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List of Acronyms and Terminology

YJB	Youth Justice Board
YOT	Youth Offending Team
LA	Local Authority
LEA	Local Education Authority
RA Officer	Restorative Approaches Officer
RA Champions	Restorative Approaches Champion
Hafan	Translated: Haven. Part of the 'Inclusion Unit' which provides support for vulnerable and disaffected pupils.
Encil	Translated: Retreat. Part of the 'Inclusion Unit' and is used as an alternative to exclusion
Trained Staff	Staff members who received full facilitation training.
Untrained Staff	Staff members who were present during the inset day training and the awareness campaign presentations.
Inset Day	In-service training day
SENCO	Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The implementation of restorative justice¹ in schools has been widely accepted as a constructive measure towards improving many positive school behaviours, limiting negative school behaviours, and thus preventing future conflict (Gonzalez, 2012). Evaluations consistently point to increased attendance, better marks, less victimisation and conflict incidents overall in schools with RA-based policies (Kokotsaki, 2013; Morrison, 2002). Additionally, researchers and restorative advocates state there are a number of positive *psychological* outcomes, including improved individual well-being (Starbuck, n.d.). However, the main limitation stemming from these varied research paradigms is that there is a lack of consensus on *what* should be evaluated (the *outcome*) and *how* this is being achieved (the *process*).

The use of Restorative Approaches (RA) in education is a rapidly expanding practice; its inception began with a shift from using Restorative Justice (RJ) within the Criminal Justice System (CJS), expanding into schools in the early 1990s (Skinns, et. al., 2009); it has since been adopted worldwide. In the UK, The National Standards for Youth Justice (2009) states that all Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) have a duty to maximize victim involvement and integrate restorative processes across all YOT intervention strategies (Criminal Justice Joint Inspectorate, 2012). However, the commitment to these National Standards varies across regional YOTs. Nevertheless, Lord McNally observed that a few YOTs have delivered RJ through novel routes - including within the school system in some local authorities - in an effort to apply “early interventions with young people” (Restorative Justice Council, 2015, pg. 3). The introduction of RA into schools has most commonly been delivered through private training organisations; however, in the current research the impetus for implementation stems from the local Youth Offending Team. Hence, the current research will explore the implementation of restorative programmes in three schools (located in two separate local authorities) through the efforts of the local YOTs.

¹ Restorative Justice and Restorative Approaches are often used interchangeably in research and evaluation studies. However, from this point forward, the term Restorative Approaches (RA) will be used exclusively for educational contexts, as schools and other children centred institutions prefer the term ‘approaches’ rather than ‘justice’, which has a criminal justice connotation (Hayden, 2014).

1.2 Defining Characteristics of Restorative Practices

The practices of RA in schools are largely founded on the principles of RJ (Skinns, et. al., 2009) and thus share many similar definitional characteristics. RJ practices are predominantly utilised in response to crime and anti-social behaviour, focusing upon repairing the harm to all individual stakeholders (victim, offender, and community). Strang, et. al. (2013) define RJ as a: “[...] wide range of practices with common values, but widely varying procedures. These values encourage offenders to take responsibility for their actions and to repair the harms they have caused” (pg. 3). This general definition reflects the fundamental principles of RA, including reparation following conflict and taking responsibility for personal behaviours. Thus, RA is founded on the principles of RJ rather than being a simple transfer of RJ into schools.

RA has also adopted the flexibility of responses noted by Strang, et. al. (2013), including both preventative and reactive school practices, the combination of which is referred to as a “whole school approach” (McCall, 2014). Preventative practices largely involve integrating restorative practices into daily school interactions, particularly in the classroom. These preventative practices are guided by the values of trust, respect and tolerance (Hopkins, 2004), with the intention of promoting positive relationships between all individuals in the school (student/student; staff/student; staff/staff) (Education Scotland, n.d.). Practically, these exercises include positive communication strategies, as opposed to the use of judgemental or critical language, specifically relating to the use of ‘enquiring’ questions, being respectful, as well as having a supportive tone and warm body language. Such primary prevention strategies become part of the everyday discourse of school life in an attempt to avoid conflict in the first instance and is achieved by creating an environment that supports a restorative ethos in school (Hopkins, 2002).

Reactionary restorative practices are generally those called into action as a response to a conflict (McCall, 2014). These are arguably the most recognised practices of a restorative approach programme and are often favoured in schools due to their identifiable training components and more quantifiable results (McCall, 2014). There are many different forms reactionary practices can take, as well as distinctive procedures that may be in place for these processes to be initiated (Hopkins, 2002). For example, peer mediation and formal conferencing are two of the most common reactionary practices currently used in educational settings. However, solely utilising these approaches is frequently criticised for leading to

‘pockets’ of use (e.g. confined to one year group or with a certain cohorts of students) (Du Rose and Skinns, 2014).

The combination of both preventative and reactionary practices are deemed essential for RA success in schools (McCall, 2014). Whilst there is general agreement in the literature with such strategies, there is less consensus on how this whole school approach should operate. Sherman and Strang (2007) state that while a whole school approach is advantageous, there is a general lack of advice on implementation and governing bodies need to clearly articulate specific fundamentals of the approach.

1.3 The Welsh Perspective

The use of RA in Welsh schools provides an additional opportunity to examine these activities within a country currently undergoing governmental changes, influencing both national and local policies (Cabinet Officer, 2013, Devolution settlement). Of particular significance are the relatively recent devolved powers impacting on young people in Wales today. The Welsh Government’s resolute stance on the rights afforded to children, outlined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), provides a relatively unique view of a population of young people considered equal with all other citizens within the nation (Welsh Assembly Government, Young Wales, n.d.). The UNCRC is the cornerstone for all policies governing young people in Wales; additional policy documents also strongly influence the current education system impacting upon young people.

The Government of Wales Act (GoWA) 2006 resulted in both the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales and the Welsh Government. Following this Act, a 2011 referendum granted devolved powers to the National Assembly enabling it to make its own laws regarding 20 specific areas, including education. Unlike Scotland, youth justice was not included in these 20 areas and remains the responsibility of the wider UK government. However, Wales and the UK Youth Justice Board have agreed to a discrete *All Wales Youth Offending Strategy* (Welsh Government, 2014). Within this strategy, local Youth Offending Teams (YOTs) are under the remit of the local authority, rather than the YJB. Thus a partnership between the Welsh Government and the YJB is central “[...] to the organisation and delivery of YOT services” (Welsh Government, 2014, pg. 8).

Eight principles of the All Wales Youth Offending Strategy are firmly placed in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). In regards to this research, the most notable include (Welsh Government, 2014, pg. 5):

- *The voice of the young person is actively sought and listened to;*
- *Promotion of a culture where identifying and promoting effective practice is fundamental*
- *The voices of victims are heard, and they are provided with the opportunity to share their views and take part in restorative approaches.*

In line with this, the Welsh Government introduced the Children and Young Peoples Measure (2011) to ensure the obligations of the UNCRC were being met. The Rights of Children and Young Persons Measure (Wales; 2011) gives further support for the provisions and obligations set out in the Convention, making the UNCRC part of the Welsh domestic law (Children's Commissioner for Wales, 2016). Wales continues to enshrine the principles of the UNCRC in many national initiatives, stating that *the UNCRC should act as the basis for all policy related to children and young people* (Welsh Government, 2016). The requirement for all policy to be informed by the UNCRC also includes secondary legislation and the works of the local government who have a duty to improve the well-being of all the children and young people in the area (The Children Act, 2004).

In accordance with the UNCRC and secondary Welsh legislation and policy, both the local YOTs and the education system must comply with certain obligations, making the Welsh context quite distinctive. The convergence of policies is especially evident in the education system, where schools are categorised according to their Welsh-medium provisions, in which each school has an individualised system of delivery, depending on location and surrounding areas it serves (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007). The Welsh policy document '*Iaith Pawb*' established the categorisation of Welsh schools based on the language provision as priority (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003a). Based on '*Iaith Pawb*' a 4-category system - with additional subgroups - was established for all secondary schools ranging from fully Welsh-medium to predominately English-medium (Welsh National Assembly, 2007). The categorisation of each school based on the language provision, the joint influence of local YOT initials and the directives of the YJB converge to shape the contextual factors in each school. RA implementation in Welsh schools are strongly influenced by the language provisions and this bi-lingual education system provides an opportunity to reflect on how

these contexts may influence the success of RA implementation. Wales provides a distinctive opportunity in which to study RA in schools influenced by separate streams of policy.

1.4 Research Design and Questions

The present research evaluates three different sites utilising a naturally occurring quasi-experimental design. A design of this type is common in evaluation research where circumstances do not allow the researcher to randomly assign control and experimental groups (Bryman, 2012). Such naturally occurring experiments frequently occur within complex systems where *multiple influences* impact on the final outcome. Thus, the initial concern of this evaluation for the results of RA implementation soon grew into an equal interest in the ‘*why*’ and ‘*what*’ of how these outcomes might arise. Such complexity necessitates the use of a framework that incorporates both the final outcome results *alongside* preceding implementation factors. Therefore, the present research incorporates a scientific realist epistemology to enable the evaluation of the multiple influential factors within each context and the resulting outcomes to be considered (Pawson and Tilley, 1997).

A realist evaluation recognises the complexity of organisations and seeks to find what conditions and their underlying mechanisms will produce a particular outcome, expressed as the formula: ‘*Context + Mechanisms=Outcomes*’. The context refers to the school’s implementation style and the corresponding facilitating or impeding factors. The use of the scientific realist’s framework necessitates a mixed methods approach, where qualitative and quantitative methods are employed at different stages of the research (Pawson and Manzano-Santaellav, 2012; Chatteriji, 2005). The operationalisation of the scientific realist equation and the mixed methods approach is expressed below (Table 1).

Context	Mechanisms	Outcomes
School Implementation Style and Corresponding Facilitating/Impeding Factors	Theoretical Explanations	Happiness, School Engagement and Self-Esteem Scores
<i>Qualitative Methods</i>	<i>Qualitative Methods</i>	<i>Quantitative Methods</i>

Table 1: Operationalisation of Scientific Realist Equation

This research evaluates three separate contexts: **School 1-Reactive-Only**; **School 2-(Intended) Whole School Approach**; and **School 3-Preventative-Only**. The mechanisms refer specifically to the underlying theoretical explanations that account for the outcome measures: *happiness*,

school engagement, and *self-esteem*. The selection of these specific outcomes stems from the assertions made by schools and organisations that state they find their school and pupils are ‘happier’ after implementation. For example, one school commented in an evaluation that: “Evidence shows that a whole school restorative approach will contribute to a *happier* and safer school” (Cooke, Hitchingbrooke School, 2016, pg. 1). Similarly, it is also reported that restorative programmes improve school engagement in the students: “[...] any program that promotes the social, emotional and academic competence in children is likely to increase pupils [...] *engagement*” (Barnet Youth Offending Service, nd, pg. 4). Youth Offending Services have also commented that restorative justice in schools can improve feelings of self-worth: “After the restorative justice, the young person’s *self-esteem* improved” (Northamptonshire Youth Offending Service; in *Restorative Justice Council*, 2015, pg. 9). Despite such assertions, the evidentiary empirical support for these claims are difficult to locate and are more often anecdotal in nature. Therefore, this evaluation will substantiate the accuracy of such statements in similar contexts.

The current evaluation is heavily influenced by commentary that research should move away from both measuring basic numerical transformations of restorative success (e.g. attendance markers or attainment levels) and the over reliance on anecdotal evidence of psychological improvements (Rugge and Scott, 2009). As Kurki (2003) remarks, evaluations need to develop more ‘innovative measurements’ of restorative programmes. Furthermore, there is a recent shift upon emphasising research designs incorporating baseline measures: “Ideally, this would be achieved by measuring changes over time, from pre-intervention to post-intervention” (Crowley, 2013, pg. 159). Thus, this research evaluates the assertions made by RA advocates and measures happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem levels of participants - pre and post intervention - to monitor potential changes over time. Equally, it considers the context, including the organisation factors, and the mechanisms of change that influence the outcomes. Overall, the main area of enquiry considers the influence of RA on happiness, school engagement and self-esteem. However, to fully understand the outcomes of this evaluation it is necessary consider the contextual factors and mechanisms influencing the results.

Main Research Question

Does the implementation of RA in educational settings influence measures of pupil happiness, school engagement and/or self-esteem?

The additional sub-questions include elements reflecting the necessary components of a scientific realist framework, related to both the contexts and mechanisms:

- 1. Which approach(es) to implementation are most likely to influence key indicators of pupil happiness, school engagement, and/or self-esteem?**
- 2. Do institutional factors influence the positive implementation of RA programmes?**
- 3. What mechanism(s) of RA best foster positive change in happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem?**
- 4. How can RA moderate the relationships between happiness, self-esteem and school engagement?**

The support for changes in different areas of psychological well-being is often determined through either unstandardized testing or anecdotal evidence. Therefore, some researchers call for more psychometric tests to be used to validate the claims made by restorative advocates; Ruge and Scott (2009) state that: “[...] future research should more closely examine the various indicators and incorporate standardized instruments that measure these [well-being] areas” (pg. 19). Therefore, the present research evaluates three separate psychological outcomes specifically – widely referenced in previous school evaluation studies - using standard psychometric scales: *The Subjective Happiness Scale* (Lyubomirsky and Lepper, 1999); *The School Engagement Scale* (Fredericks, et al., 2005); and *Rosenberg’s Self-Esteem Scale* (Rosenberg, 1965).

The current research initially began to determine if restorative programmes in school influence happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem, as asserted by many RA trainers, advocates, and schools themselves. However, this quickly expanded to include the reasons behind such changes. The research design reflects the necessity to uncover the factors which influence this, and the need for a mixed methods approach, strongly influenced by the scientific realist framework, to comprehensively address the research questions.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organised into nine chapters, including the Introduction Chapter, as outlined below.

Chapter 2: *Restorative Approaches and the Legacy of Restorative Justice*

Chapter 2 includes a general review of restorative approaches, which necessarily includes the relationship with restorative justice. Overall, restorative justice has been evaluated and reviewed over a longer period of time and RA is heavily indebted to this. However, RA needs to consider reviewing RJ literature for guidance on how to proceed in schools. Furthermore, this chapter considers the practical implementation of RA, including a discussion on the relevance of RA to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and findings from previous evaluation research.

Chapter 3: *The Importance of Happiness, School Engagement, and Self-Esteem*

This chapter focuses on defining the psychological constructs and considers the areas that may be related to restorative practices. The importance of relationships and the positive impact of student voice is discussed.

Chapter 4: *Methodology: The Adoption of a Mixed Methods Approach*

The scientific realist evaluation framework and the importance of a mixed methods approach are both discussed in this chapter. Additionally, the details of each research stage and accompanying methods are explained and choices of measurements are discussed.

Chapter 5: *Outcomes of Implementation*

The quantitative results are reported in this chapter. The chapter is divided into four subsections: Section 1– Before and After Design, Section 2- Cross-sectional Design, Section 3- Student Perceptions of School, and Section 4 - Happiness, School Engagement, and Self-Esteem.

Chapter 6: *Qualitative Findings Part 1 - Differences in Context*

Part 1 of the qualitative findings reports the main themes found in the three different schools.

Chapter 7: *Qualitative Findings Part 2 - Restorative Mechanisms and the Importance of Engagement*

Part 2 of the qualitative findings reports on both RA and school themes related to the four different mechanisms of change. The relationship between school engagement and RA is also described.

Chapter 8: *The Impact of Restorative Approaches in Educational Contexts and the Importance of Fairness to a Whole School Approach*

The importance of the overall key themes found in this research are discussed in regards to the relevant literature, and where appropriate the Welsh perspective. Additionally, this chapter considers whether the programmes are restorative in nature and questions if a whole-school approach is necessary. Finally, reflections on potential limitations are proposed.

Chapter 9: *Conclusion and Future Directions*

The final chapter addresses the main research questions and provides succinct answers to each. This chapter also suggests future directions and recommendations based on the findings of this research.

Chapter 2: Restorative Approaches and the Legacy of Restorative Justice

2.1 Introduction

Restorative approaches (RA) are a complex set of practices utilised in schools to repair harm, build relationships, and are largely considered a cultural shift in attitudes to create a positive learning environment (Hopkins, 2004). This chapter acknowledges the importance of restorative justice (RJ) as a foundation for RA, firstly, by considering the many issues surrounding the definition of RA and the implications of these concerns for evaluation. It also examines the relationship between RJ with rehabilitation and the theoretical foundations of such practices. Lastly, it will review several large school evaluations and considers the major facilitating factors of implementation.

The literature review chapters (Chapter 2 and Chapter 3) situate the study within current debates, practices and policy related to the wider topic area(s), namely restorative approaches, as well as well-being and school engagement. Consistent with Webster and Watson (2002), a literature review not only creates a foundation, but also assists theory development, the synthesis of information, and establishes gaps in the current research. The literature review presented here, takes the form of a critical discussion; highlighting and evaluating the key areas relevant to the current research topic. The overall strategy of the present literature review includes a logical approach from researching a wide breadth of publications to a more in-depth search for specific topics.

The initial research included two separate strands, including both restorative literature and publications related to the psychological understanding of happiness, school engagement and self-esteem. The primary search began by utilising a basic library catalogue with key terms [restorative], [school engagement], [well-being] and/or [happiness] to locate the main textbooks in the wider subject area. This initial stage was necessary to establish a core foundation of knowledge in the relevant fields of study before moving onto more complex debates and controversies found within the literature. The second stage of the literature review included narrowing the search topics to both more specific textbooks and journal articles. At which point an electronic search of all subscribed databases was performed using key words (such as [restorative justice] and [research approaches]) for both journal and article titles. From this, it was possible to identify key journals and authors and investigate

these directly. Throughout these initial steps of conducting a literature review it is also useful to catalogue the relevant references found in the publications being reviewed (Hart, 1998).

After the initial stages of conducting a more general review, it was necessary to consolidate the information and establish theoretical and empirical links between the two areas of investigation (i.e. the restorative and psychological literature). It was important to search the relevant databases for a combination of terms linking restorative practices with the psychological constructs under investigation; this was later linked to a parallel review of governmental legislation, which was necessary to frame an understanding from within the political agenda surrounding the implementation of restorative approaches in Wales. The use of on-line search engines (such as Google) facilitated the review of government documents pertaining to this field of study. This tactic was also useful to locate school and restorative training organisation testimonials regarding the impact of restorative approaches on student behaviour. Such information would not be available in the more traditional medium of scholarly textbooks or journal articles.

Despite the fact that this section is presented as a chronologically ordered review of the literature, in actuality the process was more cyclic in nature. The recursive process necessitated continued review and refinement of the key words and search procedures as the research progressed (Wellington, et al., 2005). Conducting a literature review in this manner not only facilitated knowledge assimilation but also assisted in theory development, an essential element in later chapters.

Both Chapter 2 and 3 reflect the main areas of enquiry (Chapter 2: restorative practices; Chapter 3: happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem). Chapter 2 specifically is heavily based in the RJ literature for two reasons: firstly, RA began as the application of RJ in the educational context and has since developed into its own field, thus the foundations and theoretical considerations are largely the same. Secondly, there has been little theoretical advancement in the specific area of RA, where the literature in this area is largely dominated by implementation research.

2.2 Restorative Justice in Schools or Restorative Approaches: Terminology Explained

There is a general lack of an operationalised definition of restorative practices (Latimer, et al., 2005), and this is apparent in both the RJ and RA literature. The concern regarding the definitional issue of restorative practices is acknowledged in the RJ literature and is seen by many as a major source of contention (Daly, 2002). Despite this contentious issue many scholars note that a lack of a regulated definition allows for flexibility and is a beneficial hallmark of the movement (Braithwaite, 2002). It must also be acknowledged that this flexibility allows organisations to include a wide range of practices under the restorative ‘umbrella’, which presents a number of methodological concerns. Latimer, et al. (2005) suggests that the wide number of practices under the ‘umbrella’ may not uphold restorative values or principles, making evaluation difficult. In addition to impacting upon research, without a firm working definition school management and practitioners lack a firm foundation from which to start, leaving many approaches open to interpretation. This lack of a clear definition allows policy maker or practitioner to call a wide range of approaches or methods ‘restorative’:

A lack of agreement on definition means that RJ has not one, but many identities and referents; and this can create theoretical, empirical, and policy confusion. Commentators, both advocates and critics, are often not talking about or imagining the same thing (Daly, 2005, pg. 2).

The confusion mentioned by Daly (2005) creates ambiguity in an educational context, where the practitioner and school management may have conflicting opinions on the main principles of the approach.

RA has inherited a similar issue, although unlike the RJ literature, the RA works rarely discuss this point explicitly². Rather, the relatively ambiguous state of the concept appears to be accepted by scholars in the field: there appears to be an acceptance that multiple definitions and descriptions can be applied to this term, resulting in either RJ and RA being used synonymously. Hopkins simply defines RA as the application of RJ principles in an educational setting (Hopkins, 2007). Other scholars adopt a more adversarial approach to defining RA, a method commonly used in the RJ field of study also. Both practices

² The lack of standard definition or confusion over the concept is often mentioned in school evaluation reports (see YJB, 2004), but there is little clarity in the academic literature.

circumvent the main issue of providing a standard definition, which could add clarity for evaluation purposes.

Simply using RJ principles as a foundation for RA is problematic, as these ideologies and values are not universal. The RJ Council (2016, pg. 1) sets out 6 basic principles that encompass restorative practices:

1. *Restoration* – the primary aim of restorative practice is to address and repair harm;
2. *Voluntarism* – participation in restorative processes is voluntary and based on informed choice;
3. *Neutrality* – restorative processes are fair and unbiased towards participants;
4. *Safety* – processes and practice aim to ensure the safety of all participants and create a safe space for the expression of feelings and views about harm that has been caused;
5. *Accessibility* – restorative processes are non-discriminatory and available to all those affected by conflict and harm;
6. *Respect* – restorative processes are respectful to the dignity of all participants and those affected by the harm caused.

However, these are often contested, for example in the on-going debate regarding the use of coercion to enforce restorative principles (Willemson, 2003; which questions *Principle 2*). How well RA fulfils *Principle 5* is also of concern, as schools often implement a ‘pocket’ or ‘targeted’ approach in which only certain students can access the programme. Basing an RA definition on RJ values or set of principles can be problematic if there is not a single definitive list of values or principles. Therefore, simply stating that ‘RA is the application of RJ principles’ or values in a school setting does not actually convey a meaningful definition; to date, there is not a clear consensus on a fundamental set of RJ principles or values.

A second method of defining RA is more oppositional in nature; rather than describe what it is, it describes what it is not. This method originally began within RJ: “While definitions and lists of core elements of RJ vary, all display a remarkable uniformity in defining RJ by reference to what it is *not*...” Daly (2002, p. 58) (see Table 2 below). RA inherited this method and often uses tables to compare RA to what they consider the antithesis of the practice as a way of describing and defining the practice (see Table 3 below)..

Traditional Justice (retributive & rehabilitative)	Restorative Justice
victims are peripheral to the process	victims are central to the process
the focus is on punishing or on treating an offender	the focus is on repairing the harm between an offender and victim, and perhaps also an offender and a wider community
the community is represented by the state	community members or organisations take a more active role
the process is characterised by adversarial relationships among the parties	the process is characterised by dialogue and negotiation among the parties

Table 2: *Traditional Justice and RJ* (Daly, 1999, pg.6)

Authoritarian Approaches <i>The focus is on:</i>	Restorative Approaches <i>The focus is on:</i>
Rule-breaking	Harm done to individuals
Blame or guilt	Responsibility and problem-solving
Adversarial processes	Dialogue and negotiation
Punishment to deter	Repair, apology and reparation
Impersonal processes	Interpersonal processes
<i>and, as a result;</i>	<i>and, as a result;</i>
The needs of those affected are often ignored	The needs of those affected are addressed
The unmet needs behind the behaviour are ignored	The unmet needs behind the behaviour are addressed
Accountability = being punished	Accountability = putting things right

Table 3: *Authoritarian and RA Behaviour Management* (Hendry, et al., 2011, pg. 1).

Defining RA usually includes a reference to RJ principles or else a description of what it is not. Whilst this may allow for greater flexibility (which can be advantageous), it also results in a number of weaknesses, such as the inclusion of a widely encompassing number of practices. There is also potential for confusion between stakeholders, which ultimately makes restorative evaluations quite difficult.

The current research will take the general view of RA/RJ as having the same theoretical foundations as well as sharing many similar issues and limitations. The main reason for adopting this view is that RA initially developed from the popular use of RJ with offenders in the CJS, subsequently moved into schools and adopting more appropriate methods for this population along the way (McCluskey, et al. 2008b). The adoption of the term *approaches* occurred more recently due to two key initiatives. Firstly, as Morrison (2011) states, there is perhaps a negative association with the term *justice*; students and parents may be less inclined to engage with an activity which they relate to the CJS. The second reason for the shift in

terminology stems from the fact that RA, although born from the same theoretical foundation, has grown to include a number of further practices not readily utilised within the CJS. Therefore, it has a much wider net that is not necessarily represented within RJ. In some literature, both are still used synonymously despite authors discussing school practices specifically. Based on this second understanding of RA, this research views practices used in schools under the umbrella of RA, rather than an 'RJ in schools' framework.

Subsequently, this research will not use RJ and RA interchangeably, as the practices utilised in schools do not correspond to identical usage within the CJS. At this junction, the paths of RJ and RA diverge, despite the fact that they both share many theoretical and practical foundations. Although it is recognised here that RA is currently developing its own literature, it still has its roots in restorative justice. This is in agreement with McCluskey, et al. (2008a) who state that based on the experiences of staff and students utilising such approaches in schools, it is evident that these practices draw heavily from RJ literature, but are conceptually broader in practice. As such, it is essential to understand the theories, limitations and concerns, which surrounds the use of RJ that consequently will feed into RA. In fact, the majority of RA literature directly cites RJ authors as the main contributors of definitions, descriptions, and theories. The area where RA stands independently is implementation and evaluation research³. There are several large-scale evaluations on the use of RA in education which directly influences the present research - these will be discussed in depth at the end of this chapter.

2.3 The Relationship Between Restorative Practices and Rehabilitation

In the early stages of the RJ literature, scholars disagreed over the place of rehabilitation within the new framework. There was little consensus on the relationship between rehabilitation and restorative practices and RA has since inherited these debates without any real solutions. In general RJ and rehabilitation are considered two separate approaches, although, there is very little discussion regarding this issue within the RA literature. For the purposes of this research, it is imperative to understand how rehabilitation fits with RA, especially considering that school implemented RA programmes often include social, emotional and behavioural components for those students in need (Morrison, 20005).

³ RJ has its own body of evaluation research.

Thorsborne and Blood (2005) argue that schools need to change their punitive values and develop a dialogue to discover why the violating behaviours initially occur. Only, then can the school begin to remedy the causes of negative behaviour without resorting to punishment. Thorsborne and Blood (2005) mention several basic reasons as to why negative behaviour might occur, such as lack of social skills and the subsequent need to target these issues. However, targeting these underlying issues necessitates a rehabilitative approach to improve the primary cause of the negative behaviour (Palmer, 2003). The use of rehabilitation within RA is rarely formally discussed, although, there are many instances where it is alluded to in many of its practices, such as large restorative training organisations incorporating social and behavioural skills instruction as a matter of routine within their school packages (see RJ 4 Schools or Restorative Solutions). Similarly, Hopkins (2004, pg. 199) includes rehabilitation in the final stages of a restorative enquiry, "recognition, *rehabilitation*, and closure". Furthermore, Morrison (2005) advocates a targeted approach, in which social and emotional skills are developed to help support restorative outcomes. Although, these may not fulfil a fully rehabilitative criterion, these examples point to a purpose of resolving the primary factor(s) creating the negative behaviour in the students.

Despite RA casually mentioning the use of rehabilitation, supporters of RJ often promote it as the *opposite* of the rehabilitative model (Daly, 2002). Daly (1999, pg. 4) states that this "oppositional contrast" is a "permanent fixture in the field" and as such there is little dialogue amongst these models of justice. The basis for the opposition, McCold and Wachtel (2002) argue is the degree of both control and support, stating that rehabilitation has low control and high support, resulting in a permissive model. This is opposed to the presence of both high support and high control in a restorative model, illustrated by the social discipline window.

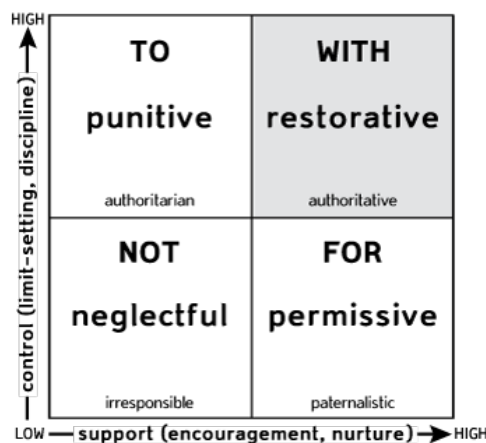


Figure 1: *Social Discipline Window* (McCold and Wachtel, 2002, p. 112)

Thus, the restorative approach potentially holds the offender more accountable for their actions, whereas the rehabilitative model has “[...] a scarcity of limit setting and an abundance of nurturing” and does “[...] everything for the offender and ask little in return, making excuses for the wrongdoing” (McCold and Wachtel, 2002, p. 111-112).

Despite arguments against rehabilitation, there is some evidence that rehabilitation and restorative practices overlap (Ward and Langlands, 2009). After many years of decline, some authors are offering renewed support for rehabilitation and state that it does hold transgressors accountable for their actions, as well as remedy potential underlying causes of offending behaviour:

Changing how offenders think by improving their cognitive and reasoning skills, often by confronting them with the consequences and social unacceptability of their offending in the hope that they will as a result decide to change their attitudes towards breaking the law (Cavadino and Dignan, 2007, p. 43).

Such a shift challenges McCold and Wachtel’s views on the rehabilitative approach and dismisses the idea that this model ‘makes excuses for the wrongdoing’, as it actively encourages offenders to take responsibility for their behaviour.

Furthermore, Van Ness and Strong (2006) advocate four fundamental values of RJ that include: making amends, encounter, inclusion and reintegration. Whilst these values are not exclusive to RJ, the rehabilitation approach does also incorporate them to a degree. By way of an illustration, the rehabilitation of youth offenders specifically aims to successfully reintegrate the offenders back into society (Vieira, et al., 2009), in a similar fashion to the inclusion and reintegration values maintained by Van Ness and Strong (alongside other supporters of RJ, e.g. Braithwaite, 1989). This general example illustrates the fact that, although rehabilitation is often presented in opposition to RJ, they do incorporate a number of inherently similar values. Acknowledging some of the similarities shared between rehabilitation and restorative practices can carry some uncertainties for the position of the victim. Focusing on the treatment of the offender can be a troubling concept for RJ, as scholars argue this reduces the victim to a ‘tool’ or ‘pawn’ in the process (Braithwaite, 2002). Using the victim as a ‘tool’ in this process would create a shift from repairing the harm to a more offender focused process, where the victim would only be present to support the treatment of the offender (Walgrave, 2004). This is one criticism of the rehabilitative approach that is difficult to overcome.

