The principles of RPs state that in order for an intervention to be 'successful' the 'identified wrong-doer' (and the victim to some extent) need to learn things about themselves and about others during the process (McCluskey et al, 2008). Learning may be achieved to some extent through sharing stories, accepting responsibility and repairing any harm caused. Master theme 2 is not measuring the learning that took place. Instead it is considering the participant's ability to articulate and reflect back on the learning that either did or did not take place during the RIs.

4.2.2.1. Valuable experience/opportunity to learn

The analysis suggested that Tom in particular was able to recount the learning that took place. Table 4.2 shows that through the RC Tom learnt that it is important to consider the thoughts of others. Furthermore, Tom developed an awareness of other pupil's areas of sensitivity:

I: Did you learn things you did not know before?

P: Luke's mum's name is Vilma and Peter doesn't really like being talking about his weight and things like that.

I: What did that tell you about them?

P: That they can easily be hurt with a single word or something (lines 156-164).

This excerpt demonstrates the learning that took place because listening to their stories allowed Tom to develop an understanding

about the harm caused. In the interview Tom could also articulate how he intended to use the learning opportunity to change his behaviour:

I: Will that affect what you do in the future?

P: I'm going to think about what I say before I say it (lines 305-307).

It is worth noting that Tom also appeared to value his experience of sharing his story and feeling heard.

P: That it was worth talking to them and in the future I should talk to them to resolve things because it could happen again you don't know (lines 268-271)

Molly and Hameed both reported they learnt not to believe what other people tell them about their friends. Both participants believed rumours that their friends had betrayed them. Therefore the fact that they acknowledged this as a limitation within themselves, suggested that they were able to take something from the RIs they were involved with.

I: Did you learn anything from that process?

P: Don't believe it unless you hear it and that person tells you themselves that they said it (lines 252-254).

Molly was glad that she was involved in the RM because during the process her friendship was restored which might have not occurred without the mediation.

4.2.2.2. Less valuable experience/reduced opportunity to learn

On the other hand, other participants were not able to articulate the learning that took place during the RIs. Sebastian felt that the focus of the RM was about what he had done wrong, despite the fact that he perceived that the victim had caused harm as well. In the interview Sebastian could not articulate the learning that had occurred in his RM. Sebastian felt the facilitators and victim were 'ganging up' against him and he perceived this to be unjust which may have prohibited him from engaging (and learning) with the intervention:

P: I just wanted to go outside because they were all picking on me (lines 116-117).

Jan also stated that he not learnt anything which could be deemed to be surprising considering that he wanted the RM to take place. Jan's account of the RM was that both pupils told their side of the story and then were encouraged by the facilitators to make amends.

*P: He just talked about what he saw and that. Then Mrs ***** said 'Jan do you want to say anything to Asim?' Then I say 'Sorry yeah and I didn't mean to hurt you' then we shake hands (lines 150-153).*

The RM process appeared to be fairly brief which is evident when Jan shared that 'it was quick' (line 156) One could argue that if the RM had been conducted in more depth Jan may have had more learning opportunities.

This lack of depth could be a similar restriction for Robert. Robert stated that he did not learn anything from the RM but did learn something about himself.

I: Did you learn anything about yourself?

P: Yeah. That I should just leave it and leave him alone and he should leave me alone. Just try to ignore him (lines 220-223).

However it could be argued that this strategy focuses on 'surface level' issues and perhaps did not work because Robert and the other pupil continued their feud after the RM:

I: How has your friendship been like with Aaron since then?

P: Not good. (Lines 210-212).

The conflict between the two pupils was deep-rooted and the RM may have needed to tackle this further to consider why the resentment began and why it was being sustained:

P: From ages Aaron has been saying that he wants to fight me but we didn't really punch each other it's just a push and shove (lines 78-80).

Suzy could recall some learning which was in the future she wanted to keep the conflict away from school staff. This could have been to protect her reputation in order for her not to get into trouble again. Suzy said that the problem had not been resolved because of the victim's emotional state, which had restricted her participation in the RC:

P: I want to deal with the problem we deal with this like why are you crying and stuff (lines 209-211).

In terms of sharing stories this did not occur when the 'identified wrong-doer' was present and therefore this process was not part of the RC.

4.2.2.3 Summary of master theme 2: The experience of RIs as learning opportunities

This master theme represents the extent to which participants perceived there to be elements of learning and reflection in their RIs. Some participants such as Tom and Molly were able to share the learning that took place, whereas other participants such as Sebastian and Robert were not. One could argue that if the learning process had been made clear to the participants during the RIs, then one would assume they would be able to recount this in an interview. If the participant had learnt something about themselves or an insight into the way they deal with conflict, then it may be more likely to lead to a change in cognitions and behaviour. The next master theme explores the interactions between individuals before and during the RIs.

4.2.3 Master theme 3: the interactions between individuals before and during the RIs

Table 4.3: Table to demonstrate master theme 3.

<p>3. The interactions between individuals before and during the</p>	<p><i>Relationship between victim and 'identified wrong-doer' before RIs</i></p> <p><u>Molly</u> 276. P: Katie was my friend so it worked. The others I 277 don't like. I wouldn't listen to their sides of the story.</p>
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RIs.

Jan

70. P: Not the beginning of Year 7 because he wasn't in
71. school yeah. When he came to school yeah he was in
72. the library yeah and we were playing and things like
73. that so quite good friends.

Robert

35. P: I think it was me, because...I think...when he first
36. started which was like the beginning of this
37. term he told me to f*** off because I got told to look
38. after him and he told me to f*** off.

Suzy

221 P: I was like if you want to come with us like for
222. dinner or break and she is like no I don't
223. want to she don't want to be like friends only she can
224. say hi that's it.

Hameed

249. P: Mrs **** asked Asneen what could me and Jamal
250. do to help him and he goes to my mates again so we
251. say ok we will be your mates again.

The ambiguous role of the victim

Sebastian

86. P: but when he pushed me he said ok I'm not sorry for
87. you but you should say you are sorry for punching me.

Jan

82. P: That he is weaker than me and I might beat him so
83. I just said sorry.

Robert

62. P: He pushed me as I was eating my lunch so I turned
63. around and pushed him and he fell over onto the
64. table.

Suzy

189. I: Did she talk in Slovakian during the RC?
190. P: No she just didn't say anything.

Hameed

66. P: He got a bit scared obviously...I didn't want to hit
67. him because he looked scared.

The influential nature of the facilitator

Sebastian

104. I: Why did you feel alone?
105. P: Because they were on his side.
106. I: Can you tell me more about that?
107 P: Because they were just talking on me and saying

	<p>108. why did you punch him? I was like feeling they were 109. on his side.</p> <p><u>Tom</u> 127. P: Because I could tell them how I felt and it just 128. made me overall feel better because I had a teacher 129. there with me as well</p> <p><u>Molly</u> 115. P: when I got into the office and when I walked in 116. they said they was doing Restorative Practices and I 117. sat down.</p> <p><u>Jan</u> 146. P: She said Jan do you want to say what happened 147. first?</p> <p><u>Robert</u> 181. P: Yeah...Mrs *****said you are both in the wrong so 182. you both need to shake hands and leave it at that.</p> <p><u>Suzy</u> 176. I: Do you think the facilitator felt sorry for her? 177. P: Yeah of course. She said she is the new girl in 178. school so be friends.</p>
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The individuals referred to in master theme 3 include the victim, the 'identified wrong-doer' and the facilitator. This master theme considers the nature of the interactions between these individuals before and during the intervention. Master theme 3 also captures, the experience of being both the victim and facilitator during the conflict and in the intervention from the perspective of the 'identified wrong-doer'.

4.2.3.1. Relationship between victim and 'identified wrong-doer' before RIs

The interaction between victim and the 'identified wrong-doer' varies from participant to participant, however from RPs perspective it is the most significant relationship (McCluskey et al, 2008). Tom appeared to have an inconsistent relationship with the victims. In one instance Tom referred to them as his friends and yet in other parts of the interview he stated that he felt unsafe around them.

*P: The next day it was all fine and we were all friends again apart from ***** (lines 224-225).*

P: I didn't really want to talk to them because I didn't feel safe around them (lines 263-264).

It is clear from Molly's interview that she regarded the victim as a close friend:

P: Me and Katie are best friends, there is me, Katie and Lauren (line 36).

Because of their friendship, the hurt that Molly experienced when she believed that the victim had betrayed her was intense:

P: I was kicking off and they put Katie in seclusion for her safety until her mum picked her up and um I was trying to get through the doors to get to seclusion but they wouldn't let me through (lines 44-47)

As can be seen from Table 4.3, Molly hypothesised that it was the emotional connection to the victim that made the mediation 'successful'. Since the RM the friendship between Molly and Katie had been sustained as she stated '*we have not fallen out since*' (line 261).

Jan was also friends with the victim and recalls in the interview how he looked out for him when he recently joined the school. Jan believed a rumour that his friend had made an unpleasant comment about him. Since the RM the friendship between the two pupils had been sustained.

I: How have things been since then with Asim?

P: Good (lines 205-207).

Robert had a complex relationship with the victim. It appears that the role of victim and 'identified wrong-doer' are interchangeable because both parties had caused harm over a period of time:

P: From ages Aaron has been saying that he wants to fight me (lines 78-79).

In this instance Robert was deemed to be the 'identified wrong-doer' because he called the victim an unpleasant name. The conflict between the two pupils appears to have arisen from when the victim rejected Robert's extension of friendship. This is similar to Suzy whose attempt to make friends with the victim was rejected:

P: I was like if you want to come with us like for dinner or break and she is like no I don't want to she don't want to be like friends only she can say hi that's it (lines 221-224).

The victim (Asneen) was a part of Hameed's extended friendship circle and when Hameed heard the rumours that Asneen had betrayed his trust he believed them immediately.

P: Apparently the guy said something about me behind my back. He said that I'm jealous of his girlfriend (lines 51-53).

During the RC the victim had the opportunity to share his side of the story and how he was feeling. When Hameed heard this he stated that he was 'surprised':

P: It made me see that actually he is a good friend to me (lines 241-242).

4.2.3.2. The ambiguous role of the victim

During the data analysis it became apparent that the role of victim and 'identified wrong-doer' are not always clearly defined. Often some of the 'identified wrong-doers' were not solely to blame. Most participants perceived the victim to have caused harm and provoked them in some way.

Sebastian relayed information about the conflict that suggested that the victim also caused harm. During the conflict and the RM, Sebastian apologised to the victim, although the victim did not apologise to the 'identified wrong-doer'. This seemed to be supported by the facilitators who Sebastian perceived to have taken the victim's side.

*I: How did Mrs **** and Mrs **** respond when he didn't say sorry?*

P: They said he can't say sorry because you punched him and he never done nothing to you. They took his side (lines 146-149).

In the RM involving Robert, the victim did not take responsibility for any harm caused and rejected Robert's attempt to repair harm. In Tom's RC there were multiple victims and he perceived these pupils to have also caused harm.

P: In my lesson DT, I was with my friend and he told me to say 'Vilma' and say it to Stefan (lines 18-19).

This pupil (and his other friends) then retaliated and were physically aggressive towards Tom.

P: punched me in the stomach and he wouldn't let me go and there was about 4 or 3 others (lines 26-27).

However in the RM all parties repaired the harm caused including the victims.

Molly and Katie were friends, yet during the conflict Katie appeared to be scared of Molly. This affected Katie to such an extent that she was absent from school for a number of days following the incident:

P: They sent her home early and then she didn't come back into school for two days and then they made her come back in to speak to me.

I: Did she say why she didn't come back into school?

P: She was scared (lines 87-91).

This draws parallels with Jan, Hameed and Suzy who all perceived the victims to be vulnerable and weaker than them. Suzy described the victim as being unable to speak English. Although the victim could speak Slovakian, she refused or was unable to articulate herself at all during the RC. In Jan's interview he shared that the victim isolated himself from others during break times:

P: said sorry to him and he was about 2 days scared of me he wasn't coming out on breaks (lines 105-107).

Molly ascribed the success of the RM to the fact that a facilitator was present, which led to Katie being less intimidated by her and being able to express her views freely:

P: Because I felt better that I had spoke to Stacey without her being scared because there was someone there (lines 263-265).

4.2.3.3. The influential nature of the facilitator

Within this super-ordinate theme there were a range of roles. Not only did the nature of the role vary but it appears the facilitator's approach to the victim and the 'identified wrong-doer'. This difference may be due to the fact that the RIs sampled were conducted by a range of facilitators, a decision made by the researcher to recruit more potential participants.

Sebastian reported to have felt 'alone' in his RM. Sebastian perceived the facilitators to have an accusing tone and approach as they asked him multiple questions focused upon why he hurt the victim:

P: Because they were just talking on me and saying why did you punch him?(Lines 107-108).

Sebastian also stated that the facilitators accused him of lying about the victim's role in the conflict: *P: And I was like...they said I was telling lies (line 112).*

Furthermore the facilitators appeared to support the victim's refusal to apologise to the 'identified wrong-doer':

P: They said he can't say sorry because you punched him and he never done nothing to you (line 148-149).

Within the RM there were two facilitators and Sebastian stated that they had different approaches:

*P: Not Mrs ***** but Mrs ***** (line 114).*

Tom had a different experience with his facilitator and he seemed to value this interaction. The facilitator gave everyone the chance to speak and encouraged working collaboratively:

*P: Mrs ****. She said what I want to happen to them and what do they want to happen to me (lines 207-209).*

This facilitator also appeared to utilise her active listening skills:

*P: The boys were listening. Mrs ***** was listening until I was finished (lines 121-122).*

Sebastian, Jan and Robert all seemed to be involved in RIs conducted by multiple facilitators. To a certain extent these three participants lacked some element of control within the RIs. For instance, Jan and the victim lacked control over the order in which they would share their story in:

P: She said Jan do you want to say what happened first? (lines 146-147).

The facilitators who conducted the RC that Robert was involved in decided that both parties had caused harm, however they appeared to take control over how the pupils needed to resolve the situation (shake hands). Suzy shared that her facilitator instigated the apology and also restricted the pupils from making their own decisions about the state of their friendship with the victim. Suzy stated that the facilitator said:

P: Yeah she was like I didn't know you were like this Suzy you should be better because you try hard at school (lines 137-139).

This could be interpreted as the facilitator having a judgemental approach and informing Suzy that her behaviour was 'out of character'. RPs principles state that pupils are allowed to make mistakes and this is human nature (Strang et al, 2006). It is the way that these mistakes are corrected that is the key thing.

4.2.3.4 Summary of master theme 3: the interactions between individuals before and during the RIs

Master theme 3 suggests that the 'identified wrong-doer' and victim have different relationships in each situation. Molly and Hameed were friends with the victims, whereas Robert's conflict with the victim was

ongoing. One could argue that if an 'identified wrong-doer' and victim are friends and have an emotional connection prior to the conflict then they may be more invested in repairing the harm caused in RIs. Some participants such as Robert had attempted to initiate friendships with the victims but this had been rejected. One could question whether the anger they displayed was really an expression of the hurt that they felt from this rejection (this will be discussed further in master theme 5).

Sebastian, Tom and Jan perceived the victims to have also caused harm and shared that despite this the victims did not take responsibility for their actions. This could suggest that the roles of victims and wrong-doers are not clearly defined and in some cases these roles are fluid and interchangeable. Sebastian and Suzy stated their facilitator's had an accusing and judgemental approach, whereas Tom's facilitator ensured all voices were heard. Master theme 4 considers the experience of feeling vulnerable.