Similarly, Van Ness and Strong (2006) largely reject the use of rehabilitation, stating it focuses on the needs of the offender at the expense of excluding additional stakeholders including the victim and wider community. Such scholars fear that by including rehabilitation under the remit of ‘restorative’, it again results in an overly offender-oriented practice; consequently, the victim is ‘used’ for the benefit of the offender. Additionally, Braithwaite (2002) reports that there are concerns victims within a restorative process could be used as props in the process rather than for the benefit of the victim in itself. Such a process may be to divert offenders from the traditional punishment regime or once a restorative process is actually underway, they are used to change the behaviour of the transgressor. If victims are used in this way - either purposefully or unintentionally – the restorative principles have been largely lost. Achilles and Zehr (2001) state that there is a real danger that the central concern for the victim will be side-lined because RJ will return to a largely offender-centred operation. Here victims are used to fulfil the needs of such a paradigm, as the central concerns will be with rehabilitation and subsequent reoffending. This is of particular concern when RJ operates within or alongside the traditional paradigm, as the traditional model will not be able to fully appreciate core restorative values, including the rights and needs of the victim (Van Ness and Strong, 2006)

The fear of using victims as a tool is reminiscent of some of the original reasons why RJ began to flourish in the first instance. Traditional systems of punishment saw crime as an offense against the state and the process was dealt with exclusively by professionals (or authority figures within a school in the case of RA). Within this context, the victim is not viewed as a primary stakeholder. The development of RJ is considered as one of the most influential initiatives to change this passive role of the victim (Achilles and Zehr, 2001). Refocusing on the fact that crime is done to victims and not the state should place the victim as the central figure in any justice process. Therefore, within RJ, the victim should take a fundamental position within any restorative process. In doing so, this usually involves bringing both the offender and victim together to share the experience.

*Restorative Justice has at its core the bringing together of victims and offenders’
(Hudson, 2003, pg. 178).*

Many scholars agree that the formal adoption of rehabilitative ideals has a potential to resort to viewing the victim as a ‘tool’ of rehabilitation or exclude the victim completely, thus resulting in an offender-oriented practice. However, Bazemore and Bell (2010), although

agreeing with such statements regarding the potential negative consequences of rehabilitation, advocate a more integrated practice. Rather than abandon the rehabilitative approach completely, they acknowledge the strengths and call for a “blended” approach (p. 129), proposing an actual restorative model of rehabilitation. These authors include rehabilitation of the offender, but also recognise the importance of incorporating the victim and community. Such an approach is achieved by maintaining a non-punitive accountability of the offender to help repair relationships, with the important element of connecting the offender with support. They argue that rehabilitative approach alone is insufficient as it does not repair relationships; RJ is technically ‘incomplete’ if the offender does not challenge their cognitive and behavioural patterns. Therefore, a ‘blend’ of the two approaches presents a more holistic model.

The blended approach may be seen in RA practices, which emphasise the development of social and emotional skills. These skills are taught via daily interactions with teachers, who provide positive models for such skills, but also through targeted programmes for those who may need extra support in these areas (Morrison, 2005). Targeted programmes focus on individuals or small groups who need additional support before they can repair relationships caused by the conflict (Crowley, 2013). These programmes focus on the underlying causes of the negative behaviour, which is quite sympathetic towards rehabilitation ideals. However, RJ scholars, such as Braithwaite (2002) and Van Ness and Strong (2006), could prove to be correct should such programmes neglect the needs of the victim, thus promoting a transgressor-oriented approach. The debate between RJ and rehabilitation continues; nonetheless, RA scholars have not fully taken up this discussion, leaving little information on the inclusion of rehabilitation ideals within a RA programme or how far the social support for targeted individuals or groups can progress until it is beyond the remit of being ‘restorative’. Looking to the future, RA has several issues related to its relationship with rehabilitation that needs to be considered.

2.4 Models of Restorative Systems

The RJ literature has several different models that describe how a new system (‘restorative’) can be advanced in regards to the current system (‘punitive’). These models are also a reasonable starting place when considering how RA can work within a school that already has a long history of a traditional disciplinary system. Considerable attention must be paid to recognise how the two will work together and also how a restorative framework can move

forward where there is an already established agenda. Within an RA framework, most supporters advocate abolishing the current behavioural management system for a whole school approach. This ideal is largely not echoed in practice, where there are significant financial and structural barriers; as such, RA needs to revisit the original models for RJ implementation in the CJS. The RJ literature includes a substantial amount of consideration of such issues. The scholars of this subject tend to fall into one of three broad perspectives:

1. Reformism
2. Separatism
3. Abolitionism

Generally, a reformist approach attempts to ‘mainstream’ RJ within the criminal justice system. Separatists, on the other hand, advocate a completely separate system operating outside the CJS, whereas abolitionists espouse the need to eliminate the CJS and replace it with a decentralised form of regulation (Dignan, 2005, pg. 107). Only a handful of commentators argue that the total abolition of the traditional system is feasible (Bottoms, 2003). Rather, most restorative scholars attempt to integrate the two systems together, acknowledging the unique needs and requirement of different types of offenders. In fact, schools could benefit from developing an awareness of the different strategies of implementation, so as not to erroneously assume that the whole school replacement of the current system (akin to abolitionism in RJ) is the only way forward. RJ models of implementation offer solutions on how the original and the restorative can work together. This section discusses the different models of implementing RJ in the CJS, with the notion that RA literature should also consider the possibility of alternative models of implementation rather than the staunch reliance on a traditional whole school approach.

There are many different implementation models, all of which contain some type of limitation. Equally, they each have their own advantages and potential benefits. The goal is to achieve the greatest benefits with the least limitations, to effectively move RJ into more mainstream justice models. There will inevitably be compromises and von Hirsch, et al. (2003, p. 32) insist that: “[...] this kind of trade-off is inevitable; trying to accomplish all goals simultaneously is tantamount to having no meaningful goals at all”. Such a statement is echoed in Van Ness (2002a) and his call for exploration of theoretical implications, cultural contexts and political philosophies needed for each of the models to illuminate significant advantages and potential weaknesses of each model.

One of the most theoretically developed and explored models is reformist in nature. *Figure 2* (below) illustrates Braithwaite (1999) model of what he describes as: “[an] integration of restorative, deterrent, and incapacitative justice” (pg.61). Although, highly integrative, when compared with the separatist approach, Dignan (2002) argues that it is only restorative and integrative up to a point, as such he considers it more of a ‘twin track’ model rather than wholly integrative.

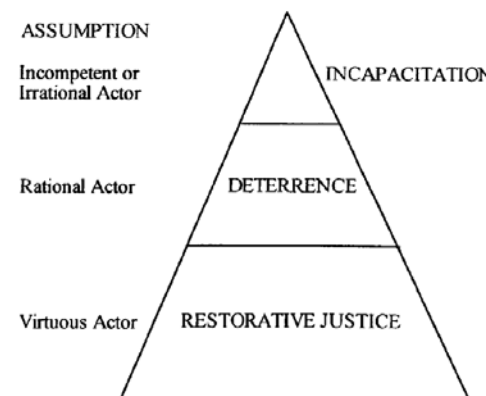


Figure 2: *Model-Toward an Integration of Restoration, Deterrent and Incapacitative Justice* (Braithwaite, 1999, pg. 61)

The first level is characterised by ‘passive deterrence’, which is based on the probability of compliance. At this stage, all offenders are able to participate, without bias. Braithwaite (1999) explains that offenders who attend initial RJ processes may go on to offend again. If reoffending is repeated several times, this person would be pushed up the triangle to the *deterrence level*, in what is described as ‘active deterrence’. This active phase is a dynamic response with escalating threats of punishment. For a number of offenders, this level of threat is not sufficient and incapacitation is required. Incapacitation can include any means at removing the offender’s ability to reoffend and only in selected cases does this include actual imprisonment.

This model is highly regarded, but there remain many concerns for such an approach. Dignan (2002) argues that Braithwaite’s model is one that works along-side the current CJS rather than one that alters it in regards to RJ principles. Additionally, its lack of proportionality and escalation in punitive responses - two of the same issues that plague the current CJS – and arguably no better than current practice. Ashworth (2002) comments further on obstacles that face this type of model and states that there is a need for legal safeguards as: “[...] penal history yields plenty of examples of apparently benign policies resulting in repressive

controls” (p. 590). Ashworth explicitly questions the type and level of deterrence and potential threats that Braithwaite (1999) states is necessary for RJ to operate effectively. These threats are necessary when based on Langbein and Kerwin’s (1985) game theory, which assumes that rational actors will not comply in the first few instances; international relations theory states that active deterrence and escalating threats are necessary to achieve a positive outcome. However, it is necessary to question how these threats and novel types of incapacitation would be monitored to ensure human rights are respected, whilst maintaining restorative values.

Due to the many limitations facing a reformist model, many scholars believe a separate system is a crucial for the advancement of RJ (Walgrave, 2001, 2004; Wright, 1991). These ‘separatists’ believe that RJ is fundamentally at odds with the current CJS and there is little probability that the current system will ever be able to include a restorative framework. As such, they believe that two separate systems will allow freedom to practice a pure form, rather than a diluted version of RJ. This view is exemplified by Walgrave (2001):

Presenting RJ as a version of the traditional criminal justice system is a dangerous option...The specific restorative approach in the social response to crime would risk being absorbed into the traditional punitive approach, and would be lost conceptually. In the punitive climate of today, restorative ethics and practices would gradually fade away and the punitive core of the traditional approach would increasingly be re-accentuated (pg. 28-29).

Although the separatists and reformists are distinctive in many respects, they still share similarities, mostly focusing on the need to retain the current CJS in some form or another. However, the third category under discussion is abolitionism. Penal abolitionists posit that the current CJS is an on-going social problem; therefore, this centralised system should be replaced with *decentralised* forms of regulation (Ruggiero, 2011). The idea of penal abolition is explicitly used by some scholars within the RJ movement, informed by authors such as Hulsman (1986) and Bianchi (1986). These restorative abolitionists propose a new system of language used in the contexts of conflict and flexible community-centred framework that involves repairing damage through non-professional RJ approaches (Ruggiero, 2011). Abolition within a RJ framework places the great importance on dissolving the current, rather than any type of reformist or separatist system.

Bottoms (2003) comments that Hulsman does draw attention to a number of informal justice systems used worldwide, in which RJ has some of its roots; however, the complete dismantling of the CJS is more controversial. Bottoms (2003) maintains that total abolition is unlikely due to the fact that RJ is dependent on a number of different social mechanisms and difficult to achieve in contemporary society, such is the importance of community. Therefore, it is unlikely that the current CJS will be completely replaced by informal restorative systems, instead, there will likely be occasional ‘hotspots’ found alongside the current system. These hotspots described by Bottoms (2003) resemble the ‘pockets’ of use described in RA. The ‘pockets’ refer to small areas of the school implementing RA, as opposed to a whole school approach. This method of RA implementation is argued to be inferior as it can dilute and distort the standards of the practice. Skinns, et al. (2009) report that this is due to the lack of “control over how and to what extent schools deployed and utilised the RAs, training and support” (pg. 21). Furthermore, such pockets of use rarely have any recourse to policy and procedures; subsequently the relationship between RA and the current discipline system is not formalised (Skinns, et al., 2009). Establishing a clear model on how the pockets integrate with the current behaviour management system would eliminate these issues. In fact, Skinns, et al. (2009) acknowledge that a formalised contract on these issues may resolve these matters. As such, pockets of use may not be the inferior implementation style it is proposed to be.

Morrison (2005, pg. 106) provides a whole school model, which begins to acknowledge different types of transgressors, reminiscent of Braithwaite’s (1999) model.

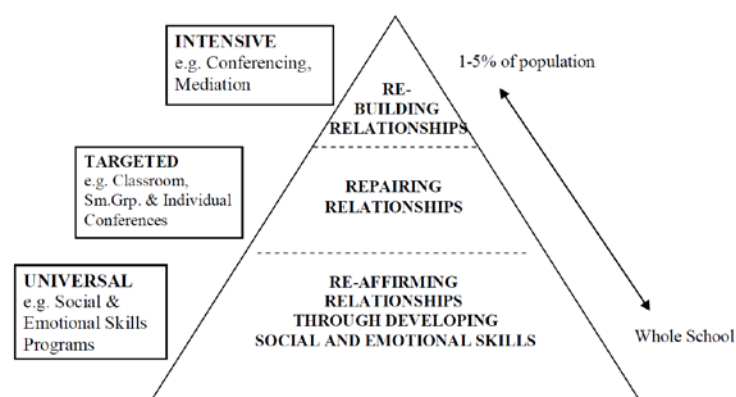


Figure 3: Regulatory Pyramid for Schools (Morrison, 2011, pg. 333)

The main difference to Braithwaite (1999) reformist model is that Morrison assumes that essentially *all* reoffending will be curbed with intensive conferencing and development of social and emotion skills needed to resolve conflict. There are not alternative means of interacting with repeated transgressors based on this RA model. Evaluations of conferencing in both RA and RJ show many benefits, but none have reported complete desistance from unwanted behaviour. Morrison's whole school model needs to include a level for persistent transgressors, which Braithwaite refers to as the incompetent or irrational actors. Du Rose and Skinns (2014, pg. 201) also question the ability of RA practices to deal with the "most disaffected" youth. Therefore, complete abolishment of the current behaviour management system is not recommended if based upon Braithwaite's assumptions that not all students will positively respond to restorative practices. Instead, a sensible integrative model, which considers recourse to behaviour management practices outside of RA, is needed for such irrational actors.

The widely accepted whole school approach advocates ending the traditional punitive approach to discipline and replacing it with a wide range of preventative and reactive practices (Hopkins, 2004). However, for many schools this is not feasible and evaluations find that many RA schools either have pockets of use or only use the practices up to a certain point. Rather than dismiss this type of implementation as unsuccessful, perhaps it is beneficial to consider how these alternative implementation styles could be more formally recognised within the current system. By doing so would allow RA scholars a forum to discuss the limitations, benefits and practical operation for different implementation styles, as seen in the RJ literature.

The relationship between the current CJS and RJ is contentious, and these three broad categories types signify different views of how RJ may be conceptualised, ranging from the pragmatic to the ideal. The first two, separatist and reformist, still incorporate the current system in some manner whereas the latter (abolitionist approach) aspires to eliminate the CJS and employ a new decentralised form. It is difficult to consider how this community based justice would function in modern, shifting societies. Perhaps this may be more of a utopian vision rather than a practical model for implementation. RA scholars should revisit this discussion on different conceptualisation of RJ in relation to the dominant discourse. Currently RA thinking stresses the need for a whole-school implementation and cultural shift; that is reminiscent of an abolitionist view, which theoretically may have the most promising

results. Evaluation research finds that this type of approach, focusing on a whole school change, is not feasible in all schools due to time or financial pressures. This is particularly prominent considering the present stress of the current economic climate. Therefore, RA scholars should heed Van Ness' (2002) call for dialogue on the implications of different conceptualisations of RJ and consider alternative implementation models in schools.

2.5 Theories Informing Restorative Practice

Advocates of RA offer many different explanations for the success of these practices, which are largely based on research from RJ. Drawing from Pawson and Tilley's (1997) suppositions that programmes are unique and each has the potential to utilise different mechanisms of change, different theories are relevant depending on the context. Furthermore, within one organisation the mechanisms within any given organisation are likely to be multiple. The current research evaluates multiple contexts within three different organisations; therefore, it is unlikely that any one theoretical model will fit all. For the purposes of this research, four main theories of restorative practices are considered: social learning theory, reintegrative shaming, procedural fairness, and distributive fairness.

2.5.1 Social Learning Theory

Schools are social institutions that have the capacity to either increase pro-social attitudes and behaviours or potentially produce anti-social behaviour in their students (Morrison, 2001). Morrison reasons that it is the obligation of every school to develop positive relationships which sustain both individual and collective life in the institution, often referred to as 'social capital'. Investing in a school's social capital will help foster an environment where both the individual and the collective will prosper. To accomplish this, education officials must recognise the importance of social groups and relationships and their role in creating social capital within an institution (Skinn, et al., 2009). Based on social learning theory, RA has the ability to foster social capital within their environment through targeted practices such as modelling behaviour.

Schools are an environment that can foster both academic and social learning.

RJ practices fit nicely within the context of a school environment in that they are opportunities for the individual to learn from their experiences in a meaningful and supportive environment (Morrison, 2001, pg. 202).

Macready (2009) also supports the notion that students learn more than simple academics within a school. During the school day students constantly learn how to negotiate conflict and relationships. Researchers have previously documented the possibilities of using conflict as a learning situation, significantly where there are opportunities to develop socially and emotionally if handled correctly (Goldsworthy, et al., 2007).

Macready (2009) uses Vygotsky's theory of Social Learning and Kolb's experiential learning to explain the learning experienced by participants of RA. Vygotsky (1978) recognises community and social interaction as key ingredients for learning. He emphasised the role of community around the individual and how this could greatly impact one's understanding of the world (Egan and Gajdamaschko, 2003). Vygotsky proposes a "Zone of Proximal Development" which Macready (2009) uses to explain a student's learning and development during a restorative process. Vygotsky (1978) describes this as:

The distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance, or in collaboration with more capable peers (pg. 86).

Generally, the Zone of Proximal Development refers to the area between the current level of understanding of an individual and the *potential* for understanding what the individual could achieve with appropriate supported learning. During the learning process, a scaffold should provide just enough support to allow the participant to progress on their own (Hogan and Pressley, 1997). A scaffold is regarded as support that moves incrementally to help foster learning. Other participants and the facilitator act as a 'scaffold' so that the participants gradually have the opportunities to build and reflect on their knowledge and understanding.

During a restorative process both peers and the facilitator provide support to encourage understanding that may not have been present previously. Participants are asked to move from what is known on a personal level to considering the unfamiliar. Macready (2009) uses a common set of restorative questions as an example of how a restorative process moves a

participant from the familiar to the unfamiliar in sequential steps, scaffolding the learning appropriately:

- *Low-level distance questions:* What happened? What were you thinking at the time?
- *Medium-level distance questions:* Who has been affected by your actions? How have they been affected?
- *High-level distance questions:* What are you thinking now about what you said? What needs to happen to put things right? (pg. 214)

These restorative questions, a commonly used script, move the discussion from the familiar to cognitively, socially and emotionally distant questions (Macready, 2009). Such dialogue is intended to challenge the individual to consider new outlooks that they may have been unaware of previously.

Macready (2009) uses Kolb's Experiential learning to describe how Vygotsky's social learning occurs within a restorative process. Experiential learning refers to learning that occurs through a novel experience. Kolb uses a four-stage cycle that individuals go through to create new knowledge and understanding, including: concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualisation and active experimentation (Kolb, et al., 2000). Macready (2009) uses these stages to dissect the restorative process.

For the student, giving meaning to the experience of responding to the classroom (concrete experience) combined with considering the effects of this action on other people (reflective observation), evaluating the situation (abstract conceptualization), and considering the options for making amends (active experimentation) (pg. 214).

Participants sequentially progress through the experiential learning cycle with the assistance of appropriate scaffolding going from concrete experience to active experimentation.

2.5.2 Reintegrative Shaming Theory

Braithwaite (1989) developed a specific RJ theory to explain the underlying mechanisms at work, referred to as the reintegrative shaming theory. Reintegrative shaming is based on the

use of community disapproval, followed by the reintegration of the person who committed the wrong back into the community (Braithwaite, 1989, pg. 55). Braithwaite argues that the shaming is best performed by a significant figure in the participant's life. Furthermore, Walgrave and Aertsen (1996) state that in this process of reintegrative shaming, the active part is not played by the person who committed the wrong, rather it is the person who is doing the shaming, whether that be the facilitator, or the victim. Braithwaite (1989, pg. 100) defines shaming quite broadly: "all societal processes of expressing social disapproval which have the intention or effect of invoking remorse in the person". This definition allows for different practices to come under the term of 'shaming'. As such, many practices are developed with some type of shaming in mind (Ahmed, et al., 2001). However, there are not any specific guidelines on what constitutes a shaming practice or how to produce such an affect in the wrongdoer.

Despite the difficulties of inducing shame, once it has been produced it is essential to ensure that this emotion is handled correctly: "shaming is a dangerous game" (Braithwaite, 1989, pg. 97). The incorrect use of shaming can have the opposite intended impact on the wrongdoer and shame can be harmful and even criminogenic if mishandled (Harris and Maruna, 2006). Therefore, reintegrative shaming theory stresses the importance of a constructive result, which comes from gestures of reacceptance from the community. The final reacceptance ends the feelings of the shame felt during the main proceedings of the restorative practice.

There are several studies aimed at testing this theory. One of the most well-known is the Reintegrative Shaming Experiments (RISE) in Canberra (Sherman, et al., 2000). This experiment follows a 'before and after' methodology comparing the offenders after a traditional court led justice proceeding compared to those who were diverted to a RJ process. The authors hypothesized that those offenders who go to court will reoffend more than those who undertake a restorative process. The basis of this hypothesis rests on Braithwaite's reintegrative shaming theory. This experiment found support for the hypothesis in some instances but was unable to conclude that this theory and RJ practices in general are appropriate for all offenders (Sherman, et al., 2000). The authors state that additional research is needed where different types of offenders and crime are considered in more detail.

Several more evaluations lend support for this theory (see Braithwaite, 2002); however, these are mostly in adult offending populations and it is equally important to consider research conducted in youth populations, although this type of research is quite limited. One such

study (Rebellon, et al., 2010) included 439 adolescents to understand the relationship between shaming and criminal intent. The results supported the reintegrative shaming theory, as they found a negative relationship between shaming and criminal intent. However, there are two methodological considerations that limit the generalisability of this study: 1) the researchers used vignettes to illicit responses from the participants, and 2) criminal intent does not necessarily equate to actual behaviour. Thus, to fully support reintegrative shaming theory this type of research needs to be undertaken in real world contexts as seen in the RISE experiments.

A second evaluation of restorative practices in schools and the use of reintegrative shaming found mixed results. Ahmed and Braithwaite (2006) studied bullying in a student population of Years 7 to 10 (approximately ages 12-15) and the function of reintegrative shaming. In this experiment reintegrative shaming was strongly supported, however, an element of the theory (forgiveness) was found to have the strongest relationship with decreased rates of bullying. The authors conclude that the multifaceted nature of reintegrative shaming makes it difficult to assess which elements specifically support the success of the theory; therefore, they stress the need to study each component separately in the future. Additional studies support Ahmed and Braithwaite's (2006) conclusions regarding the significance of underlying psychological elements as the cornerstone of reintegrative shaming theory. Harris, et al. (2004) hypothesized other emotions play a part in a restorative conference. They considered the particular emotional sequence participants must undergo to arrive at a successful ending to a restorative process. In this sequence, the authors acknowledged that many feelings, including shame, will be present, but also found that the role of empathy was a key ingredient for a successful outcome. They concluded empathy is a primary emotion that allows shame to occur, thus making reintegrative shaming possible.

These studies provide some evidence for the support for reintegrative shaming theory, although there are limitations in the research. RJ and reintegrative shaming theory have largely been studied in adult criminal populations, with only a few studies in school cohorts. It is unclear if the same mechanisms are present in adolescents experiencing restorative practices in an educational setting compared to adult offenders. Secondly, research in the target population does show initial support for reintegrative shaming theory but this has limitations that constrain the generalisability or the research supports additional elements, such as forgiveness or empathy, more strongly than shame. Lastly, it is theorised that there is

a sequence of emotions a person must undergo before they arrive at shame and that further research needs to be undertaken to understand this sequence, specifically the role of empathy.

The importance of empathy to the success of reintegrative shaming is complicated by the fact that the level of empathy found in the adolescent age group varies greatly. Empathy is a multidimensional construct involving both cognitive and affective components⁴, which vary greatly depending on gender and age. Khanjani, et al. (2015) found that both cognitive and affective empathy were at their lowest during adolescence, with peaks during adulthood.⁵ During adolescence affective empathy predicts later cognitive empathy (van Lissa, et al., 2014) and is necessary for the ability to take on someone else's perspective ('perspective taking'). Not only do these essential components develop over time, but they also develop at different rates in boys and girls. Van der Graff, et al. (2014) report girls develop perspective taking quite quickly during adolescence and that they have higher levels of empathetic concern that remains stable throughout adolescence. However, boys' level of empathy decreases between the onset to middle years of adolescents, only to return to typical levels at the end of this developmental period (Garaigordobil, 2009). Research finds a reduced ability of boys to take on someone else's perspective which influences empathy development. Although empathy generally increases with age, during middle adolescence, boys undergo a dip in their ability to empathize. This questions the value of undertaking practices reliant on reintegrative shaming with this population of students.

The success of RA practices based on reintegrative shaming rests on the ability to empathise; however, some scholars state that restorative practices can also support empathy development (McCluskey, et al., 2008b). However, the results of experiments to test such assertions on adult offenders are inconclusive. Roseman, et al. (2009) investigated the development of empathy in 13 sex offenders over the course of a six-week restorative programme. Similarly, Jackson (2009) examined empathy in 69 offenders over a three or six-week restorative course. Neither of these projects found significant differences in empathy. These initial studies report that restorative programmes do not improve empathy in adult offenders.

There is very little research on the relationship between empathy development and restorative programmes in school aged children; however, initial findings are slightly more positive than

⁴ Emotional empathy is present quite early (infancy) and is considered by some to be an involuntary process (Decety and Michalska, 2009)

⁵ Adolescence Mean Cognitive Empathy score 4.6, peak Older adults 5.89; Adolescence Mean Affective Empathy score 5.16, peak 6.06).

research in adult populations. Wong, et al. (2011) investigated this unknown area and found that compared to a control school, schools implementing RA have higher levels of empathy after 15 months. Although there are a number of confounding variables to consider in this research, many of which have not been taken into consideration, it does give some initial evidence that empathy may be a malleable entity susceptible to change during restorative programmes in adolescence.

Hendry, et al. (2014) states that RA in education largely rests on basic values including empathy. This is of concern for the use of a RA in school settings, as adolescence may not be developmentally able to comprehend the emotions needed for such an approach to be successful. The restorative theory of reintegrative shaming partly rests on empathetic responses, although adolescent males may not have achieved the developmental milestone needed for this theory to be effective. Initial research on empathy and RA establishes some tentative conclusions between RA practices and empathy development. Despite the very cautious results, restorative organisation and trainers have incorporated this into their school information marketing material.⁶ Substantial research is needed to further the understanding of empathy, particularly its life course development and its ability to be taught through RA practices

2.5.3 Procedural Fairness⁷

The punitive model found in the CJS, (as well as traditional disciplinary systems found in education), is based on ‘compliance through fear of punishment’ (Greenwalt, 1983). This sanction based approach results in large numbers of people being punished but with continued high reoffending rates. Tyler (1997) reports this punitive view encourages a negative relationship between the CJS and the general population. To combat this negative social phenomenon, it is postulated that those that experience procedural fairness are more likely to express self-regulatory behaviour, thus, not offend initially or refrain from future reoffending.

⁶ Restorativejustice4schools states that the training will consider “Developing emotional literacy, responsibility, empathy and accountability” (‘Our Training’, no pagination).

⁷ Fairness is used here rather than justice for two reasons: firstly, justice is largely reserved for matters of the CJS and not in school and secondly the work here largely describes “individual’s moral evaluations” rather than obedience of a rule or law (Goldman and Cropanzano, 2015).

Procedural fairness is generally described as procedures that those involved perceive to be fair. Murphy and Tyler (2008, pg. 652) state that “if authorities treat people with trust, fairness, respect and neutrality, people will not only be more willing to cooperate with authorities, but will also be more likely to comply with authority decisions and rules.” Procedural fairness is not necessarily concerned with the outcome favourability of an encounter; rather this theory involves perceived fairness of the processes or policies of the decision making (Tyler, 1990). A process that is perceived as procedurally fair results in individual’s compliance with decisions and laws (Lind and Tyler, 1988). Thus, restorative practices are effective because the participants in the process perceive it to be a fair and respectful process which results in participants accepting and complying with the outcome decisions, regardless of outcome favourability. Evaluation studies often support this theory and state that participants find the restorative process a fair procedure compared to traditional approaches. The YJB (2004a) found that 93% of the pupils involved in a restorative conference reported that it was fair and felt that justice had been done.

Murphy and Tyler (2008) investigate this theory further and examine the link between emotional states, procedural fairness and compliance. This particular article is relevant to this research as it begins to make links between procedural fairness and happiness, followed by subsequent compliant behaviour. Murphy and Tyler’s (2008) study found that participants who felt they were treated fairly reported higher levels of happiness at Time 1, and that they were more likely to report higher levels of happiness one year later (Time 2). Additionally, levels of happiness at Time 1 predicted compliant behaviour at Time 2. This research does give additional credibility to the claims that the implementation of RA improves happiness and reduces unwanted behaviours in schools.

2.5.4 Distributive Fairness

Procedural fairness has been at the forefront of restorative theory, whereas distributive fairness is perhaps the least researched restorative mechanism. Despite the focus on procedural fairness, research finds that perceptions of distributive fairness are equally important when making evaluations or judgements (Lucas, et al., 2013). Generally, distributive fairness pertains to the perceived fairness of the allocation of goods, where ‘goods’ is a generic term denoting any type of resource or outcome. The perception of fairness in the distribution of goods is based on three separate principles: equality, equity, and

need (Deutsch, 1975). Different situations and relationships predict which principle will be utilised to distribute the goods.

Equality is described as equally allocating goods to all members of the group, with no consideration of equity or need. Equity and equality are similar concepts; however, unlike equality, equity does not necessitate the exact same treatment. Specifically, equity is a more flexible principle of fairness which allows “for equivalency while not demanding exact sameness” (Guy and McCandless, 2012). The equity element of distributive fairness is more difficult to measure and articulate, and relies heavily on the need principle. In an economic or employment sense, equity is based on a fair share based on the contribution of the individual (Cook and Hegtvedt, 1983). However, in educational literature, equity usually refers to personal or social characteristics that influence the ability to reach basic minimum standards. Field, et. al. (2007) states that achieving equity in education implies that personal and social circumstances, such as gender, ethnicity or socioeconomic status, does not restrict educational success. Thus, schools must ensure a minimum standard for all - a fundamental right based on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC).

Ensuring equity in education is heavily reliant on the need principle. This final principle asserts that achieving distributive fairness is partially reliant on the needs of the participants. As the name suggests, those who are the neediest receive more goods than they would expect based on the equality principle. Research previously underestimated the role of personal need in the allocation of resources, although in many situations it has shown to be the most predictive of distribution allocation (Linkey and Alexander, 1998). There are two separate motivations that influence this principle of distributive justice: justice norms emphasising the moral responsibility of society and the relationship status of those distributing the goods (Lamm and Schwinger, 1980). Therefore, those communities with better relationships would expect to utilise the need principle more often than those without strong bonds.