4.2.4 Master theme 4: the experience of feeling vulnerable

Table 4.4: Table to demonstrate master theme 4

<p>4. The experience of feeling vulnerable.</p>	<p><i>Maintaining a tough persona</i></p> <p><u>Molly</u> 75. P: I've had a fight with the same lad before because he 76. threw a pen at me.</p> <p><u>Jan</u> 82. P: That he is weaker than me and I might beat him so I 83. just said sorry.</p> <p><u>Suzy</u> 156. P: We was talking...I was angry at that time so I told 157. her to stop crying and stuff.</p> <p><u>Hameed</u> 28. P: Like if you shout at me I say well why are you 29 shouting at me for because I didn't do anything wrong.</p>
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	<p><i>Feeling victimised</i></p> <p><u>Tom</u> 33. P: I'm a victim of them hitting me because I think him 34. and his friends don't like me so they just came up with it.</p> <p><u>Jan</u> 226. P: in Primary school in Year 4 yeah. The guy pushed 227. me and I fell down yeah and Miss was blaming me not 228. him.</p> <p><u>Robert</u> 52. P: Because I normally get picked on anyway so...</p> <p><u>Suzy</u> 239. I: When you were in that situation before what was it like? 240. P: They were saying like go away from our school we 241. don't need Slovakian...like lots of English girls.</p> <p><u>Hameed</u> 9. P: When you go up the stairs you go this way and come 10. down that way and you are always like colliding with 11. people and I just don't like that.</p> <p><i>Broken trust</i></p> <p><u>Molly</u> 298. I don't trust people easily.</p> <p><u>Jan</u> 237. I: Have you learnt anything from the RJ? 238. P: Yeah...don't believe your friends.</p> <p><u>Suzy</u> 29. P: break time and some girls were like 'oh Ana was 30. talking about you some ugly stuff about your secrets 31. and stuff'.</p> <p><u>Hameed</u> 116. P: That's when I got a bit more suspicious that it was 117. Asneen.I asked his girlfriend is it true? And she said 118. no but I didn't believe the girlfriend.</p>
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Master theme 4 relates to the 'identified wrong-doer's' experience of feeling vulnerable during the conflict, the RIs and in life in general. This master theme moves away from RP related themes to exploring the general experiences of the 'identified wrong-doer' in a school context. This relates to the aims of IPA which are to gain an insight into how participants make sense of their personal and social world (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

4.2.4.1. Maintaining a tough persona

This super-ordinate theme represents the 'identified wrong-doers' outward expression of feeling vulnerable. 'Identified wrong-doers' may feel vulnerable at times but they perceive this as weakness and attempt to hide this from others by demonstrating their toughness. The term 'Persona' was selected to describe this theme because it refers to one's social façade or front. The 'identified wrong-doers' portray a tough persona to certain people in their life who they want to impress, usually those in their social world.

In Molly's interview she relayed a number of stories where she had been physically aggressive towards other pupils:

P: like yesterday I kicked off yesterday because one of the boys in our year spat at me and went to hit Katie for no reason (lines 70-72).

This excerpt suggests that Molly has a need to protect herself and others from perceived threats. Molly takes control of retribution and responds aggressively to those that she perceives as attempting to cause harm. However, Molly has boundaries to her aggression which was apparent when she stated:

P: I have never been violent towards my mum or my sisters (lines 297-298).

Jan and Hameed have many similarities in terms of wanting others to believe that they are tough. Jan and Hameed both challenged the victim directly about the rumours that they had heard. In Jan's transcript he referred to fighting or using physical aggression numerous times.

P: then I said come out yeah and I will fight you (line 28).

This suggests that Jan had an aggressive approach towards those that he perceived to hurt him as did Hameed:

P: I was with the 5 that could fight (line 47).

Jan stated that he wanted to be a 'bodyguard' in the future which suggests that he perceives his identity as being tough and protecting those that are vulnerable. Whereas Hameed appeared to have an air of bravado and boasted about his strengths:

P: If I'm doing my Maths work if someone can't do like harder than me then I would be like I'm the best then when I play a sport I say if someone can't do better than me I'm the best yeah (lines 275-278).

Robert also had to defend himself from others and was only physically aggressive when provoked:

P: Because if someone physically touches me I can...in my head I can physically push them (lines 76-77).

This suggests that Robert had boundaries to his aggression like Molly. It appears as though both Robert and Suzy did not want to appear to be vulnerable in front of their peers:

P: No one really knows I have blackouts. I don't tell anyone, I don't feel the need (lines 115-117).

One interpretation of this quotation was that Robert did not want to tell people about his blackouts in fear of being perceived to be weak.

4.2.4.2. Feeling victimised

This super-ordinate theme was generated from occasions and events in the participants' lives when they felt vulnerable. For instance, despite being the 'identified wrong-doer', Tom perceived there to be times when he felt more akin to being a victim. Tom described the incident where he was held down by the victims and attacked.

P: It made me quite upset because they wouldn't let me move or anything (lines 29-30).

Tom also stated that he felt 'unsafe' being alone with these pupils and needed the facilitator there.

Jan and Hameed both communicated strongly that they wanted to be seen as tough. Interestingly, both participants shared incidents where

they felt defenseless. In Jan's interview he shared a story about when he was attacked in Primary school and then blamed for the incident. One could hypothesise that this was the incident that taught Jan to defend himself and not be the victim. There were not many occasions when Hameed was the victim, however early in the interview he stated that he felt uneasy when walking either up or down the stairs to the canteen because there were lots of people. Again this could be interpreted as feeling susceptible to being attacked or trapped.

Although Suzy was deemed to be the 'identified wrong-doer' in this incident, she stated that at her previous school she was bullied by some girls about her ethnicity.

P: Scared because I was only in Year 8 (line 244).

This deeply affected Suzy to the extent that she felt empathy for the victim because she could relate to how they felt.

P: so I know how she feel because I had these problems as well like (lines 161-162).

One could argue that Suzy learnt that she had to be tougher to survive in the school environment, which may provide an explanation for her behaviour towards the victim.

4.2.4.3 Broken trust

This super-ordinate theme offers a further insight into the issues that these participants may face. Broken trust could occur as a result of feeling vulnerable. Perhaps it is part of the 'toughening up' process or entirely distinct, lacking trust could be a way in which the participants protect themselves from being hurt by others.

Molly appeared to be a young person who lacked trust in a range of people. Molly lacked trust in the victim who was also her close friend because she believed that she had betrayed her:

P: I thought that she had called me fat. I thought that she wasn't coming into school because I was right (lines 95-96).

Molly also appeared to have a fear of being let-down by her mother;

P: and my mum has agreed to it I don't know whether she's coming or not (lines 290-291).

One could hypothesise that if she had trust in her mother then she would not doubt whether her mother would be there or not. Molly also lacked trust in the professionals that have tried to help her:

P: Because talking to people doesn't work. All the people that I have spoke to it hasn't worked (lines 329-331).

As a result of the broken trust Molly removed people that disappointed her from her life:

P: she weren't helpful. I left and I didn't go back (line 319).

However, Jan placed his trust in his friends and believed them when they told him that the victim had called him a name. Jan later discovered that his friends had purposely lied to him:

P: Because my friends were saying that it was a joke (lines 212-213).

As a result of this Jan learnt not to trust what they tell him in the future.

This bears resemblance to Suzy as she believed the rumours that she had heard that the victim had shared with other people. Suzy, Molly and Hameed all required evidence to ascertain whether the trust had been broken or not.

Molly: And then when I got shown them messages from Stacey on her it was just like why did you lie? And felt really bad for Stacey (lines 150-153).

Suzy: Because I...just want to know and she didn't answer (lines 67-68).

Hameed: No. After that lesson my mate I gave him a call (line 111).

For Molly and Hameed it was only until they had clear evidence that the victim was vindicated. During Hameed's RM his trust in the victim was enhanced as he could see that he was loyal to him:

P: It made me see that actually he is a good friend to me (lines 241-242).

4.2.4.4 Summary of master theme 4: the experience of feeling vulnerable

The super-ordinate themes all relate to feeling vulnerable and how the participant responds to that. Molly, Robert, Jan and Hameed all described incidents where they had been provoked and retaliated with physical aggression or 'fighting'. Maintaining a tough persona could be an example of how the vulnerability experienced is externalised to others. This is achieved through aggression, confrontation and being cautious about saying or doing anything that could be interpreted as weak. Feeling victimised is the vulnerable aspect of the master theme. Despite the tough personas participants such as Jan and Suzy also related to being victims at times. When the participants feel vulnerable this can result in them lacking trust, which may lead to them having challenging relationships with others. Master theme 5 is related to difficulties with recognising, processing and expressing thoughts and feelings.

4.2.5 Master theme 5: difficulties with recognising, processing and expressing thoughts and feelings

Table 4.5: A table to demonstrate master theme 5.

Difficulties with recognising, processing and expressing thoughts and	Challenges with understanding and expressing one's feelings. <u>Molly</u> 51. P: I don't know. I can't explain it. <u>Robert</u> 189. I: How did that make you feel? 190. P: I dunno.
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<p>feelings.</p>	<p><i>Anger as an expression of hurt</i></p> <p><u>Sebastian</u> 53. Then I didn't want to push him because I was feeling sad</p> <p><u>Molly</u> 53. P: That she deserved a slap. That is the only thing that 54. came to me.</p> <p><u>Jan</u> 63. I: When you heard that Asim called you gay how did that 64. make you feel? 65. P: Angry. 66. I: Why were you angry? 67. P: Because he was one of my friends and then he called 68. me gay.</p> <p><u>Robert</u> 199. I: How did that make you feel when he didn't shake your 200. hand? 201. P: Annoyed. Because I, I, I try and forgive and forget.</p> <p>Challenges with understanding the thoughts and feelings of others.</p> <p><u>Tom</u> 149. I: Did you learn anything from hearing other people's side of the story? 150. P: Yeah, to understand what they were thinking at the time.</p> <p><u>Hameed</u> 238. P: I didn't know that he was going to feel like this and 239. when I found out I felt really guilty. I said sorry to him 240. already but I never asked him what he thought.</p>
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This final master theme relates to the 'identified wrong-doer's' experiences of having limited understanding and ability to share their thoughts and feelings. Master theme 5 is key to providing an explanation for some of the challenges that the participants face in terms of their level of anger and aggression towards others.

4.2.5.1 Challenges with understanding and expressing one's feelings

Within this super-ordinate theme, generally participants with English as an additional language (EAL) were excluded. This is because it was difficult to ascertain whether such challenges were due to limited English language skills or with how they process and express their feelings.

The only participant with EAL included in this theme was Jan as it was clear that he had difficulties expressing his feelings. In the interview Jan stated that he could not answer a question about his feelings because he did not know he felt:

I: When you said sorry to him, how did that make you feel?

P: (pause) Miss I cannot answer this question.

I: Because you're not sure or you don't understand the question?

P: Because I not sure of how I felt (lines 166-172)

The researcher explored why Jan felt he could not answer the question and he answered because he was unsure about this. This is supported by other occasions where he found it difficult to describe his feelings:

I: Did that make you feel good about yourself or bad?

P: Quite like...don't know (lines 86-88).

There were also a number of times when Molly found it difficult to describe how she was feeling. Molly acknowledged that she encountered challenges when communicating with others:

P: but sometimes I can't even speak to my mum. I don't

speak to anyone I don't even speak to my best friend (lines 312-313)

If Molly had the ability to express her feelings more effectively then she may have realised earlier that the victim was innocent. Molly needed the RM to provide her with an opportunity to develop these skills.

Robert also found it difficult to describe his feelings in the interview. It is possible that the ongoing conflict with the victim may have been resolved if Robert was able to express how he felt about the situation.

4.2.5.2. Anger as an expression of hurt

This super-ordinate theme refers to the 'identified wrong-doers' anger being a way of communicating the underlying hurt they have experienced. Anger was a significant topic that was mentioned by multiple participants and when this was explored further by the researcher it appeared as though more complex emotions were underlying the outbursts.

Sebastian attempted to immediately apologise to the victim which suggested that he regretted his earlier aggression.

P: Miss and I was like sad because I punched him and then I said sorry but when he pushed me he said ok I'm not sorry for you but you should say you are sorry for punching me (lines 85-87).

Sebastian described this regret as making him feel 'sad' which prohibited him from hurting the victim further.

Molly also describes the intense anger that she felt after she found out about the victim's alleged betrayal:

P: It just made me feel really angry like very very angry. So angry to the point that I just lost it (lines 66-67).

However underneath this anger, Molly felt hurt and betrayed by her best friend who was supposed to be loyal to her:

P: Because like she knows from previous like occasions that we have been like from being friends she knows that I have got issues with weight (lines 56-58).

This quotation suggests that Molly was hurt that Katie would say something derogatory about her weight, as Molly was sensitive about this. Furthermore, the only emotion that Molly described was anger, which she found difficult to control:

P: When my anger kicks out I can't really help myself (line 22).

This quotation suggests that Molly found it hard to regulate her emotions, which may link to her difficulties understanding and expressing her feelings.

Jan and Hameed had similar issues with anger, which was very intense. Jan's anger lasted several days during the conflict and although he described his feelings as anger, it could be perceived that he was hurt by his friend betraying him. Both Jan and Hameed responded to the anger by wanting to be physically aggressive towards the alleged betrayer:

Jan: Like I can beat him up easier...kick him (line 85)

Hameed: I: What did you want to do?

P: Punch him (lines 98-99).

Robert described experiencing 'rage blackouts' that caused him to forget details of the argument.

P: Sometimes when I get angry I sometimes have a blackout and then when I get angry at home I have a blackout (lines 90-92).

However, when explored further it appeared as though Robert was hurt because the victim had rejected his friendship and his apology a number of times:

*P: I think it was me, because...I think...when he first started which was like the beginning of this term he told me to f*** off because I got told to look after him and he told me to f*** off (lines 35-38).*

4.2.5.3. Challenges with understanding the thoughts and feelings of others.

This super-ordinate theme is about understanding the thoughts and feelings of others. This theme is linked to empathy to an extent, which can be defined as the ability to understand and share another person's feelings. One could argue that this super-ordinate theme is the step required before empathy can be felt for another person. Generally this appeared to be a challenge for some of the participants.

For example, Tom did not think about the how the comments that he said to other pupils would affect them. During the RC Tom began to understand why they were offended by the names he called them:

P: Nicolas's mum's name is Vilma and Stefan doesn't really like being talking about his weight and things like that (lines 156-158).

Through sharing stories and being able to listen to the victim, Tom learnt that each pupil had sensitivity about something and that this was triggered by the names that he called them:

I: What did that tell you about them?

P: That they can easily be hurt with a single word or something (lines 162-164).

Tom's experience was shared by some of the other participants in the sense that they did not understand the thoughts and feeling of others when they were angry. For instance until the RM, Molly did not consider the impact of her actions on the victim:

P: They sent her home early and then she didn't come back into school for two days and then they made her come back in to speak to me.

I: Did she say why she didn't come back into school?

P: She was scared (lines 87-91).

Molly was focused on being angry and expressing this to the victim and until she heard the victim's story did not consider Katie's thoughts and feelings. Molly then felt guilty after gaining such an understanding.

Hameed did consider the feelings of the victim to some extent because he recognised that he was fearful of him:

P: no it wasn't me he got scared yeah and then his face he pretended he was going to cry that's when I didn't want to hit him. I felt sorry for him (lines 107-109)

However this could be interpreted as a fairly surface level understanding of another individual's feelings. It was not until the RC that Hameed gained a deeper understanding of what the victim truly thought and that fear was not the only emotion that he felt:

*P: Mrs **** asked him how that felt and he said that he was scared and disappointed because that must of meant that I didn't think he was a good friend to me (lines 227-230).*

Similar to Molly, when Hameed gained this deeper understanding he felt guilty.

4.2.5.4 Summary of Master theme 5: difficulties with recognising, processing and expressing thoughts and feelings

In the interviews, some participants such as Molly and Jan found it difficult to describe their feelings. Additionally some participants such as Molly, Robert and Jan shared situations where they became angry although this appeared to represent being hurt. The first two super-ordinate themes may link together because when participants had difficulty expressing their emotions this could lead to them displaying their feelings through anger. Furthermore, some participants appeared to have difficulties regulating their anger which suggests that the hurt experienced was strong.

Some of the 'identified wrong-doers' such as Tom and Molly did not consider the impact their actions had on the victim and needed to the RPs process to understand other perspectives. The final super-ordinate theme links with master theme 1: the emotional component of being involved in the RI process. Understanding someone's thoughts and feelings often derives from hearing their story. This appears to lead to feeling guilty and wanting to repair harm caused.

4.3 Summary of data analysis section

To conclude, five master themes were generated during the data analysis process. The first theme was the emotional component of being involved in the RP process. Master theme 1 captured significant aspects of the intervention that provoked strong emotional responses from the 'identified wrong-doer'. The data suggested that a process

emerged whereby the 'identified wrong-doer' heard the victim's story, felt guilty and wanted to repair harm. This process led to genuine apologies to the victim, although other apologies were heavily influenced by the facilitator. The second master theme reflected the experience of RIs as learning opportunities, some participants were able to reflect on their learning during RIs, others were not.

The third master theme encapsulated the interactions between individuals before and during the RIs. The analysis appeared to show those of the participants who had emotional connections to the victims, (such as Molly) stated that this motivated them further to repair the harm caused. The influential nature of the facilitator and victim varied amongst participants, however the data suggested that pupils lacked control on occasions in RIs. For instance, in most of the RIs, facilitators took control over how to move forward from the conflict in the future instead of this being pupil-led. The fourth master theme moved away from solely RPs and described the 'identified wrong-doers' experience of feeling vulnerable in the school context. 'Identified wrong-doers' felt vulnerable at times and they dealt with these emotions through portraying a tough persona and exterior to others often with aggression or confrontation.

The fifth master theme depicted the difficulties that 'identified wrong-doers' may have with recognising, processing and expressing thoughts and feelings. Master theme 5 proposed possible explanations for some of the issues that the 'identified wrong-doers' face, such as trying to be tough. For instance, some of the participants found it difficult to understand and express their feelings. This inability to articulate meant that when they were hurt by another individual this led to them being angry. Often this anger was intense and difficult for the participants to regulate. Moreover, some participants also had challenges with understanding the thoughts and feelings of others, although this could be enhanced when listening to the victims' story in RIs. The implications

of such difficulties may be that in a RI pupils would require adult support when considering their own feelings and the link to thoughts and feelings of others. This will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 4 presented the five master themes generated and gave a detailed description of the super-ordinate themes supported with excerpts from the original transcripts. Chapter 5 will summarise the findings and make links to the literature presented in Chapter 2. Conclusions will be drawn as to how far the research question was answered by the findings. The methodology will be evaluated and the implications at various levels will be discussed. A concluding section will summarise the findings and the unique contribution of this study.

5.2 Discussion of Master themes and links to literature

The following sections will summarise the findings for each master theme and consider how the literature outlined in Chapter 2 can provide further explanations for the data obtained and presented in Chapter 4.

5.2.1 Master theme 1: the emotional component of being involved in the RI process.

5.2.1.1 Repairing harm caused through apologising

This super-ordinate theme refers to a part of the RI, which involves the 'identified wrong-doer' (and possibly the victim), repairing the harm they caused in the conflict. Rodogno (2008) identified two forms of reparation: material and symbolic. Symbolic reparation is an integral part of RPs as it involves processes such as apologising and forgiving. In the current study there was some information from participants to suggest that symbolic reparation had occurred. Apologies and forgiveness appeared to occur for some of the participants. Some participants apologised to the victim at the time of the conflict, such as Sebastian and Hameed whereas others needed to go through the RI process before they could understand the harm caused such as Tom and Molly.

From this data one could conclude that symbolic reparation took place, however some apologies were prompted by the facilitators and in some instances participants such as Suzy stated that she did not want to say sorry and was being compliant. Whereas other participants genuinely felt sorry about their actions, such as Tom and Molly which is more indicative of symbolic reparation because they are more likely to repair harm.

5.2.1.2 Sharing stories and being heard

Sharing one's story and listening to others is another important aspect of an RI. Sharing stories and repairing harm may be understood by the theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1962 as cited in Roseman, Ritchie, & Laux, 2009), which is the psychological discomfort an individual experiences when their thoughts and actions are inconsistent. An 'identified wrong-doer' may experience cognitive dissonance when they hear the victim's story and realise the harm that they caused. Before the RI the 'identified wrong-doer' may not have understood the impact that their actions had on others or they may have perceived that the victim betrayed them. However once they listen to another individual's story, their perception or thoughts of the victim may change and cause them to feel uneasy or uncomfortable. In order to restore this discomfort they have to repair the harm caused by apologising, which leads to consistency in actions and thoughts.

One of the participants, Molly reported feeling uncomfortable after she had listened to the victim's story and realised that she had wrongly accused the victim of spreading rumours about her. Molly might have been experiencing cognitive dissonance because her thoughts about the victim had changed. Initially Molly thought that the victim had betrayed her but after hearing her story she realised that the victim was a loyal friend to her. These thoughts were inconsistent with her actions which had been to cause harm. It appears that Molly reduced the

dissonance through taking responsibility and repairing the harm caused. Whilst attitude change can occur within RIs in order to reduce the dissonance, this does not necessarily lead to long-term attitude or behaviour change that can be generalised to different contexts over time (Gillard, 2015). In the context of this study, if participants did change their perspective of someone or a situation within the RIs this did not always appear to have continued after the RIs.

Reimer (2011) argues that the exchange of perspectives is crucial as it increases the offender's awareness of the victim's distress and allows them to feel empathy. This is also supported by Gillard (2015) whose study conducted with young offenders and school pupils suggested that exploring all the points of view led to participants acknowledging harm. As is stated in Chapter 4, section 4.2.1.2, Tom had this experience, as in the RC each pupil was given their opportunity to share their own story and to listen attentively to the stories of the others. Sharing perspectives led Tom to gain an understanding of the impact that his comments had on others. Being heard or listened to was important to some of the participants and this relates to the evaluations conducted in Scotland, England and Wales in the last decade, which found that pupils valued being listened to by facilitators and their peers (Youth Justice Board for England and Wales, 2004).

5.2.1.3 Experiencing shame, guilt and remorse

Participants reported that they felt strong emotions when taking part in the RIs. Participants felt emotions that were intense and sometimes conflicting. This links with Gillard's (2015) finding that being honest can be a highly upsetting and emotional experience.

Hameed and Jan both reported that they felt guilty in the RIs in relation to their actions. Sherman et al (2005) identified guilt and remorse as 'productive' emotions to experience. In Chapter 2 the relationship between guilt and shame was discussed. Some argued that guilt and

shame are not the same, as shame is directly about the self, whereas guilt is the negative appraisal of one's actions (Lewis,1971). On the other hand, guilt and shame could be deemed to be a single emotion (Harris, Walgrave & Braithwaite, 2004).

Harris, Walgrave and Braithwaite (2004) stated that when guilt is felt one assumes responsibility for the action. Both Jan and Hameed felt guilty and subsequently took responsibility for their actions. However, Moore (1993) states that guilt in isolation is insufficient and when guilt occurs alongside remorse the offender will be aware of the effect of their actions on the victim and responsibility will be taken.

Moore (1993) argued that guilt and remorse combined is the same as shame. The experience of shame can be explained further by the theory of reintegrative shaming. Braithwaite (1999) stated that the 'identified wrong-doer' will experience shame and needs the support of the facilitator to subsequently remove the shame in regards to their actions or the harm caused.

5.2.1.4 The 'identified wrong-doer's possible emotional journey

A figure was created by the researcher to illustrate the connection between the super-ordinate themes in this master theme. It is important to note that this figure is based upon the researcher's construction of the data. Figure 5.1 demonstrates the different elements of the RIs and gives an idea about how one process may affect another.

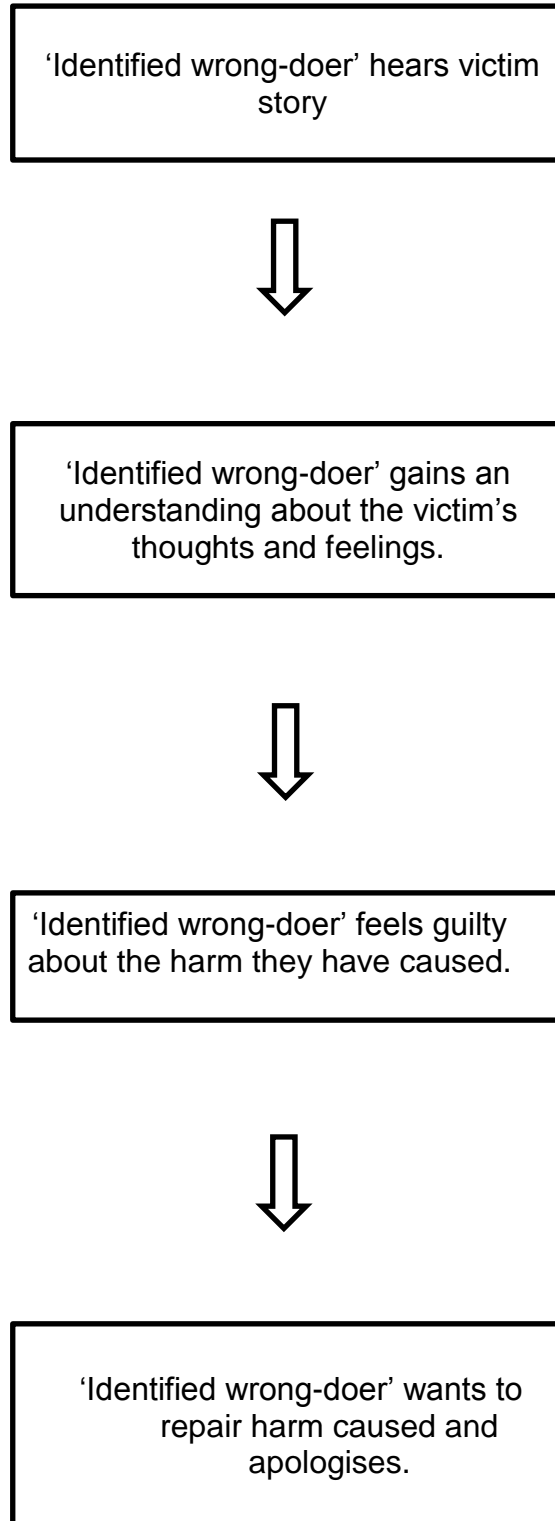


Figure 5.1: the 'identified wrong-doer's possible emotional journey

5.2.2 Master theme 2: the experience of RIs as learning opportunities.

Master theme 2 included the super-ordinate themes: valuable experience/opportunity to learn and less valuable experience/reduced opportunity to learn. Master theme 2 refers to whether the participants were able to reflect on their learning journeys, such as understanding the impact of their actions on other and learning how to manage conflict more effectively in the future.

The notion of RPs being learning opportunities for those involved originated from Vygotskian (as cited in Yeomans, 2008) and social constructivist theory. Braithwaite (2001) argued that certain elements of RIs such as the role of a facilitator can lead to individuals extending their learning about specific things. A Vygotskian concept linked to this, is the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). The ZPD is the gap between what one can achieve independently and with adult support through scaffolding (Frederickson & Cline, 2009).

This is also applicable to RPs as a facilitator should be aware of a pupil's ZPD and what skills they need support to develop further. This can be achieved, in part, by asking incremental questions that can be answered with ease (such as what happened?) and also questions that extend the individual's thoughts and imagination (such as what can be done to repair the harm caused?) (Macready, 2009). Vygotsky (as cited in Yeomans, 2008) argued that the process of questioning allows individuals to make new connections and greater intricacy in their cognitions.

RPs as learning opportunities is also supported by the theory of mediated learning experiences (MLE) (Feuerstein, 1998). MLE is an interactional process that involves an experienced mediator interjecting themselves between a task and the learner. Therefore within RIs the facilitator should not take an 'expert' role but instead work

collaboratively alongside the young people supporting their learning journey. The mediator has to analyse both the task, the learner and base the MLE on such interpretations. In terms of RPs this suggests, the facilitator should avoid giving young people 'the answers' and instead allow them to come to their own conclusions.

The data from the current study suggested that facilitators asked more incremental questions compared to questions that extended the participant's thinking. For instance, the facilitators who conducted Robert's RC decided that both parties had caused harm and appeared to take control over how the pupils could resolve the situation (shake hands). Suzy shared, that her facilitator instigated the apology and also influenced the pupils decision making processes.

5.2.3 Master theme 3: the interactions between individuals before and during the RIs.

5.2.3.1. Relationship between victim and 'identified wrong-doer' before RIs

Some participants stated that when they had an emotional connection to the victim prior to the conflict then they may be more motivated to repair the harm caused. Furthermore when participants had friendships with the victims, the hurt experienced was even more intense. Some participants had attempted to make friends with the victim (before the RIs) but this was rejected.

The friendships or emotional connections can be explained to some extent through Vygotskian theory, which states that children learn cognitive processes through direct interaction with the environment and also through social interactions with more experienced individuals who provide guidance and support. Braithwaite (2001) argued that the formation of a social bond is key to the success of restoration. Furthermore, Macready (2009) stated that learning in RPs arises

through interacting with others as opposed to being separated from one's social context. Vygotsky, Braithwaite and Maccready emphasise the importance of the social element of learning. Therefore one could conclude that pupils are more likely to learn from RPs when they have a social and potentially emotional link to the victim.

5.2.3.2 The ambiguous role of the victim

Ttofi & Farrington (2008) stated that at the beginning of RIs the victim often resents, and is angry at, the offender. However in the current study victims appeared to fear the 'identified wrong-doer' in at least four interviews. Fear is identified by Sherman et al (2005) as an 'unproductive' emotion to experience because it may be detrimental to the restoration process. On the other hand, according to conditioning theory (which underlies CBT) fear is a cognitive schema and therefore over-exposure will lead to new associations being developed that are not harmful but safe for the victim (Sherman et al, 2005).

It is possible that, interacting with the offender in a safe environment de-conditions the fears and allows the victim to understand that having anxiety does not have to lead to a lack of control (Sherman et al., 2005). Strang et al (2006) found that victims feared the offenders less after the RC, which suggests that victims de-conditioned their fear of the offender during the RC. The theory of deconditioning is supported to some extent by the findings of the current study as often the victim's fear of the 'identified wrong-doer' had subsided after the RIs.

Another finding to emerge from the current study was the idea that the roles of 'identified wrong-doer' and victim are not clearly defined and in some instances the 'identified wrong-doers' had perceived the victim to also have caused harm. Some participants reported that victims did not apologise for the harm they caused and were reluctant to forgive the 'identified wrong-doer'. Reimer (2011) stated that sharing stories allows the 'identified wrong-doer' to feel shame and subsequently for the victim

to forgive. Therefore in the current study if the 'identified wrong-doers' did not feel shame this may have prevented the victim to forgive them.