Distributive and procedural fairness are two distinct entities, although, they often converge and influence relational behaviours. Both procedural and distributive unfairness can result in conflict, whereas perceived fairness improves relationships and reciprocity, which ultimately influences the performance of the group (Griffiths, et al., 2006). It is difficult to untangle the relationship between these two types of justice, as Folger and Konovsky (1989, pg. 126) state: “[...] procedures are the means to the end of distributive justice [fairness]”. It is unlikely that distributive fairness will occur if procedural fairness is not present.

2.6 Restorative Approaches in Practice

Repairing and restoring relationships is the main purpose of RA in schools (Macready, 2009). Within schools, RA practices encourage positive communities that promote healthy relationships, whilst reacting to negative behaviour with restorative principles that help to recognise the consequences and improve responsibility of the transgressor (Gonzalez, 2011). Evaluations of RA consistently report the benefits of implementing such a practice, particularly in schools that achieve a whole school status. The positive benefits also extend to fulfilling principles of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, an international treaty forming the basis of all initiatives and policies operating in the UK.

2.6.1 Restorative Approaches and the UNCRC

RA in schools is a complex intersection between youth justice/education initiatives, and compliance with local, national and international legislation, particularly the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of a Child (UNCRC, 1989).⁸ The UNCRC is an international human rights treaty that grants “all children and young people (aged 17 and under) a comprehensive set of rights” (Policy paper, 2010). The 54 Articles contain cultural, economic, political, and social rights for every child within the UK. In effect, all initiatives, policies and law in the UK must comply with these Articles. Very little research is available on how restorative approaches in schools fulfil this international agreement. However, some initial research points to RJ in the youth justice system helping the UK fulfil these commitments.

The UK government asserts that: “[it] is fully committed to children’s rights and the continued implementation of the UNCRC to make the Convention a reality for all children and young people living in the UK” (The Department of Children, Schools and Families, 2010). Despite this declaration, the CJS and the education sector in the UK have received significant criticism in regards to meeting the obligations of the UNCRC. Many shortcomings were found and for the purposes of this research the neglect of Article 37 (detention and punishment-children in the CJS) and Article 28 (right to education) are paramount. The Human Rights Joint Committee (2009) commented on the ongoing criminalisation of children as a primary concern, as well as the continued inequalities experienced by students

⁸ The UNCRC is not a domestic law as such, rather the UK either amends existing laws or creates new policy/legislation ensuring compliance (The Department of Children, Schools and Families, 2010).

and lack of decision-making powers in education. These findings were perhaps not surprising, with many authors commenting upon this in the years leading to the report. Both Abramson (2006) and Muncie (2007, 2008) stated that the UK had sustained lack of compliance in meeting the UNCRC Articles, finding a great difference between government declarations and actual practices. Some scholars propose that the successful operationalisation of restorative principles within youth justice specifically can help to remedy many of the failures. Additionally, this present research makes some speculative arguments regarding the ability of RA to support schools to achieve a higher standard of compliance.

Moore and Mitchell (2009) conclude there are several reasons behind the violations of the UNCRC in regards to youth justice.

1. Young offenders do not garner sympathy and this is related to fear induced by media headlines;
2. Competition for child-centred funding;
3. Policies related to the perceptions that youth offenders are not innocent (as compared to their non-offending counterparts);
4. Rights of young people are isolated;
5. UNCRC focuses on young children and largely neglect teenagers in the youth justice system;
6. Issues with gender and the marginalisation of boys.

These reasons assist in the failure of the current system to meet the requirements of Article 40 which: “[...] actively discourages retributive responses by focusing on the need to avoid deprivation of liberty” (Moore and Mitchell, 2009, pg. 36). These authors conclude that applying restorative principles in the youth justice system could reduce many of these reasons and help to comply with Article 40.

Restorative justice should already be at the heart of all youth justice practices in the UK. The National Standards for Youth Justice Services (2009, pg. 57) states that a range of restorative processes must be used and YOT managers must: “Maximise victim involvement [...]”, and “[include] the integration of restorative justice processes across all YOT interventions.” Thus, if implemented successfully, RJ should reduce many of the compliance failures of the UNCRC in the youth justice system. However, Muncie (2011, pg.43) states that compliance of the UNCRC remains piecemeal and that UK youth justice: “[is] one of the most punitive in Western Europe”.

Despite this criticism of the UK overall, Wales specifically is at the forefront of advocating the importance of UNCRC as the basis for all policy affecting young people (Drakeford, 2010). The National Assembly Government has a clear commitment to the rights of children and young people. This can be seen in their adoption of the *7 Core Aims*, which is the translation of the UNCRC into seven broad Welsh policy aims for young people. These aims include (from Haines and Case, 2015, p.104):

1. *have a flying start in life and the best possible for their future growth and development;*
2. *have access to comprehensive range of education, training, and learning opportunities, including acquisition of essential personal and social skills;*
3. *enjoy the best possible physical and mental, social and emotional health, including freedom from abuse, victimisation, and exploitation;*
4. *have access to play, leisure, sporting, and cultural activities;*
5. *[are] listened to, treated with respect, and have their race and cultural identity recognised;*
6. *have a safe home and community, which supports physical and emotional well-being; and*
7. *[are] not disadvantaged by child poverty.*

A number of organisations are responsible for monitoring the observance of these provisions, one of which is The Children and Young People's Assembly for Wales, previously known as "The Funky Dragon".

As a result of the *7 Core Aims*, many national initiatives have been implemented based on the UNCRC, including *Extending Entitlement: Supporting Young People in Wales* (Welsh Assembly Government, 2002). This report outlines 10 entitlements of young people, which clearly articulates the Welsh dedication to the UNCRC (Children's Rights in Wales, *Policy and Reform*, n.d.). Despite Wales' obvious commitment to the UNCRC, Muncie (2011) states that youth justice in this context is still plagued with inconsistent aims. This is due to the devolved powers of Wales whilst the Welsh YJB remains under the remit of the UK Youth Justice Board. This situation presents conflicting ideologies, the former advocating the rights of the child, whilst the latter assumes a risk based approach rather than a rights based approach.

The UK's education system and any school initiative in Wales must also comply with the UNCRC's requirements for children's rights. Although some breaches in meeting the Articles are noted by the Human Rights Joint Committee (2009) which found issues with inequality in the schools and decision making abilities in throughout the UK. Additionally, in the Welsh context specifically, the Children and Young People's Assembly (or "Funky Dragon," as it was referred to), found inconsistent punishment was a theme in their 2007 report, conflicting with Article 28, regarding the administration of discipline. There is much less information available on how restorative approaches can assist to facilitate compliance of these UNCRC requirements. However, the recurrence of the failure to meet Article 28, in regards to inconsistent discipline practices, inequality in schools, and general lack of decision making powers, all point to the advantages of restorative approaches in the quest to meet UNCRC standards in education.

Similar to Muncie's findings (2007, 2008), Harcourt and Hagglund (2013) found that political rhetoric and actual practice are often contradictory. However, in a Welsh evaluation, several predictors of positive practice were found to promote the UNCRC (Lyle, 2014). These included teachers who practiced restorative approaches and who held positive attitudes towards the importance of children's voice, as opposed to those who held authoritarian or punitive ideals. One reason teachers who support restorative approaches are more likely to teach in a manner consistent with the UNCRC is the link with dignity. Restorative practices should encourage dignity and this is the basis of Article 28.

Schiff (2013) specifically states that restorative practices have a significant role in renewing the dignity of youth:

[...] the capacity of restorative justice to provide dignity to youth who are too often relegated to passive recipients of adult-made policies (pg. 3).

Schiff suggests that this is best achieved through collaboration rather than authoritarian policy, in an effort to reengage youth in their school community. This is directly related to Article 28 which states (Funky Dragon, n.d., no pagination):

Children have a right to an education. Discipline in schools should respect children's human dignity.

Restorative practices are a dignified response to misbehaviour, as compared to a punitive response that creates systematic limitations to keeping young people in school and out of the

justice system (Schiff, 2013). Braithwaite (2002) asserts that restorative practices should restore not only physical loss (of items or money), but should also be a response that restores intangible losses such as the sense of empowerment and dignity. Thus, restorative practices should help fulfil Article 28 more effectively than the traditional punitive response in schools.

Overall, restorative practices in both the youth justice system and in schools have the capacity to help both agencies to meet UNCRC requirements. This is particularly relevant in the restorative programme in schools implemented via the local youth offending teams: two agencies which should have the UNCRC at the heart of all policies. The fundamental premise of restorative practice(s) concerns restoring both physical items and intangible affects, such as dignity, the cornerstone of Article 28.

2.6.2 Restorative Practices in School

RA practices in school range from the informal to the formal, and from pockets of use to a whole school approach. Despite the plethora of practices, RA research finds that the closer an institution gets to a whole school approach, the more benefits the school will gain. Porter (2007) suggests:

Teachers at the “most restorative” school reported that students displayed less emotional volatility when dealing with issues, a stronger sense of belonging and cohesiveness, improved self-esteem and increased willingness to participate (pg. 2).

The whole school approach - considered the “most restorative” - adopts preventative and reactive practices in an attempt to resolve potential conflicts and to effectively repair any harm if a conflict does arise with underlying restorative principles (Hopkins, 2004). This includes a range of practices from the formal, such as conferences, to the informal, such as daily use of restorative language (Wachtel, 1999). To make evaluation research more complex, these practices are continually growing to include different types, as well as evolving within each organisation. Morrison, et al. (2005), suggests that the inclusion of a diverse set of methods initially used by RA has grown substantially from the original formal conferencing to now include a range of informal practices. This net widening is credited with creating preventative school procedures, as well as continuing with the original reactive practices. Within each of these main types of practices, there will be many subtypes which will be moulded to fit the particular organisation in which it works. Due to the number of

potential practices, this section considers the most common and relevant to the current research and is not meant to be exhaustive.

The following is a list of most common and established practices, from the most to least formal:

Reactive

1. *Conferencing:*
 - a. Mini Conference (Corridor Conferences)
2. *Mediation:*
 - a. Peer Mediation
3. *Circles*
4. *Restorative Conversations/Chat*

Preventative

5. *Social and Emotional Skills*
6. *Restorative language*

1. Conferencing

Conferencing is perhaps the most well-known form of Restorative practice. It is used in both the CJS, as well as in RA. Moore and Forsythe (1995) state that restorative conferencing originally began in Australia, starting with the police-led conferences in Wagga Wagga, which was itself heavily influenced by the development of family group conferences in New Zealand. Bazemore and Umbreit (2001, pg. 1) define restorative conferencing as encompassing: “[...] a range of strategies for bringing together victims, offenders, and community members in nonadversarial community-based processes aimed at responding to crime by holding offenders accountable and repairing the harm caused to victims and communities”. During the conference a facilitator uses a scripted format to draw out the participants’ thoughts and emotions. During this time, offenders are encouraged to take responsibility and make amends. This practice is largely based on Braithwaite’s theory of reintegrative shaming (1989), a theory that states offenders must be made to feel shame for their actions whilst also being welcomed back into the community (see Reintegrative Shaming Theory, pg. 26). Both steps are essential for an effective conference.

The practice of conferencing has since been adapted for the use in schools, where Hopkins (2004) used the Thames Valley Police Conferencing procedures to develop an outline of conferencing appropriate for schools. Before the conference commences, the facilitator will prepare all participants in a series of preparation meetings. Preparation has been noted by

practitioners as essential to running a conference effectively. Once the conference commences, participation must be voluntary and take place in a space where all participants (transgressor, person who was harmed and all supporters for both parties) must be able to sit in a circle. Hopkins (2004) advocates the use of restorative enquiry scripts for all conferences.

A Restorative enquiry involves using specific questions to assist participants to reflect on the past and move positively into the future.

<i>Suggested question</i>	<i>Focus</i>
Can you explain what happened?	thinking (interpretation) and behaviour
What were you thinking at the time?	thinking
How were you feeling at the time?	feelings
What have been your thoughts since?	thinking
What are they now?	thinking
How are you feeling now?	feelings
Who else do you think has been affected by this?	others' feelings, thoughts and behaviours

Figure 4: *Example of Restorative Enquiry Questions* (Hopkins, 2004, pg. 183).

During a conference all participants⁹ are present and it gives the transgressor the opportunity to take responsibility for their actions, as well as provide positive benefits for the one who has been harmed (Hopkins, 2004).

The key to a successful conference is the facilitator (Latimer, et al., 2005). Cameron and Thorsborne (1999) suggest that there are two important attributes of a facilitator: interpersonal skills and the power to exercise decision-making. The facilitator should be able to provide a safe, non-judgemental, and neutral approach to establish what has happened, how people think and feel about it and how to move forward. During the end stages participants are asked to reflect on their feelings and consider how the situation can be avoided in the future. Outcomes are decided and contracts are outlined and signed by all necessary participants. Consequences for failure to comply are also discussed. Individual follow-up meetings with all participants are arranged for a short-term evaluation of the contract. These follow up meetings may continue for some months after the initial conference; there is not a fixed scheduled period that a case remains active.

⁹ This includes the victim and the offender, or transgressor in a school setting, as well as community members.

Mini or Corridor Conference: In these instances, the conferences occur immediately so there are not any preparation meetings. However, the restorative enquiry format is used and some type of contract or follow up meeting is encouraged (RestorativeJustice4Schools, 2012).

2. Mediation

Hopkins (2004) states that mediation is a process whereby people in conflict are supported in a safe environment by a facilitator to mutually move forward. This process can only be successful if both parties participate voluntarily and come to mutually agreeable solutions. There are many different types of mediation process available and peer mediation is increasingly popular in schools.

Peer mediation: Peer mediation is increasingly used in many different types of school programmes to improve social competencies and efficacy in the student body (Andres, et al., 2005). School Restorative Programmes now use this strategy to develop conflict resolution strategies. Student mediators are trained to coordinate and dispense the mediation process with fellow students.

3. Restorative Circles

Pranis (2005) describes the restorative circle time as drawing heavily from Native American traditional circles, combined with democratic values and active listening. Generally, it is considered a safe place and time where a group of students can share and discuss any issues or concerns in an orderly and fair manner. The main goals of a classroom circle are to build relationships and community; by responding to any harm done engages both the participants and the wider community (students in the classroom or group).

4. Restorative Conversations

Restorative conversations or chats are the least formal reactive restorative practice available. This conversation occurs immediately, usually with the teacher or a teacher's assistant, and follows a brief version of the restorative enquiry script. During this time, restorative questions are utilised but there are no formal contracts or follow up meetings (Russell, RestorativeJustice4Schools implementation pack, n.d.).

5. Social and Emotional Skills

Morrison (2005) describes Social and Emotional Skills Programmes as a universal or whole school restorative practice. These skills are taught as a proactive measure, with the ultimate

purpose of reducing any type of reactive restorative response. RA incorporates several different practices that schools can employ to improve empathy and communication skills. These types of social-emotional skills are similar to any other skills young people must learn and need to be taught and modelled as such (Porter, 2007). Social and emotional skills are also taught in a targeted approach for those students in need (Thorsborne and Blood, 2005). Arguably, these sessions supporting the development of social and emotional skills for specific students, could also be classed as a reactive intervention.

6. Restorative Language

Restorative language is a broad term used to describe a shift in the language used in schools in general. Flanagan and Clark (n.d.) describe it as a discourse to help students express their feelings, resulting in improved self-awareness for all students. This type of language should be used daily, but specifically during reactive restorative practices. Using restorative language throughout the school for all pupils-pupil, staff-pupils, and staff-staff interactions reinforces restorative values.

Russell (n.d), a widely known restorative practitioner and trainer, states that restorative language has several key elements including: being fair, respectful, non-judgemental, and employing the use of enquiring and open questions. Berkowitz (n.d) agrees with the need for open-ended questions as it allows students to fully retell their experience without any pre-judgement. It is further emphasised that the actual use of positive concepts, such as community and relationships, should be stressed during class time. By frequently using these terms and associated words, it is assumed that it will highlight the importance of these concepts to the students.

Equally importantly but arguably less defined, are the use of a supportive and caring tone and body language. Russell (n.d., implementation pack) states that:

Body language and tone of voice are two extremely important constituents of restorative language¹⁰. Body language should be non-aggressive and non-confrontational it is vital to allow pupils their own personal space. Tone of voice should be calm, respectful and non-judgemental (pg. 11).

¹⁰ Language refers to a language system shared within a community

Body language and tone of voice should complement the actual vocabulary used with students and colleagues, thus supporting the underlying values of any restorative approach.

2.6.3 Evaluations of Restorative Approaches

Most of the literature supporting potential RA models and mechanisms originate within the RJ field. However, RA evaluations come into their own and these largely report on two main themes: major facilitating/impeding factors and the school outcomes. Many factors are found to be related to successful implementation, but school leadership is the main contributor to a successful outcome. Reported outcomes vary, but most evaluations find positive results especially for a whole school approach. However, not all outcomes are as certain and research in RA may present misleading results at times.

There are several evaluation studies that support the positive impact of the implementation of restorative programmes in school settings, most of which points to the fact that a ‘whole school’ approach offers the best results (Fleming, 2012). This includes changing the school ethos and culture, which fosters positive relationships and encourages positive school communities (McCluskey, 2013). Despite the benefits of a whole school approach, McCluskey and colleagues (2008a, pg. 407) report that only a small number of schools in their large evaluation achieved this and only those who did benefited from the positive outcomes of RA, such as reduced bullying and victimisation, and improved attendance. Thus, most RA scholars advocate a whole school approach but schools find it difficult to achieve such a status.

Kane, et al. (2007) evaluated 18 primary and secondary schools under three different councils in Scotland. Using a mixed methods design, they evaluated both the implementation and success of each school. They found that the use of RA was location specific and most schools used a continuum of practices.¹¹ In fact, this large evaluation found that only 9 of the 18 schools reached the indication of: “[...] significant achievement across the school” (pg. 82). The remainder of the schools only partially achieved a whole school approach or had pockets of use.

Kane’s, et al., (2007) research concludes that effective implementation of RA is largely based on four main factors, including school readiness, clear aims and objectives, initiatives within the school working together, and training and leadership. Generally, enthusiasm of senior

¹¹ Additional discussion of this evaluation is found in the Methodology chapter.

staff was key to progressing RA throughout the whole school and contributed to the 'readiness' needed to achieve success. The research also found that staff resistance to change was a key impeding factor to implementation and is reported by other evaluations as an ongoing issue in RA implementation (Kane, et al., 2007).

Staff reluctance and resistance to change is also reported by Blood and Thorsborne (2006, pg. 3), who state there are three main reasons as to why whole school implementation is obstructed by staff, resulting in only pockets of use: 1. *Senior authorities assume by announcing the change it will happen without further consultation;* 2. *Staff are not supported-questions and concerns are not addressed;* and 3. *Staff are not actively involved in the change process.* These three reasons are further refined to include: unclear senior staff expectations, multi-initiative within schools, training and lack of staff support.

This is not a surprising result as research by London Councils (2011) found that some staff in all school's experience initial resistance and reluctance to accept RA. However, it is reported that staff resistance and reluctance could largely be overcome as:

Allowing staff the opportunity to discuss their concerns and fears is central to the later adoption of the approach; all PRUs met some level of staff resistance, but welcomed the challenge...and developed ways to support and coach other members of staff to grow their own knowledge base (London Councils, 2011, pg. 35).

London Councils (2011) and Blood and Thorsborne (2006) both include the need for staff to be engaged and supported to encourage adoption of RA practices in the classroom. Blood and Thorsborne (2006) recommend that the issues impeding a whole school approach could be best overcome by implementing a strategic approach that addresses all of these issues and ensures organisational change with the support of the staff. Similar to RA itself, the implementation should be done *with* the staff and not *to* the staff.

The need for a clear strategic plan is also apparent in the second factor which Kane, et al. (2007) state is necessary for successful implementation-clear aims and objectives. Successful schools have a clear purpose and detailed monitoring systems in place. Secondary schools are more likely to implement RA in one area or year group before committing to a whole school approach, such as in the pupil referral unit in S1¹². This type of approach may be at odds with

¹² Student questionnaires were administered to Years S2 and S4-in schools where RA is only implemented in one Year group (S1), it is unclear if the results of student survey are relevant to the evaluation.

the prevailing culture, so mixed signals are sent to both the staff and students resulting in ambiguous plans and perceived purposes. There is also a recurrent theme of multi-initiative schools hindering the implementation of RA. Kane, et al. (2007) reports that not all schools find multi-initiatives helpful, commenting that many staff felt that they were unsure of the connection between the multiple programmes available, a finding also reported in the London Councils (2011) evaluation. This complements Blood and Thorsborne's (2006) recommendation for a clear strategic plan: senior management need to disseminate information on how RA works within the existing framework and other initiatives within the school.

The final factor for success involves training and leadership within the school (Kane, et al., 2007). Staff training and leadership is repeatedly found to be an integral component for establishing and progressing RA throughout a school. Warren, et al. (2007) states that the engagement of senior management is imperative to the successful implementation of a restorative programme. This finding corresponds with both Kane's et al. (2007) conclusions regarding the readiness of staff being directly related to senior management enthusiasm, and the London Schools Evaluation (2011) that reports strong leadership is paramount for successful implementation:

The ability of the school's leadership to articulate the values and vision of the school are key to whether a new initiative is understood by staff and pupils as something that fits within the existing framework. Furthermore, leadership also includes the ability of the senior leadership and particularly the Head teacher to include others in decision-making about the introduction of the new initiative. Inclusive leadership leads to a shared ethos in which staff, across the organisation, collaborate in the introduction of RA (pg. 6).

In addition to the leading members of staff supporting venues for staff decision-making, the SMT also need to listen to concerns and respond to suggestions to maintain active staff involvement (Blood and Thorsborne, 2006). The key to successful implementation rests heavily with senior management and the leadership of the school who have the ability to promote RA by actively involving staff, listening to potential concerns, and enthusiastically engaging with the restorative ethos. Senior management's enthusiasm for the approach directly influences staff readiness for their own training and subsequent use of practices.

These are not isolated factors; rather they work together to either promote successful implementation or impede the execution of the programme. The initial responsibility of senior management is to provide clear plans on the original implementation and proposed progression of RA within each school. Without well-defined organisational strategies in place, set by and modelled by senior management, teachers may be reluctant to accept restorative practices in daily classroom use. Furthermore, any training teachers undertake may be in vain, as staff will not have reached a point where they are ready to accept a new set of principles and practices.

The Youth Offending Team staff (YJB, 2004b, pg. 49) found similar results, stating: “The more senior staff who we trained were able to use their status and influence to drive through policy changes needed in the schools to make them more restorative” and that “[...] changing the focus and priorities of the head teacher also affects the likelihood that the initiative will succeed.” Subsequent evaluations of RA in schools recorded similar findings on the importance of the head teacher as the driving force during the implementation process (Skinns, et al., 2009). The findings from the current research are in agreement with the previous evaluations and find that ideally the head teacher (at a minimum the other members of the SMT), must give full support, offering both time and financial provisions for RA to succeed in school. In addition to focusing on facilitating and impeding factors, RA evaluations also report on the outcomes in the school. Overall, the YJB (2004a; 2004b) report that RA improved behaviour and decreased the amount of time lost in the classroom due to problem behaviour. However, the pupil survey did not find any significant changes in student attitudes or levels of victimisation at the schools. This can make the results difficult to interpret, as the findings from the staff were more positive about the changes in student behaviour than the results from the students themselves.

Although the YJB evaluation found no significant changes in student attitudes or victimisation rates school wide, they did find that 89% of the students who participated in a conference to be satisfied with the outcomes. The satisfaction of the participants is the usual indicator used to acknowledge the advantages of such a process (Department of Justice, Canada, 2015, Victim Satisfaction and Perceptions of Fairness):

It is clear that victims tend to be satisfied following their involvement in a restorative justice program. This is perhaps the most critical piece of evidence to support the development of RA (para. 1).

However, it is questionable as to whether the purposes of a restorative process are to satisfy the participants. Whilst the evidence presented is largely positive, there are a few concerning details in regards to implementation in schools and types of transgressions. The RA literature does little to consider if such a process is effective for all types of transgressions; however, the RJ literature has considered this a potential area for concern. Sherman and Strang (2007) found that in one sample of Aboriginal Australians, restorative justice increased their reoffending rates. Although their work is largely an optimistic document in relation to reoffending, it does conclude that restorative justice may not work for everyone: “RJ works differently on different kinds of people” (pg. 8), and may be due to the type of offense, process utilised, or the cultural differences between the participants.

There is some evidence in the RJ literature which finds that cultural differences between the participants may influence the success of a formal conference, related to the use and interpretation of the apology (Albrecht, 2010). This is supported by Wenzel, et al. (2010) who also emphasise the importance of a shared sense of identity and community among the participants. In terms of the present context - the Welsh School system - this is highly relevant. The language and cultural barrier between the two groups of students could be relevant to the success of conferencing in the Welsh education system. In addition to the YJB finding that victimisation rates do not improve after RA implementation and some questions as to whether restorative practices are effective for all participants, there is also a question as to whether it decreases exclusion rates in schools. In general, the impact on exclusion rates varies, where some research finds dramatic improvement, while others are less optimistic about the results. Although Bitel (2004) found a varying impact on exclusion rates, there are still many authors and organisations which promote RA as a chief programme to improve exclusion rates (McElrae, 1998).

The ability to tackle exclusion rates is one of the primary reasons RA were implemented in a number of London schools in the YJB study (YJB, 2004a), although it is questionable as to how well RA can improve this problem. In fact, in the YJB discussion they were reluctant to state that restorative practices affected exclusion rates in any way (2004a):

It is difficult to ascertain exactly the impact of restorative justice practices on school exclusion, as exclusions are affected by a number of factors. First, schools have developed a number of strategies to reduce their exclusion figures. Second, many of the schools in the study had not made any fixed-term exclusions during

the period for which the key data were collected. Third, there were multiple interventions in all schools to improve behaviour and to reduce exclusions, making it impossible to tease out the effect that restorative justice had on reducing exclusions. Finally, school exclusion rates are also subject to changes in school leadership and behaviour policies (pg. 12).

It was acknowledged here that there were many different layers within the schools that could easily impact on exclusion rates, such as staff and policy change, and, importantly, the fact that most schools also have several different programmes running simultaneously. So it is impossible to identify if restorative practice is directly responsible for a decrease in exclusions.

Unlike the YJB evaluation, Flanagan and Clark, (RAiS Guidebook, n.d.) report that RA in four Bristol schools had a significant impact on exclusions:

There were reductions in the absolute numbers of fixed-term exclusions in the RAiS schools. This reduction was noted by staff in all four RAiS schools (pg. 21).

Statements such as this need to be interpreted with some caution as the RAiS evaluation documentation itself includes an additional caveat not present in the guidebook (Skinns, et al., 2009):

Difficulties with the local authority data and limitations to the quantitative analysis meant that we could not detect a discernible impact from RAiS on the fixed-term exclusion rate. The YJB (2004) reached a similar conclusion in their research (pg. iv).

Although the guidebook and evaluation are almost identical in their report of exclusion rates for the RAiS schools, the latter quote is omitted in the guidebook. The concern is that other organisations are using the Bristol RAiS results as evidence that exclusions are being reduced by the use of RA in schools. The Restorative Justice Council (2016) states that: “Becoming a restorative school has many benefits, including increased attendance, reduced exclusions and improved achievement”. The Restorative Justice Council (2016) points to the Bristol RAiS project as evidence to support this claim.¹³

The positive outcomes of RA implementation are numerous including the fact that participants find the process fair and satisfying, although quantifiable results vary between

¹³ The Restorative Justice Council does direct readers to the full evaluation which includes the quote in question regarding the difficulties. However, their main webpage states conclusively that it ‘reduces exclusion’.

RA research projects. Furthermore, the implementation success varies greatly between schools, with the main influence appearing to be school leadership. There is no doubt that school leadership impacts directly on the staff's acceptance of a new initiative by allowing active participation in the implementation process, as well as providing clear and unambiguous expectations.

2.7 Conclusion

Restorative Approaches are becoming a fashionable alternative to traditional discipline within the education sector. New restorative programmes are constantly being implemented, creating a need for new businesses to provide training and guidance to schools and other agencies. Whilst the practice and business of restorative approaches is growing quite rapidly, there are very little theoretical developments in the field. Rather, restorative approaches rely almost exclusively on the theoretical foundations of restorative justice. There are still areas that restorative justice is unable to fully address and restorative approaches suffer from the same questions, for example, the role of rehabilitation and the integration of RA into existing systems within the school. While these may seem highly theoretical, they play an important part in the practical implementation of these practices within a school setting.

The flexibility of a restorative approach is a key feature, allowing the practice to reach a variety of schools. However, this also makes it very difficult to evaluate. Restorative approaches are different in each school, where even a formal and structured conference is delivered individually. There is a general lack of operational definitions for a number of processes which restorative approaches may incorporate. There are also a number of confounding variables that make it difficult to ascertain whether the processes within restorative approaches or some other factor is at play. Most of the evaluations of restorative approaches suffer from a number of limitations, including methodological issues, lack of operational definitions and a general lack of consensus as to what constitutes a restorative approach. Thus, considerably more research needs to be undertaken before any firm conclusions can be made as to the benefits of restorative approaches in a school setting.

Chapter 3: The Importance of Happiness, School Engagement and Self-Esteem

The three main aims of Sections 1-3 are to identify the definition of the constructs utilised in this research, review why these are important areas for a successful academic achievement and consider if they are appropriate for school intervention programmes. The final section of the chapter considers the intersections between each of these constructs. Although both school engagement and self-esteem have been independently linked to happiness, it is unclear how all three psychological constructs work in tandem. The evaluation of these three constructs is not exceptional in the psychological or educational literature; however, within the RA literature, the study of psychological constructs is only in its infancy. RA school evaluations suggest noticeable improvements in student happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem, but there is very limited theoretical or empirical support for such statements. It is imperative to understand the fundamental workings of each construct and consider if these are areas that are likely to change as a result of RA intervention.

Section 1: Happiness

3.1 Introduction

Happiness, or subjective well-being as it is described in some literature (Demir and Weitekamp, 2007), is a generalised term used to describe the affective and cognitive evaluations of one's life (Diener, 2000). The study of this psychological construct has recently come to the fore with the burgeoning field of positive psychology, as well as current national government policy initiatives emphasising its importance. Not only is happiness a concern for academics and government officials, studies routinely find that happiness and the happiness of one's children are among the most desired states of being. Diener and Lucas (2004) studied the emotional desires of more than 10,000 people from over 48 countries and found that parents' desired happiness for their children more so than any other state (including fearlessness or anger suppression). The value placed on happiness was not a function of wealth or gender of the child. The importance of happiness was also established by Kim-Prieto et al. (2005) in a study of 9,000 college students from 47 countries. The participants identified their most important value from a list of 20 options, which included: happiness, wealth, love, and health. The results supported the overwhelming importance of happiness to the research participants: 97% of the sample identified happiness as their most importance state of being.

This new found focal point for psychological research, as well as the emphasis placed on it by recent government legislation (such as the Welsh Government Social Services and Well-being Act 2016, Wales), provides the optimal circumstances for interventions to flourish, such as restorative programmes, which many assert makes people happier (Wachtel, 2012; RestorativeJustice4Schools, 2015). The support for such claims is anecdotal in nature and was first identified in RJ evaluations. In such evaluations, victims often report that the RJ process had a positive impact on them and that it was a positive experience overall.

Additionally, research on the impact of the offender often asks: “How did that make you feel?” with typical responses being: “A bit better” or “It was very good actually” (Crawford and Burden, 2005, p. 69, 73). This has fostered assertions that RJ improves happiness.

Similarly, RA training organisations and schools routinely suggest that RA implementation improves happiness, with statements such as: “students say they are happier” (Davis, 2013, for Edutopia). Empirical evidence to support such assertions made by both RJ and RA advocates is difficult to establish. It is essential to clarify the initial question(s) by referring to the psychological literature and quantify the answer by using measurable psychometric tests to empirically evaluate the intervention. By utilising a valid and reliable psychometric scale, it is possible to measure happiness over time to account and account for possible changes that might occur due to RA implementation.

This current research will fill the gap in the literature regarding the effects of restorative practices on happiness.¹⁴ This section considers both the importance of happiness, why it is worth improving in children and consider if it a suitable target for school intervention programmes. The significance of goal setting in relation to improving happiness is also discussed, as interventions focusing on achieving goals are among the most successful.

3.1.1 Happiness Quantified

It is clear that reasonable levels of happiness are important for a wide range of positive functioning. Despite the widespread colloquial understanding of the term, this psychological construct is very complex. The term ‘happiness’ describes a range of subdivisions including people’s emotional responses or affect (positive and negative), satisfaction evaluations (life and domain specific), and levels judgement (Diener, et al., 1999). Diener (1984) explicitly states that happiness includes three hallmarks. Firstly, it must be subjective, secondly, it includes positive measures, and, lastly, it must be a global assessment. In general, the

¹⁴ Including school engagement and self-esteem as well.

majority of measurements focus on either global life satisfaction in a single item evaluation or measure the cognitive or affective domains separately (Diener, 1994). The present research utilises Lyubomirsky and Lepper's (1999) scale and corresponding definition that includes the global assessment of subjective cognitive judgements and affective evaluations of one's life in one brief measurement tool.

3.1.2 The Positive Function of Happiness

Evidence supporting the importance of children's and adult's happiness cannot be overstated. The majority of parents hope for happiness for their children, the majority of people value it over any other state of being, and the ONS now recognise its importance and includes happiness as part of their overall assessment of life in the UK. The question remains, why is happiness important? Generally, the importance of happiness is linked to a number of prosocial and healthy behaviours needed to successfully function in both school and society in general.

A school's primary purpose is to: "[...] ensure children master academic skills and achieve scholastically" (Ladd, et al., 2012, pg. 11). To achieve this, schools need to promote pro-school behaviours and decrease anti-social behaviours. This is how RA found its niche in the education sector, jumping from the CJS into schools. The most common reports of successful RA implementation find decreased negative behaviour, improved marks, and better attendance. However, there is little evidence to suggest why this actually transpires. From a psychological perspective, happiness is directly linked to such behaviours and could be the psychological 'link' that explains why behaviour improves after RA introduction. Therefore, it is important to monitor levels of happiness rather than simply reporting the behavioural outcomes once the intervention has taken place.

Adults and children report slightly above neutral levels of happiness. Adolescents who report they are very happy often demonstrate positive functioning within intrapersonal and interpersonal relationships. Additionally, positive feelings are linked to an increase in both competency and resilience in children (Clonan et al., 2004). Unhappy children generally demonstrate chronic behavioural issues such as aggression, sexual risk taking, alcohol and drug use, and eating and health problems (Gilman and Huebner, 2006; Suldo and Hueber, 2006). From these results alone, the importance of improving happiness in children is evident.

Contrary to the negative behaviours related to low levels of happiness, Jacobs and Lyubomirsky (2012) report that happy people enjoy boring tasks more than unhappy people, have positive perceptions of others, and are more sociable. In addition to these specific benefits, happiness in general improves negotiation and conflict resolution. The relationship between happiness and pro-social behaviours is key, especially in regards to school environments. Such environments are busy, include children and adults of different ages and are characterised by conflict. Conflict is an inevitable part of school life - and life in general - and levels of happiness are related to the ability to resolve and settle disputes (Larson and Eid, 2008).

In relation to conflict resolution, positive emotional states also affect resiliency (Frederickson, 2000). Resiliency is often described as the ability to “bounce back” after a stressful or negative experience (Tugade and Fredrickson, 2004). Clonan, et al. (2004) states that:

Resiliency appears related to certain competencies that serve as buffers to protect these individuals from stress. Competencies related to important developmental tasks, such as developing academic skills, positive peer interaction and rule-governed behaviour were identified as promoting resiliency in children (pg. 104).

The importance of resiliency is not reserved for extreme stressful situations, such as bereavement, where positive affect is proven to be beneficial (Stein, et al., 1997), but also during daily life. The ability to cope in difficult and stressful situations is important in school where students are constantly learning new and difficult tasks. Students are expected to engage with these difficult and challenging tasks in the classroom, but also in a complex social environment. Resilience, in general, is related to better relationships throughout life; however, in children specifically, adequate resiliency results in fewer behavioural issues (Conway and McDonough, 2006). Happiness and resiliency are strongly related, which in turn supports students through difficult academic tasks and social conflicts.

There are several factors which contribute to overall happiness in children. Surprisingly, demographic factors only contribute a relatively minor portion to children’s overall levels of happiness (Gilman and Huebner, 2003). Holder and Coleman (2008) conclude that income is not a significant predictor of happiness, even when the children are aware of their socioeconomic status. Additionally, neither is intelligence related to happiness levels in

children (Huebner and Alderman, 1993), indicating that there are additional factors that play a more significant role in happiness levels. Some of these additional elements are areas a school has the ability to control.

3.1.3 Are Interventions Worthwhile? The Implications of Goal Setting

Happiness interventions have conflicting results and many scholars find that pursuing improved happiness is a futile process. This somewhat pessimistic position of happiness began with Helson's book published in 1964, when the phrase 'adaptation theory' grew in reputation. Although adaptation theory is largely mathematical and theoretical in nature, in the subsequent decade's psychologists used this theory to explain consistent and stable levels of happiness, despite improvement in overall objective wellbeing (e.g. wealth). Brickman and Campbell (1971) used the idea of adaptation theory in support of their new theory described as the 'hedonic treadmill'. Diener, et al. (2006) describe the hedonic treadmill theory as:

[...] good and bad events temporarily affect happiness, but people quickly adapt back to hedonic neutrality" and that this theory has "gained widespread acceptance in recent years" which "implies that individual and societal efforts to increase happiness are doomed to failure (pg. 305).

The futile pursuit of happiness was supported by a number of highly influential research findings. One of the most significant came from Brickman, et al. (1978), where their empirical research found that lottery winners were not any happier than nonwinners. Similarly, paraplegics were not less happy than 'normal' walking individuals, thus supporting the hedonic treadmill/adaption theory. The adaptation theory may have biological roots as explained by Frederick and Loewenstein (1999), who report that adaptation is a positive condition in certain situations, acting as a protective function that limits the impact of negative stimuli. The research reviews several conditions where adaptation may occur and finds that there are 'domain specific' differences to hedonic adaptation and several different moderators. The overall conclusion is that adaptation may or may not occur depending on the context and that this may have negative consequences or positive benefits depending on the situation.

However, such generalised findings are difficult to replicate and more recent studies in adaptation and intervention programmes provides evidence that support the notion that happiness is able to change through targeted intervention programmes. Diener, et al. (2006) provides evidence to support this position and state that: "[...] interventions to increase

happiness can be effective, and research supports this conclusion. These changes may target different levels, the individual, organisational or even the society” (pg. 312). Diener’s, et al (2006) research argues that happiness can be altered, although acknowledging this change will not be identical in all individuals. Focusing on interpersonal relationships in school-aged children has shown some promising results in school interventions. Huebner and Diener (2008) state that positive relationships with peers and teachers from ages 8 to 18 play an important role in shaping children’s happiness and that fostering positive relationships is important to achieving academic success in schools. However, most work on happiness interventions focus on intentional activities of the participants.

There are three primary determinants of happiness (Figure 5), including a biological set point, life circumstances, and intentional activity (Lyubomirsky, et al., 2005):

What Determines Happiness?

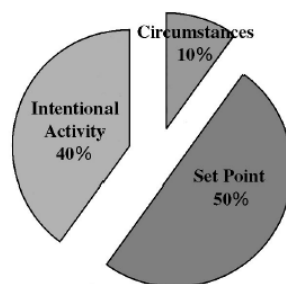


Figure 5: *What Determines Happiness?* (Lyubomirsky, et al., 2005, pg. 116)

From these three factors (*set point*, *circumstances*, and *intentional activity*), it is assumed that the biological set point and life circumstances are difficult, if not impossible, to change.¹⁵ Intentional activity accounts for 40% of one’s overall happiness and arguably the most important factor to focus attention on for two primary reasons: it is not fixed and accounts for a relatively large portion of overall happiness. These intentional activities may take many forms but can be built within the school experience.

Intentional happiness activities are the basis for most intervention work in schools. In general, positive school experiences, associated with positive activities, lead to improved happiness levels. Fordyce (1977) originally found happiness interventions in school to be

¹⁵ Layous and Lyubomirsky later argue that this genetic influences are more likely weaker than originally assumed (2013).

successful. This pioneering research established the theory that happiness can be controlled by individuals in the classroom, through both the participation of activities and the responses they receive in different contexts. More recent studies support Fordyce's original conclusions that happiness interventions are successful in schools, such as Stiglbauer, et al. (2013), who found a progressive cycle in which positive school experiences influenced happiness and subsequently happiness influenced positive school experiences.

The activities included in the positive experiences are categorised as cognitive, volitional, or behavioural (Lyubomirsky, et al. 2005). Cognitive activities may be in the formal form of cognitive behavioural therapy or more daily activities such as being grateful (Emmons and McCullough, 2003). Volitional activities include working towards a goal. This line of enquiry is presently receiving a great deal of attention as several studies point to the positive influence of striving towards goals. Lastly, behavioural activity is a general term and can refer to a broad range of activities such as participating in an exercise program or being kind to others. However, these behavioural activities must require effort and must not be an automatic activity. Arguably this is also a type of goal setting behaviour.

The importance of goals is found throughout the happiness literature. Expressive goals, spare time goals, and performance related goals are also found to be strong predictors of gross levels of happiness (Fugl-Meyer, et al., 1991). Although goals are often difficult to define and are idiosyncratic by nature, Katzenbach and Smith (1994) define them as the 'ideal'; something to work towards or which is valued or what Heath, et al. (1999) describe as a reference point. Whatever the label, the perceived positive progress of a personally meaningful goal, whether it is a relatively short lived task or a long term project, activity or value, is intrinsically linked with higher levels of happiness (Little, 1987). Lyubomirsky and Layous (2013) further refine the discussion on intention activity to explain how a positive intentional activity or self-improvement activity in general can increase happiness. It is supposed that positive activities improve well-being by fulfilling a psychological need of the participant, specifically: *autonomy*, *relatedness*, and *competence*. Lyubomirsky and Layous state that the activity must be a fit between the person and the activity to be effectual. Based on this model, each activity or goal must be person specific, where the activity is designed with the adequate support to achieve success.

Pursuing a goal with less favourable conditions, where commitment is high but opportunity and support is low, can threaten happiness (Brandtstädter and Rothermund, 2002). In fact,

Nurmi (1997) outlines some of the consequences that may occur after failed attempts to achieve a goal, including obvious disappointment and poor mental health. Heath, et al. (1999) explain the implications of not achieving a goal by the fact that:

People do not see outcomes as neutral, but categorize them as a success or failure and then they experience positive or negative emotion based on their categorization (pg. 84).

This is due to the fact that goals are set as a reference point and if the person does not reach the reference point, it is perceived as a failure resulting in negative emotional states. Another implication of goals as a reference point is what is described as diminished responsibility. Diminished responsibility suggests that outcomes further from the reference point have a smaller impact on the individual. This can result in the practical issue of failure to ‘start off’. Generally, the starting off problem is where: “[...] people find it difficult to motivate themselves to start a task when they face a difficult goal” (Heath, et. al., 1999, pg. 91). To overcome these issues, it is important to consider setting smaller sub goals. Therefore, it is possible to gain positive emotional feedback throughout the progression towards the final goal, which ultimately enhances the commitment and motivation for completing the task.

Despite nearly three decades passing since Fordyce’s (1977) original study in the classroom, there is still need for more research on children’s happiness interventions, as it is unclear what type of happiness interventions work for different types of students. Some scholars stress the importance of intentional activities as a method for improving happiness levels. Therefore, happiness levels should be a psychological construct responsive to intervention work in schools and within RA specifically. This also explains how RA may influence happiness levels; by participants reaching their set goals. RA interventions may include a number of specific activities the participant attempts to achieve, for example, in the form of an ambitious target such as paying back a sum of money or something more discrete such as sitting quietly through a lesson (Hopkins, 2003). However, as Heath, et al. (1999) warns, not achieving the set goals in the outcome agreement could have a negative overall impact on the participants.

3.1.4 Conclusions

Interest in happiness is growing; this ranges from parental concern to government policies. Schools are in a unique place to monitor and improve happiness in their students, based on undertaking intentional activities to reach their goals. Schools have a great deal to benefit

from monitoring and improving happiness levels as it has a strong relationship with healthy and pro-social behaviours. Schools are continually attempting to increase such behaviours whilst lessening negative conduct in an effort to achieve academic successes. These educational aims are in agreement with recent developments in both psychology (positive psychology) and the youth justice system, both of which call for more prevention approaches in education. Restorative Approaches, although largely developed from Restorative Justice within the CJS, sits well within this framework. Currently, as evidence for this, RA is encompassed within the Youth Prevention Team in some YOTs, as it is acknowledged that prevention first provides a better outlook for youth (Haines and Case, 2015)

RA has the ability to set goals, in the form of outcome agreements, which, theoretically, have the ability to positively influence participants' happiness. Although theoretically RA could improve happiness, through intentional activity for goal achievement, this has not been empirically tested to confirm the assertions made by RA advocates. Therefore, the ability of RA to positively influence happiness remains uncertain.

Section 2: School Engagement

3.2 Introduction

School engagement is a relatively new field of study, dating back to the 1980s field of *drop out* intervention programmes largely found in the United States (Finn, 1989). This has extended within the last ten years seeing a great influx of specific school engagement research worldwide. The proliferation of engagement research stems from the positive effects engaged students are likely to enjoy, such as better academic performance compared to disengaged students, behaviour self-regulation and motivation, and importantly enjoyment in challenges and learning in general (Klem and Connell, 2004).

The influx of school engagement interventions is not only due to the many beneficial outcomes engaged students experience, it also rests on the fact that it is in general a malleable construct. As opposed to other psychological constructs that inherently have more trait-like stability, such as self-esteem, engagement is heavily context dependent, where it encompasses affective connections with the surrounding interactive school environment (Appleton, et. al., 2008). The capacity of a school to influence engagement is well documented, particularly the impact of staff-student relationships on the learner.

School engagement is a multidimensional construct, and consequently difficult to define. Reschly and Christenson (2013) offer a broad understanding which states that school engagement is more than just time spent engaged in academic activities. Rather they refer to it as the ‘glue’ that sticks a number of different elements together, all of which are needed to successfully complete school. In relation to school engagement interventions, they state that:

The major foci of interventions are strategies that help students acquire skills to meet the demands and expectations of the school environment, create relationships with adults and students, to facilitate their active participations in learning and school, and engage in future-oriented thinking [...] (pg. 4).

This corresponds well to RA interventions which also emphasise a similar basic foundation including stronger relationships, resulting in the creation of more effective learning environments and forward looking focus (Hendry, et. al., 2014; Kane, et. al., 2007, Hopkins, 2010). Furthermore, RA implementation is often similarly understood as a ‘glue’ which binds multiple practices together within a specific type of cultural ethos (Kane, et. al., 2007). Thus, it would appear that both RA and school engagement share many underlying purposes and qualities.

The literature reports a general consensus with regards to the importance of school engagement for every student in education. Authors routinely emphasise the critical nature of this concept to successful schooling with some going as far as to state: “[...] engagement is the direct (and only) pathway to cumulative learning, long-term achievement, and eventual academic success” (Skinner and Pitzer, 2013, pg. 23). This definitive statement is echoed throughout the literature, which supports the significance of school engagement for not only academic achievement, but also as a protective factor¹⁶ against risky behaviours, delinquency, and school failure.

3.2.1 What is school engagement? *The Jingle/Jangle Problem*

The general understanding of school engagement mostly includes identification with school and participation, such as Willms (2003) who states that it is: “[...] the extent to which students identify with and value schooling outcomes, and participate in academic and non-

¹⁶ Protective factors are generally defined as individual or environmental conditions which limit the impact of negative events or circumstances. Protective factors are known to increase both the ability to avoid risky situation but encourage positive behaviours (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009).

academic school activities” (pg. 8). Despite the general simplicity of the concept of engagement, there are multiple models and terms used to describe this construct. Libby (2009) explains that there are several different terms used for a theoretically similar concept:

A rose by any other name may still smell as sweet; but school connectedness by even the same name may mean something else entirely depending on who is using it. The literature includes a variety of definitions for school connectedness. Expanding the review reveals multiple related terms that may or may not have the same definition, elements, or theoretical framework. Some researchers study school engagement while others examine school attachment, and still others analyze school bonding. The various terms have created an overlapping and confusing definitional spectrum. Common terms in the health and education literature include school engagement, school attachment, school bonding, school climate, school involvement, teacher support, and school connectedness (pg. 274).

Reschly and Christenson (2013) refer to this as the *Jingle/Jangle* problem. The decision to utilise the term ‘School Engagement, rather than ‘School Connectedness’, ‘Student Engagement’ or similar is a purposeful choice; this term is more widely used in educational literature and appears to incorporate a more established definition. For this reason, this research will use the term *school engagement* exclusively, although as Libby illustrates, this term is not exclusively used in the literature.

This problematic issue may be intensified as the concept of school engagement has evolved in part from other sources of research, drawing together a range of different research topics from the 1960s, 70s and early 80s under one term. The consequence of which is terminology that varies among researchers. School engagement has long been tied to levels of time dedicated to academic tasks, which are referred to as behavioural engagement. This definition is slowly changing to include a more encompassing view of engagement, including social, psychological, and cognitive elements, depending on the definition and measurement utilised. At a minimum, engagement includes behaviours related to participation in schools and some type of affective component (Finn, 1989). Although there are as many as four possible components utilised within an engagement model including: academic, behavioural, cognitive and psychological elements (Christenson, et. al., 2008). In fact, there are multiple element models of engagement in the literature.

The measurement scale utilised in the present research combines three components: behavioural, cognitive, and emotional engagement, as described by Fredericks, et al., (2005, 2004). Historically, these three areas of engagement were studied separately resulting in many singular measures to gauge each individually. Recently, more multidimensional measurements are being developed to reflect the growing body of literature which indicates that these subtypes actually overlap to a significant degree. This is especially true of the internal types of engagement, where it is difficult to isolate cognitive engagement from affective engagement. Similarly, there are difficulties in solely measuring the observable type of engagement (behavioural or academic) as these are directly linked to the less tangible cognitive and affective components. Fredericks, et al. (2005) state that:

Many studies of engagement involve one or two types but rarely include all three (behavioural, emotional, and cognitive) or deal with engagement as a multifaceted construct. Examining the components of engagement separately dichotomizes students' behaviour, emotion, and cognition, whereas in reality these factors are dynamically embedded within a single individual and are not isolated processes (pg. 306)

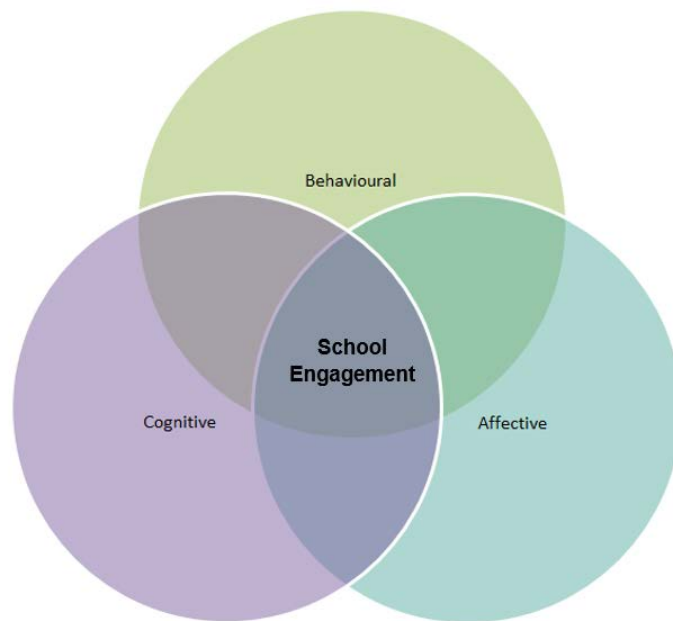


Figure 6: *Three Dimensions of a Holistic Approach to School Engagement (a representation of Fredericks, et al. (2005) description of engagement)*

Figure 6 illustrates this research’s approach to school engagement and is the visual interpretation of Fredericks, et al. (2005) school engagement construct. From this perspective, all three elements overlap one another to form school engagement. This model is somewhat opposed to the more usual account that is illustrated in *Figure 7* (below):

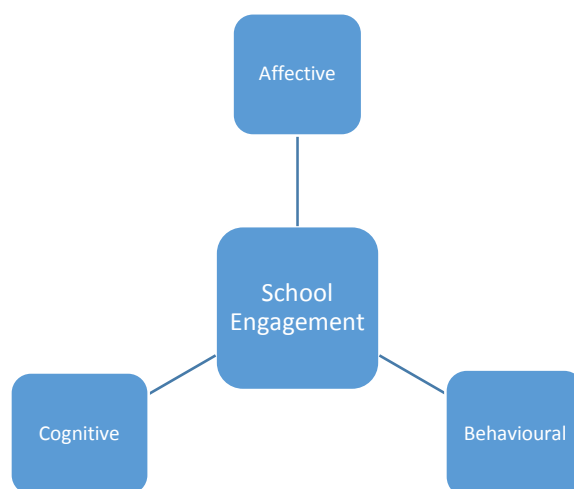


Figure 7: *Three Separate Elements of School Engagement*

Figure 7 illustrates the more common explanation of school engagement, where three separate elements form one concept; however, this model does not take into consideration any of the interactions and overlapping nature of the three key components.

3.2.2 A Closer Consideration of Behavioural, Cognitive and Affective Engagement

All models of school engagement have a foundation in the behavioural component originally utilised during the initial conception of school engagement (Appleton et al., 2008). The behavioural component was the first element examined during the inception of drop-out research and is still considered one of the enduring traits of the engagement construct. This component refers to the actual visible participation and involvement of students in certain activities, including: 1. *positive conduct and the absence of negative behaviour*; 2. *involvement in learning*; and, 3. *participation in activities in school but outside the classroom* (Mahatmaya, et. al., 2013). Generally, behavioural engagement is the actual, physical participation in school and extracurricular activities, and the absence of negative or disrupting behaviour.

Numerous studies during the initial development of the engagement literature repeatedly found a significant relationship between participation and achievement. Finn (1993) studied a sample of more than 15,000 eighth graders. As indicators of behavioural engagement, he monitored attendance, classroom behaviour and participation in extracurricular activities. Finn (1993) found that there was a strong positive relationship between participation and achievement. Similarly, Klem and Connell (2004) found behavioural engagement a strong predictor of student achievement when compared to either cognitive or affective engagement. Despite these findings they state that it is possible that: “[...] students can show up and do the work without being emotionally or cognitively engaged” (pg. 270). Therefore, including attendance as a marker of engagement is misleading and results in the erroneous conclusions that attendance is highly correlated with engagement. The past emphasis on physical presence and observable behaviour as an indicator of engagement diminishes the importance of the internal components.

Cognitive engagement refers to the willingness and effort to learn new skills. Connell and Wellborn (1991) express the importance of psychological investments for individual students’ personal learning. These investments include their desire to achieve and do more than the necessary minimum. The measurement of cognitive engagement is not as simple as

the behavioural component, as it is an internal function of the individual. There are two routes which are traditionally used for this: either inferring cognitive engagement from actual behaviour or self-reports. Fredericks, et al. (2004) describe the difficulties related to trying to discern cognitive engagement from a group of students completing an assignment. They question if it is even possible to judge cognitive engagement (the difference between those actively trying to improve their learning and those simply working because they were told to do so) in a group of students completing a task. Consequently, they advise a self-report method. Self-reports are also recommended for collecting data on affectionate or emotional engagement. Affective engagement is the least studied area in the engagement literature, as most scales focus on behavioural and/or cognitive engagement. Affective engagement refers to both positive and negative reactions to teachers, friends and the school, and the willingness to work (Fredericks, et al, 2005). This component is more controversial than the previous two, as it is unclear if the emotions experienced by the student are directed at the learning content, teachers or peers. Therefore, it is impossible to know what is actually influencing the students' responses to the self-report questions.

Previously research focused on the observable behavioural component of school engagement and links with academic success but there is now a growing body of research that provides strong evidence to support the relationship between the internal components of school engagement and school performance. Lee and Smith (1999) studied over 28,000 students in Chicago for academic learning in maths and reading and different types of engagement, subsequently finding that no single type of engagement led to learning gains in this population. Rather, this research found that both observable types of engagement and less overt types must work in combination to produce any gains in learning. Thus, there is a need to advance school engagement research and study the holistic vision of engagement. To do so means to rely on student's participation in answering subjective questionnaires rather than observation alone

3.2.3 Engagement and Disengagement

School Engagement is repeatedly found to act as a protective factor for all students regardless of socioeconomic status (Klem and Connell, 2004). Klem and Connell (2004) simply point out that students with higher engagement are more likely to be successful in school than students with lower engagement. Students with low engagement are at risk of a number of further negative behaviours that are likely to result in school failure (Klem and Connell,

2004). Furthermore, students with multiple risk factors¹⁷ for school failure are more likely to achieve success in school if they present with higher engagement levels (Finn and Rock, 1997). The mediating variable of engagement has a strong predictive power among those populations with several demographic risk factors. Thus, engagement has been repeatedly targeted in ‘drop out’ research and developed into a distinctive literature in its own right. Appleton, et al. (2008, pg. 372) goes so far as to state that: “[...] engagement is considered the primary theoretical model for understanding dropout and is necessary to promote school completion”. To understand school failure, it necessary to recognise that engagement is not a solitary decision made by an individual, rather it is an on-going process that occurs throughout a student’s academic career.

The notion of a process of engagement/disengagement initially began with Finn (1989) who established a seminal model in an effort to explain academic success and failure, where he points to an on-going process rather than one singular decision made by the student.

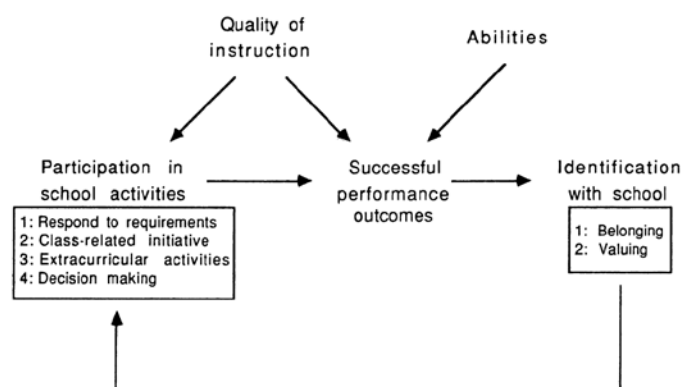


Figure 8: *Participation-Identification Model* (Finn, 1989, pg. 130).

The above model not only involves the student’s external behaviour (participation in class and extracurricular behaviour), internal abilities and emotions (identification), but it also incorporates the external influence of the quality of instruction; all of these work together to produce a particular level of school engagement.¹⁸ This model further dismisses the notion that the level of natural ability in a student is a strong indicator of engagement, but specifically demonstrates that both high and low ability students have the potential to be engaged or disengaged dependent on other factors. The level of ‘success’ (success is not

¹⁷ Risk Factors are generally defined as individual or environmental characteristics “that increase the likelihood that a negative outcome will occur” (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009).

¹⁸ This original model does not use the current terminology separating behavioural engagement which is aligned with Finn’s participation and cognitive and affective engagement which is aligned with the identification element of Finn’s model.

defined) a student experiences results in an increased feeling of identification. Finn (1989) states that students with a high level of identification have a sense of belonging and internalise the overarching goals of the school.

Finn not only recognises the importance of both participation and school identification but also instruction quality. The participation, success, identification cycle can be either positively reinforcing, improving one's overall engagement, or negative, turning into a vicious cycle.

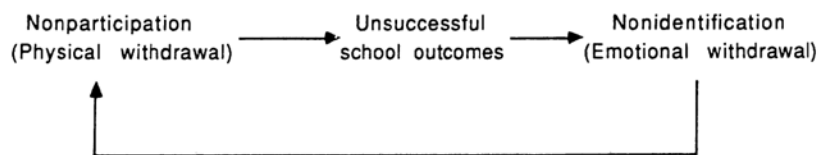


Figure 9: *Participation-Identification Model: Withdrawal Cycle* (Finn, 1989, pg. 134)

From an interventionist's view, these models make it apparent that there are several different factors influencing engagement and it is possible to target the most accessible to alter the outcome. Finn stresses the importance of participation to positively influence the cycle. Participation is described in a wide-reaching manner, including: classroom participation, social groups and extracurricular activities. These participatory events have the ability to strengthen identification with the school and reaffirm the positive cycle. Finn (1989) particularly stresses that activities outside the classroom are an important aspect in improving a student's sense of belonging, especially for those whose academic skills are weak.

Interestingly, Finn (1989) also describes a fourth type of school participation, which is beneficial for all students but especially for those at risk. Finn's fourth type of participation involves school governance and the student's ability to participate in goal setting, decision making and taking an active part in the school's disciplinary methods in an effort to develop a fairer system (pg.129). This notion of participation, in school life itself and in the disciplinary system in particular, is comparable to many of the central tenets found within RA; schools are modelled on a more inclusive and fair culture, where students are encouraged to take responsibility and are held more accountable for their actions. Interestingly, the Welsh Assembly Government takes a similar stance on the importance of ownership and advises teachers to (Llywodraeth Cymru, 2012):

Include the children in developing the rules as this will give them ownership and they will be more likely to accept their terms and conditions and therefore comply
(pg. 7)

Similarly, the Welsh Assembly Government published a *Best Practice Booklet* to inform schools on how to include and increase student participation in decision-making, mostly through effective school councils (John, 2009). This publication stresses the importance of student decision making at all levels of the school, including classroom and school wide decisions. The results of increased decision making from student's ranges from increased attendance as the students are more engaged with school, improved self-esteem and self-regulation (pg. 6). Such results support the importance of student decision-making on overall engagement.