5.2.3.3 The influential nature of the facilitator

This super-ordinate theme partly links to the previous master theme which looked at the extent to which the facilitators appeared to extend and challenge the 'identified wrong-doers' cognitions through different levels of questioning. This theme also presents the 'human qualities' of the facilitators, as in the current study there appeared to be a range of approaches used. Some participants reported feeling attacked or judged by the facilitators, whereas others felt heard and respected. The pupil data from the SEED evaluation (Kane et al, 2009) suggested that individuals valued facilitators that did not shout or have an aggressive approach and made all parties feel equal. One could infer that the facilitators that encouraged active listening and made all parties feel respected were the most valued by participants.

Bevington (2015) explored the factors that helped and hindered the success of RPs. Participants identified different factors that might explain why some RIs were ineffective for example low self-esteem in pupils, staff members with low emotional intelligence, staff lacking time or confidence. Emotional intelligence can be defined as the ability to have awareness of, regulate, and convey one's emotions, and to manage interpersonal relationships judiciously and empathetically (Bevington, 2015). From this definition one could conclude that in the current study perhaps some of the facilitators did not handle relationships with the 'identified wrong-doers' fairly and expressing empathy.

5.2.4 Master theme 4: the experience of feeling vulnerable

Master theme 4 captures the 'identified wrong-doer' maintaining a tough persona, feeling victimised and experiencing broken trust.

Maintaining a tough persona could be an example of how vulnerability is externalised to others. Externalising behaviours included aggression, confrontation and avoiding saying or doing anything that was deemed to be weak. 'Identified wrong-doers' may be classed as 'bullies' by some but the participants also related to being victims at times. The participants also lacked trust in others, which in the researcher's view may have led to them experiencing challenging social relationships with others.

The theory of unacknowledged shame may be relevant to master theme 4 (Retzinger & Scheff, 1996). Shame can be avoided during one's life through emotional disengagement (McCluskey et al., 2008a). Some perpetrators may evade or bypass shame and this can lead to the destruction of social relationships (Retzinger & Scheff, 1996). Emotional disengagement can be defined as either the inability or choice not to connect emotionally with others (Herman, 1992). Emotional disengagement could be linked to broken trust, as the latter appears to be a way in which individuals can distance themselves from building emotional connections to others.

5.2.4 Master theme 5: difficulties with recognising, processing and expressing thoughts and feelings.

5.2.4.1. Challenges with understanding and expressing one's feelings

Some of the participants found it difficult to describe how they were feeling at various points in the interview. The theory of unacknowledged shame (Retzinger & Scheff, 1996) and emotional disengagement (McCluskey et al., 2008a) is also relevant to this super-ordinate theme. One could argue that the inability or reluctance to connect emotionally to others could be linked to being unable to express one's emotions. If an individual experiences challenges in understanding and expressing their emotions then this could limit their ability to connect emotionally.

Schumacher (2014) explored the impact of 'Talking Circles' in a high school in the USA. The data suggested that the participants felt safe and able to express their emotions. Furthermore, participating in RPs improved their emotional literacy since they had improved listening skills, higher sensitivity and better conflict management, which empowered them. This study shows that RPs can improve an individual's ability to understand and express their feelings and therefore RPs may be beneficial in terms of improving psychosocial and emotional needs of young people.

5.2.4.1. Anger as an expression of hurt.

The theory of unacknowledged shame bears relevance to this super-ordinate theme. If an 'identified wrong-doer' does not acknowledge the shame felt then they may reoffend or reoffend with greater aggression (Vaandering, 2013). In the current study some participants described feelings of intense anger and aggression towards others. One could argue that this aggression and anger could have arisen due to situation where the participants experienced unacknowledged shame.

Retzinger & Scheff (1996) conducted observations of nine conferences in Australia. The findings suggested that the victim also experiences shame, although this is usually masked as anger which is a defence mechanism guarding against the true hurt and helplessness felt. Whilst these findings were in relation to victims, it could also be argued that they apply to the 'identified wrong-doers' in the current study. The participant's anger in the current study often masked underlying hurt from being betrayed or rejected by another.

5.2.4.1. Challenges with understanding the thoughts and feelings of others.

This super-ordinate theme encapsulates understanding the thoughts and feelings of others. This theme is linked to empathy which can be defined as the ability to understand and share another person's feelings. One could argue that this super-ordinate theme is the step required before empathy can be felt for another person, as one has to understand someone's feelings before they can relate this to their personal experience of that emotion. Generally this appeared to be a challenge for some of the participants.

Not being able to understand one's own thoughts and feelings and those of others is an element that is enhanced through CBT. CBT aims to *"provide a therapeutic framework to help individuals understand how they interpret events, in order to help them identify and change the distortions that can occur in cognitive processing"* (Dunsmuir & Iyadurai, 2006 pp. 15).

A typical cognitive behavioural intervention (CBI) would focus upon understanding the link between cognitions, emotions and behaviour. One could argue that within RPs, pupils consider the thoughts and feelings of others through sharing and listening to stories, which may reflect elements of a CBI. Facilitators should theoretically help support pupils who have difficulties in understanding the thoughts and feelings of others and build upon these skills using the RIs framework.

5.2.5 Summary of the master themes

The research question posed in this study was as follows:

Secondary school-based Restorative Interventions – What are the perceptions and experiences of the young people who are identified as 'wrong-doers'?

The current study presented the perceptions and experiences of the participants in terms of RIs and generally within the school. The findings

suggested that RIs provoked powerful emotions such as shame, guilt and remorse for the 'identified wrong-doers' particularly when they were sharing and listening to stories. Furthermore, some participants were able to articulate the learning that took place in RIs, whereas others were not. Theories of learning can be applied to RIs and can give an insight into how the facilitator can ensure that some learning and reflection can take place.

Some participants were more likely to be motivated to repair friendships in the RIs, as opposed to pupils they did not have a previous emotional connection with. This links to Braithwaite (2001) who argued that the formation of a social bond is key to the success of restoration. The role of the victim was ambiguous because at times the participants perceived that the victim had also caused harm. In addition, the relationship between the facilitator and pupils in the RIs was significant as this appeared to influence the outcomes.

The participants also reported that at times they felt vulnerable despite portraying a tough persona to others. Finally, the findings suggested that 'identified wrong-doers' may have difficulties recognising, processing and expressing thoughts and feelings which could be linked to the theory of unacknowledged shame and emotional disengagement. One could argue that the inability or reluctance to connect emotionally with others could be linked to being unable to understand and express one's own emotions.

5.3 Evaluation of research methodology

In this section different areas of the research methodology will be considered and the limitations of each will be presented. Three strands will be displayed that will consider different phases of the current study and the challenges faced in each of these. The first strand will evaluate the data collection process.

5.3.1 Evaluation of data collection procedures

5.3.1.1 Language skills

Within the current study the data was collected through conducting semi-structured interviews with young people identified as wrong-doers. One criticism of IPA is that it relies on the participant's ability to communicate about their views and experiences through language (Willig, 2001). This criticism is relevant to the current study as the participant's language skills impacted on their ability to articulate themselves. For instance, the participants with EAL sometimes found it difficult to understand some elements of the question or to express their opinions fully.

Moreover within the first super-ordinate theme in Master theme 5, participants with EAL generally were excluded. Such participants were discounted because it was unclear whether their challenges were due to their English language skills or due to difficulties in expressing their emotions. The only participant with EAL that was included in this super-ordinate theme was Jan and this was because he stated himself that he did not understand how he felt:

I: When you said sorry to him, how did that make you feel?

P: (pause) Miss I cannot answer this question.

I: Because you're not sure or you don't understand the question?

P: Because I not sure of how I felt (lines 166-172)

Furthermore another general limitation of interviewing children was that at times they are less reflective than adult participants. Some participants found it difficult (and to some extent unusual) to be asked about their feelings in different situations. Therefore young people may be less reflective due to cognitive development or because they are given fewer opportunities to express their opinions or feelings freely within the school context. At school, young people are expected to conform to the school rules and could be potentially punished if they express a 'negative' feeling about another person or event (Freeman &

Mathison, 2009). Therefore in an interview young people may feel restricted or cautious about expressing their feelings openly particularly if these were negative. Nonetheless, interviewing young people was still an insightful process and the cultural diversity of participants added to the richness of the data collected.

5.3.1.2 Recruiting participants

Future studies may consider how the researcher could gain further control of the recruiting process. For instance, the Head of House was responsible for choosing appropriate participants. The researcher provided inclusion criteria such as having a good level of English, involved in an RI and an 'identified wrong-doer'. However, aside from these criteria the Head of House had to make decisions about which participants would be most appropriate for the research. If the researcher had more control over the selection of participants then one could argue that perhaps different young people would have been chosen.

In addition to this the Head of House also had control over labelling a young person as a 'wrong-doer'. It is important to note that this was the Heads of House identification and not the researcher's personal opinion. In some instances it was clear to see why a young person had been identified as a 'wrong-doer', whereas in other situations it was less apparent. For instance, in Sebastian's RI it appeared as though both victim and 'identified-wrong-doer' caused harm to each other. This raises two issues, the first is developing the understanding that identifying wrong-doers is a subjective process and the second is that perhaps in a school context sole-wrong-doers do not exist or only arise in rare circumstances.

5.3.1.3 Nature of the RI

After conflict occurred, the facilitator chose to conduct either a RM or a RC with the pupils involved. It may be useful to note that a RM is conducted with 2 pupils typically the victim and wrong-doer (Hopkins, 2003). Whereas, a RC is conducted with multiple young people and can consist of a number of victims and wrong-doers (Hopkins, 2003). The participant's experience of RMs would have been relatively similar, however the participant's experience of RCs could have been diverse. The number of victims/wrong-doers can change from one RC to another and this could have impacted upon the group dynamics.

Group dynamics is the way in which any group of humans interacts and develops as a group, and the relationship between the individuals within it. Campbell & Faurey (1989) argued that the majority judgement has a powerful influence on the individual. Therefore, in an RC the majority judgement could be dependent on whether there were higher numbers of victims or wrong-doers. Moreover, informational influence involves trusting other's judgements more than your own (Campbell & Faurey, 1989). On the other hand, normative influence is the desire to be liked and gain social acceptance. Normative influence may have positive and negative consequences for participants. The positive outcomes could be that change in one group member impacts the entire group. Alternatively, pupils may mirror the attitudes and behaviour of influential group members, and change might not occur despite the facilitator's best efforts.

The research paradigm employed in the current study does not allow for direct comparisons between individual's experiences, as experience is subjective. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that the participants were involved in both RMs and RCs in this research and this could have influenced their perceptions and reported experiences of RPs.

5.3.1.4 Interviews

The interviews were conducted between one and six weeks after the RI had taken place. This variation could be deemed to be a further area of development of the current study. This is because the participant's memory of the RI might have been difficult to recall after six weeks. If the participant's memory had been affected, then one could argue that their ability to recall the conflict and RI may be reduced and hence less reliable. This could be countered by the fact that IPA states that the participant's narrative will consist of things that are important to them (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). Therefore one would assume that the significant aspects of the RI will be processed and internalised.

Furthermore, an interview only represents a snapshot of a participant's view or perspective at one moment in time. It could be argued that if the interview had been conducted on a different day the data collected could have been different. For example, the participants may have felt differently about certain peers or school staff members on another day. The views that the young people expressed may also have changed since the data was collected from November 2015 to January 2016 and therefore could be outdated.

5.3.2. Evaluation of data analysis

The second strand in the evaluation process will assess the data analysis phase. The data analysis process was described in Chapter 3. Each interview was analysed individually and super-ordinate themes were generated. Following this, the super-ordinate themes from all the interviews were re-organised into clusters and five master themes were created. During the process of creating master themes it became apparent that some super-ordinate themes were only relevant to an individual transcript, whereas other super-ordinate themes appeared across a number of interviews.

The super-ordinate themes apparent in multiple analyses were deemed to be more reliable because they were relevant to more than one

participant. Some super-ordinate themes were not included in the master themes. One could argue that the process of 'losing' super-ordinate themes is flawed because that single super-ordinate theme was significant for the associated participant. In this sense the voices of some of the young people could be deemed to be lost in the final analysis.

It is possible that voices were lost because things that were pertinent to individuals were not a part of the overall master themes. To leave behind the voice of the individual, could lead to disregarding their narratives and stories. However IPA is an idiographic approach which focuses on the experiences of different people and the contexts in which their experiences occur (Rizwan, 2014). Therefore one could argue that the analysis is less idiographic and more nomothetic, which considers establishing laws at a group or population level. This is because generating master themes is working at a group level as opposed to individual.

Another way that the voice of the participant is discounted is through the introduction of psychological meaning to the data obtained. This occurred in the data analysis phase as the researcher had to place meaning into the comments made by the participants. Additionally, the data was linked to theory at the beginning of chapter 5. As a trainee educational psychologist (TEP), it is part of one's professional capacity to apply psychology to gain further understanding when working with children and young people with additional needs. Using psychological theories to provide an explanation for the super-ordinate themes generated leads to moving the analysis to a more theoretical level.

On the other hand placing psychological meaning into the themes eliminates the participant's personal interpretation of their world. IPA is a two-staged interpretative process, as not only are participants trying to make sense of their experiences, the researcher also attempts to

make sense of their experiences. The researcher plays an active role in attempting to immerse themselves in another individual's world and interpreting cognition and affect from the things individuals say. Therefore introducing psychological meaning to the data is consistent with the principles of IPA (Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009).

The data collection phase involved audio recording the interviews and transcribing. In order to transcribe the researcher listened to the recording and electronically typed every word that was said. This process is largely verbal and in this sense the participant's non-verbal communication is lost. Although exact percentages vary, it is largely recognised that the majority of meaning is conveyed through non-verbal behaviour and a small amount through tone and words (Yaffe, 2001). In the analysis the researcher noted things that could be heard such as laughing and pauses, which can often give context to the words that an individual says. However, things that were visual such as facial expression or gestures could not be recorded in the transcript. One could argue that the things the participants said were analysed devoid of any contextual cues and that non-verbal communication could have changed the meaning or what they inferred.

5.3.3 Evaluation of IPA and flexible designs

The final strand takes a broader view of the limitations of IPA. A limitation with the way in which the current study employed IPA was in the researcher's level of experience. The researcher was a novice and had not used IPA prior to conducting the current study. The researcher's inexperience of IPA could have potentially affected the data collection and the data analysis processes.

In the data collection phase the researcher had little prior experience of formally interviewing young people and therefore had to learn these skills fairly quickly. Although an interview schedule had been developed the researcher's interviewing style developed over time. Therefore one

could conclude that in the earlier interviews the researcher was less relaxed and adhered to the interview schedule more. Compared to the later interviews where the researcher was more aware of probing and extending the participant's answers further.

The researcher was unfamiliar with the data analysis process and again developed new skills such as transcribing, annotating and generating themes. This inexperience may have led to the researcher being less interpretative than someone with more experience. However, due to the subjective nature of IPA it is likely that another individual could have had a different approach to the analysis and generated different themes. Therefore it is difficult to compare the researcher's interpretation with another or achieve inter-rater reliability.

The data analysis process was easy to follow which was advantageous for a novice researcher. However it could be argued that this was limiting and restrictive, as a single method was provided to guide the analysis. Not only was it a single method but some stages were fairly prescriptive such as annotating using descriptive, linguistic and conceptual comments. This could have stifled the creativity of the researcher and led to significant things being omitted from the analysis because they did not 'fit' into one of the three categories of comments. On the other hand one could argue that the process outlined is merely to guide those that are inexperienced and creativity is encouraged at every opportunity.