3.2.4 School Engagement Interventions: The Importance of Relationships and Culture

There is a significant amount of literature produced which reports on the influence of contextual school factors on resultant school engagement scores (Raftery, et. al., 2013). Furthermore, there is a move to progress from the focus on attendance as a proxy for school engagement, as Christenson, et al. (2008) states: “[...] effective interventions must account for more than attendance and academic skills, rather, indicators of students’ commitment to learning, perceptions of academic and social competence and sense of belonging must also be considered” (pg.1099). Therefore, a shift to interventions focusing on school policies and practices which are directly related to improving staff-student relationships and school culture in an effort to boost engagement levels, is necessary.

Within the school setting, Rumberger and Rotermund (2013) state there are four central elements of a school: composition, structure, resources and practices. Of these four aspects, composition (demographics), structure (size and location) and resources are difficult, and in some instances, impossible to change. In comparison, school practices are relatively simple to alter. School practices are also one of the most effective ways to improve engagement, whereas the research on the school composition, structure and resources is mixed at best. Remarkably, Rumberger and Palardy (2005) found: “[...] school policies and practices accounted for almost 25% of the remaining variability in school dropout rates” which exceeds any other factor (pg. 25).

School practices that focus on improving relationships is identified as being particularly influential on engagement. The relationships formed in a specific domain (school) are the relationships that have the most influence on the levels of engagement in that area. Thus, the relationships that staff develop with students in school have a very significant influence on the level of engagement experienced *by* the student (Connell and Wellborn, 1990). Adolescents spend one-quarter of their waking hours in school. (Pianta and Hambre, 2009); therefore, the impact of those relationships formed during this considerable amount of time is not surprising. The interactions within this setting greatly impact on subsequent development and learning. It is essential that the interactions between teachers and students are supportive to ensure the best possible outcomes for each individual.

A great deal of research on different types of school practices indicates a recurrence regarding the importance of supportive staff-student relationships. The quality of staff-student relationships is one aspect of the school experience that has gained much attention; teacher warmth and support results in improved engagement from the students (Fredericks, et al., 2004; Furlong and Christenson, 2008; Bergin and Bergin, 2009). Positive interpersonal relationships between staff and students are repeatedly shown to act as a protective factor throughout a student's school career (Furrer and Skinner, 2003; Centre for Disease Control and Prevention, 2009). Supportive relationships not only encourage school engagement (Hughes and Kwok, 2007), but also inspire students to persevere during challenging tasks (Ryan and Patrick, 2001). Importantly, these positive relationships also set clear and consistent standards for behaviour and help to internalise school values (Reeve, et. al., 1999). The positive and supportive relationships and subsequent standards set for classroom behaviour is estimated to account for as much as 31% reduction in disruptive behaviour (Jones and Jones, 2015).

Providing consistent and clear expectations for all students is imperative for school engagement. Klem and Connell (2004) state that: “[...] young people need to know what adults expect regarding conduct, that consistent and predictable consequences result from not meeting those expectations and that expectations are fair” (pg. 262). Further studies find that unfair treatment among students within a school has the potential to lead to disengagement (Ross, 2009). Rumberger (1995) states that fairness and school completion are related, and students are more likely to complete secondary school if they perceive the discipline policies and practices as fair. This may be a result of inconsistency of treatment diminishing the

concept of teachers as a source of trust, as well as decreased motivation and sense of belonging (Voelkl, 2013).

The positive staff-student relationships needed to achieve maximum levels of engagement are dependent on the prevailing school culture, where: “[a] clearly stated philosophy, [is] translated into practice” (Department of Education and Early Childhood Development, 2009, pg. 7). School culture is an elusive term that is difficult to define, but one of the most significant organisational attributes in a school. It is broadly defined by Peterson and Deal (1998) as:

Culture is the underground stream of norms, values, beliefs, traditions, and rituals that has built up over time as people work together, solve problems, and confront challenges. This set of informal expectations and values shapes how people think, feel, and act in schools. This highly enduring web of influence binds the school together and makes it special (pg. 28).

The significance placed on possessing a positive school culture is not unfounded as it has the ability to create a strong sense of behavioural expectations for the entire school (Hoy, et. al., 2006). Schools with a consistent, positive and supportive school culture experience less disruptive behaviour and increased motivation and school engagement (Fyans, and Maehr, 1990). School culture is reinforced by the power and expectations from senior management and school leaders which is directed towards the teaching staff, themselves in turn responsible for encouraging desired behaviour in the classroom (Stolp, 1994). School leaders should not simply reinforce behavioural compliance on the behalf of the staff, but also *support* the staff to uphold the cultural expectations, as well as modelling it themselves (Deal and Peterson, 1990; Fullan, 1992).

Restorative Approaches are well placed to create a positive school culture, based on the social discipline window (McCold and Watchtel, 2002; see pg. 15). RA school culture offers both high support and emphasises the need to work with students to increase participation with the students (Cameron and Thorsborne, 1999). RA scholars point toward a whole-school approach to enable a cultural change in the organisation. A positive cultural change should include practical changes to classroom-based practices that support improved staff-student relationships (Hendry, et. al., 2011).

3.2.5 Conclusion

School engagement is a malleable psychological construct, made up of several different components. Previously, these were studied separately, but more recent measurement tools have amalgamated the components into one cohesive scale. In the context of the present research, this includes behaviour, cognitive and affective engagement. The inclusion of these three elements forms a more holistic version of school engagement.

School engagement is a significant predictor of school success and is influenced by organisational policies and practices. School practices, which ensure consistent treatment between students, are likely to improve engagement levels. Additionally, more specific interventions focusing on classroom practices that improve staff-student relationships and school culture overall are likely to encourage engagement in school further. RA offers such an intervention: its main concern is building positive relationship. Furthermore, RA exults in participatory practices that are paramount to improving levels of school engagement.

Section 3: Self-Esteem

3.3 Introduction

Self-esteem is a term used in popular culture and academic literature alike. In both realms, there is a general concern with increasing self-esteem in the belief that high self-esteem leads to a number of positive outcomes, such as improved school performance and pro-social behaviours, as well as positive health effects including less vulnerability to depression and anxiety (Harter, 1993; Fleming and Courtney, 1984), and improved interpersonal relationships (Keefe and Berndt, 1996). The importance of self-esteem in adolescence is undeniable, with the World Health Organisation (2000) stating that self-esteem protects young people from both mental health issues and provides the resilience needed to recover from stressful life circumstances. In general, this psychological construct is recognised as an essential ingredient for a healthy life trajectory. Despite its wide acceptance as an important psychological element, the ability to influence self-esteem remains controversial.

This section reflects on the issues surrounding definition and explains why self-esteem is largely regarded as a stable construct, making interventions difficult. Despite these difficulties, this section also considers research that focuses on the most likely sources for improving self-esteem in the educational context.

3.3.1 A Trait-like Construct

The general definition of self-esteem includes the evaluation of personal self-worth, self-acceptance and worthiness (Lyubomirsky, et al., 2006). This involves evaluating how positively or negatively a person views their self-worth overall. Interestingly, the evaluation of self-worth is relatively stable and presents as a trait-like construct which is difficult to alter. In general, self-esteem remains relatively stable across the lifespan and rapid fluctuations are rare (Trzesniewski, et al., 2003), questioning the ability of school programmes to make a lasting impact on such a construct.

Although self-esteem is generally considered a stable trait-like construct, similar to personality characteristics, it does increase and decline throughout different developmental transitions. Generally, it is found that self-esteem is higher during childhood, dips in early adolescents, improves again whilst moving into adulthood, and then dips again during older age. This pattern is well established (Kokenes, 1974; Matsuzaki, et al., 2007) and the decrease in self-esteem in early adolescence followed by the improvement as time progresses towards adulthood is consistent across genders. However, gender differences are repeatedly found in studies of adolescent self-esteem, with males report significantly higher levels than females of the same age group (Blyth, et al., 1983). Research finds that males have a higher *level* of self-esteem compared to females at *every age* and the difference between genders increases over time (Block and Robins, 1993).

Although significant gender differences are noted, the general pattern is found to remain constant, even when social economic status and ethnicity are considered (Robins, et al., 2002). The overall waxing and waning of self-esteem through life are considered 'rank ordered' as they occur in the rest of the population; therefore, the original rank of self-esteem (as high/low/moderate) will remain the same compared to the rest of the age group (Robins and Trzesniewski, 2005).

3.3.2 The Stability of Self-Esteem

The consistency of self-esteem levels reported in academic research can appear counterintuitive, particularly when considering the colloquial assumption of the inherent fragility of the construct. Pelham and Swan (1989) propose a model to explain the overall stability of the construct whilst also acknowledging fluctuations experienced over a lifetime. This model suggests that different variables contribute to one's evaluation of self-esteem at different points in a lifespan. In this model two different components interact to inform self-

esteem: affective and cognitive variables. Affective variables are established in the early household environment, where babies and small children learn how they are perceived from their immediate surroundings. This causes a predisposition for either positive or negative affectivity. This is supported in a host of studies that find the role of early familial experience as the foundation for future self-esteem dating back to the 1960s (e.g. Coppersmith, 1967).

Domain specific competencies also play a role in evaluations of overall self-esteem. Rather than a global judgement these are evaluations made in certain domains, and are based on two cognitive framing strategies. These include ‘personal attachment’ and the ‘significance’ of that domain which shapes the value placed (on the specific domain), ultimately accounting for how these are likely to change throughout a lifetime. Personal attachment refers to the personally chosen domain, which is subsequently followed by a certain level of significance. The attachment of significance is largely a result of the ‘attribute certainty strategy’, which predicts that experience and certainty in a domain will influence the significance placed upon it (Pelman and Swan, 1989). As an example, it is likely that academic, appearance, and sports domains, which are found to be important during adolescence, may not be as valued in later life, thus contributing less to overall self-esteem evaluations.

Based on Pelman and Swan (1989) model, both affective and cognitive/domain specific variables account for a certain amount of variance in global self-esteem.

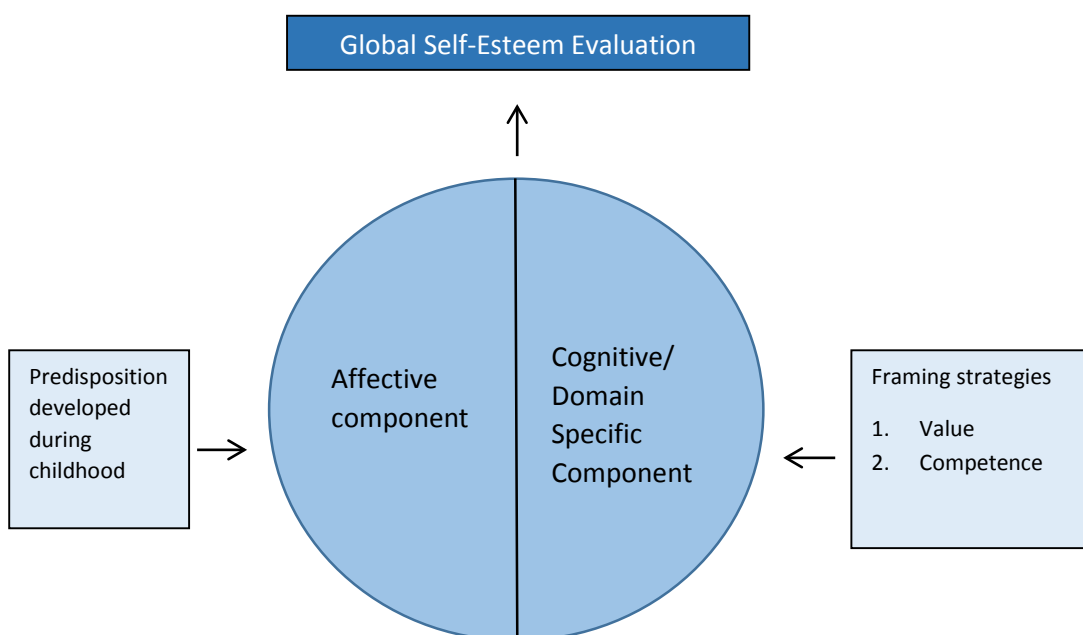


Figure 10: Representation of Pelman and Swan’s (1989) Model

This model allows for variation of values and significance placed on certain domains over time, which helps to explain the stability of self-esteem but also the dips experienced through the life course. The importance of these framing strategies to the stability of self-esteem is well documented but these may also lead to diminished school engagement in some instances.

The self-preservation aspect of these framing strategies is essential in avoiding the negative consequences of unstable self-esteem, but it can also result in damaging outcomes in school. Robinson, et al. (1990) found that students with poor performance characterised themselves as either 'indifferent' or more strongly as 'opposed to' core school values. Osborne (1995) proposes that threatened self-esteem in academic specific domains may lead these students to decrease their identification in school in an attempt to preserve their self-esteem. This may be particularly important where another group may stereotype one group. Osborne (1995) found a vicious cycle in minority groups (African Americans) who were negatively stereotyped in educational domains. Poor performance by students in these groups reinforced negative stereotypes, resulting in disidentification, with further repercussions in their academic performance. Overall the devaluing of school is part of a framing strategy employed to maintain stable levels of self-esteem. Unfortunately, the consequences of this 'disidentification' produced as a result of the framing strategy is a reduction in school engagement and diminished association with pro-school values. Overall, studies find that students with poor academic attainment: "[...] attribute less importance to school-related areas" and have "less favourable attitudes towards school" (Alves-Martin, et al., 2002, pg. 51), while maintaining a healthy level of self-esteem.

3.3.3 The Role of Supportive Staff-Student Relationships

Teachers play a pivotal role in the experiences of students in school and research now finds that the relationship developed between teachers and their pupils have a much greater impact on self-esteem than previously assumed (Rosenthal, 2002; Hamre and Pianta, 2001).

Positive teacher-student relationships are characterised by warmth and support and act as a secure base from which students can develop a wide-range of competencies, and, importantly, maintain a healthy level of self-esteem (Hamre and Pianta, 2001). The importance of a positive relationship between teachers and students and subsequent self-esteem levels not only impact current life-events but also influences future educational and employment outcomes (Orth, et al., 2012). The relationships of early adolescence are formed

during an important developmental stage, where young people internalise representations of others and model these interactions and subsequent outcomes. Ryan, et al. (1994) theorise that representations characterised by support and connectedness promote a general sense of self-esteem. Additionally, the adults within particular domains are most influential within that specific area, so fostering good student-teacher relationships is imperative to maintaining a healthy self-esteem, particularly within the academic domain.

Perceived teacher support has been shown to predict self-esteem and have an inverse relationship with depressive symptoms. Reddy, et al. (2003) studied the teacher-student relationship in 2,585 students and found strong evidence for the ‘support to self-esteem’ pathway, where high support results in healthy levels of self-esteem and less depressive symptoms in students. Of concern is that perceived support is generally higher in students grouped in upper ability classes, as compared to those students in lower ability classes (Ismail and Majeed, 2011). However, the importance of teacher support to low ability students and students who do not have a supportive relationship in the home are fairly significant. Juvonen and Wentzel (1996) found that students that have low perceived support at home and low perceived support from teachers had a general low self-esteem score. Those students who had low perceived support at home but higher levels of perceived support from teachers reported significantly higher levels of self-esteem. Thus, it is possible to conclude the positive influence of teacher support on self-esteem for students who lack a supportive home life.

A supportive staff-student relationship is needed in school to help maintain a healthy level of self-esteem and this is especially important to those students with low levels of support at home. This presents conflicting evidence in regards to the framing strategies used to maintain stable self-esteem levels. Therefore, it is important to consider if self-esteem is an appropriate construct to target in a school intervention.

3.3.4 Should School Interventions Target Self-Esteem?

There is a growing concern for the maintenance of high self-esteem in children at school and many studies report a significant positive correlational relationship between self-esteem and school performance (Bowles, 1999): “The heightened importance that self-esteem has taken among school personnel and parents has spawned a generation concerned with making sure their children develop a positive self-esteem” (Booth and Gerard, 2011, pg. 629).

Additionally, many educational scholars state that schools should target self-esteem:

It is no exaggeration to say that building self-esteem is the best preparation for success at school (White, 2012, pg.6).

There must be few primary schools in the UK today that do not consider the enhancement of self-esteem a fundamental aim (Miller and Moran, 2005, pg. 13).

Research repeatedly finds a correlation between school performance and self-esteem, leading to the potentially erroneous conclusion that high self-esteem leads to better school performance. The correlations reported in different studies vary greatly from an average range of .12 (very small) to .96 (nearly perfect) (Davies and Brember, 1999; Bowles, 1999). However, often this research does not control for variables such as ethnicity or SES. When such variables are controlled in some research reports, the link between self-esteem and academic performance tends to largely dissipate (Kugle, et al., 1983).

The contradictory nature of the studies on self-esteem leads some authors to conclude that no relationship exists between global self-esteem and school performance. Rosenberg and colleagues repeatedly find the relationship between global self-esteem and academic performance to be the opposite of what is usually expected. Rosenberg, et al. (1989) used data from 1,900 boys in the 10th and 12th grades (US) and found a positive correlation between school grades and self-esteem: a finding that has been replicated in many evaluative studies. However, on closer analysis, this correlational relationship is found to be stronger from grades to self-esteem rather than the reverse. Therefore, questioning the influence of self-esteem interventions and the strongly held belief that high self-esteem improves school performance.

In a subsequent study, Rosenberg, et al. (1995) replicated his previous results and again found that global self-esteem had little impact on grades in school, but that grades had a significant impact on global self-esteem. Although Rosenberg, et al. (1995) research did not find that global self-esteem influenced school performance, it did find that specific domain self-concepts (e.g. academic self-esteem) had a direct effect on school grades, prompting the researchers to state that:

“[global] Self-esteem does not affect school performance... This last finding is particularly ironic, as educators and policy makers almost invariably focus on precisely the wrong-type of self-esteem –global self-esteem-when they introduce interventions to improve students’ performance in school” (Rosenberg, et al, 1995, pg. 153).

Additional research supports this conclusion and finds that there is a moderate correlation between global self-esteem and school performance, but insufficient evidence to support the notion that high self-esteem results in better school attainment. In fact: “[...] efforts to boost the self-esteem of pupils have not been shown to improve academic performance and may sometimes be counterproductive” (Baumeister, et al. 2003, pg. 1).

Despite these strongly expressed conclusions, there are a number of intervention evaluations that support improved self-esteem in students. Self-esteem improvement programmes generally focus on classroom climates, where the students feel valued and respected. This is in agreement with the previous section, which found strong support for the importance of positive and supportive staff-student relationships on self-esteem. Miller and Moran’s (2007) evaluation of self-esteem interventions found that circle-time (the development of a climate conducive to improving respect and value of each participant and relationships), as well as self-efficacy improving practices (developing competence in a particular domain), both increase self-esteem, whereas the control group did not report any improvements. Condition 1 (development of a positive school climate) improved the more global evaluation of self-worth in students, whereas Condition 2 (improved competency) improved domain specific self-esteem levels. Based on Pelman and Swann’s model, this should influence global self-esteem if a high level of significance is attached to that domain.

The conclusions drawn from Miller and Moran’s research suggest that the focus on either improvement of the school climate or individual competence both produced positive results. Oddly, this research partially supports Rosenberg and colleague’s conclusions and Pelman and Swann’s (1989) model; competency in specific areas does improve domain specific self-esteem (e.g. academic self-esteem). These conclusions correspond well to previously discussed framing strategies which state that the value placed on specific domains is partially attributed to experience or certainty of that domain. Those domains with the most competency will likely have more value placed on them by the individual. Therefore, developing competencies in students in specific activities as seen in Miller and Moran’s study will increase the value placed on them, improving that domain specific self-esteem, and subsequently have the potential to influence global self-esteem.

Although research supports the considerable impact of early family influences on self-esteem and the relative stability of the construct overall, some research supports the positive influence of interventionist work (Scott, et al., 1996). The fact that schools have a much

larger role to play in enhancing self-esteem, particularly in regards to developing supportive teacher-student relationships and improving school climate (as seen in Miller and Moran, 2007) questions the firm assertions made by Rosenberg, et al. (1995) and Baumeister, et al. (2003).

The uncertainty regarding the influence of self-esteem intervention, provides RA an opportunity to explore this ambiguous area. RA includes both the use of circle time and peer mentoring schemes, which could theoretically improve self-esteem (as demonstrated by Miller and Moran, 2005; 2007). Research demonstrates the importance of supportive teacher-student relationships to self-esteem and RA is fundamentally invested in establishing and improving relationships within a school (Hopkins, 2003). This includes establishing students as active participants; therefore, it is possible for RA to theoretically improve self-esteem as has been reported in some studies.

3.3.5 Conclusion

The popularity of self-esteem in research is undeniable; the concern for this psychological construct is especially influential in schools (Baumeister, et al., 2003). Despite its widespread recognition, there are evaluation issues that have influenced the understanding of the relationship between this psychological construct and school performance. Several of the leading scholars in this field emphatically state that global self-esteem does not affect school performance and if educators wish to improve performance, a focus on *domain specific self-esteem* is most influential. The evaluation of domain specific self-esteem is constructed from the value placed on them by the individual, which can be largely influenced by ability and experience (Baumeister, et al., 2003). However, students without such ability largely devalue domain specific self-concept, thus maintaining their global self-esteem but ultimately decreasing their school engagement.

Several well-regarded researchers in this field (Rosenberg and colleagues and Baumeister, et al., 2003) state that programmes, simply for the sake of improving self-esteem or improving school performance, are ill-advised as they are ineffective and in some research counter-productive (Sedikides and Gregg, 2007). Furthermore, there are a number of limitations to self-esteem intervention work, where most are exploratory in nature, lack follow up evaluations and adequate control samples (King, et al., 2002). However, there are some indications that self-esteem can be improved with intervention work focusing on school culture, relationships and domain competencies. A few tentative findings suggest intervention

is effective, especially where self-esteem is not the sole target but a beneficial side effect, such as when improving teacher-student relationships. Research from a number of sources finds that supportive teacher-student relationships can improve self-esteem, which provides some preliminary support that RA programmes have the capacity to improve self-esteem and possibly school engagement through relationship building practices.

Section 4: Conclusions

3.4 The Pathways to Happiness in School

RA literature repeatedly asserts that such practices improve happiness, school engagement and self-esteem. However, it does not specifically address the relationship among these variables or explain how these practices influence happiness, school engagement, or self-esteem. Interestingly, the psychological literature reports that happiness is a product of self-esteem and engagement, rather than the reverse. In both the school engagement and self-esteem literature, the importance of activating the student voice and improving staff-student relationships frequently occurs. In both areas intervention work consists of implementing strategies that support students actively participating in decision making in school and encouraging positive and supportive relationships to develop between staff and students. Despite the fact that both self-esteem and school engagement jointly influence happiness and are a result of contextual factors, particularly student voice and staff-student relationship, there is very little support for a relationship between self-esteem and school engagement. Considering the framing strategies discussed in regards to self-esteem and the relative stability of the construct, the lack of a relationship between the two is not unexpected.

There is little research explicitly examining the direct relationship between global self-esteem and school engagement. The limited number of studies that attempt to understand the relationship between these two psychological constructs rarely report any inferential statistics were undertaken to establish a more certain relationship or a more thorough consideration for potential moderating factors. Stracuzzi and Mills (2010) utilised descriptive statistics and found that: “[...] almost three-quarters (69 percent) of students with a high sense of belonging [school engagement] score above average on self-esteem compared with less than one-third (31 percent) who score below average” (pg. 4)¹⁹. Although they found these two variables related, it is more likely there is a moderating factor present; rather than a causal

¹⁹ This study utilises Rosenberg’s (1965) Self-Esteem Scale.

relationship between self-esteem and school engagement, Stracuzzi and Mills acknowledge that it is likely that the quality of the teacher-student relationship is a key contributing factor.

Other studies allude to the possible relationship between the two, but either do not utilise a psychometric test or else establish simple correlations, therefore limiting the potential to explore any causal relationships. For example, Grolnick and Ryan (1989) found students of supportive teachers exhibited more motivated behaviour in the classroom (one aspect of school engagement) and that these motivated students reported higher levels of self-esteem. This is common in the literature as self-esteem is often studied alongside a specific intervention, such as a school drug prevention programme, where students reported a steady rise in self-esteem and school engagement scores simultaneously (Eggert et al., 1994). Using such evidence to provide support for the relationship between global self-esteem and school engagement is potentially misleading, as it may be likely that the intervention influences both self-esteem and school engagement independently.

Interestingly, although there is limited support for a strong relationship between self-esteem and school engagement, the importance of staff-student relationships emerges from both. King, et al. (2002) found that relationship building by means of a school mentoring program, not only improved self-esteem but also school connectedness (i.e. school engagement). Similarly, Stracuzzi and Mills (2010) report that positive staff-student relationships improve engagement, self-esteem and result in fewer depressed feelings (which is linked with happiness). Therefore, the importance of supportive teacher-student relationships cannot be overlooked as a key factor to promoting healthy self-esteem, school engagement and subsequent happiness in students. Related to supportive staff-student relationships is the role of an active student voice. Student voice can be generally understood as a complex web of policy and initiatives that enables students to be understood as having a legitimate perspective and an active role in their education (Cook-Sather, 2006). At the heart of the student voice movement is again the importance of teacher-student relationships (Fielding, 2007), demonstrating the shift from the traditional ‘authoritarian’ method of teaching to the perspective that teaching and learning are joint endeavours. Interestingly, research indicates that incorporating avenues for the student voice to develop in schools positively impacts on self-esteem (Harter, 1996) and school engagement (Ruddock, 2007).

The importance of an active student voice in regards to school engagement is particularly evident. Smythe (2006) argues that school *disengagement* and dropping out is a result of ill-

advised school reforms which stress a rigorous national curriculum, testing, and a focus on at risk students. Smythe (2006) suggests school reform should instead enhance opportunities for students to participate in decision making, in a bi-directional model of education, rather than a “uni-directional” model (pg. 289) and that this should occur at both the classroom and school level. Thus, giving occasions for students to engage with decisions about their own learning and well as the institution. The bi-directional model of teaching and learning is supported by an active student voice, as Hogkins (1998, pg. 11) explains: “[students] themselves have a huge contribution to make, not as passive objects but as active players in the education system”. By allowing pupils the opportunity to express themselves and influence decisions about their learning improves engagement by providing practical opportunities for participation, as well as increasing the sense of both ownership and attachment to the organisation (Mitra 2009). By altering the view of students as passive recipients of knowledge to active participants, it also replaces the hierarchical relationship with a collaborative partnership between the staff and students (Ruddock, 2007).

The underlying purpose of engaging the student voice in schools is to allow students to express their opinion as there are several different levels of student decision-making. Hart (1992), a renowned champion of children’s participation in education decision making, theorised eight separate levels of participation practices, from token participation practices to fully integrated approaches, referred to as the “Ladder of Participation” (see *Figure 11* below):

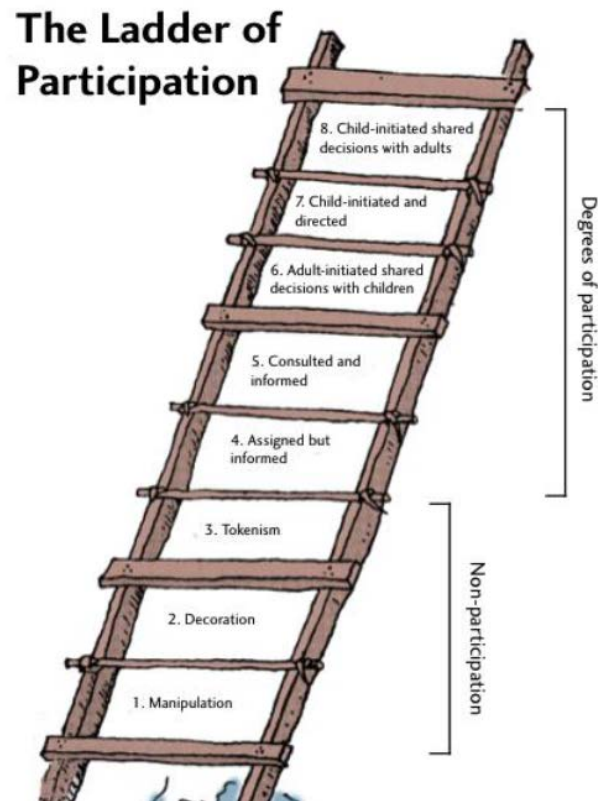


Figure 11: *Ladder of Participation* (Hart, 1992, pg. 8).

Growing evidence indicates that fostering student voice opportunities by moving ‘up’ the ladder of participation improves staff-student relationships (Bahou, 2011); these positively impact on both self-esteem and school engagement. Although the causal relationship between school engagement and self-esteem remains unclear, it is likely that implementing practices (such as RA) that increase student voice and improve relationships will ultimately result in positive outcomes for both self-esteem and school engagement.

Although the causal relationship between self-esteem and school engagement is found to be inconclusive, the evidence does support a robust relationship between self-esteem and happiness. Self-esteem and happiness are strongly correlated with most researchers proposing happiness is the *outcome* of self-esteem. For example, Rosenberg, et al. (1995) finds that self-esteem has a direct effect on psychological wellbeing (including happiness and life satisfaction). Baumeister, et al. (2003) also supports this causal pathway and states that not only is self-esteem strongly related to happiness, that it is most likely that self-esteem directly influences happiness. The literature repeatedly finds a clear relationship between happiness and self-esteem; however, there is less research on the relationship between school engagement and happiness. In general, the connection between the two concepts of school engagement and happiness is unclear and more theoretical in nature. Scholars in the well-

being literature consider three different pathways to achieving happiness: meaning, pleasure, and engagement, where both meaning and engagement orientations predict happiness more consistently than the pleasure pathway (Vella-Brodrick, et. al., 2009).

The engagement orientation of [achieving] happiness is supported most notably by both Csikszentmihalyi (1991) and Seligman (2002), asserting that happiness is partly realised through the pathway of engagement. This is often explained as the concept of ‘flow’. Flow theory is generally understood as an internal state when a participant is fully engaged in an activity, usually accompanied by a loss of time and extreme focus. The intense engagement state of *flow*, which is one method often cited as an orientation to happiness, predicts life satisfaction; from this point of view *flow* influences happiness. Similarly, Rogatko (2009) found that participants after one hour of a high *flow* activity reported higher positive affect compared to those participating in low *flow* activities, thus, supporting the hypothesis that high levels of engagement can positively impact on happiness. The idea of *flow* was born from positive psychology to understand the pathway to happiness. It has since progressed to education research where it is now used in school evaluations. Willms, et al. (2009) found that the students who are confident in their skills, and experience the optimal levels of academic challenge, achieve the state of *flow*. The students reaching the *flow* state report feeling interested and perceive the activity as worthwhile, resulting in better academic achievements (Willms, et. al., 2009; Joo and Kim, 2015). The theoretical conceptions of achieving happiness, as well as empirical studies both support the notion that happiness is the outcome of engagement.