One may assume that other critiques of the study (and qualitative studies in general) would be that the sample size is too small or that the findings cannot be generalised to other populations or settings. However such 'critiques' are not valid focuses of IPA studies and external generalisation is never alluded to within the literature. Therefore in the current study no generalisations were made regarding

applying the findings to other secondary aged pupils identified as 'wrong-doers'.

Instead the interpretations all relate to the group of participants in this study. Shenton (2004) states that if practitioners come across a study they may connect to some aspects of the setting described. If this happens then they may link the findings of the study with their own setting. However caution must be exercised with this notion of transferability as this leaves the data to be susceptible to being misinterpreted or misrepresented.

5.3.3.1 Trustworthiness

Table 5.1: Revisiting the trustworthiness of the current study

Criteria	Description (taken from Shenton, 2004)	Potential threats
Credibility	Relates to how much the researcher's interpretation of the data is consistent with the perceptions and experiences of the participants.	As stated in section 5.3.2 (evaluation of data analysis) some super-ordinate themes were not included in the master themes. One could argue that the process of 'losing' super-ordinate themes is flawed because that single super-ordinate theme was significant for the associated participant. In this sense the voices of some of the young people could be deemed to be lost in the final analysis. Furthermore, introducing psychological meaning to the perceptions and experiences of the participant moves away from their direct views to a more theoretical level. Both of these limitations could have threatened the credibility of the

		researcher's interpretation of the data.
Transferability	Shenton (2004) states that if practitioners come across a study they may relate to some aspects of the setting described. If this happens then they may link the findings of the study with their own context.	Practitioners working in a similar setting to the school described in the current study (secondary school, inner city area, high number of ethnic minority pupils, use RPs) may relate to some aspect of the study to their own context.
Dependability	Is the research process described in enough detail that a future researcher would be able to repeat the work? (But not necessarily replicate the findings). Have proper research practices been followed?	Although generally the research process was described in detail there were a few potential threats to the dependability of the current study. The process the researcher followed in order to analyse the data was depicted in Chapter 3. But, IPA is a flexible research analysis tool and therefore some aspects could not be described due to their subjective nature. Such as the implicit decisions made regarding the generation/naming of themes. Additionally, in order for replication to occur, one would need to identify a research setting identical to the one in the current study. Including the way in which the school adopted RPs on a daily basis. However the exact nature in which the school used RPs is unclear as from the data collected there seemed to be range of facilitator

		practice evident. In addition, as no treatment fidelity checks were carried out there cannot be certainty about the way in which RPs were truly adopted and utilised.
Confirmability	<p>Researchers must take steps to demonstrate that findings emerge from the data and not their own predispositions.</p> <p>Links to notion of reflexivity.</p> <p>Need to reduce researcher bias.</p>	See reflexivity section below.

5.3.3.1.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity “refers in qualitative psychology to the ways in which the researcher has a variety of influences on the research data and findings” (Howitt, 2010c pp. 330). Willig (2001) argues that there are two types of reflexivity: personal and epistemological. Personal reflexivity links to the impact that the researcher’s beliefs, ideas and values have on the research. Epistemological reflexivity considers the impact of the researcher’s philosophical stance on the research study.

Both types of reflexivity have been considered and used in this research. For instance, the researcher’s beliefs and ideas about research and RPs are detailed in Chapter 1. Furthermore, the researcher’s epistemological stance was stated in Chapter 3. The researcher has attempted to be transparent at all times, providing the justification and explanations behind key decisions throughout. During

the entire research process the researcher recorded her thoughts and reflections in a research diary.

The researcher included an example of an annotated transcript (refer to Appendix 9) to show how the data was analysed. As was identified in Chapter 3, during the early stages of analysis the researcher wrote down her initial thoughts (in the research diary) and placed these to one side (Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2009). To enhance transparency an extract from the research diary can be viewed in Appendix 12. The researcher also sought the views of supervisors and peers regarding the interpretations made in order to enhance the authenticity of the data analysis process.

The researcher also aimed for transparency in the data analysis and findings outlined in Chapter 4. This was achieved by providing sufficient data extracts in the text to allow readers to evaluate the inferences and interpretations made. Moreover, interview data which was 'negative' about the experience of RIs were included as well as the positive. In Chapter 3 contextual information about the participants was provided as well as a description of the conflict that occurred.

5.4 Summary of evaluation of research methodology

To conclude, the aim of this section was to evaluate all areas of the research methodology. Within the data collection phase there were a few limitations regarding the participant's language ability. Some Slovakian participants that had recently moved to the UK had limited ability to understand all the questions posed and to express themselves fully. A further issue of conducting qualitative research with children and young people is that even when they have a good level of English they are not always as reflective as adults might be (Freeman & Mathieson, 2009). Moreover, the researcher lacked a certain degree of control over the recruitment process.

During the data analysis phase one could argue that to some extent individual voices were lost in order to create master themes that represented the entire sample. In qualitative studies reflexivity presents challenges, although these were countered through achieving transparency and openness. In the researcher's view, the rationale of the study and, in particular, collecting the voice of young people remains the distinguishing features of the study. Although future studies may wish to consider how the issues outlined in this section can be overcome.

5.5 Implications of the findings

This section will consider the implications of the findings of the current research study. In the previous section the limitations of being able to generalise to other settings from IPA studies with a small sample size was discussed. Yin (2009) stated that whilst generalisation is not an option, the findings of the current study do provide an in-depth understanding of a real life context. Furthermore, there is still the potential to discover patterns which could be relevant and useful to other settings. This section will consider the impact of the findings for the research setting, RPs evidence base and Educational Psychologists (EPs).

5.5.1 Implications within the research setting

The research was conducted in a secondary school in the Local Authority where the researcher was placed. On a general level, findings of the current study will give the school an insight into how 'identified wrong-doers' experience RIs.

Increasing school and facilitator awareness

The first 3 master themes will increase the school's awareness of a number of factors. For instance master theme 1 provides information

about which elements the 'identified wrong-doers' found most useful. Sharing one's own story and listening to others appeared to be a key part of the RIs as it enhanced the participant's understanding of the victim's thoughts and feelings.

This information suggests that sharing stories needs to be a part of all RIs. Furthermore, it will be important for the school to know about the powerful emotions that the 'identified wrong-doers' experience when taking part in some of the key elements. Facilitators should be aware of these emotions and support the young person through them by helping them identify the feelings and the possible explanations as to why they might be experiencing them.

Master theme 2 supported the idea that for change to occur, RIs need to be regarded as learning opportunities. Theories of learning can be applied to RIs and give an insight into how the facilitator can ensure that some learning and reflection can take place. This should guide the practice of the staff members delivering RIs. Master theme 3 suggests that perhaps there are inconsistencies within the approaches of the facilitators. However, this is a tentative implication because the information is from the perspective of the 'identified wrong-doers'. Regardless it may be useful for the setting to evaluate their use of RPs considering how they are used by different staff members and how effective the practice is (how much do they adhere to RPs principles). This evaluative work is something that the researcher could provide support with.

The challenges that 'identified' wrong-doers encounter

A further implication for the school derives from master themes 4 and 5 which give an insight into some of the challenges that the 'identified wrong-doers' face. The findings suggested that 'identified wrong-doers' can feel vulnerable and hurt as well, although in the researcher's view, this is disguised through being tough and sometimes angry. This is an

important finding in terms of the research setting, as staff members should be aware that the externalising behaviour of the 'identified wrong-doers' may be masking the vulnerability underneath. Furthermore, this may help facilitators feel more empathy for the 'identified wrong-doers' instead of viewing them as pupils that have done something 'wrong'.

Finally, master theme 5 suggests that 'identified wrong-doers' have challenges with certain skills such as expressing their emotions and understanding the thoughts and feelings of others. The implication for the research setting is that a whole school approach to enhancing the emotional literacy of all pupils may be useful. Alternatively, the facilitators should understand that some pupils might have difficulties with these skills, and would benefit from supporting the 'identified wrong-doers' in the RIs to be able to understand their thoughts and feelings.

5.5.2 Implications within the RPs evidence base

The rationale for the current study was based in the gaps in the RPs evidence base in the UK. The majority of educational research has been collected through large scale evaluations measuring the efficacy of RPs through various outcomes. As can be seen from the systematic literature review there are few studies exploring the experiences of the individuals involved in RPs in school settings. Gillard's (2015) study did explore the views of the young people involved in RIs, however the sample was recruited from both youth offending teams and a Secondary school.

The current study proposed to explore the views and experiences of the 'identified wrong-doers' in situations where conflict had occurred. This group was selected because this was an essential viewpoint to understand and this knowledge would be valuable. It has been argued that ideally the wrong-doer should experience a change in cognitions

and subsequently behaviour when taking part in RPs (Reimer, 2011). Furthermore, considering the debate in the literature about the concept of shame, it was useful to gain an insight about the journey of emotions that a child may experience when involved in RIs.

Although the findings of the current study cannot be generalised, they still provide an understanding of the perceptions of 'identified wrong-doers', which was lacking from the evidence base. The findings give an indication of the aspects that the 'identified wrong-doers' valued and which facilitator's approach they deemed to be most effective. The findings suggested that the 'identified wrong-doers' experience strong emotions in the RIs such as shame, guilt and remorse. Furthermore at times the 'identified wrong-doers' may feel vulnerable and difficult to express themselves in constructive ways.

5.5.3 Implications for EPs

Challenging behaviour

EPs receive referrals involving pupils that schools deem to have challenging behaviour. Challenging behaviour can be defined as *"culturally abnormal behaviour(s) of such intensity, frequency or duration that the physical safety of the person or others is placed in serious jeopardy."* (Emerson, 2001 pp.5)

EPs are well positioned to support schools with managing challenging behaviour through holistic approaches. One of those techniques could be RPs, as they can enhance student's connectedness to the school community and decrease anti-social behaviour (Hendry, 2010). RPs could be used as tools to re-engage this group of young people, some of whom may be labelled as 'identified wrong-doers'.

Enhancing evidence based practice

EPs could share their knowledge and provide training or support schools in implementing RPs. In the researcher's experience of working

in a traded model, schools request and appreciate the training provided by EPs. In addition it has been argued that EPs should engage in evidence based practice in their everyday work (Frederickson, 2002). This involves moving from an over-reliance on professional expertise to promoting interventions that have empirical support and a reliable and valid evidence base (Frederickson, 2002). The findings of the current study add to the evidence base because it provides an insight into the experiences of the young people directly involved in RIs. In addition, Chapter 2 presents the research that supports the usage of RPs within schools.

Promoting the 'learning' element of RIs

Additionally, EPs could work with schools to enhance the effectiveness of the already established RPs. The evidence base would aid EPs with this type of work because the 'identified wrong-doers' should experience a change in cognitions and subsequently behaviour when taking part in RPs (Reimer, 2011). The current study found that some participants could reflect on the learning whereas others could not. EPs could support schools to ensure that all RIs are learning opportunities in order for change to occur. EPs could emphasise the importance of facilitators being able to 'assess' a child's ZPD and the skills pupils need support with developing in RIs. Furthermore, EPs could highlight that facilitators should be extending pupil's thinking and asking the pupils questions such as 'how can the harm be repaired?' In the current study some participants found this challenging and therefore may require a minimal amount of mediation from the facilitator.

Local implications

The findings of the current study had implications for the educational psychology service (EPS) where the researcher was placed. A small number of EPs became interested in RPs and consulted with the Head of Inclusion Services to ascertain whether all the schools within the Local Authority could receive training and support in implementing RPs.

The EPS is traded and therefore most EP time has to be bought in by schools, however some EPs argue that this training should be free because of the benefits of the approach. The EPs argued that RPs needed to be applied and utilised consistently across the Local Authority. If this project is approved the findings of the current study would contribute to the training, to the consideration of what makes an effective facilitator and how RIs can be enhanced for the 'identified wrong-doers'.

5.6 Future research

As has been previously discussed, gaps exist in the RP's evidence base in the UK. There should be more school-based studies evaluating efficacy. A finding from the current study is that some participants did learn things about themselves, however whether this led to a long lasting change in cognitions and behaviour as the theory suggests is unclear (Reimer, 2011).

Therefore a quantitative study such as a randomised controlled trial (RCT) could be developed. Random allocation of participants to either an experimental group or a control group ensures that there are no systematic differences between the groups. The RCT could be longitudinal in nature as this would measure the long-term impact of RPs. The RCT could measure various outcomes, although it would be useful to measure the 'wrong-doers' change in cognitions and behaviour overtime.

There are few studies in the UK exploring the experiences of the young people involved in RPs in school settings. The current study provided an initial insight of the experience of 'identified wrong-doers' and this needs to be added to by future research. Qualitative studies could be conducted with different samples such as the exploring the perceptions of victims. Victims were not the focus of the current study however it could be useful for facilitators to be aware of the emotions they

experience during RIs. In addition it would be beneficial to understand the experience that victims have when they are involved in RIs.

Another potential strand for future research could be conducting qualitative studies exploring the perceptions of 'identified wrong-doers' in different educational settings. The current study was conducted in a secondary school based in an inner city area with high levels of socio-economic deprivation. According to the last Ofsted report (2012) around three-quarters of students come from several minority ethnic groups with the majority being of Pakistani heritage. Therefore it would be interesting to explore the perceptions of 'identified wrong-doers' in secondary schools in rural areas or in primary schools where the children are younger.

5.7 Researcher's reflections

In the current study the researcher aimed to explore the perceptions and experiences of the 'identified wrong-doers' involved in RIs. Throughout the research process, the researcher has become more familiar with the challenges of conducting 'real world' research. As has been discussed in chapter 3, 'real world' research can be challenging to implement and some elements are outside the control of the researcher (Robson, 2011). Gray (2013) argues that such difficulties occur because of the nature of research settings. Often organisations find it difficult to dedicate the time and resources needed to successfully implement the study, which at times was applicable to the current study.

The researcher encountered a number of obstacles during the research journey. For instance, stakeholder engagement was at times a difficult phase in this study. The first stakeholder was a primary school where the head teacher was delivering RIs to resolve conflict. Initially the head teacher gave consent and agreed to be involved, but over time the relationship between the researcher and research setting deteriorated. The head teacher could not dedicate the time required to continue with

the research. Consequently, the researcher sought engagement from a secondary school that was known to the EPS for using RPs. The researcher was looking for a setting with RPs already established. In future studies, the researcher would possibly consider training schools in RPs and then collecting data.

Once a stakeholder was secured, another challenge that the researcher faced was the commitment required from the Head of House. The Head of House was responsible for selecting participants, making initial contact with parents and contacting the researcher. Although this was not a large scale study the responsibilities could have been overwhelming for some staff members particularly in a large secondary school. Part way through the study, the researcher discovered that the Head of House was able to complete the research tasks more efficiently and effectively when supported by the researcher. As a result the researcher made regular appointments to visit the Head of House and support her with selecting participants and making telephone calls.

Despite these adversities, overall the findings contribute to the RPs evidence base for secondary school aged pupils, identify implications for EP practice and consider the future research necessary in this field. As a result of undertaking this study, the researcher's understanding of the research process has developed and evolved. Before conducting the study, the researcher was concerned about some of the limitations of constructivism such as the lack of external generalisability. However through employing IPA, the researcher has seen the worth and value of collecting qualitative data from an under-represented sample.