Research supports the notion that school engagement is highly influenced by contextual factors, especially the presence of an active student voice and the role of positive staff-student relationships. There are also some indications that self-esteem is influenced by similar factors, but this evidence is ambiguous. Despite the fact that both constructs may be induced by similar contextual factors, there is little support for a causal pathway between school engagement and self-esteem themselves. It is also likely that both could influence the levels of happiness independently. The independent pathways between school engagement and self-esteem and their influence on happiness have been discussed in separate literatures. As both are considered predictors of happiness; however, all three are common targets of school intervention work. For this reason, a more cohesive understanding is needed to

consider how the stability of self-esteem and the relatively malleable levels of engagement both influence levels of happiness.

3.4.1 Conclusion

The terms happiness, school engagement and self-esteem are ubiquitous in both popular culture and in academic literature. Despite the pervasive use of these terms, controversies with definitions and many contentious issues still remain. Although these are widely researched areas, there continues to be a gap in the knowledge of how these constructs function in the school environment. Furthermore, research repeatedly finds that contextual school factors strongly influence all three. The importance of school factors is likely to be a result of the fact that students spend more time in this environment than any other setting during this period of their lives (Roeser, et al., 2000).

From this review, it is apparent that these constructs are complex and intervention work is far from delivering definite results. However, the most promising area of change is that of school engagement, as it is known to be most responsive to external influences. This more malleable entity is in contrast to the trait-like stability of self-esteem that is due to the number of framing strategies available. Despite the differences in composition, both school engagement and self-esteem are reported to be predictors of happiness. It is uncertain if a school intervention can influence these three constructs, however, a programme with a focus on student voice and relationships, such as RA, is a promising prospect.

Chapter 4: Methodology: The Adoption of a Mixed Methods Approach

4.1 Introduction

The present study is best described as an evaluative research project as it focuses on the practical implementation of a YOT intervention programme, considers the major influential organisational factors, and the subsequent measured outcomes. This evaluation is quasi-experimental in nature due to the complexities of the education system, ethical considerations, RA implementation approach, and the research questions themselves. Therefore, the study includes three separate research designs, tailored to the individual schools and their respective requests.

The overall project is an evaluation of the process and outcomes of implementing an RA programme in three separate schools: School 1 (Local Authority 1), School 2 (Local Authority 1) and School 3 (Local Authority 2). Initially, only the first two schools were to be evaluated as they were both expected to employ RA in a similar manner and with the same RA Officer, funded by the local YOT. The original research was to be a standard repeated measures quasi-experimental design, where questionnaires would be completed both before and after the intervention. Subsequently, a second YOT RA Officer, in a different local authority (LA2), became interested in evaluating their unique approach to RA implementation. At this point, it was decided that it would be advantageous to evaluate different implementation approaches, offering a more comprehensive response to the research questions.

Initial discussions with the stakeholders at the schools and the YOT officers, revealed that the original quantitative before and after design was not appropriate for all three schools, as the implementation approaches were not as systematic as originally thought. After the first stage of the research, it became apparent that there was a general lack of specific interventions in School 2 and School 3, therefore a before and after design would not be suitable for these settings. It was decided that a mixed methods approach would be most relevant to address the different implementation styles, as it would consider the outcomes and also examine the contextual factors. The strong emphasis on numerical data was replaced by a balance of both quantitative and qualitative data offered by mixed methods approach.

4.2 Description of the Schools and Restorative Provisions

This research evaluates two separate local authorities in Wales, currently utilising trained YOT staff to work within schools as RA Officers²⁰. The inherent composition within each school is an important factor to the implementation of RA in these organisations, especially the language dimension. The restorative provisions include the overall steps taken within each school to achieve the implementation approach of choice. This section gives an overall description of each school, as well as the restorative provisions.

Local Authority 1

School 1 is an English medium secondary school located in a town-setting but also serves a large rural area surrounding the town. This school mainly teaches through the medium of English as there is a local Welsh medium school available. School 1 has 1,299 pupils on the register, where 14% of these speak Welsh at home. 11.7% of the students receive free school meals, which is below the 18.8% national but consistent with the local authority average of 11.5% (Welsh Government, 2015; Welsh Government, My Local School, 2016).

School 2 is a category 2B school which is defined as at least 80% of subjects are taught through the medium of Welsh (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007). School 2 operates a language ‘streaming’ system where students are divided by language preference. There are nearly 900 students enrolled in this school and half of these students speak Welsh as a first language, although many more choose to learn through the Welsh stream at school. In fact, approximately 65% of the students elect to go through the Welsh stream and 35% in the English. 19% of students are entitled to free school meals (Welsh Government, My Local School, 2016).

The LA1 YOT held similar ambitions for both schools initially-to achieve a whole school status using similar implementation procedures. The foundations for this ambition were laid through staff training and awareness campaigns in both schools. This included having one fully trained RA Officer available twice weekly, as well as training six members of staff to the ‘Champion’ status. The RA Champions had the same facilitation training as the RA Officer and were anticipated to operate similarly. The RA Officers and RA Champions were expected to review and process student referrals and help to foster restorative practices throughout the school. The RA Officer also had available time during the week for any

²⁰ RA Officers are trained YOT staff members. These members of staff are trained to RA facilitation level and are employed by the YOT to deliver RA in schools in the Local Authority.

students wishing to consult the RA Officer without a specific referral, what could be considered a ‘drop in’ clinic. All staff members also had additional ‘low level’ training during the first inset day and the schools also underwent an awareness campaign consisting of presentations to both staff members and students. It was proposed that the inset day training would give the general staff enough knowledge to implement basic preventative practices such as restorative language, including a focus on restorative questioning, in the classroom. In both schools those staff members with full facilitation training were considered ‘trained’ members of staff, whereas the remainder of the staff with only inset day and awareness campaign information were referred to as ‘untrained’ members of staff. Therefore, in the context of School 1 and 2 these definitions are applied throughout the research.

The proposed process to gain access to RA provisions is initiated by a conflict. The staff member responsible at the time of the conflict should refer the student(s) to the RA Officer or RA Champion. These types of practices are reactive as they are a direct reaction to some sort of negative encounter. This type of implementation necessitates a significant amount of interaction between the students and the RA Officer and/or RA Champion.

Despite the initial plans and training of six RA Champions, inset day training, and awareness campaigns, School 1 chose to remain a reactive-only school, solely depending on the RA Officer to deal with referred students. Whereas School 2 remained intent on achieving a whole school approach, utilising both the RA Officers and/or RA Champions for reactive practices, as well as continued ambitions to implement whole-school preventative practices²¹.

Local Authority 2

School 3 is a bilingual school, which is classified officially as a predominantly English medium secondary school with significant use of Welsh. There are 883 students and 19% speak Welsh fluently. Students have the opportunity to take Welsh-medium classes in several humanities based modules. School 3 has the lowest number of students entitled to free school meals and is well below the national average at 7.8% (18.8% national average) (Welsh Government, My Local School, 2016). This school perhaps has the largest catchment area of all three schools, in excess of 400 square miles (Estyn, 2013).

The LA2 YOT staff and School 3 adopted a different implementation style, in essence a preventative-only whole school approach. In this approach, the RA Officer’s main role was to

²¹ School 2 did not achieve a whole-school approach during the 18-month evaluation. Overall, there was very limited RA practices observed, neither reactive nor preventative classroom based practices were evident.

train the staff members to a proficient degree in preventative classroom practices. After all members of staff were taught to this level, via inset days, subsequent evening sessions were available to those who wished to pursue further training. In this implementation style the RA Officer had very little contact with students and RA was embedded in the school only through staff usage.

Figure 12 (below) offers an illustration of the three schools and corresponding local authority and RA Officer.

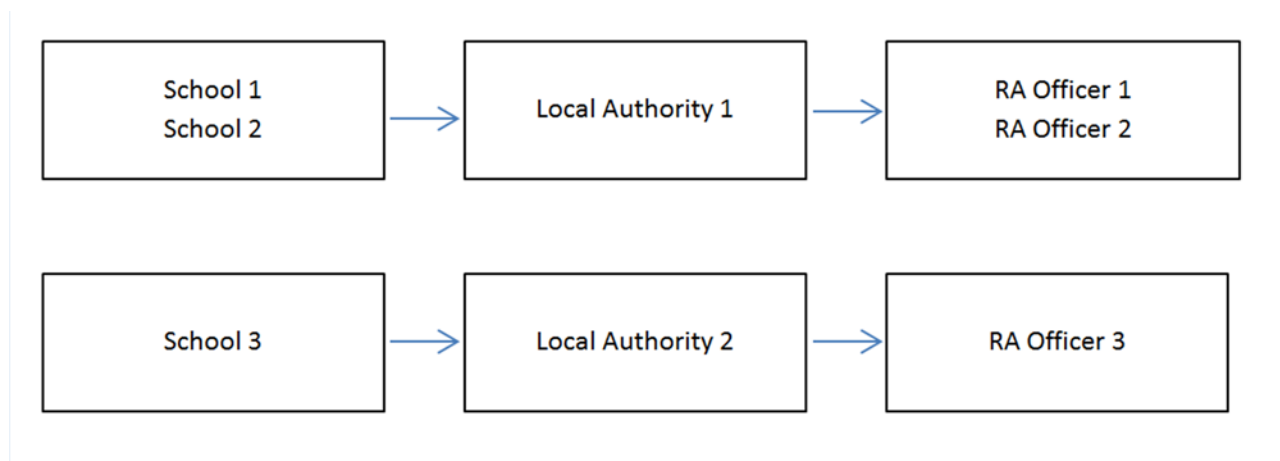


Figure 12: *School with Corresponding Local Authority and RA Officers*

Toward the beginning of the research period RA Officer 1 left their role with the YOT and was replaced with RA Officer 2.

4.3 Evaluation Research

The difference between pure research and evaluative research is unclear at times. However, Clarke (1999) differentiates the two and states evaluation includes the study of effectiveness and the use of information for programme improvement, rather than a focus on the acquisition of new knowledge, often found in pure experimental designs. Instead there is a focus on the practical and the investigation of relationships.

There are numerous definitions of evaluation research but examining programme objectives is often cited as a main focus of this line of enquiry (Stufflebeam and Shrinkfield, 2007). Generally, this refers to evaluating the programme based on the set of objectives made explicit on the outset. This narrow-focused definition of evaluation is argued to have limitations and even considered counterproductive for several reasons. Stufflebeam and

Shrinkfield (2007) state that evaluations based solely on objectives are detrimental to the research because:

Objectives might well be corrupt, dysfunctional, unimportant, not oriented to the needs of intended beneficiaries, or mainly reflective of a developers profit motive or other conflicts of interest. Another problem is that this approach steers evaluations in the direction of looking only at outcomes. Many evaluations also should examine a programmes objectives, structures and processes...More over a focus on objectives might cause evaluators not to search for important, unintended consequences (often called side effects). These can be beneficial or harmful... (pg. 7)

This is especially relevant to the present research as the objectives for the programmes are different for each of the stakeholders. The YOT are the initial stakeholders who originally conceived and implemented the programme to reduce the number of students with propensities toward anti-social behaviour, which may lead them towards the youth justice system. This is not identical to the school objectives, that wished to improve behaviour, in an effort to increase general student attainment. This includes improving issues such as attendance, truancy and number of disruptive incidents. Therefore, the main objectives for each stakeholder are different but complementary. These objectives may appear straightforward and useful to monitor, however, Stufflebeam and Shrinkfield (2007) rightly state it is detrimental to focus solely on the outcomes as this approach may overlook other important factors within the programme and its implementation.

The current research includes both a focus on programme processes as well as the programme outcomes. The evaluation of outcomes is based on the assertions made by restorative advocates pertaining to the improvement of happiness, school engagement and self-esteem. Determining if RA programmes affect these psychological constructs and understanding how and why these are influenced by such an approach is fundamental to this evaluation. For these reasons, this evaluative research project is theory-driven rather than outcome led, with an additional focus on the context of implementation. Chen (1990) describes theory-driven research as an evaluation design which not only is concerned with the outcomes but the causal mechanisms and contexts in which they occur. Theory-driven evaluative research is supported by many evaluation researchers in the literature (Clarke, 1999; Pawson and Tilley, 1994; Weiss, 1997a). Clarke (1999, pg. 30) states that theory plays a significant role in any

evaluation research, including establishing a “rationale for choosing a topic or help to focus an evaluation by directing the evaluator to certain issues and problems”. Weiss (1997a) furthers this sentiment and states that theory driven evaluation has the capabilities to understand the details of why a programme succeeds or fails. The present research integrates the theoretical mechanisms of change described in the restorative literature, with a consideration for the contextual factors, which offers an explanation on why (if it does) RA programmes influence levels of happiness, school engagement and self-esteem.

The first step in a theory-driven evaluation is “theory generation” followed by question formulation (Coryn, et al., 2011, pg. 204). Weiss (1997a) states there are four main sources to assist with theory generation. These involve collating documents from the programme stakeholders, although the programme theory is not always made explicit in this type of source, reviewing research and the literature on the subject, and logical reasoning. The theoretical underpinning of the success of RA in education used in this evaluation is largely a product of the last two: research from previous studies and logical reasoning.

Restorative advocates, trainers and schools utilising RA repeatedly make reference to people and groups being “happier” with increased sense of “belonging” to the community/society/group, and increase self-esteem. By example, Ted Wachtel, the president and founder of the International Institute for Restorative Practices and eminent scholar in the field, describes restorative practices using the term happiness in the first sentence on the main page of the Institute. He states (2012):

The fundamental premise of restorative practices is that people are happier...

Similar assertions are echoed throughout the literature, although there is little actual evidence to support or refute the notion that restorative practices impact on happiness in any way. Therefore, the present study utilises the two basic legitimate methods of theory generation- reviewing previous research in the field of interest and logical reasoning (Weiss, 1997a; Coryn, et al., 2011) to establish to main theories of restorative programmes and to select the outcome variables.

Theory driven evaluation is further refined and classified into either implementation theory or programmatic theory evaluation research. Weiss (1997b) defines implementation theory as simply testing whether the programme is implemented correctly, which results in expected outcomes, whereas programmatic theory “deals with the mechanisms that intervene between the delivery of the programme service and the occurrence of the outcomes of interest” (pg.

46). This distinction between these two different models of theory driven evaluation research is of interest, as this research is concerned with the factors influencing the implementation process but also specifically directs significant attention to the mechanisms behind any behavioural improvement resulting from the implementation, rather than an isolated focus on the operation of RA. Therefore, this evaluation includes notions of both types of theory driven evaluation. The programmatic nature necessitates further theory generation by way of reviewing the literature. In doing so, three main mechanisms of change emerged from the restorative literature: procedural fairness, reintegrative shaming, and social learning theory.²² Whereas the implementation focus of this evaluation considers the success of implementation and the overall contributing organisation factors.

The advantages of utilising a theory-driven model are numerous, especially in evaluation research. Weiss (1995) states that theory-driven models have the ability to strengthen the foundation of knowledge as it frames the findings from the current research with previous theory. Additionally, theory-driven evaluations are more useful for stakeholders and policy makers, as it works in a cyclical manner, paying particular attention to the conditions in which the programme succeeds or fails. Thus, researchers can report their findings back to the stakeholders.

The mechanisms behind the success or failure of a restorative programme are far from understood and most evaluation studies do not stray far from the traditional focus on numerical outcomes (truancies, number of incidents and absences) as a hallmark of success or failure. This research is unique as it evaluates the possible mechanisms underlying restorative practices and also considers the major facilitating or impeding factors behind the implementation of RA, and considers how these influence the measured outcomes (happiness, school engagement and self-esteem). Again, stressing the practical importance of these results for the original stakeholders.

²² Analysing the data brought about an additional mechanism of change (distributive fairness), not included in the original theory generation stage.

4.4 Epistemological Considerations: Inspiration from Scientific Realism

“What works for whom in what circumstances?”

(Pawson and Manzano-Santaella, 2012, pg. 177)

This aphorism concisely epitomizes the scientific realist paradigm²³ and largely inspires the methodological framework utilised in the present research. Crowley (2013) describes realist evaluation as a theory driven approach that “advocates the explication of the contexts and mechanisms that lead to programme regularities and outcomes”, which is contrary to an outcome based approach often favoured in the public sector (pg. 13).

The present research utilises the scientific realist framework as a tool to organise and understand the data collected from three quite complex systems. Similar to Hayden (2014), this research does not intend to meet the full criteria for a realist evaluation, rather it has “borrowed” some of the main principles and central framework to help “make sense of the complexities of the research setting and data collected” (Hayden, 2014, pg. 88). Timmins and Miller (2007) recognise these complexities found within social settings in which a programme rests:

Any innovation will depend, for its success or failure, on a range of factors; for example, the relationships between the people involved or the characteristics of the setting in which it is implemented (pg. 9).

In line with Timmins and Miller (2007), the current research departs from the “hard-nosed” outcomes based evaluation and adopts the main principles of a realist methodology to offer a more comprehensive response to the research questions (Hayden, 2014, pg. 86).

Pawson and Tilley (1994) find that evaluation research is in its second generation; gone are previous generations focus on experimental designs and blanket conclusions that ‘nothing works’. They state that evaluation research should have a basis in scientific realism to fully appreciate the nuances of any programme and its implementation. The strong relationship between evaluation and scientific realism is noted by Pawson and Manzano-Santaella (2012) who classify scientific realism as completely theory driven and include this as a fundamental principle of the paradigm. Astbury (2013, pg. 385) furthers this and states, “realist evaluation

²³ Pawson and Manzano-Santaella (2012) additionally comment that this realist slogan should also include “and why” but admit this is less catchy.

is a species of theory-driven evaluation that holds the view that programmes are theories incarnate.”

A review of the historical development of evaluation research found that the original evaluation studies largely incorporated a strong experimental design (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). However, evaluators soon found that strict experimental designs were not suitable in field work, where multiple mediating variables were impossible to control in dynamic systems. Furthermore, some evaluators found that a positivist experimental design produced ‘black boxes’ which may describe the outcomes of a programme but do little to explain why it works (or fails). Pawson and Tilley are two avid supporters of scientific realism; a paradigm which goes beyond the insufficiencies of a strict positivist’s point of view.

Pawson and Tilley (1994; 1997) offer an alternative approach to the positivist’s method of evaluation and stress two additional areas of investigation to give a complete evaluation of any programme: contexts and mechanisms.

Realism, as a philosophy of science, insists that the outcomes unearthed in empirical investigation are intelligible only if we understand the underlying mechanisms which give rise to them and the contexts which sustain them. In evaluation language, this is equivalent to saying that we need to know why and in what circumstances programmes affect potential subjects before we can begin to say if they work (1994, pg. 292).

Here they assert that Context (C) + Mechanism (M) = Outcomes (O). However, these contexts and mechanisms are site specific; where programmes will be different as each site has different people and different social norms to contend with. Therefore, the scientific realists’ quest for uncovering the mechanisms behind a programme’s outcomes and the contexts in which these occur will be location specific rather than generalizable. Pawson and Tilley (1994) depict a realist experimental design as:

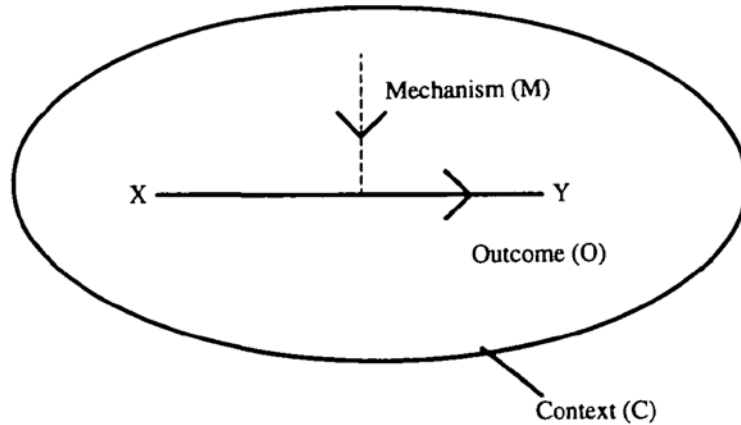


Figure 13: *The Realist Experimental Design* (Pawson and Tilley, 1994, pg. 300)

From Figure 13 it is possible to visualise the premise of the scientific realist framework. Programmes work within a specific context, which will utilise particular mechanisms of change to produce the outcomes. The context is an all-encompassing term which can mean anything from organisational norms down to personal attributes. Therefore, realists must focus on the most salient and influential contexts which are significant to the programme. The social environment of the school produces countless different contexts, propelled by an innumerable number of mechanisms. Based on the realist's framework, two of the same programmes (based on the same structure and principles) implemented in two settings will produce unique outcomes. This is a result of the location specific contexts and the ensuing mechanisms. Therefore, the task of identifying the most significant context and potential mechanisms for each site is difficult. Timmins and Miller (2007) state that thorough initial discussions with stakeholders are key to recognising these components during the initial research stages (Timmins and Miller, 2007).

The initial discussions with the stakeholders provided the information and documentation needed to determine the specific contexts under evaluation. Furthermore, these discussions provided additional support for the presence of the mechanisms routinely found in the restorative literature. The present research contains three main contexts (each of the schools and their corresponding implementation approach), and an additional two sub-contexts (Table 4 below). Within each context, there will be a number of facilitating and/or impeding factors that either support or obstruct successful implementation. Thus, the context refers to the implementation approach of each school and the corresponding factors associated with that particular location.

Contexts (C)	Potential Mechanisms (M)	Potential Outcomes (O)
Contexts (C) + Mechanisms (M) = Outcomes (O)		
School 1: <i>Reactive-Only</i> School 1: Hafan <hr/> School 2: (Intended) <i>Whole School Approach</i> School 2: Hafan <hr/> School 3: <i>Preventative-Only Whole School Approach</i>	Procedural Fairness Distributive Fairness Reintegrative Shaming Social Learning Theory	Happiness, School Engagement and Self- Esteem Scores

Table 4: *Context + Mechanisms=Outcomes for Restorative Approaches in Schools*

Mechanisms (M) refer to theoretical underpinnings that inform the restorative practice. These mechanisms of change have been hypothesized to be at work here based on the theories generated from the restorative literature and the initial discussions with the stakeholders. Outcomes refer to the quantitative results of the happiness, engagement and self-esteem measures.

In regards to the contextual considerations there is a period where it is expected that the research will have to further refine the mechanism theories in relation to the response to initial findings (Marchal, et al., 2012). This stage is referred to as the development of a ‘middle range’ theory. The middle range theory is a difficult concept to define but it is largely understood as an abstract programme theory which lies between a minor and an all-encompassing theory (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). In regards to this research, the general theories are based on previous research that assert certain contexts are more successful than others based on the presence of certain mechanisms. However, scientific realists must refine the previous theories regarding the context and mechanism in light of the unique data gathered. Throughout the research period these theories are likely to be amended to fit with the present contexts and corresponding mechanisms. At the end of the evaluation the researcher will have refined theories relevant for policy makers and stakeholder.

To evaluate the three components necessary for a scientific realist’s framework mechanisms it is important to utilise the most suitable research methods for each area of investigation. Scientific realists are methods-neutral and will utilise any method available that best answers

the research question that fits the conditions of the research. Pawson and Manzano-Santaella (2012, pg. 182) state that relying on one method too heavily may give unnatural results but that achieving a balance among the different methodologies is difficult. As a crude guide they state that “mining mechanisms requires qualitative evidence, observing outcomes is quantitative, and that canvassing contexts requires comparative and sometimes historical data”. A mixed methods design is deemed most suitable for this evaluation, which is congruent with scientific realism and theory driven evaluations in general, both which have no alliance to any specific method (Coryn, et al., 2011). Particular attention is given to achieve a balanced view to fully appreciate the social complexities of the organisation and to develop a better understanding of when, where, and why the programme is successful.

4.4.1 Mixed Methods Design

The research methods utilised in all three schools are employed to collect data based on a few different factors: the needs of the research, the unique nature of the schools and their implementation approaches, and the endorsement of the stakeholders. The main goal of this research is to evaluate the effect of RA on happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem. However, simply monitoring the outcomes neglects the importance of the underlying mechanisms and the facilitating or impeding factors within each context. Therefore, it is important to also employ several qualitative methods to uncover why and how RA affected these three psychological constructs.

The purpose of using mixed methods in this research is that qualitative elements are more suited to investigate the context in which the intervention is being employed. This evaluation is not solely interested in the outcomes from the quantitative questionnaires but also the collection of data on how, why, and when RA is being implemented in the school. The qualitative data collected offers explanations for the quantitative outcomes. The explanation of the outcomes necessitates several qualitative methods, including focus groups, interviews and observations.

The methods employed at each site are a compromise between the research needs, the practicalities of the research environment and potential concerns for student well-being, including time missing from class. This is articulated by Clarke (1999):

Although it is possible to identify a number of basic types of evaluation, it should not be assumed that one only has to follow systematically a set of methodological guidelines to produce the perfect evaluative study. The evaluator not only has to

contend with technical issues and methodological problems when designing and implementing a piece of evaluation research, but must also deal with the practical difficulties that can be encountered in the field (pg. 16).

This statement is aptly placed within educational research, as data collection must contend with the school timetable, such as school trips and exams, as well as classroom led activities where teachers feel that it is a distraction to have an observer present. Therefore, the stages presented in Table 5 (found on pg. 98) are a compromise between what is needed in respect of the research questions, the implementation design, well-being issues, and practical considerations.

Pawson and Tilley (1994, 1997) have dominated the scientific realist literature and its application to criminological evaluation. Despite the fact that scientific realist is routinely applied to criminological research, educational evaluators are also using similar frameworks. Many educational researchers find evaluative educational research restrictive and argue that it can produce a limited understanding of how and when an intervention works, therefore, Chatterji (2005) emphasises a mix methods approaching to overcome these shortcomings. Chatterji (2005, pg. 15) discusses educational evaluation in particular, but is in agreement with Pawson and Tilley's recommendation that evaluations generally should move to an epistemological reliance on scientific realism as opposed to logical positivism. In this manner, it should also include context sensitivity, long term designs, and a mixed methods approach. This is due to the complicated nature of social research and the fact that interventions, particularly within an education setting, have many other factors which regularly interact with the individuals involved and the programme itself, therefore a straight experimental design offers a limited possibility to understanding the context of its apparent success or failure.

Chatterji (2005) outlines five principles to guide field-based educational evaluation research using mixed methods. Principle one involves the length of time needed. It specifically states that educational evaluation must involve a long term timeline, particularly focusing on the most significant periods of the programme. Principle two focuses on documenting the qualitative, site-specific characteristics to examine these in regards to the programme theory and implementation. Principle three states the importance of providing both formative and summative feedback to the stakeholders. Principle four is concerned with questioning- specifically questioning the results to uncover possible causal factors. Chatterji (2005)

explains that an intervention does not work alone and may be implemented differently depending on site-specific factors. It is likely there are several variables which impact of a programme's success or failure. This is of great concern for the present research and is especially evident with the different implementations and responses to RA within the three different sites. Principle five is directed towards the importance of the combination of both qualitative and quantitative evidence. This principle reinforces the importance of gaining qualitative evidence at the beginning of the evaluation to inform the research designs, and subsequent quantitative methods.

These principles emphasised by Chatteriji (2005) stress the importance of qualitative elements initially, although this research supports this notion, it is also crucial to consider that a programme may change over time. Therefore, collection of qualitative data, in this instance interviews with the key stakeholders, at the beginning and the end of the research period, sheds further light on the contextual changes and the evolution of the programme from the initial to the final stages of the programme, rather than relying on the first descriptors during the initial stages. The data collection period lasted approximately 18 months and during this time, the intentions and ambitions of the stakeholders altered, as such it is argued here that concluding interviews with key individuals to document any changes over the life span of the research is also necessary.

A mixed methods approach has the ability to account for the complexities of a programme in an educational setting. Not only should evaluation research answer whether the intervention produced significant results, it should also document the underlying mechanisms and contextual factors that influence success or failure, necessitating both quantitative and qualitative methods. This research utilised qualitative interviews in the initial stages to help inform the research designs for each school, followed by further qualitative and quantitative methods. Additionally, this research also sought final interviews to consider the reflections of the stakeholders and discuss future plans of the RA programme. These stages of the research design and the associated methods are in agreement with the criminological and educational use of the scientific realist's framework applied in the current research.

4.5 Stages of Data Collection

The current research investigates the use of RA in three different settings, each with different implementation approaches. The complexity of such an evaluation necessitates an array of research methods and a planned approach. Table 5 (below) illustrates the different stages of data collection for each of the three schools. Alongside Stage 1, ethic clearance was sought and granted from both the Law and Criminology Ethics Panel and the Aberystwyth University Ethics committee. The stages are kept as closely aligned as possible in each of the schools. However, the research methods employed were not identical in each school. This was due to the different implementation approaches and by request from the schools.

	School 1 <i>Reactive-Only Approach</i>	School 2 <i>(Intended) Whole School Approach</i>	School 3 <i>Preventative-Only Whole School Approach</i>
Stage 1	Initial discussions and unstructured interviews with School and YOT stakeholders	Initial discussions and unstructured interviews with School and YOT stakeholders	Initial discussions and unstructured interviews with School and YOT stakeholders
Stage 2	Negotiation and confirmation of research design; opting out forms and information to the parents	Negotiation and confirmation of research design; opting out forms and information to the parents	Negotiation and confirmation of research design; opting out forms and information to the parents
Stage 3 Autumn Term	On-going -Initial and final questionnaires for any formal conferences	On-going -Initial and final questionnaires for any formal conferences	
Stage 4 Autumn Term		Questionnaires to all Years 7, 9 and 11 students	Questionnaires to all Years 7, 9 and 11 students
Stage 5	Focus groups	Focus groups	
Stage 6	Classroom observations and interviews with staff	Classroom observations and interviews with staff Second Drop of questionnaires to Years 7, 9	Classroom observations, interviews with staff and students

Stage 7	Interviews with key stakeholders	Interviews with key stakeholders	Interviews with key stakeholders
Stage 8 Next Academic Year- Winter Term	Focus group with RA students	Focus group with RA students Third drop of questionnaires to Years 8, 10 and 12	Third drop of questionnaires to Years 8, 10 and 12
Stage 9	Data Analysis	Data Analysis	Data Analysis

Table 5: *Stages of Data Collection*

Stage 1

Initial interviews during the formative stages of the evaluation are imperative from a scientific realist’s perspective and Chatterji’s (2005) principles of mixed methods design. At this stage it is important to elicit information from the key stake holders and any further sources to develop an understanding of how the programme works in theory and practice. Pawson and Tilley (2004) consider this stage as one of the most crucial and distinctive as it lays the foundation for further methods and collection in subsequent stages of the research.

Bloom and Crabtree (2006, pg. 315) state that an unstructured interview is never completely unstructured and is better described as a ‘guided conversation’. This sentiment is shared with Patton (2002, pg. 342) who describes unstructured interviews as an “informal conversational interview that offers maximum flexibility to pursue information in whatever direction appears to be appropriate”. These initial unstructured interviews are imperative to gain insight into how the programme is structured and the key people involved in the process at the schools. Punch (1998) states that these types of unstructured interviews allow the researcher to understand the complexities of the situation without applying previously held presumptions which might limit the field of enquiry going forward. This stage largely entailed unstructured interviews and discussions with the key stakeholders involved in the implementation of the programme in the school including: Senior Youth Justice Service Manager, Head Teachers²⁴ of Schools 1, 2 and 3, as well as the RA Officers.

²⁴ After the initial discussions, the Head Teachers had very little contact, management, or support for the RA programme or with the present research. Instead the Deputy Head became the researcher’s point of contact.

Stage 2

After the initial fact finding stage, research designs were formalised in conjunction with the Head Teachers and YOT staff members. At this stage, School 1 focused on the individual students involved in the restorative processes specifically. Therefore, it was agreed that students referred to the RA Officer will be given the questionnaires to administer before and after the restorative process.²⁵

School 2 utilised the RA Officer to facilitate conferences and also intended implement a whole school approach over the next year. The planned data collection was similar to that of School 1²⁶ but also included the collection of data from a sample of students over the 18-month period to monitor more whole school changes as RA embeds in the school. It was agreed that the sample would include all students in Years 7, 9 and 11 and the questionnaire would be administered at the beginning, middle, and end of the research period. These year groups were chosen as they span in age over the school population and similar year groups were used by Kane, et al. (2007) . The 6th form (Years 12 and 13) was not included in this sample as during Stage 1 it was uncovered that these groups were not necessarily included in the RA provision.

The same whole school questionnaire distribution was agreed with School 3. School 3 did not implement RA in the same manner as School 1 and 2. Due to the preventative-only implementation style, it was impossible to monitor individual students before or after a specific restorative process. Instead, School 3 implemented different proactive strategies within the whole school on a daily basis. Therefore, similar to School 2, all students in Years 7, 9 and 11 were monitored over 18 months. Stage 2 also included information given out to all parents in the school regarding RA and the research project. The information also contained an ‘opting out’ opportunity for any parents not wishing their child to take part in the research (See Appendix 1).

The information and data collected during the first few stages greatly influenced the structure of the questionnaire administration within each school. A summary of the questionnaire administration based on the type of intended implementation is illustrated below (Figure 14).

²⁵ RA Officer administered the questionnaire during the initial meeting and during the last meeting with the participant.

²⁶ In later stages it was noted that this was not occurring, thus only data from the school wide sample was obtained from this school.

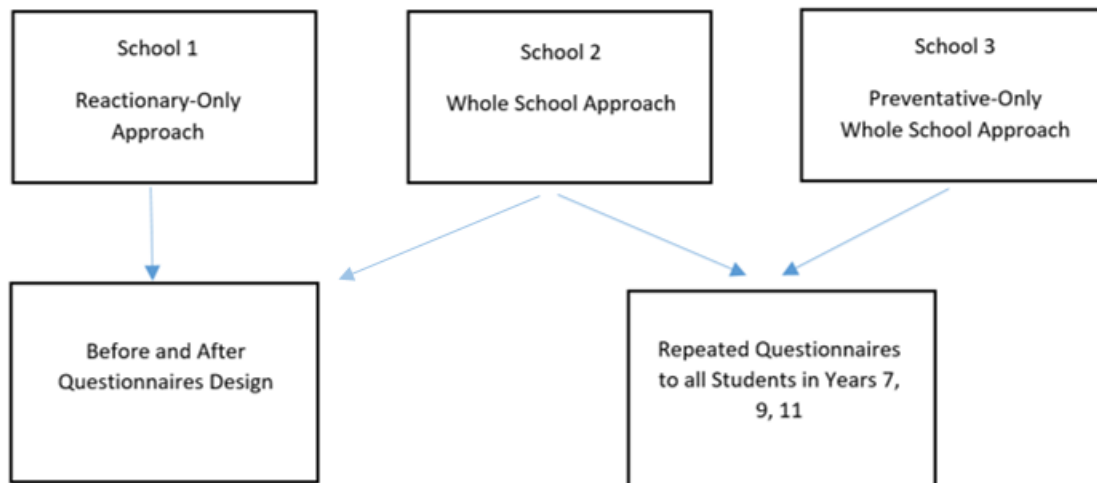


Figure 14: *Summary of Questionnaire Administration Design*

Stage 3

School 1 and School 2

During Stage 3 of the research the initial questionnaires were given to the RA Officer for any participant referred to the restorative programme. The restorative process may last from a week up to several months. When the case is finally closed the parties will again complete the questionnaire. This design was possible at both School 1 and 2 as they utilised a reactive approach and had a RA Officer on site during specified days for formal processes. This design was not possible at School 3 as their implementation is based around a preventative-only whole school approach with little input from a RA Officer and no formal RA processes.

The questionnaire administration utilised followed a traditional quasi-experimental design. Bryman (2012) defines this as “studies that have certain characteristics of experimental designs but that do not fulfil all the internal validity requirements” (pg. 56). The quasi-experiment lacks a true control group from an empirical point of view, due the natural setting of the research. However, this design has the advantage of improved ecological validity (Bryman, 2012).

The questionnaires were administered by either RA Officer (School 1 and School 2 before and after design) for several reasons. The times of referral are unpredictable and therefore it may not be possible for the researcher to distribute the questionnaire for all referred students.

Secondly, the YOT staff and the University of Aberystwyth Ethics Committee had concerns regarding the presence of a researcher during a potentially emotive situation. Finally, the researcher, also had reservations regarding the reliability of the responses given in the presence of an unknown person (the researcher).

The RA Officer was given instructions on the importance of the explanatory statement and consent needed before a student could complete a questionnaire.

1. Each student was given an explanatory statement (see appendix 5). One copy was given to the student, whilst the RA Officer read aloud.
2. Each student received a consent form (see appendix 7). This was read aloud by the RA Officer and any questions answered before the student signed the form.
3. The consent forms were collected.
4. The questionnaire was collected.²⁷

This same process was repeated at the end of the restorative process. At this stage the RA Officer also completed a detailed information sheet which described why the student was referred, year, age, outcomes, and any additional pertinent information (see appendix 16).

Stage 4

School 2 and School 3

This stage occurred intentionally during the beginning of autumn term of the academic year, to obtain baseline results. This purposeful timing was agreed by both schools to monitor any changes in the students as RA became more embedded in the schools. Due to the size of the schools, it was decided that sampling a range of years in the main school was appropriate. The first year of secondary school (Year 7), a middle year (Year 9) and the last year before 6th form (Year 11) was suitable to get a large sample as well as a broad age range throughout the school.

It was decided by both School 2 and 3 that classroom teachers should administer the questionnaires to their form class (before first lesson). The research collated the necessary explanatory statements, consent forms, and questionnaires for each classroom. Verbal and

²⁷ Youth Justice Reference Number was included on the RA participants' questionnaire so that the student's progress could be monitored, without disclosing identity.

written instructions were also given to each classroom teacher by the researcher (appendix 10). This method of administration was felt to be most ethical and convenient for the students.²⁸

1. Each teacher and all students were given an explanatory statement. This was handed out to all students and read aloud by the class teacher.
2. Each student received a consent form. This was read aloud by the class teacher and any questions answered before the student signed the form.
3. The consent forms were collected to ensure anonymity and confidentiality.
4. The questionnaires were then given out and completed by all students who consented.
5. These were collected and given to the Heads of Year, then to the designated staff member who handed them over to the researcher.

Stage 5

School 1 and School 2

This stage centred on organising and leading focus groups in both School 1 and School 2. This included purposeful sampling procedures rather than a randomised sample. Maximal variation sampling is a common purposeful sampling strategy employed to gather data from individuals who may have different experiences of the central issue (i.e. Restorative Approaches) (Creswell and Clark, 2007). Each focus group included a different category of participant. This included: 6th form students, student government members, and students from Hafan and Encil.²⁹ These groups were from a range of years and experiences in the schools.

The focus groups were of a typical size of 8-10 participants. A typical adult focus group lasts on average of 90 minutes. However, Edmunds (1999) states the importance of keeping it shorter for children. The focus groups for this research were 45 minutes. During this time the students were made aware that participation was voluntary and anonymous. The explanatory statement was distributed and read aloud by the researcher, before consent was obtained.

Cohen, et al. (2011) states that the use of focus groups in education is a growing trend and that the strength lies in insights gained from group interaction rather than producing data

²⁸ A researcher's presence may influence the student's ability to consent without undue pressure and it is likely that an unfamiliar person may impact on the responses given

²⁹ Focus groups with RA participants found in Stage 8 to get a larger group of students.

from a researcher-led agenda. Focus groups were found to be particularly useful for “generating and evaluating data from different subgroups of the population... gathering data on attitudes, values and opinions...providing greater coverage of issues than would be possible in a survey” (Cohen, et al., 2011, pg.376). The focus groups were thematically led and used to explore the theoretical mechanisms envisaged to lead to successful or failed outcomes of a restorative programme, as well to gain the students’ perspective on the school context. Although the focus groups were structured around central themes it was also important for the students to be able to converse freely between themselves. This semi-structured strategy produced valuable insights into the student experience, expectations and opinions on the topic. The focus groups were central to understanding how the students responded to the implementation of RA in school, as well as their perceptions of school in general.

Stage 6

Stage six occurred towards the end of the academic year. The timing of this stage was important, as it gave RA some time to embed within the school as much as possible within the current academic year. This stage of the research was largely focused on nonparticipant observations of each of the schools. These observations involved collecting data from direct observations of individual classrooms in their natural setting. In each school 10 classrooms were observed for one lesson each. In addition, both Hafan and Encil were both observed during the first lessons for a week in Schools 1 and 2 (School 3 did not have these facilities). The observations were crucial to understanding the context of RA implementation and the actual adoption of practices in the classroom.

A stratified purposeful sampling technique was employed in which the parameters were set along preselected variables of year group and teaching style (Sandelowski, 2000). The deputy head teacher from each school organised a schedule which allowed the researcher to observe different year groups and different teaching styles. The deputy head teacher choose teachers based on their range of teaching styles. The researcher was not aware of any of the teacher’s previous reputation or who had restorative training, as not to create observer bias.³⁰

The current research utilised structured observation techniques, using two school engagement observation methods: Instructional Practices Inventory (Valentine, 2007) and the Classroom

³⁰ After each observation the researcher asked the teacher if they had RA training.

AIMS Instrument (Roehig and Christensen, 2010). During these observations six general themes on the use of restorative language were also monitored. The observations for the use of restorative language focused on: open questions, fairness, respectfulness, non-judgemental questions, enquiring questions, and the type of body language and tone. These themes were taken from the implementation packs by the training organisation.³¹ This pack states that “restorative language is a tool to lead a restorative ethos within schools” and lists these 6 characteristics as key to the success of preventative classroom practices.

After each observation, the classroom teachers were then interviewed (Hafan and Encil staff also had interviewed but these required an extended period of time and were semi-structured). All interviews conducted after the observations of their classroom were structured in nature. This technique was useful for two main reasons: there was a strict fifteen-minute period allowance for these brief interviews and secondly, there were four main questions:

1. Have you heard of Restorative Approaches?
2. Have you had RA training?³²
3. Would you like training (or further your training if you are already a champion)?
4. Why or Why not?

Based on these questions the remaining time was spent discussing any issues they felt pertinent regarding RA or the school in general.

Stage Six also included a second administration of the questionnaires at Schools 2. As this occurred at the end of the academic year the school was reluctant to include year 11 in this sample so not to interfere with exams. School 2 allowed both years 7 and 9 to take part.

In lieu of focus group times, School 3 allowed for student to have unstructured conversational interviews during breaks, lunch time and at the end of classes. These students were chosen by the teachers. This purposeful sampling technique created its own biases but also allowed the researcher a unique opportunity to ask the students individual opinions on the discipline system operating and opinions of their school.

³¹ The same organisation was utilised for LA1 and LA2 RA officers training.

³² This referred to full facilitation training.

Stage 7

Stage 7 also occurred at the end of the academic year and focused solely on interviews with key stakeholder involved with the RA implementation.

This included:

- Local Authority 1 Youth Justice Service Manager
- RA Officers 2 and 3³³
- Assistant/Deputy Heads of the schools in School 1, 2, and 3
- Three Restorative ‘Champions’ in Schools 1 and three ‘Champions’ from School 2

These all took the form of semi-structured interviews which were largely based on examining implementation progress and the future direction of RA in the schools. The interviews also included open questions regarding their opinions on how the programme was progressing in the school and how they felt the schools adopted these new processes.

Local Authority 1 Youth Justice Service Manager and RA Officer Interviews

Three Youth Justice RA Officers were responsible for the implementation of RA in the school. RA Officer 1 and 2 were also the main facilitators of the approach within Schools 1 and 2. As described previously all three schools implemented the approach differently, as such the questionnaire and interview schedule differed from RA Officers 1 and 2 and RA Officer 3.

Throughout the project the researcher communicated and held meetings with all RA Officers to monitor the progress within the schools. However, one formal interview took place at the end of Year 1 for RA 2 and 3; whereas RA Officer 1 was interviewed prior to them leaving the post. At this time a summative questionnaire and subsequent interview took place to combine all the strands of enquiry into one document (see appendix 17) for the RA Officer. The returned questionnaires for both RA Officer 1 and 2 were approximately 40 pages in length and were very detailed. The questionnaires took place prior to the interview as the responses given influenced the interview schedule; the interviews lasted approximately two hours each. These two methods of enquiry were conducted to complement each other; this

³³ An interview with RA Officer 1 took place during the Winter term.

permitted the researcher to further explore areas of interest which were flagged in the questionnaire.

Due to the type of implementation used in School 3, RA Officer 3 did not feel that the standard questionnaire was relevant as he was not based at the school and did not conduct formal restorative conferences. Therefore, this officer only had an interview.

Assistant/Deputy Head Interviews

The main purpose of interviewing the Deputy Head was to:

1. Discover the initial purpose of implementing RA
2. Understand the strategic plan for implementation
3. Considering future prospects of RA in the school

Restorative Champion Interviews

These interviews were necessary to determine the use of formal/reactive restorative conferences within Schools 1 and 2. It was important to consider the use of formal RA and how many students were utilising this practice as facilitated by the teaching staff (rather than the RA Officers).

Stage 8

This stage of data collection involved the final administration of the questionnaires to the same students who participated originally, although these students were then in the following year groups. This occurred toward the end of the winter term during the second academic year of research in the school.

During this period a focus group session was organised for the group of students who had been involved in a restorative process. The very limited number of participants utilising formal RA provisions necessitated waiting until the end of the research period to obtain an adequate sample from both School 1 and School 2.

Stage 9

The final stage of the research period included the analysis of data. This includes both the use of SPSS to obtain the quantitative results (reported in Chapter 5) and the analysis of the qualitative data (reported in Chapters 6 and 7).

4.6 Instrumentation: A Description of the Research Tools

The current study utilised three psychometric scales as the main measures of the outcomes of the restorative programmes.

1. *Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS)*
2. *School Engagement Scale (SES)*
3. *Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES)*

This research also used two instruments for observation purposes and one original observation structure to monitor the use of restorative language in individual classrooms.

1. *Atmosphere, Instruction/Content, Management, and Student Engagement (AIMS) observation instrument*
2. *Instructional Practices Inventory (IPI)*
3. *Original restorative language structured observation*

4.6.1 Student Self Reports

The Subjective Happiness Scale (Lyubomirsky and Lepper, 1999)

The Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS) is designed to measure personal global judgements on happiness. The selection of this scale was based upon five factors 1. Appropriate for children 2. Length 3. Suitable for different cultures 4. Subjective 5. Measures happiness exclusively. These four criteria narrowed the choices quite considerably; thus leaving the Subjective Happiness Scale as the most suitable for this research.

The SHS contains four brief questions, and measures the global subjective happiness of the participant. This scale was validated by 14 separate studies and 2, 732 participants. These participants were from varied settings including high schools, colleges, and community samples (Lyubomirsky and Lepper, 1996). The student age (high school and college) range

was from 14-28 years old, whereas the community age range was from 20-94 years old. The scale was found to have excellent reliability and construct validity for all age ranges.

The first consideration was the suitability for children. The study of the importance of happiness in children is a developing field; as such the number of scales available to study this particular age group is continually growing. The SHS was originally validated with teenage to adult populations, however, it has since been used in several studies for younger students by Holder and colleagues (Holder, et al., 2010; Holder and Klassen, 2010; Holder, et al., 2012). Holder, et al. (2012) reports that this scale has been used for children as young as 8 years old by simplifying two sentences. However, as the target age group ranged from 12-16 years old, the language used in the scale was deemed appropriate and was accepted by the university ethics panel for use with secondary school aged children, the three head teachers also found it was appropriately phrased for use by children in Years 7-11.

Although the suitability for children was the first concern, the length of the scale was equally important as some scales contain up to 60 questions³⁴. The number of questions and response time was an important consideration for this research as the SHS was being used in conjunction with other measures. Additionally, the time allocated by the school to complete the entire questionnaire was limited to a 25-minute interval during an extended morning form class. Consequently, the length of the SHS made it an attractive choice.

The SHS is found to be a valid measure of happiness in many different cultures. The original research used both American and Russian populations; this scale has since been used in research in many different cultures and countries. Lyubomirsky and Lepper (1999) state that the SHS is “suited for...different linguistic and cultural groups” (pg. 150). This aspect of the scale is important as the schools under investigation have several different nationalities; predominantly the students are from the United Kingdom but other nationalities are present.

The subjective quality of this measure is imperative as it is their personal judgements on their (the students’) happiness is most relevant to the research. However, during the development of the SHS the authors utilised informant reports to measure the agreement between external reports and subjective reports, to ensure the scale did not suffer from self-report bias. The SHS also displays high convergent validity. This is an important consideration as other

³⁴ Piers Harris Children’s Self Concept Scale is also a subjective measure of happiness, suitable for children but contains 60 questions.

happiness scales have been shown to measure concepts outside of happiness. For instance, the Oxford Happiness Questionnaire, Short Form, fulfils the previous four essential factors, but it is reported that this scale has varied reliability and assesses similar constructs but not happiness exclusively (Holder and Klassen, 2010).

A single score is calculated by averaging the four responses together. The Likert Scale is from 1-7, therefore the range of possible averages is 1.0-7.0 (the fourth question is reversed scored); the higher the score the greater the happiness, the lower the score the lower the happiness. The scores from the samples used in the development of this scale ranged from 4.02 (Adult Russian community) to 5.62 (US retired community), the high school ranked third highest, indicating higher levels of happiness compared to the other 11 samples.

School Engagement Scale (Fredericks, Blumenfeld, Friedel and Paris, 2005)

The School Engagement Scale (SES) is a 19 question scale which measures engagement in three different domains: cognitive, affective and behavioural. This three component model is essential as this research is not simply observing outward behaviour, which could be monitored with a basic behavioural engagement measure; rather it is equally about the participant's feelings and connection to the school. Fredericks, et al. (2005) envisage school engagement as having three necessary components which are separate from but overlap one another (see Chapter 3, pg. 62).

The choice of scale was determined by five factors: 1. Subjective 2. Length 3. Included three areas of engagement 4. Questions can be separated into related areas of engagement and 5. Suitable for different cultures. The subjective nature of the scale is quite important and this scale is a self-report questionnaire completed by the students. Although it is possible to have engagement measures through observation and interview, it is important for the present research to gain the student's personal judgement on their engagement with school. The SES was developed over the course of two waves of research, totalling 955 students from a variety of cultures and ethnicities, including American, African-American, Hispanic as well as a number of further cultures and ethnicities not directly listed.

Although it was important that the scale measures the three components of engagement, it was also essential that the scale was brief. The SES contains 15 short questions that are easy to understand and uses a Likert Scale from 1 to 5. This scale has gone through several

different transformations. Originally it contained 15 questions, it was then revised and included 4 more questions at stage 2 of the research and subsequently the authors reverted back the initial 15 questions. Changes in the scale were due to the factor loading results in the second wave indicated low results for 4 of the questions. The cut off convention for factor loading results is usually 0.7 indicating high reliability and replication. It is important not to use factors with lower scores as they fail to account for a significant part of the variance. However, standards are sometimes lowered in *real life* research. All questions with a factor loading of .66 or lower will not be used in the present research. Similar practices are also used by other researchers in the field who must chose a factor loading cut off, based on their own research ambitions such as whether the research is an exploratory or confirmatory design. The cut off of 0.66 was chosen with a primary consideration in mind-this research is in *real life confirmatory research* and not a pure experimental design which is exploratory in nature. Confirmatory research necessitates a higher cut off, however, the cut off is not predetermined and has some flexibility as it is *real life* (Brown, 2015). Importantly, the cut off of 0.66 is advocated by other research groups.³⁵ Thus, the original 15 questions were used in the present research.

The SES was created from several previous scales which individually measured behavioural, cognitive, or affective engagement. By combining and reforming into one measure the SES gives one score for engagement overall. A single score is calculated by averaging the responses from each of the questions; numbers two and six are reversed scored. The higher the average result the higher the engagement. However, it is also possible to examine the different types of engagement separately as well. The behavioural component consists of four questions, the emotional component consists of six questions, and the cognitive component consists of four questions. Fredericks, et al. (2003) found a gender difference in engagement (Table 6):

³⁵ Such as Perform Well, which is a policy research and education organisation that is supported by Child Trends. Child Trends is a research centre for children and youth, in which many research projects education and wellbeing are published.

Means by Gender and Component	Girls	Boys
Behavioural	4.18	3.76
Emotional	3.89	3.60
Cognitive	3.60	3.36

Table 6: *Means by Gender and Component*

Overall, boys present less engagement in all three areas. Additionally, the results indicate an inclination towards higher scores in general.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenburg, 1965)

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale is a 10 question measurement used to assess levels of self-esteem and was initially developed for adolescents (Rosenburg, 1965). Although it was originally developed in 1965 it is still one of the most widely administered self-esteem scales in use today (Robins et al., 2001; Gray-Little, et al., 1997). Robins, et al. (2001) also report that the RSE “has received more psychometric analysis and empirical validation than any other self-esteem measure” (pg. 151). The RSES is a Likert-type scale which is scored by adding the scores for each of the ten items. Five of the questions are reversed scored. Similar to the previous two scales, the higher the overall score the higher the self-esteem of the participant.

The RSES was chosen as the most suitable measure for this research based on four main considerations: 1. Appropriate for children 2. Appropriate for different cultures 3. Length and 4. Measures global self-esteem. The initial sample for development of the scale was over 5,000 high school students, from ten different schools in New York. It has been used with many different ages and cultures since its publication (Schmitt and Allik, 2005). It is also quite a brief scale with only 10 items; five positively worded questions and five negatively worded questions. Despite its brevity, the RSES is repeatedly found to have excellent reliability and construct validity (Shelvin, et al., 1995). Through many years of use it has proven to test the global self-esteem of the participant.

In addition to these psychometric measurements discussed above, questions relating to perceptions of support and their opinions of their schools as a positive or negative place were

also included in the questionnaire (see appendix 11). These questions are an example of a forced response, which are assumed to elicit definite opinions, thus avoiding neutral or an “I don’t know” type response. Forced choice questions also avoid wording bias often found in questions that ask participants to agree or disagree (Gendall, et al., 1991). Although a forced response question design has many benefits it also may result in non-responses as well. It can result in a number of missing responses due to a social desirability bias or uncertainty.

4.6.2 Observational Instruments

The Classroom AIMS Instrument and the Instructional Practices Inventory (IPI) were both used in this research for the primary purpose of structuring the observations to evaluate the three components of engagement. Fredericks and McColskey (2011) are two significant proponents and researchers in the field of engagement and they reviewed 21 school engagement measures based on the three component model of school engagement. From these 21 measures, only four are observational instruments (Table 7). From these four, two were selected to ensure all three areas of engagement were observed systematically.

Dimensions of engagement assessed by instruments			
Instrument	Behavioral	Emotional	Cognitive
Student self-reports			
Multidimensional			
Observational measures			
Behavioral Observation of Students in Schools (BOSS)	✓		
Classroom AIMS	✓	✓	
Code for Instructional Structure and Student Academic Response (MS-CISSAR)	✓		
Instructional Practices Inventory (IPI)			✓

Source: Authors' analysis of instrument documentation.

Table 7: *Dimensions of Engagement Assessed by Instrument* (Fredericks and McColskey, 2011, pg. 11)

Fredericks and McColskey (2011) evaluated these instruments and found that the Classroom AIMS Instrument assessed behavioural and emotional engagement, whereas the Instructional Practices Inventory assessed the cognitive element. Therefore, by using both instruments it was possible to record observations for all three components of school engagement (see appendix 15). These two instruments were used simultaneously during each school

observation to structure the observations and ensure engagements behaviours were recorded using reliable behavioural indicators.

Both instruments describe specific behaviours and require a score for each observation. The current research uses the outlined behaviours and themes from each instrument but did not use the scoring system, rather qualitative description was utilised to report the observed behaviours for each of the instruments. By simply relying on a final ‘mark’ would not give an adequate portrayal of the classroom environment.

The use of observations has two central purposes: to assess the implementation and use of RA in the schools and 2. assess the level of engagement in each observed class. After which time, the links between the use of RA by the teachers and the levels of school engagement by the students can be assessed. A strict scoring system would not give the detail needed to consider such a relationship after the observation. The main themes of each observation instrument are still required to ensure the researcher was observing the types of behaviour corresponding to engagement. Therefore, qualitative description is used in place of the scoring as “it is method of choice when straight descriptions of phenomena are desired” (Sandelowski, 2000).

*The Classroom AIMS Instrument*³⁶

The Classroom AIMS instrument is a 75 factor measure broken into four sections: atmosphere, instruction, management and student engagement. The final section is specifically for the evaluation of engagement and is the only section of the instrument utilised for the present research. This instrument is concerned with the level of behavioural and emotional engagement at classroom level so individual students were not monitored.

Instructional Practices Inventory (IPI)

The IPI has been used in several studies monitoring school intervention programmes. Similar to the AIMS instrument, it is a classroom focused measure, rather than individual. This instrument was used in the Project ASSIST programme which included over 50 schools that

³⁶ See appendix 15 for observational tools.

employed school improvement initiatives (Valentine, 2006). Similarly, Quinn (2002) used the IPI protocol to monitor changes in schools that implemented systematic improvement initiatives. The fact that this measure has been previously used in studies that monitor different school intervention programmes, make it suitable for this research as it has been designed to capture behaviour in schools that are undertaking improvement programmes.

Similar to the AIMS instrument, the scoring system was not used, instead the behavioural categories were utilised to organise the observation schedule. There are six categories with corresponding descriptors and common 'look fors' to help observers reliably evaluate each classroom. These range from 'complete disengagement' to 'student active engaged learning'. The original protocol asks for the observer to monitor each classroom in the school for 1-3 minutes. However, all three schools felt that this was intrusive and would actually result in disengagement from the learning material resulting in lower scores.³⁷ Therefore, each of the schools asked that the researcher remain in the classroom for the duration of a lesson and evaluate the classroom during their main learning period. The original IPI recommends not recording the first and last five minutes of a lesson. However, the head teachers recommended avoiding the first 10 minutes of each class as this was the time when students move to different groups/get organised for the lesson and the last 5 minutes is generally used for the plenary session and tidying away. Therefore, there were multiple assessments throughout each lesson were made, avoiding the first 10 and last 5 minutes. As a result, it was decided that the classroom would be evaluated beginning at the 10-minute mark and ending at the 50-minute mark. At every 5-minute interval the classroom qualitative description would be used based on the categories of 'look for' behaviours.

The AIMS and IPI measurements were chosen for several reasons. Firstly, they were utilised in previous intervention programmes and they are both classroom focused (rather than on individual students). They are both observational instruments and importantly combined they monitor the three different types of engagement utilised in the subjective self-reports (Fredericks and McColskey, 2011). Based on these requirements there were limited number of tools available. It was necessary to modify the established instrument to suit the research conditions made clear by the schools. Rudestam and Newton (2007) finds that modifying existing instruments as an acceptable practice so long as these are justifiable. In addition, they

³⁷ Example given was that every time a door opens or closes the students in the classroom look up and become distracted. Additionally, the observer would have to be introduced.

advocate using modified instruments alongside existing instruments as it should give the researcher an appreciation of the modified instruments reliability and validity. As such, the IPI should be positively related to the Classroom AIMS instrument, as repeatedly demonstrated in the literature. If this relationship is not found, the reliability and validity of the modified tool should be questioned.

Restorative Language

This research also used a standard observation form to monitor characteristics of restorative language used in the classroom by the teacher. There are six main factors restorative language encompasses: open questions, non-judgmental statements and questions, enquiring questions, fairness, respectful, and supportive body language/tone. The researcher recorded each of the factors for the teachers in the classrooms being observed. This is not a psychometric tool, rather a method to standardise the observations for the use of restorative language, as presently none exist.

The two observation instruments and the restorative language schedule were used as a structure for the observations. In this way, it was possible to target the particular element under investigation-school engagement and use of RA language. The systematic nonparticipant observations were purposely used to focus on central aspects of the research rather than document all types of behaviours occurring in the classroom (Flick, 2006). Strict behavioural codes were applied to limit threats³⁸ to validity and ensure consistent observation techniques in each classroom/school.

4.7 Ethical Considerations

There were several ethical considerations for this research as the main participants include a vulnerable group (young people). The present research obtained ethical approval and permissions from the relevant authorities prior to any research. Firstly, the research was assessed by both the departmental ethics panel and the university ethics committee. Additionally, permissions were sought from the Head Teachers and the Senior Youth Offending Service Managers in LA1 and LA2. Each stakeholder, including the school, the YOT staff, and the researcher should ensure the rights of each participant are respected.

³⁸ Observer drift, participant reactivity, observer expectations and gender bias are all threats to observation validity (Ostrov and Hart, 2013).

Brink and Wood (1998, pg. 200) state that each participant should expect a number of rights before any research commences, this includes “informed consent, right to anonymity and confidentiality, right to privacy, justice, beneficence and respect for persons”. This research utilises this as a foundation to ensure the rights of each participant were upheld throughout the research. This includes several steps before students were permitted to consent themselves. First, an ‘opting out’ form was given to all parents in each of the schools along with information on restorative approaches (see appendix 1). Before questionnaire administration, the students were given a copy of the explanatory statement (Explanatory statements, see appendix 3-6) and the RA Officer or teacher read this aloud. Only then could a student consent to filling in the questionnaire (Consent Forms, see appendix 7-9). The consent form outlines their right not participant and their right withdraw at any time. These forms also acknowledge each participant’s rights to confidentiality.³⁹

It was also necessary to ensure that all potential risks/harm to the participants were limited. Burns and Grove (1997) state that the terms risk and harm include several different types including physical, psychological, emotional, social and financial. The main concern for this research was the potential for psychological and emotional harm to the participant, so steps were taken to minimize these during each stage of the research process. Certain steps were taken to restrict the need for the researcher to be present during the questionnaire completion, such as restricting the presence of the researcher during questionnaire administration to ease any pressure to consent. The explanatory statement also gave information on who to contact should any concerns arise.