In addition, the researcher became aware of the true meaning of real world research and what it means to be a research-practitioner. At times, the researcher had to bracket off some assumptions and biases attached to being a practitioner and having prior experiences of working in education. The process has increased the researcher's awareness of

the small amount of research evidence exists, which seeks to explore and understand young people identified as wrong doer's perceptions of RPs. The researcher would therefore like to conduct further studies in this area, if the opportunity presented itself in future endeavours.

5.8 Overall conclusions

5.8.1 Summary of findings

Five master themes were generated during the data analysis process.

The first theme was the emotional component of being involved in the RP process. Master theme 1 captured the significant aspects of the intervention that provoked emotional responses from the 'identified wrong-doer'. The researcher developed a process or pattern whereby the 'identified wrong-doer' heard the victim's story, which made them feel guilty and led to them wanting to repair harm. It was hypothesised that an 'identified wrong-doer' may have experienced cognitive dissonance when they hear the victim's story and realise the harm that they caused. In order to restore this discomfort they then seek to repair the harm caused by apologising.

The second master theme represented the experience of RIs as learning opportunities whereby some participants were able to articulate the learning that took place in the RIs learnt things, whereas others were not. In the researcher's view when a facilitator followed RP principles this seemed to lead to enhanced learning and outcomes for the pupils. Theories of learning can be applied to RIs and give an insight into the questions a facilitator can ask to ensure that some learning and reflection can take place.

The third master theme described the interactions between individuals before and during the RIs. The analysis appeared to show that some participants were motivated to repair friendships in the RIs as opposed

to pupils with whom no previous emotional connection existed. This links to Braithwaite (2001) who argued that the formation of a social bond is key to the success of restoration. The role of the victim was ambiguous because at times the participants perceived that the victim had also caused harm. In addition, the relationship between the facilitator and pupils in the RIs was significant as this influenced the outcomes.

The fourth master theme moved away from solely RPs and encapsulated the 'identified wrong-doers' experience of feeling vulnerable in the school context. The theory of unacknowledged shame may be relevant to this master theme. Shame can be avoided during one's life through emotional disengagement (McCluskey et al., 2008) and disengagement appeared to be evident with some of the participants interviewed.

The fifth master theme captured the difficulties that 'identified wrong-doers' may have with recognising, processing and expressing thoughts and feelings. One could argue that the inability or reluctance to connect emotionally to others could be linked to being unable to understand and express one's emotions.

Although generalisations cannot be made from these findings the current study provided an initial insight into the experience of 'identified wrong-doers'.

5.8.2 Unique contribution

The current RPs evidence base does not consist of many studies exploring the experiences of school pupils involved in RIs. Therefore the unique contribution of the current study is that it presents the voice of young people as opposed to the views of the adults that work with them. A further unique contribution is that it provided an insight into the

experiences of the young people 'identified as wrong-doers', which was an area that was under researched.

The findings give an indication of the aspects of the RIs that the 'identified wrong-doers' valued and found challenging. Furthermore, the participants provided information about the approach of the facilitator and how this can influence the outcome of the intervention. At times the 'identified wrong-doers' can feel vulnerable and victimised, despite wanting to portray a tough persona to the social world and can find it difficult to express themselves in constructive ways.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Description of included studies

No.	Authors	Aims	Research paradigm	Sample	Intervention delivery	Measures	Outcomes
1	Standing, Fearon & Dee (2012)	To study the effect of RPs on one pupil's behaviour in a mixed Secondary school.	Qualitative – case study	White British male pupil aged 13.	Recently implemented of RPs using a whole school approach. Intervention delivered by teachers and pastoral staff. Informal and formal conferences.	Observations Pupil interviews Staff interviews Behaviour logs	The participant's behaviour began to deteriorate and he continued to be sent out of lessons for shouting, disrupting others and not following instructions. It was concluded that the introduction of RPs had not improved the pupil's behaviour.

2	Green, Johnstone & Lambert (2014)	To explore the views of the trained practitioners using RPs in their settings.	Qualitative.	Trained practitioners in a range of different role and settings.	Intervention delivered to other staff members through the application of RPs to team meetings and facilitating restorative circles for team member grievances and conflict.	Observations Individual interviews Focus groups	Applying RPs in different departments led to an improved team harmony and morale. Team members felt confident in bringing problems to meetings and collectively looking for solutions to these.
3	Bevington (2015)	To gain an insight into the perceptions of staff members using RPs.	Qualitative - case study	Six members of staff including teaching assistants, teachers, senior management team.	The school had a history of adopting RPs.	Appreciative Inquiry. Mixture of individual interviews and group work.	The participants stated that whilst consistency was important they also needed flexibility in terms of the behaviour management policy. Moreover participants identified different factors

							that might explain a lack of efficacy for example pupil low self-esteem, staff members that might have low emotional intelligence, staff not having enough time or lacking confidence.
4	Gillard (2015)	To explore the views of young people who have taken part in RPs.	Qualitative	Six young people aged between 14 and 18 recruited from the youth offending team or secondary school	Participants had taken part in a restorative meeting.	Semi-structured interviews.	When young people felt empowered they had a vested interest in the outcomes. Gillard (2015) concluded that young people do not experience RPs as a punishment and the process is both challenging yet enriching.

Appendix 2: Letter of approval from ethics committee



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School of Psychology
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SJ/wb
Ref: 624

Wednesday, 11 March 2015

Dear Jusleen Cooper-Johal & Neil Ryrie,

Ethics Committee Review

Thank you for submitting an account of your proposed research 'When children identified as 'wrong-doers' in a conflict take part in a Restorative Mediation, how do they experience the process, and how do they make sense of their experiences?'

That proposal has now been reviewed by the Ethics Committee and I am pleased to tell you that your submission has met with the committee's approval.

Final responsibility for ethical conduct of your research rests with you or your supervisor. The Codes of Practice setting out these responsibilities have been published by the British Psychological Society and the University Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns whatever during the conduct of your research then you should consult those Codes of Practice. The Committee should be informed immediately should any participant complaints or adverse events arise during the study.



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Independently of the Ethics Committee procedures, supervisors also have responsibilities for the risk assessment of projects as detailed in the safety pages of the University web site. Ethics Committee approval does not alter, replace, or remove those responsibilities, nor does it certify that they have been met.

Yours sincerely

*Professor Stephen Jackson
Chair, Ethics Committee*

Appendix 3: School information sheet

**School of Psychology
Information Sheet**



Research title: What are the perceptions and experiences of the young people that are 'identified as wrong-doers' when conflict has occurred and they have been involved in Secondary school based Restorative Interventions?

Ethics Approval Number: 624.

Researcher: Jusleen Cooper-Johal (Trainee Educational Psychologist)

Supervisors

Neil Ryrie (Academic and Professional Tutor)

Judith McAlister (Educational Psychologist Senior Practitioner, Derby City Specialist Teaching and Psychology Service).

Contact Details

Dear INSERT NAME,

I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist and I am currently working with ***** Council with the Specialist Teaching and Psychology Service (STEPS) team. I am also taking part in a postgraduate doctorate in Applied Educational Psychology at the University of Nottingham. As part of the course requirements I am expected to conduct a research project which will be submitted as a Doctoral thesis. Due to personal interest and negotiation with the local authority such research will be conducted in the area of Restorative

Practices (RPs). The study aims to explore the perceptions of the 'identified wrong-doers' involved in a specific application of RPs which are Restorative Interventions (RIs). This is an invitation for your school to take part in this research study.

Before you decide if you wish to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. RPs are a method of managing conflict, where the aim is to restore relationships by encouraging individuals to take responsibility for their actions. Research suggests that RPs are effective in improving school outcomes such as exclusion rate, pupil behaviour and sense of belongingness. However less research exists that provides detailed insight into the experiences of the individuals involved in the RPs process in a school setting. Therefore this study aims to explore the perceptions of the 'identified wrong-doers' in a school setting as this has not been considered in the RPs evidence base.

As your school already adopts RPs in everyday practice it may be useful to gain this insight. If your school participates, the research will focus upon the practice of 4 facilitators that use RPs regularly and consistently. After these facilitators conduct an RI involving a 'identified wrong-doer', the researcher will be notified. The researcher will seek consent from parents who will receive a letter and consent form. The pupil's consent will also be obtained through issuing an information sheet and consent form. Within a few weeks a semi-structured interview will be conducted with the 'identified wrong-doer'. The interview will last approximately one hour and with permission will be audio recorded. The questions in the interview will focus upon the emotions experienced during the conflict that occurred and the RI process. A maximum of 12 participants will be interviewed although it is envisaged that 7 interviews will be used in the data analysis. The whole research process will begin in October 2015 and end in January 2016 (4 months). The study will

begin with a pilot phase which will consist of 1 interview being conducted with a 'identified wrong-doer'. The pilot phase will involve trialling the data collection process however this information will not be analysed.

Participation in this study is totally voluntary and you are under no obligation to take part.

You are free to withdraw at any point before or during the study. All data collected will be kept confidential and used for research purposes only. It will be stored in compliance with the Data Protection Act.

If you are interested in potentially taking part in this study please contact either me or my supervisor. We can arrange a meeting where I can provide you with more detailed information and answer any questions or concerns. You can also contact the Ethics Committee if you have any ethical concerns about this study. If you have any complaints about the study, please contact:

Stephen Jackson (Chair of Ethics Committee)
stephen.jackson@nottingham.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter.

Yours Sincerely,

Jusleen Cooper-Johal
Trainee Educational Psychologist

Appendix 4: School consent form

**School of Psychology
Consent Form**



Research title: What are the perceptions and experiences of the young people that are 'identified as wrong-doers' when conflict has occurred and they have been involved in Secondary school based Restorative Interventions?

Ethics Approval Number: 624.

Researcher: Jusleen Cooper-Johal (Trainee Educational Psychologist)

Supervisors

Neil Ryrie (Academic and Professional Tutor)

Judith McAlister (Educational Psychologist Senior Practitioner, Derby City Specialist Teaching and Psychology Service).

Contact Details

The head teacher should answer these questions independently:

- Have you read and understood the Information Sheet?
YES/NO
- Have you had the opportunity to ask questions about the study?
YES/NO
- Have all your questions been answered satisfactorily?
YES/NO

- Do you understand that you are free to withdraw from the study?
YES/NO
(at any time and without giving a reason)
- I give permission for my data from this study to be shared with other researchers provided that my anonymity is completely protected.
YES/NO
- Do you agree to take part in the study?
YES/NO
- Do you agree with a pilot phase of the study occurring?
YES/NO

Signature of the head teacher:

Date:

Name (in block capitals)

I have explained the study to the head teacher and he/she has agreed to take part.

Signature of researcher:

Date:

Appendix 5: Parent information sheet and consent form

**School of Psychology
Information Sheet**



**The University of
Nottingham**

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Research title: What are the perceptions and experiences of the young people that are 'identified as wrong-doers' when conflict has occurred and they have been involved in Secondary school based Restorative Interventions?

Ethics Approval Number: 624.

Researcher: Jusleen Cooper-Johal (Trainee Educational Psychologist)

Supervisors

Neil Ryrie (Academic and Professional Tutor)

Judith McAlister (Educational Psychologist Senior Practitioner, Derby City Specialist Teaching and Psychology Service).

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist and I work with ***** Council in the Specialist Teaching and Psychology Service (STEPS) team. I am doing a postgraduate doctorate in Applied Educational Psychology at the University of Nottingham. I have decided to carry out research in the area of Restorative Practices. Your child's school has agreed to take part in this research study.

Before you decide if you wish for your child to take part, it may be useful to know more about the research. I would really appreciate it if you took the time to read the following information carefully. I think Restorative Practices are important to study because they aim to make relationships better after conflict has happened. The adult leading this mediation encourages young

people to take responsibility for their actions. The research suggests that Restorative Practices are useful because they can reduce exclusion rate, improve pupil behaviour and general well-being. There is not a lot of research that tells us about the experiences of the individuals involved in the Restorative Mediations in schools. This is why this study aims to find out more about the views of the young people involved in Restorative Interventions.

Your son or daughter may have had some trouble at school and because of this has been involved in a Restorative Intervention led by the Head of House. I think it is important to understand more about the experiences of children which is why your child has been selected. With your permission I would like to interview your son or daughter in the next few weeks which will be sorted through the school. The questions in the interview will be about the Restorative Intervention and how your child felt and thought during this process. Your child will not have to answer any questions that they do not feel comfortable with. If you agree the interview will be audio recorded and then transcribed. I will also speak to your son or daughter separately and find out what they think about the study.

You do not have to take part in this study if you do not want to. Your son or daughter is free to withdraw at any point before or during the study. If your son or daughter says that they want more support about the topics discussed in the interview then they will be able to talk about this with a member of staff. The information collected will be kept confidential and used for research purposes only. It will be stored in compliance with the Data Protection Act. If you would like more information or have any questions or concerns about this study then I would be happy to talk to you. Please contact either me or my supervisor on the numbers in the box above. You can also contact the Ethics Committee if you have any ethical concerns about this study. If you have any complaints about the study, please contact: Stephen Jackson (Chair of Ethics Committee) stephen.jackson@nottingham.ac.uk

Thank you so much for taking the time to read this letter.

Yours Sincerely,

Jusleen Cooper-Johal

Trainee Educational Psychologist

Please fill in the form below and return to school in the next few days.

Please answer these questions and cross out as necessary:

- Have you read and understood this letter?
YES/NO
- Have you had the opportunity to ask questions about the study?
YES/NO
- Have all your questions been answered satisfactorily?
YES/NO
- Do you understand that your son or daughter is free to withdraw from the study? (at any time and without giving a reason)
YES/NO
- I give permission for my son or daughter's data from this study to be shared with other researchers provided that my anonymity is completely protected.
YES/NO
- Do you agree for your son or daughter to take part in the study?

YES/NO

Signature of a parent:

Date:

Name (in block capitals):

I have explained the study to a parent and he/she has agreed for their son or daughter to take part.

Signature of researcher:

Date:

Appendix 6: Pupil information sheet and consent form

School of Psychology
Information Sheet



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Contact Details

Name of child:

Date:

My name is Jusleen and I am doing some research in your school. I am trying to find out new things about Restorative Interventions. This is where you talked to the head teacher about a situation where you may have had a problem with another pupil .I would like to ask you some questions about Restorative Interventions.

This interview will take place in INSERT ROOM. If you agree I will audio record the interview so that I do not forget what you say. If you do not want to answer any of the questions asked you simply have to say "I do not want to answer that". You do not have to give a reason why you do not want to give a response.

If you decide at any point before or during the interview that you want to leave and return to the classroom you can say "I would like to go back to my classroom please".

Do you have any questions that you would like to ask me?

Would you like to take part in the interview described?

YES/NO

Appendix 7: Original interview schedule

❖ Begin the interview:

- Researcher introduces themselves
- Builds rapport with the participant.
- Remind participant about the right to withdraw or not answer any questions at any point of the interview.

❖ Conflict that occurred:

- What happened?
- What role did you play?
- How did it make you feel before/during/after the conflict?
- What were you thinking before/during/after the conflict?

❖ The Restorative Intervention process:

- What happened?
- How did it make you feel before/during/after the Restorative Intervention?
- What were you thinking before/during/after the Restorative Intervention?
- How did the Restorative Intervention end?
- How has the Restorative Intervention affected you?

❖ Identity:

- How would you describe yourself as a person?
 - What sort of person are you? For example, moody, angry, happy etc.
- Has being in the Restorative Intervention made a difference to how you see yourself?
 - If so how would you say you have changed?
 - And how would you describe yourself before the Restorative Intervention?
- How do other people see you?

- For example family members, friends, teachers etc.

❖ **End the interview:**

- Debrief participant.
- Ask if they have any questions.
- Do they want further support regarding issues discussed in the interview?

Appendix 8: Refined interview schedule

General Prompts

- How did that make you feel?
- What were you thinking?
- Can you tell me more about that?
- Why?
- How?
- What do you mean by...
- Ok so I'm hearing that.....is that right?

Ideas to follow up

Interview schedule

❖ Begin the interview:

- Researcher introduces themselves
- Remind participant about the right to withdraw or not answer any questions at any point of the interview.

“I am interested in your experiences and therefore there are no right or wrong answers”

- Build rapport with the participant – just get them talking.

- Introduce topic of RPs and tell participant that is what will be explored in this interview.

❖ **RPs in the school**

- **Can you tell me what RPs are?**
- **Can you tell me about how it works in this school?**
 - Who delivers it?
 - When?
 - How?

❖ **Conflict that occurred:**

- **Can you tell me why you were involved in a RI?**
 - What happened?
 - What role did you play?
 - How did it make you feel before/during/after the conflict?
 - What were you thinking before/during/after the conflict?

❖ **The Restorative Intervention process:**

Now I want to ask you what happened in the RI?

- What did it feel like to be in the role of the wrongdoer?
- What questions were asked?
 - *What were you thinking/feeling?*
- What was it like to hear the victim's account?
- *What were you thinking/feeling?*

What was it like to be asked questions in that way by the facilitator?

- *What were you thinking/feeling?*

What was it like to have to give your own account?

- *What were you thinking/feeling?*

What was it like to have to reflect on the harm caused?

- *What were you thinking/feeling?*

What was it like to have to consider repairing the harm caused?

- *What were you thinking/feeling?*

Can you tell me about the solutions/ways of moving forward?

- ✓ Who came up with those?
- ✓ And what kind of solutions did you come up with?
- ✓ Did you follow these up?

How did it end?

Was the RI something you wanted to do or not at the beginning and at the end?

What were the main differences between this RPS and other punishments i.e. detentions?

What were the main differences between this RPs and other RPs?

❖ **Identity & change**

How would you describe yourself as a person?

- What sort of person are you? For example, moody, angry, happy etc.
- How do you feel about yourself

How has the Restorative Intervention affected you? What did you learn?

- Has being in the RI made a difference to how you see yourself?
- If so how would you say you have changed?
- How would you have described yourself before the RI?

How do other people see you?

- For example family members, friends, teachers etc.
- Would they see a change in you since the RI?

How do you see yourself in the future?

❖ End the interview:

- Debrief participant.
- Ask if they have any questions. Do they want further support regarding issues discussed in the interview?

Appendix 9: Tom's original transcript and initial noting

Key

Green = Descriptive comments

Red = Conceptual comments

Purple = Linguistic comments

Original Transcript & Line numbers

1. *I: How long have you been at this school?*
2. P: Two years.
3. *I: What do you think of this school?*
4. P: It's a good school.
5. *I: Why is that?*
6. P: Because the teachers are friendly and I have
7. loads of friends from Primary school.
8. *I: What is your understanding of RJ?*
9. P: I think it is like where you talk to an adult about
10. something, trying to resolve a problem or
11. something.
12. *I: Have you had any other experiences of RJ so*
13. *far?*
14. P: Um like sometimes when I fallout with people
15. the teachers help me to get back together and be
16. friends.
17. *I: What happened before the RC took place?*
18. P: In my lesson DT, I was with my friend and he
19. told me to say 'Vilma' and say it to Nicolas. So I

Initial Noting

Friendly teachers . *Positive pupil and teacher interactions.*
Good social group. *Feels part of the school community.*

Has an understanding of RPs. *There have been clear explanations/structures of the intervention.*

Has had previous experience of RPs. *Has been involved in process before.*

Friend told him to say something to Nicolas. *Genuinely*

20. went up to Nicolas and asked him what Vilma is
21. and he just got up and started threatening me and
22. it just happened on. Then at break, no at dinner I
23. think it was one of his friends came up to me
24. saying that I called him fat but he just made it up
25. because I never said anything to him. He just
26. punched me in the stomach and he wouldn't let
27. me go and there was about 4 or 3 others.
28. *I: How did that make you feel?*
29. P: It made me quite upset because they wouldn't
30. let me move or anything.
31. *I: Why do you think he punched you in the*
32. *stomach?*
33. P: Because he made up this idea that I called him
34. fat because I think him and his friends don't like
35. me so they just came up with it.
36. *I: What role did you play in the incident?*
37. P: I'm a victim of them hitting me but it's kind of
38. my friends fault for making me say that word which
39. I didn't think about.
40. *I: What do you mean by you didn't think about?*
41. P: I didn't think about what I was saying and things
42. like that.

'tricked' or did he know what he was saying?

Asked Nicolas about meaning of word. *Genuinely 'tricked' or did he know what he was saying?*

Nicolas retaliated. *Victim retaliated physically.*

Accused of saying another comment to Nicolas's friend, Stefan. *Another comment made to someone else.*

Stefan was physically aggressive towards him. *That person also retaliated physically.*

Felt attacked/threatened. *But wrong-doer initiated the incident by calling them names?*

Stefan and co plotted to find a way of hurting Tom. *Thinks that these peers are against him.*

Wrong-doer was part victim. *Wrong-doer feels he was partly the victim.*

Tom's friend was to blame for making him say 'Vilma' to Nicolas. *Wrong-doer didn't think that it was his fault.*

Did not think about the impact of what he was saying.

43. I: What were you thinking at the time?
44. P: I was just going to ask him what it means and
45. he started threatening me after I asked him.
46. I: How did he threaten you?
47. P: Well he just got up and started trying to kick me
48. and hit me.
49. I: What happened afterwards?
50. P: The teacher helped us resolve it and the end of
51. the day have a talk and that. At the end of the day
52. she let us go.
53. I: The teacher helped you?
54. P: Mrs **** I mean.
55. I: Ok I would like to talk about that in more detail.
56. What happened after dinner?
57. P: I went into the heads of house and told them
58. that I was getting hit and she just kept me in there.
59. Towards the end of the day she got the two no
60. three boys that hit me outside and wouldn't let me
61. go but there was one more that didn't talk but he
62. didn't really do much just pushed me.
63. I: When you reported the incident what did Mrs
64. **** say?
65. P: She said just sit down for a moment. When she
66. came back she was asking me questions and I
67. had to write what happened.

Perceives act to be innocent but victim perceived it to be an attack. *Different perceptions of the same thing.*

Victim retaliated with physical aggression. *Victim retaliated physically.*

RPs delivered on the same day. *It was acted promptly by the HOH.*

Wrong-doer reported incident. *Despite the fact that he provoked situation. Genuinally wanted resoultion?*
Use of pronoun 'she' *No control over how it was going to be dealt with*

Attacked by a group of students. *Wrong-doer victimised?*

Restorative enquiry. *RPs appropriately selected to manage conflict.*

68. *I: Then what happened?*
69. P: I waited in head of house until for about 30
70. minutes and then Mrs **** got the 3 boys and
71. talked about what happened.
72. *I: Who were the other 3 boys?*
73. P: Nicolas, Vladimir and Stefan.
74. *I: What role did they play?*
75. P: They were Nicolas's friends. David is the one
76. that said I called him fat and the other one is just
77. always getting involved with problems with me
78. and things. He doesn't like me outside of school
79. either because he lives near my dad's.
80. *I: Ok just to clarify: there was one boy Nicolas*
81. *who said that you called him Vilma, there was*
82. *another boy there called Vladimir and another*
83. *called Stefan and Stefan said that you called him*
84. *fat.*
85. P: The other 2 boys apparently I called them fat in
86. the canteen when I was sat with my friends and
87. his two friends that apparently were there but he
88. was just sat there by himself and his friends were
89. outside.
90. *I: I would like you to tell the next bit like a story*
91. *with as much detail as possible. Who was the first*
92. *person to speak?*
93. P: Mrs **** asked the other boys their side of

Restorative conference conducted. *RPs appropriately selected to manage conflict.*

Victim's friends also had issues with wrong-doer. *Thinks that people are against him.*

Other boy has a vendetta against Tom. *Does not accept his role in these situations.*

Has had problems with Stefan outside of school as well

Inconsistencies in stories. *There is a need for honesty and transparency.*

All individuals given opportunity to say their side of the story. *All pupils given chance to share their story.*

94. the story and then my side of the story.
95. *I: So you went after the other boys?*
96. P: As far as I can remember.
97. *I: How did it make you feel to listen to their side of*
98. *the story?*
99. P: They were lying in some bits about it like me
100. calling him fat and that's the reason why he
101. hit me and things. And one said that
102. never did anything but he was telling the
103. boy to hit me. Vladimir was telling Stefan to
104. hit me.
105. *I: What were they lying about?*
106. P: Me calling him fat when I didn't say
107. anything also my friends and he was by
108. himself.
109. *I: So how did that make you feel?*
110. P: It was quite upsetting because I could get
111. in trouble when I haven't even said anything
112. like that to him.
113. *I: What were you thinking when they lied?*
114. P: I didn't really think much I just listened to
115. them.
116. *I: What did you say when it was your turn*
117. *to speak?*
118. P: I just told the story of what happened.

Some of them told lies about the reason that they attacked Tom. *There is a need for honesty and transparency.*

One boy lied about his involvement in the attack against Tom. *There is a need for honesty and transparency.*

Felt upset that he may have got into trouble for things he did not do. *Doesn't want to disappoint people at school?*

Taking all the information in. *Realising that maybe he was at fault.*

Told his truth when it was his turn. *Told his perspective of what happened.*

119. I: Was anything else happening when you
120. were telling your story?
121. P: The boys were listening. Mrs ***** was
122. listening until I was finished.
123. I: How did it make you feel to be listened
124. to?
125. P: I felt better than I did at the time.
126. I: Why did you feel better?
127. P: Because I could tell them how I felt and it
128. just made me overall feel better because I
129. had a teacher there with me as well.
130. I: Why did having a teacher there make you
131. feel better?
132. P: Because I felt safer around the boys.
133. That they couldn't hurt me or anything. In
134. the playground they always ask my friends
135. for fights.
136. I: Did Mrs ***** say anything when you
137. were telling your story?
138. P: Not when I was telling my story like after
139. I finished.
140. I: Once you finished telling your story what
141. happened next?

Wrong-doer was listened to when he told his side of the story.

Felt better than the time when conflict occurred. *Positive interactions are better than negative.*

Enjoyed sharing his feelings with others. *Because this is something that is difficult to do in everyday situations?*

Valued the The influential nature of the facilitator.
Facilitator is able to lead the pupils through the journey of emotions.

Felt unsafe around the boys when they were on their own.
*Wrong-doer feels victimised.
Interesting view from a wrong-doer normally this is what the victim feels.*

Wrong-doer was listened to when he told his side of the story and uninterrupted. *It is important for pupils to feel heard.*

142. P: I can't remember what Mrs **** said
143. but we all spoke for a little while and then
144. we went when the bell went.
145. *I: What did you talk about?*
146. P: Like are we going to get along, how
147. could we resolve this, what do I want to
148. happen and things.
149. *I: Did you learn anything from hearing other*
150. *people's side of the story?*
151. P: Yeah, to understand what they were
152. thinking at the time and if I should trust
153. them outside.
154. *I: Did you learn things you didn't know*
155. *before?*
156. P: Nicolas's mum's name is Vilma and
157. Stefan doesn't really like being talking about
158. his weight and things like that. To tell my
159. friends not to bully him because he can
160. actually be alright at times when he is not
161. with his friends.
162. *I: What did that tell you about them?*
163. P: That they can easily be hurt with a single
164. word or something.
165. *I: Can you tell me more about that?*
166. P: It made me feel like better with being

Talked about resolving conflict. *Followed principles and structure of an RC.*

Learnt about understanding about what others are thinking and trust. *RC led to development of theory of mind and evaluating whether to trust someone.*

Reasons why the boys felt angry about the names he called them. *Developing an awareness of why people react the way they do.*

Saw a different side to Stefan. *Led to development of empathy.*

Anger as an expression of hurt

RC led to building relationships with others. *Created a shared understanding between pupils that misconstrued*

167. around them and talking to them.
168. *I: How did that make you feel?*
169. P: If they lied I didn't feel good but if they
170. were actually telling the truth I felt good
171. about the whole situation.
172. *I: Did you feel like you did anything wrong?*
173. P: No because I didn't call him fat but with
174. Nicolas I was part of it as well as the others.
175. *I: Did anyone take responsibility for*
176. *anything?*
177. P: Mrs **** took responsibility for
178. resolving the situation and Mrs **** was
179. there helping. Vladimir was just like
180. pushing me into Stefan and things telling
181. him to hit me. Nicolas kept coming up to me
182. and hitting me in the back and stomach.
183. Stefan just hit me.
184. *I: Did they take responsibility for those*
185. *things?*
186. P: Yeah.
187. *I: How did they do that?*
188. P: What do you mean by responsibility?
189. *I: Sorry, it means if you did something*
190. *wrong you own up to the fact that you did*
191. *that and you might say sorry.*

a situation.

Didn't like the lies but appreciated honesty. *A need for honesty/transparency.*

Only took responsibility for one part of the incident. *Doesn't take complete responsibility. He was part of it as well as the others.*

HOH took the lead with developing ways of resolving conflict. *Facilitator is able to lead the pupils through the journey of emotions.*

Wrong-doer attacked. *Wrong-doers can feel victimised at times as well.*

192. P: They all owned up but he lied about me
193. calling him fat and things.
194. I: Did you say sorry?
195. P: Yeah all of us did.
196. I: How did you feel when you said sorry?
197. P: I felt better.
198. I: Did you want to say sorry?
199. P: I really was sorry.
200. I: When Mrs **** asked you questions,
201. how did that make you feel?
202. P: Like helped me understand what they
203. were like at the time and how I was.
204. I: I would like to go back to something you
205. said about the situation being resolved.
206. Who talked about resolving things first?
207. P: Mrs ****. She said what I want to
208. happen to them and what do they want to
209. happen to me.
210. I: How did you respond to that?
211. P: I don't know how to resolve it. I just want
212. them to leave me alone at times.
213. I: Why did you feel that you didn't know how
214. to resolve it?
215. P: Because I wasn't thinking about how I

Everyone took responsibility for their actions. *All parties acknowledged the harm they caused.*

Everyone apologised for their actions. *All parties made attempts to repair harm caused.*

Wrong-doer felt better about apologising. *Positive feelings attached to apologising.*

Genuine apology from the wrong-doer. *Genuine apology despite the fact that he finds it hard to accept all responsibility.*

Facilitator helped to create shared understanding

Facilitator putting onus on the pupils to think of ways of repairing harm. *Followed principles and structure of an RC.*

Facilitator accepted that all pupils had caused harm. *Facilitator utilised a 'fair' approach and realised all parties had played a role in conflict.*

Wrong-doer found it difficult to think of ways of repairing harm. *A challenging aspect of the RC was thinking of*

216. could resolve that I just wanted it to be
217. resolved.
218. *I: What did the others boys say?*
219. P: They didn't know either. But I know that
220. Nicolas and Stefan got a break time
221. detention.
222. *I: What happened after that?*
223. P: We just went out the room and went
224. home. The next day it was all fine and we
225. were all friends again apart from Vladimir.
226. *I: Did Mrs**** give you some ideas about*
227. *how to resolve the situation?*
228. P: Yeah she said do you want them to have
229. detention or isolation?
230. *I: How did you respond?*
231. P: I said I don't know.
232. *I: Did she ask the other boys about your*
233. *punishment?*
234. P: Yeah but I can't remember what they
235. said.
236. *I: How did that make you feel when you*
237. *were asked how to resolve the situation?*
238. P: It felt like I could help to resolve it and
239. that I support it in the situation. We all
240. equally helped out and we were all treated

ways

to repair harm moving forward from the RC.

Other pupils found it difficult to think of ways of repairing harm.

Sanction given to others. *Punitive system used alongside RPs - conflict of interest?*

Most of the friendships were restored. *Did they have an emotional connection prior to RC?*

Had to choose between two sanctions. *Punitive system used alongside RPs - conflict of interest?*

Everyone was treated as equals and everyone gave the

241. the same in head of house in what we and
242. questions that we were asked.
243. *I: Apart from detentions were there any*
244. *other ways of moving forward?*
245. P: We just didn't really talk to each other
246. after that. If they pass me I only say 'Hi' to
247. them.
248. *I: What is your friendship like with these*
249. *boys since the conference?*
250. P: It is all good apart from Vladimir and he
251. is just the same as he used to be.
252. *I: Did you feel that the conference made*
253. *things better or worse?*
254. P: Better.
255. *I: How did it make it better?*
256. P: We resolved the problem and we got
257. along again. It helped a lot because then I
258. could understand how they felt and they
259. knew how I felt at the time and they were
260. actually sorry about it.
261. *I: Was the conference something you*
262. *wanted to do?*
263. P: I didn't really want to talk to them
264. because I didn't feel safe around them but
265. Mrs **** said it would be good if we did.

same level of participation

The facilitator treated everyone with respect and equality and this led to them engaging with process.

Advice given by facilitators?

Most of the friendships were restored. *Did they have an emotional connection prior to RC?*

RPs led to improved outcomes for the pupils

Created shared understanding

Genuine apology

Wrong-doer felt unsafe around his 'friends'. *What is the nature of these friendships?*

Facilitator wanted them to use RPs to resolve conflict.
Lack of choice over using RPs.

266. *I: What did you think by the end of the*
267. *process?*

268. P: That it was worth talking to them and in
269. the future I should talk to them to resolve
270. things because it could happen again you
271. don't know.

272. *I: Have you been involved in a conference*
273. *before?*

274. P: Yeah.

275. *I: How does your experience of this*
276. *conference compare to others you have*
277. *been involved in?*

278. P: About the same like often insulting each
279. other and things but sometimes it is just my
280. friends telling me someone has said it when
281. they haven't.

282. *I: Did you feel like it was a positive or*
283. *negative experience?*

284. P: A bit of both. When the incident
285. happened it was negative but when we
286. resolved it it was positive.

287. *I: What were the positive bits?*

288. P: When Mrs **** asked the questions
289. about how it could be resolved and things.
290. She listened to our point of view.
291. *I: Are you able to get your point of view*

Values RAs. *This was a learning opportunity for all involved especially 'wrong-doer'.*

Acknowledges that conflict will happen again. *Realistic attitude. Normalising conflict.*

Previous involvement in RPs. *The school uses RPs.*

Has similar issues with other peers. *Lack of emotional literacy/expression.*

Believes rumours. *Lacks trust in peers.*

Conflict was negative but resolution positive. *RPs lead to positive outcomes.*

Pupil felt listened to. *Feeling listened to is an important part of RPs.*

292. across in this school?
293. P: At times I can and at times I can't.
294. I: When can you?
295. P: If there are loads of us in an incident I
296. can get my point of view across but
297. sometimes like if I have done something
298. sometimes my point of view isn't as good as
299. theirs. Sometimes I can't remember what
300. happened and hearing the other side of the
301. story helps.
302. I: Did you learn anything about yourself?
303. P: Most of the time I don't think about what I
304. am saying and I need to think more.
305. I: Will that affect what you do in the future?
306. P: I'm going to think about what I say
307. before I say it.
308. I: Have you learnt anything else?
309. P: Yeah that one word can be harmful to
310. others and that it doesn't take a lot to annoy
311. someone.
312. I: How would you describe yourself as a
313. person?
314. P: I'm not really sure. I can be a mix of
315. emotions at time. At times I can be sad but

Sometimes feels listened to and sometimes he does not.
*Within the wider school sometimes he feels
listened to and sometimes not.*

In group situation can get point across. *Power of the
group influence.*
In victim/wrong-doer situation his view isn't as good as
theirs. *How is it not as good? Lacks confidence?
Ability to articulate?*

Can't always remember what happens. *Or doesn't want
to?*

Doesn't think about the impact of his actions. *Needs to
use theory of mind more.*

Doesn't want to hurt people. *Good intentions to carry out
what he has learnt from RC.*

Others can be sensitive to the comments you make.
Having empathy for others.

Experiences an array of emotions.

316. sometimes I can be happy.
317. *I: How would Mrs ***** describe you?*
318. P: I don't know. Like mixed at times. I can
319. be naughty but I can be good.
320. *I: How do you think your parents would*
321. *describe you?*
322. P: Not sure.

Finds is difficult to think about his identity and what others think of him. *Doesn't have a strong sense of his identity - the crisis of identity versus identity confusion (Erikson).*

Appendix 10: Tom's emergent themes

1. Positive pupil/teacher interactions
2. Wrong-doer belongs to school community.
3. RPs have been clearly explained/illustrated.
4. Previous experience of RPs.
5. Lack of awareness of the consequences of his actions.
6. Victim retaliated with physical aggression.
7. Multiple accusations/victims
8. Wrong-doer can feel victimised at times.
9. Wrong-doer feels victims were plotting against him.
10. Wrong-doer not fully taking responsibility
11. Pupils have different perceptions of the conflict.
12. Facilitator responded promptly with the RC
13. Wrong-doer wanted staff support to deal with conflict.
14. Lack of choice over involvement in RC.
15. Facilitator used restorative enquiry.
16. Facilitator conducted an RC.
17. Wrong-doer feels that people are against him.
18. Problematic relationship with one of the victims.
19. All pupils given chance to share their story.
20. Need for all to exercise honesty/transparency
21. Wrong-doer does not want to disappoint people
22. Wrong-doer reserved judgement whilst listening to others

23. Wrong-doer shared his story
24. Wrong-doer felt listened to when he told his side of the story
25. Positive interactions are better than negative.
26. Needed an opportunity to share feelings.
27. Wrong-doer valued role of facilitator.
28. Important aspect of RC is feeling heard
29. Facilitator effectively utilising RPs principles.
30. RC led to development of theory of mind
31. RC led to evaluating trusting someone
32. Developing an awareness of other people's areas of sensitivity.
33. RC led to development of empathy
34. Anger as an expression of hurt
35. Facilitator created a shared understanding between pupils
36. Facilitator led pupils through journey of emotions.
37. All parties acknowledged the harm they caused.
38. All parties made attempts to repair harm caused.
39. Apologising was a positive experience.
40. Genuine apology from the wrong-doer
41. Facilitator adopted a fair approach.
42. Challenging aspect of RC was thinking of ways to repair harm.
43. Interplay between restorative and punitive systems
44. Restoration of friendships
45. Equality led to all pupils being engaged in the RC.

46. RC led to improved outcomes for the pupils
47. Relationship between victim and wrong-doer inconsistent.
48. RC was a learning opportunity for all.
49. Wrong-doer has a realistic attitude towards future conflict.
50. Lack of emotional literacy
51. Lacks trust in peers
52. At school wrong-doer does not always feel heard
53. Power of the group influence.
54. Lacks confidence about his ability to share his story.
55. Wrong-doer intends to apply his learning to new situations
56. Wrong-doer lacks empathy at times.
57. Wrong-doer experiences an array of emotions.
58. Wrong-doer experiencing identity confusion.

Appendix 11: Tom's super-ordinate themes with emergent themes.

Super-ordinate themes (Interview 2 - Tom)

1. Use of RPs within the school

RPs have been clearly explained/illustrated.

Previous experience of RPs.

Facilitator responded promptly with the RC

Lack of choice over involvement in RC.

Facilitator used restorative enquiry before the RC.

Interplay between restorative and punitive systems

2. Elements that led to the RC being a learning opportunity

Need for all to exercise honesty/transparency

Wrong-doer reserved judgement whilst listening to others

Needed an opportunity to share feelings.

Equality led to all pupils being engaged in the RC.

Line number and Key words

9. P: I think it is like where you talk to an adult about
10. something, trying to resolve a problem or
14. P: Um like sometimes when I fallout with people
15. the teachers help me to get back together and be
16. friends.
50. P: The teacher helped us resolve it and the end of
51. the day have a talk and that.
263. P: I didn't really want to talk to them
264. because I didn't feel safe around them but
265. Mrs **** said it would be good if we did.
65. P: When she
66. came back she was asking me questions.
228. P: Yeah she said do you want them to have
229. detention or isolation?

169. P: If they lied I didn't feel good but if they
170. were actually telling the truth I felt good
171. about the whole situation.
114. P: I didn't really think much I just listened to
115. them.
127. P: Because I could tell them how I felt and it
128. just made me overall feel better because I
239. We all
240. equally helped out and we were all treated
241. the same in head of house in what we and

3. Sharing story and being heard

Pupils have different perceptions of the conflict.

All pupils given chance to share their story.

Wrong-doer felt listened to when he told his side of the story

Important aspect of RC is feeling heard

At school wrong-doer does not always feel heard

4. Repairing harm

All parties acknowledged the harm they caused.

All parties made attempts to repair harm caused.

Apologising was a positive experience.

Genuine apology from the wrong-doer

Challenging aspect of RC was thinking of ways to repair harm.

5. Effective role of facilitator

Wrong-doer valued role of facilitator.

44. P: I was just going to ask him what it means and

45. he started threatening me after I asked him.

93. P: Mrs **** asked the other boys their side of

94. the story and then my side of the story.

121. P: The boys were listening. Mrs ***** was

122. listening until I was finished.

138. P: Not when I was telling my story like after

139. I finished.

291. *I: Are you able to get your point of view*

292. *across in this school?*

293. P: At times I can and at times I can't.

192. P: They all owned up

194. *I: Did you say sorry?*

195. P: Yeah all of us did.

196. *I: How did you feel when you said sorry?*

197. P: I felt better.

199. P: I really was sorry.

211. P: I don't know how to resolve it.

215. P: Because I wasn't thinking about how I

216. could resolve that I just wanted it to be

217. resolved.

128. just made me overall feel better because I

129. had a teacher there with me as well.

Facilitator effectively utilising RPs principles.

Facilitator created a shared understanding between pupils

Facilitator adopted a fair approach.

6. Feeling victimised

Multiple accusations/victims

Victim retaliated with physical aggression.

Wrong-doer can feel victimised at times.

Wrong-doer feels victims were plotting against him.

7. RC as a learning opportunity

RC led to development of theory of mind

RC led to evaluating whether to trust someone

Developing an awareness of other people's areas of sensitivity.

146. P: Like are we going to get along, how
147. could we resolve this, what do I want to
148. happen and things.
166. P: It made me feel like better with being
167. around them and talking to them.
207. P: Mrs ****. She said what I want to
208. happen to them and what do they want to
209. happen to me.

18. P: In my lesson DT, I was with my friend and he
19. told me to say 'Vilma' and say it to Nicolas. So I
23. think it was one of his friends came up to me
24. saying that I called him fat but he just made it up
26. punched me in the stomach and he wouldn't let
27. me go and there was about 4 or 3 others.
29. P: It made me quite upset because they wouldn't
30. let me move or anything.
37. P: I'm a victim of them hitting me
34. because I think him and his friends don't like
35. me so they just came up with it.

151. P: Yeah, to understand what they were
152. thinking at the time
152. if I should trust
153. them outside.
156. P: Nicolas's mum's name is Vilma and
157. Stefan doesn't really like being talking about

RC led to development of empathy

RC was a learning opportunity for all.

8. Generalising learning to future situations

RC led to improved outcomes for the pupils

Wrong-doer has a realistic attitude towards future conflict.

Wrong-doer intends to apply his learning to new situations

9. Relationships with staff and wider school community

Positive pupil/teacher interactions

Wrong-doer belongs to school community.

Wrong-doer sought support from staff to deal with conflict.

Wrong-doer does not want to disappoint people

10. Peer interactions and friendships

158. his weight and things like that.

158. To tell my

159. friends not to bully him because he can

160. actually be alright at times when he is not

161. with his friends.

268. P: That it was worth talking to them and in

269. the future I should talk to them to resolve

270. things

252. *I: Did you feel that the conference made*

253. *things better or worse?*

254. P: Better.

270. things because it could happen again you

271. don't know.

306. P: I'm going to think about what I say

307. before I say it.

6. P: Because the teachers are friendly and I have

4. P: It's a good school.

6. P: I have

7. loads of friends from Primary school.

57. P: I went into the heads of house and told them

58. that I was getting hit

110. P: It was quite upsetting because I could get

111. in trouble when I haven't even said anything

Problematic relationship with one of the victims.

Positive interactions are better than negative.

Restoration of friendships

Relationship between victim and wrong-doer inconsistent.

Lacks trust in peers

11. Lack of emotional expression

Lack of awareness of the consequences of his actions.

Anger as an expression of hurt

Lack of emotional literacy

Wrong-doer lacks empathy at times.

12. Impact of lacking a sense of identity

Power of the group influence.

Lacks confidence about his ability to share his story.

78. He doesn't like me outside of school

79. either because he lives near my dad's.

125. P: I felt better than I did at the time.

224. The next day it was all fine and we

225. were all friends again apart from Vladimir.

224. The next day it was all fine and we

225. were all friends again apart from Vladimir.

263. P: I didn't really want to talk to them

264. because I didn't feel safe around them

279. but sometimes it is just my

280. friends telling me someone has said it when

281. they haven't.

19. So I

20. went up to Nicolas and asked him what Vilma is

163. P: That they can easily be hurt with a single

164. word or something.

21. and he just got up and started threatening me and

278. P: About the same like often insulting each

279. other and things but sometimes it is just my

18. P: In my lesson DT, I was with my friend and he

19. told me to say 'Vilma' and say it to Nicolas. So I

20. went up to Nicolas and asked him what Vilma is

295. P: If there are loads of us in an incident I

296. can get my point of view across but

297. sometimes like if I have done something

Wrong-doer experiencing identity confusion.

298. sometimes my point of view isn't as good as
299. theirs.
317. *I: How would Mrs ***** describe you?*
318. P: I don't know.
320. *I: How do you think your parents would*
321. *describe you?*
322. P: Not sure.

Appendix 12: Extract from researcher's diary

This extract was written in the early stages of the analysis of Tom's interview. It indicates some of the researcher's initial thoughts about the interview. It was written on the 4th March 2016.

“Tom seems to be happy at the school he told me that he has a good set of friends. Tom informed me that he had other experiences of RIs and seemed to understand the terminology. This could suggest that the school do employ RPs on a regular basis (or at least in this case). During the interview it appeared as though Tom did not view himself as a ‘wrong-doer.’ The conflict that occurred was complex with multiple people involved and it was not completely clear why Tom was identified the wrong-doer. Was it because Tom initiated the conflict? Is this a reliable measure? Tom was able to remember significant features of the RI which could mean that this is an example of good practice. Tom emphasised the listening element to the RC, was this important to him?”