4.8 Methodological Influences from Previous Evaluation Research

Morrison (2007) states that there is little empirical evidence to support the use of restorative approaches in schools and that evaluations are largely post-conference. This observation made by Morrison (2007) and the following two RA evaluation projects shaped many of the main research design ideas in the present study. The following section describes how Kane et al. (2005) and the YJB (2004) evaluation inspired many of the methodological considerations made in the present research.

³⁹ This is written in a manner that children could understand-rather than use confidentiality the author chose to include the phrase “no one will know what I answer”.

4.8.1 Restorative Practices in Three Scottish Councils

The present research took much inspiration from the well regarded RA evaluation of Kane, et al. (2007) in three Scottish Councils study. This stems from the fact that the current research project also evaluates RA across different local authorities and where the implementation is different within each school. The present research addresses some of the limitations that Kane, et al. (2007) acknowledge in their final reports. One of the main limitations to their findings is that there is a relatively small sample for many of their methods employed, making generalisation about the school or specific council difficult. The current research overcame these limitations by including a much larger sample size and did not intend to make generalisations for the local authority or restorative approaches overall. Rather the present study evaluated the programmes within the schools to make individualised assessments only for that setting based on larger and more varied samples within the population.

Kane, et al. (2007) evaluated RA implementation across three Scottish councils, including 18 schools. During this evaluation the researchers used a mixed methods research design including surveys, interviews, and school data. This mixed methods approach encouraged the present evaluation to include more varied methods to gain a more holistic view of the programme overall.

Sample Size

The student survey was administered to 640 secondary school pupils (from 9,353 total students) in one form class in years S2 and S4 in each school (equivalent to Years 8 and 10). The authors acknowledge that there were issues with drawing any generalizable conclusions from the student data, as the sample was less than 7% of the overall population. The present research overcomes the limited sample size by targeting all form classes from three separate year groups. The response rate of the present research was approximately 41% (School 3) and 34% (School 2) of the total student population in each school. Furthermore, School 1 had a participation rate of 67.9% of all referrals to the RA Officer. The increased sample size and participation rate in the present research is more representative of the population, which limits the significance of extreme responses.

Issues of sample size are also present in their interview samples. Kane, et al. (2007) interviewed an array of people from educational psychologists to non-teaching staff.

However, there were a minimal number of interviews with staff that actually interacted with students in the classroom. Only 48 interviews with classroom teachers were conducted over 18 schools (both primary and secondary school interviews are included in this number). Although more pupil interviews were conducted, this only totalled 93 secondary school pupil interviews over three councils, a relatively small sample size. To overcome the reliance on a small number of interview participants, this research conducted 28 teacher interviews and utilised focus groups with students. This allowed for more students, in varied groups, to voice their opinions and perceptions of the school, gaining a more comprehensive representation of student views.⁴⁰

Timing and Validity

There are also certain limitations to the timing and validity of the administered student survey, which was delivered during the initial stages of the research. Kane, et al. (2007) recognise the issue of the timing and state that the survey was not meant to be a baseline with follow up questionnaires but rather a “snap shot” of the schools (pg.30). Consequently, this questions the purpose of the student survey overall as the results are unlikely to be a result of RA implementation, nor are they a baseline for further study. The current research builds on Kane’s et al. (2007) research framework and extends it to include second/third questionnaire administration in all form classes in three different year groups. In this way, a much larger sample is questioned in regards to the overall population size and the baseline questionnaire with subsequent follow up questionnaire administration allowed for the monitoring of any changes in the sample. The elapsed time between questionnaire distribution enabled the approach to embed in the school. Additionally, Kane, et al. (2007) only ‘loosely’ followed a previously validated scale (based on Booth and Ainscow (2002) student inclusion survey). The issues of reliability and validity of using an untested questionnaire is replaced with the use of psychometric scales. Thus, the present researcher is certain the chosen scales are both valid and reliable measurements of specific psychological constructs.

Overall, the small sample sizes in Kane, et al. (2007) evaluation restricts the ability to fully gain a representative perspective from the two populations most affected by the implementation (students and staff). The present research overcomes this by including larger samples, with additional focus on students and staff, whilst still acknowledging the

⁴⁰ In addition, School 1 and 2 both preferred focus groups due to time constraints and potential ethical considerations of individual student interviews.

importance of management and individuals involved in the policies of implementation (i.e. Deputy head teachers and YOT staff).

4.8.2 Youth Justice Board (YJB) of England and Wales Evaluation of 26 Schools

A second large evaluation study which helped to shape the methodology of the current research is the YJB of England and Wales evaluation of 26 schools. The YJB for England and Wales received funding to extend some initial initiatives implementing restorative justice in schools across the UK. In total nine different YOTs were granted between £15,000 to £44,000 to plan and implement their programmes. Each restorative programme was unique to the school and the YJB did not provide prescriptive guidance for the implementation or delivery of the practices. The YOTs and schools could tailor the practices to fit the needs and realities faced in each setting. Interestingly, very few schools opted for the whole school approach which is generally advocated, with the majority of secondary schools opting for particular restorative practices within certain groups of students and in particular situations ('pockets' of RA).

The YJB research questions were largely based around victimisation and bullying rates, as well as the implementation and delivery of the restorative practices. Of interest to the present research, was the use of baseline data in two year groups, which was one limitation of the Kane's et al. (2007) evaluation. The YJB administered a student survey towards the beginning of the implementation stage to gather baseline data on the students. This was then repeated at a later date to monitor any changes. The current research also took inspiration from the use of baseline surveys in Years 7 and 9, but also included Year 11 to increase the sample size.

The student survey was administered to all Year 7 and 9 students by three different methods: 1. Researcher to the whole year group 2. Researcher to each of tutor (form) groups 3. Teacher to the tutor groups. A negotiation between the YJB researchers and the schools led to the decision on how the student survey would be administered. The YJB (2004) evaluation highlighted some limitations to the three administration options, namely the variation in administration formats between teachers. The YJB overcame this concern by giving guidance to the teachers distributing the student survey. This strategy was also used in the present research where verbal and written guidance was given to each form teacher. Additionally, each teacher had contact details should any questions arise.

4.9 Conclusion

A pure experimental design, with dedicated control groups can present many concerns for a school, such as who gets what treatment. Therefore, this research utilises the natural social setting to evaluate the student's happiness, school engagement and self-esteem. Although it is difficult to establish a true experimental design in a school setting, it is possible to utilise a repeated measures design to obtain baseline measures, acting as a comparative for future surveys. This addresses Morrison's (2007) complaint against evaluation research only considering post-conference information.

Together Morrison's comments on the limitations of restorative evaluation and the two large evaluation studies informed the methodology used in the current research. The first evaluation by Kane. et al (2007) suffered from limited sample sizes, surveys given before any changes have time to embed within the school, and lack of any follow up surveys. The YJB evaluation offered solutions to these limitations by obtaining a large sample (4,604 pupils) and baseline data to monitor changes in the participants. This research design strongly influenced the current project and the need to obtain baseline data in lieu of control groups. By overcoming the issues of a small sample and obtaining baseline data, the current evaluation gives a more informed view on the differential impact of three implementation approaches.

A mixed methods approach, in line with the principles of scientific realist evaluation, allowed for the current evaluation to move beyond the simple reporting on the outcomes of RA implementation, rather the context and mechanisms of change were equally considered key elements of investigation. The present research used the realist framework Context + Mechanisms = Outcomes (C+M=O), as it recognises the complexity of social settings and the multitude of influential contextual factors present in real world evaluation research.

Chapter 5: Outcomes of Implementation

5.1 Introduction

Empirical evaluations of RA implementation can be problematic due to the often idiosyncratic way in which these policies and procedures are interpreted and operationalized (Daly, 2016). However, this flexibility is not necessarily negative; schools are able to tailor the programmes to suit the needs of the organisation and participants, but deciphering what has worked and how can be problematic (Doak and O'Mahony, 2011). The current research is a good example of this diverse approach to the use of RA in educational settings, with three separate schools in neighbouring areas implementing different RA practices. Subsequently, this resulted in two different research designs being necessary to fully evaluate the impact of RA on happiness, school engagement and self-esteem as its primary focus.

The most illustrative method for evaluating the impact of any initiative is the before-after research design as the influence of the intervening variable (or the intervention) can be easily identified. School 1 implemented formal reactive practices; as a result, it was possible to follow specific students throughout the process. Thus, a before and after research design was utilised to monitor any changes in happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem in the participants. In contrast, School 2 and 3 did not rely on formal conferencing, instead focused on a more 'whole school' approach, meaning a before and after design with specific participants was inappropriate and unrealisable. To monitor changes in these schools, specific year groups (Years 7, 9, and 11) were followed over the course of the research period, utilising a linked cross-sectional design, rather than a pure repeated measures procedure.

In this chapter, the results of quantitative analysis from the specific psychometric scales are detailed; for School 1 this is at an individual level, whereas in School 2 and 3 at the aggregate level. Inferential statistics were utilised to indicate the potential significance of these findings. In addition, a number of nonparametric tests were also employed to evaluate categorical data collected.⁴¹ Overall, the quantitative data is essential for measuring the outcomes drawn from the scientific realist framework: *Context + Mechanisms = Outcomes* (Pawson and Tilley, 1994). The focus on the key metrics of happiness, school engagement and self-esteem

⁴¹ Missing Data: participants with missing data for any of the parametric tests were excluded from analysis. Whilst it is possible to use mean averages for missing questions, the sample size was sufficient to exclude any incomplete responses. However, for nonparametric tests, missing responses were recorded and included in all tables/graphs as these were seen as a valuable source of information, as the missing values were not *missing at random*. Rather, participants had filled out the questionnaires but had skipped certain questions purposely and the missing responses had inferential value.

is based on the assertions made by restorative advocates regarding the improvement in these areas (Wachtel, 2012; Barnet London Borough, n.d.). However, in previous research, only limited anecdotal evidence is available to provide support for such claims rather than testable empirical data. This chapter has four main sections (outlined below):

Section 1– Before and After Design

The following questions were used to guide the analysis of the data of School 1:

- What are the reasons for the initial referral?
- What are the lengths of the referrals?
- What did the participants like/dislike about the RA process?
- Do formal restorative conferences affect happiness, school engagement and self-esteem of the participants?

Section 2 – Cross-sectional Design

The second section considers the results from School 2 and School 3. The following questions are asked:

- Do happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem improve over time in each school?
- Are there any group⁴² differences found in relation to happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem?
- What is the relationship between these three variables in each school?
- What are the differences between the schools?

Additionally, the results pertaining to Hafan are considered. Both School 1 and School 2 have dedicated Hafan staff, the leaders of which are fully trained RA Champions. These facilities were proposed by the YJB and school staff to be an ideal location to facilitate RA practices. Additionally, the Youth Offending Team Manager (LA1) states that in future schools Hafan will be the target of RA implementation. Therefore, it is important to consider the outcome differences between these two Hafan sites, which will assist in future recommendations.

⁴² Gender and language stream (School 2 only) considered

- Is there a difference in happiness, school engagement and self-esteem scores between School 1 Hafan and School 2 Hafan.

Section 3 – Student Perceptions of School

The next section considers the students’ perceptions of their respective schools. Analysing data from the first and final questionnaires will establish if these scores change over time as RA practices and principles embed within their schools.

- Do the students feel supported in school?
- How do the students describe their school?
- Student awareness of RA in school
- Do these change over time?

Section 4 - Happiness, School Engagement, and Self-Esteem

Section 4 reports on the relationship between happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem, using both correlational and regression analysis.

Section 1

5.2 Reactive-Only Implementation Results

School 1 utilised reactive-only practices facilitated by the RA Officer, despite initial planning to develop a school-wide approach. The restorative process in this school included a full conference, with preparatory and follow up meetings. In most cases, a number of further meetings were held between the RA officer and the transgressor, subsequent to the actual conference. Often these involved targeted social and emotional development sessions between the officer and student.

Cases were considered open the first day the initial meeting took place between the facilitator and the participant. During this first meeting the initial questionnaire was administered by the RA officer. Referrals were closed the day the facilitator completed the final follow-up meeting and during this final meeting the second questionnaire was administered, again by the RA officer. The participants involved in this research were considered the ‘transgressors’ in the conflict, which had resulted in the referral to the RA Officer in the first instance (n=19).

Overall, the RA Officer received 28 referred cases during the research period. From these 28 cases, the researcher was able to obtain a total of 19 completed before and after questionnaires. From those that were unsuitable for analysis, there were eight instances where the conflict could not be resolved and the case withdrawn and one case where the consent from the student and/or parent was not given. The sample was divided between 15 males and 4 female participants. The reasons for the referral were coded and five different categories of conflicts were found to be present (Table 8).

Reason for Referral		Number of Students (n=19)
1.	High level of repeated and aggressive disruption in classroom	8
2.	Low level general classroom disruption	3
3.	Physical Fighting	3
4.	Incident of aggressive behaviour directed toward a specific pupil	3
5.	Bullying	2

Table 8: Type and Frequencies of Referrals

The majority of the referrals stem from disruptive classroom behaviour, which is a common finding in RA evaluations. Kane, et al. (2007) report indiscipline is a recurrent issue in classroom life. In these instances, no direct student victims were identified. From these 19 cases, there were only a small number of ‘apologies’ made: only six of the total 19 referrals resulted in an apology (written or verbal) to a *direct* victim. This is somewhat contrary to most reactive processes, as an apology is often seen as a fundamental element of such practices (Bottoms, 2003).

Whilst it was noted that apologies were made in these six instances from the YOT notes (supporting evidence also found focus groups for these apologies), it was difficult to ascertain the level of participation of the victim in most of these cases (see Qualitative findings, pg. 186). The length of time from the initial referral from a staff member to the first meeting with the RA Officer ranged from 0-30 days and cases remained open from 6-309 days ($M=160$).

Interestingly, the length of referral time was not related to the type of offense ($\chi^2=.245$, $df=48$, $N=19$).

Participants were asked what they liked or disliked about being involved with the restorative processes: they were able to choose from a list or write their own responses (all participants chose a listed response) (see Table 9).⁴³

Liked		Disliked	
The sense of fairness or justice	7	I felt embarrassed or awkward	4
Feeling that I can move on from past events	7	It was not fair	0
Realising the consequences of my actions in relation to the other person	7	I did not know what to expect	5
Giving me a chance to make things right	6		

Table 9: Participant Responses

Participants appeared mostly positive about the RA process generally; they seemed to find the process to be more ‘fair’, enabled them to ‘move on’, helped them to realise the consequences of their behaviour and gave them a chance to ‘make things right’. The main elements of the RA process the students disliked were that they did not know what to expect and they felt embarrassed in front of their peers.

Nine of these referrals were subsequently referred to other agencies and programs for their behaviour. At the conclusion of this research, four students had three or more referrals to additional programs after their initial referral to the RA Officer.

Key metrics

The Before-After evaluations required the use of inferential statistics (dependent samples t-test) to establish any significant differences between Time 1 and Time 2:

⁴³ Participants could choose more than 1

Happiness: There was no significant difference in mean happiness scores between Time 1 ($M=4.842$, $SD=1.00$) and Time 2 ($M=4.54$, $SD=.813$) ($t=1.008$; $p=.327$).

School Engagement: There was no significant difference in school engagement scores between Time 1 ($M=2.628$, $SD=.4875$) and Time 2 ($M=2.659$, $SD=.364$) ($t=-.494$; $p=.627$).

Self-Esteem: There was no significant difference between self-esteem scores between Time 1 ($M=23.42$, $SD=2.987$) and Time 2 ($M=23.58$, $SD=2.854$) ($t=-.318$; $p=.754$).

It was also considered if the length of time a referral took to undertake (indicating more meetings with the RA facilitator) and these three key evaluation variables were related. However, no correlations were found between referral length and happiness, school engagement or self-esteem scores (happiness $r=-.186$, $p=.446$; school engagement $r=-.122$, $p=.618$; self-esteem $r=.365$, $p=.124$). Hence, the number of meetings with the RA facilitator did not appear to affect the key evaluation indices.

Overall, participating in reactive RA process - including preparatory and follow up meetings, as well as formal conferencing itself - did not develop sufficiently to significantly influence happiness, school engagement or self-esteem scores over the time periods used in this analysis. The testing of individual participants in formal RA processes did not yield any significant changes, which was surprising considering the consensus in the literature:

It has been proven in USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to be a very effective way to reduce all levels of conflict, not only exclusions, but also reducing the need for punitive sanctions across the board, it creates a happier safer school, that deals effectively with conflict...(RestorativeJustice4Schools, 2015, homepage).

These inclusive [RA] practices have increased engagement in students... (Croxford, 2010, pg. 34).

The benefits of being involved in the Restorative Approach suggest a reduction in risk factors ...and an increase in protective factors such as ... an increase in self-esteem (Barnet London Borough, n.d., pg. 3)

Making concrete assumptions on the apparent ineffectiveness of RA on impacting upon happiness, school engagement and self-esteem from one small study would be premature. Similarly, it was possible that the implementation style itself had a great impact on the

potential to improve the key evaluation indices. Subsequently, it was necessary to evaluate two further contexts before making any conclusions on the impact of RA on happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem.

Section 2

5.3 Cross-Sectional Design

The research design in Schools 2 (*intended whole school approach*) and 3 (*preventative-only whole school approach*) were primarily the same in implementation. In both schools, Years 7, 9, and 11 received the questionnaire at the beginning of the academic year, again during the summer term of that same academic year (School 2 only), and finally during the following winter term to establish any changes in happiness, school engagement, or self-esteem over the course of the 18-month evaluation period.

Lyubomirsky’s (1999), using the *Subjective Happiness Scale*, reported the average mean high-school happiness score was 5.13 and this consistent with the literature on happiness which finds the average person exhibits a tendency toward a mildly positive mood (Diener, 1984). The results from the current data sets ($M=4.75$, $SD=.835$) are in line with previous research, with a slight bias towards the positive end of the measures; these were normally distributed (see Chart 1).

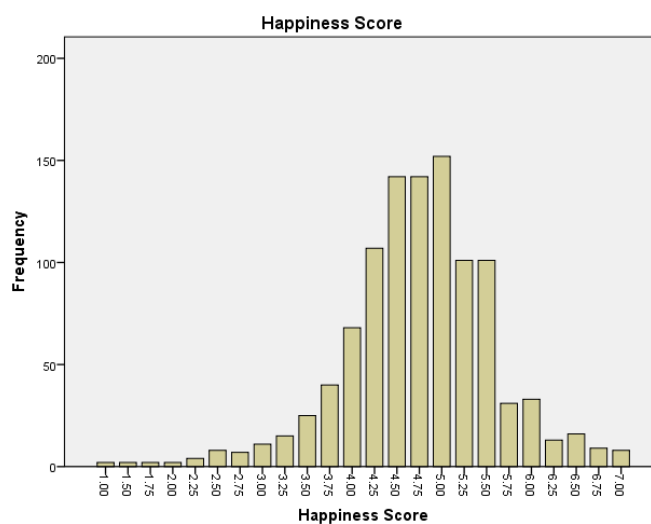


Chart 1: Aggregate Frequency of Mean Happiness Scores for Schools 2 and 3

Similarly, in a study by Schmitt and Allick (2005), using the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale with nearly 17,000 participants, found the mean average was above the theoretical midpoint. The combined results for School 1 and 2 collected here followed a similar pattern with a slight tendency towards the upper end of the scale.

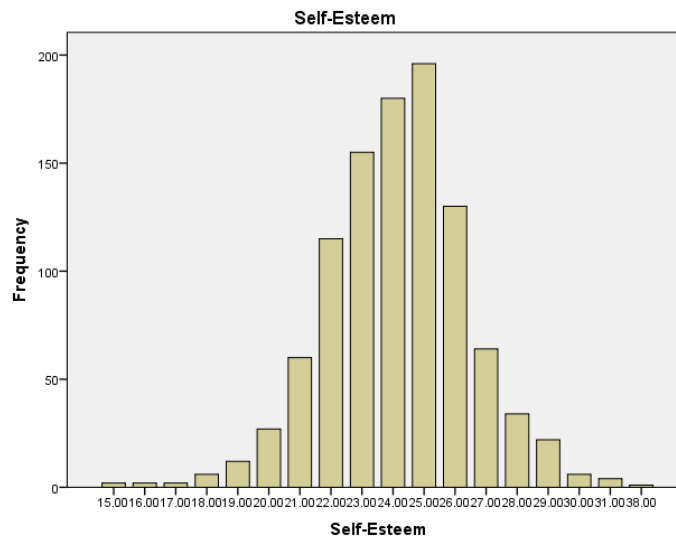


Chart 2: *Aggregate Frequency of Self-Esteem Scores for Schools 2 and 3*

Evaluating the final measure is slightly less transparent as there are no specific benchmarks for the school engagement scale (Fredericks, et al., 2005). However, the original research found that the mean for both genders was above 3.00 for each of the engagement subtypes and is congruent with other research using this scale which found school engagement scores are negatively skewed indicating a tendency towards positive responses (Fredericks, et al., 2003). This tendency towards more positive responses was not so apparent in the current sample, with a slight skewness towards scores at the lower end of the distribution ($M=2.727$, $SD=.474$).

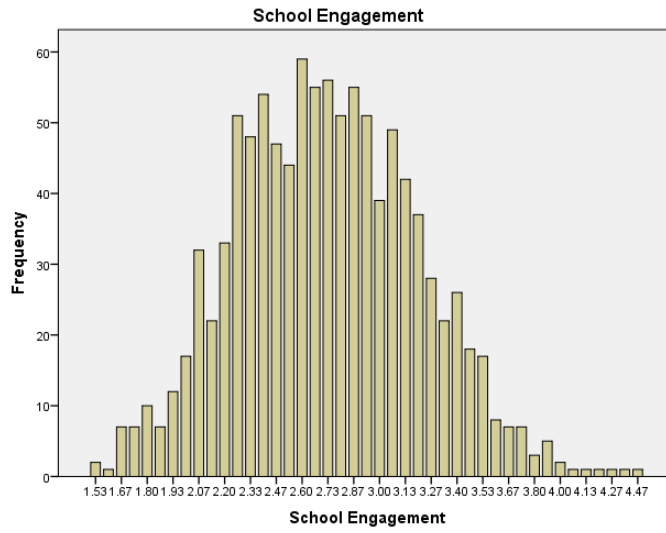


Chart 3: *Aggregate Frequency of School Engagement Scores for Schools 2 and 3*

5.4 Intended Whole School Approach Results

School 2 intended to implement a traditional whole-school approach, including both reactive and preventative practices. However, the number of formal conferences was problematic and there was only limited evidence of this practice being carried out. The RA Officers reported that the small number of students referred to them, either did not wish to take part in this research or the referral was dealt with in an informal manner. Additionally, the RA champions did not utilise formal RA practices, rather they choose to resolve conflict through mini/corridor conference. Subsequently, due to this implementation style it was necessary to sample a number of year groups to draw conclusions from the student body population.

School 2 had a total of 644 responses over the three different waves of data collection. The total sample consisted of 312 males and 320 females (12 missing gender information). Table 10 (below) displays each form class and number of responses at each time.⁴⁴

Form Class	Time 1	Time 2	Time 3
7g	13	12	6
7d	23	20	17
7n	22	19	18
7p	21	11	18
7s	25	23	**
9g	11	12	15
9d	22	21	6
9n	27	21	15
9p	24	22	10
9s	13	13	11
11W	41	*	28
11E	47	*	37
Total	289	174	181

Table 10: School 2 Responses by Form Class

*Exam period prohibited this year group from participating at Time 2; ** Class trip

⁴⁴ The data for Time 2 was utilised to find any trends, however, there were largely no significant results found in the data, therefore for the majority of tests only Time 1 and Time 3 were utilised.

Analysis of Measures by Time and Year Group

The aggregate data indicates that most scores stay essentially constant or showed a small downward trend between Time 1 and Time 3 in Year 7, Year 9 and Year 11.⁴⁵ The only mean score to increase was Year 11’s school engagement (Table 11).

School 2	Time 1	Time 3
<u>Happiness</u>		
Year 7	M=5.030 (SD=.87)	M=4.62 (SD=1.22)
Year 9	M=4.938 (SD=.90)	M=4.978 (SD=.90)
Year 11	M=4.782 (SD=.78)	M=4.754 (SD=.84)
<u>School Engagement</u>		
Year 7	M=2.96 (SD=.52)	M=2.69 (SD=.52)
Year 9	M=2.68 (SD=.46)	M=2.61 (SD=.46)
Year 11	M=2.51 (SD=.49)	M=2.63 (SD=.47)
<u>Self-Esteem</u>		
Year 7	M=24.26 (SD=2.8)	M=23.26 (SD=2.52)
Year 9	M=24.69 (SD=2.28)	M=24.35 (SD=2.11)
Year 11	M=24.27 (SD=2.38)	M=24.11 (SD=2.30)

Table 11: *School 2 Mean Scores by Year Group and Time*

However, taking School 1 as a whole, it is possible to observe a small yet gradual decline in all scores over the two different times (more analysis on the comparison of these means between schools and times found in section ‘5.6 Comparative Analysis, p.138).

Mean Scores⁴⁶	Time 1	Time 3
Happiness	4.92	4.78
School Engagement	2.73	2.64
Self-Esteem	24.41	23.90

Table 12: *School 2-Mean Scores*

⁴⁵ The year groups refer to the year when the research began. During Time 3 the participants were in the next year group.

⁴⁶ Time 2 scores were largely redundant, therefore, this section reports on the first (T1) and the final (T3) scores for School 2.

Key Metrics

Inferential tests were used to establish whether there were any statistically significant differences in happiness, school engagement and self-esteem between males and females at the start and completion term of this research.

Happiness

At Time 1 the mean happiness scores of males ($M=4.99$, $SD=.837$) did not differ from that of females ($M=4.8$, $SD=.888$) but was approaching statistically significant ($t=1.885$, $df=283$, $p=.60$). At Time 3, the difference between males ($M=4.80$, $SD=.989$) and females ($M=4.76$, $SD=1.02$) became less pronounced ($t=.257$, $df=179$, $p=.798$).

School Engagement

Mean school engagement scores for genders did not differ significantly at Time 1 ($t=1.613$, $df=280$, $p=.108$) but at Time 3 the null hypothesis was rejected as males ($M=2.717$, $SD=.506$) were found to have statistically significant higher scores than that of female students ($M=2.565$, $SD=.447$) ($t=2.129$, $df=176$, $p=.035$).

Self-Esteem

At both times the mean self-esteem scores for males and females were not found to be statistically significant (Time1: $t=1.873$, $df=273$, $p=.062$; Time 3: $t=.617$, $df=159$, $p=.538$).

A robust gender difference in scores of happiness, school engagement and self-esteem did not emerge from this data. The only difference emerged at Time 3, where males had higher levels of school engagement compared to females. This is contradictory to the literature as girls usually report higher levels than boys in school engagement (Amit, et al., 2014; Fredericks, et al., 2003), but boys report higher levels than girls in self-esteem (Bagley, et al., 1997). However, the evidence for happiness differences is equivocal. Previous research indicates that gender does not affect happiness levels at school age (Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter, 2003; Francis, et al., 1998), however some studies contradict this and find females are generally happier (Argyle and Lu, 1990). Therefore, it was not surprising to find no gender differences in happiness.

Independent sample t-tests were also used to establish any mean differences in happiness, school engagement and self-esteem between language streams. There were no differences at T1. At T3 (N=178), there was no mean difference in happiness (Welsh M=4.86; English M=4.68; $t=1.172$, $p=.243$) or school engagement (Welsh M=2.65; English M=2.63; $t=.368$, $p=.713$). However, there was a statistically significant difference found in self-esteem scores: Welsh students were found to have significantly higher self-esteem than their English counterparts (Welsh M=24.28; English M=23.39; $t=.2.579$, $p=.011$).

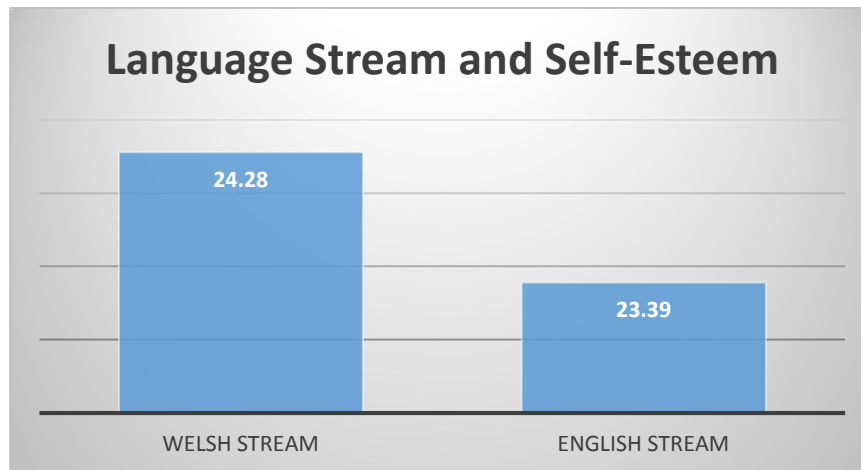


Chart 4: Time 3 Language Stream and Mean Self-Esteem Scores

The relationship between happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem was examined at both Time 1 and Time 3 using backward linear regression analysis. The additional factors of gender and language stream were also included in this analysis. Happiness was labelled as the dependent (outcome) variable and the remaining variables considered independent. Gender and language stream were independent for obvious reasons; however, school engagement and self-esteem were considered predictor variables based on the majority of the literature stating the both of these *influence* levels of happiness, rather than the reverse (Rosenberg, et al., 1995; Seligman, 2002).

The best fitting model ($r^2=.086$; *adjusted* $r^2=.076$) removes gender as a predictor variables and includes the significant ($p<.05$) variables of school engagement ($B=.216$, $p=.000$), self-esteem ($B=.128$, $p=.031$) and language stream ($B=-.148$, $p=.012$). It is worth noting that language stream was a negative predictor of happiness at T1. However, at T3, the final model ($r^2=.065$; *adjusted* $r^2=.054$) excluded both gender and language stream. The final model indicated that both school engagement ($B=.194$, $p=.009$) and self-esteem ($.0164$, $p=.029$) were positive predictors of happiness. These findings are in line with the literature, however,

what is surprising is that school engagement is more strongly linked to happiness than self-esteem. Self-esteem is often related directly to happiness (Baumeister, et al., 2003), whereas there is very little discussion or research between school engagement and happiness.

5.5 Preventative-Only Whole School Approach

School 3 had a total of 583 student responses over the two waves of data collection. The total sample consisted of 316 males and 266 females⁴⁷. Table 13 displays each form class and number of responses at both times.

Form Class	Time 1	Time 2
7e	24	20
7h	13	19
7g	20	20
7d	22	19
7y	20	19
7n	18	15
9e	16	20
9h	19	21
9d	18	16
9y	*	20
9n	22	19
11e⁴⁸	20	19
11g	18	
11h	15	
11d	21	
11y	21	14
11n	20	16
Total	307	276

Table 13: School 3 Responses by Form Class

* No data available due to class trip

⁴⁷ One respondent missing gender

⁴⁸ 11e and 11g; 11h and 11d combined in Year 12

Analysis of Measures by Time and Year Group

There were some small variations between scores in Year 7 and 9 over the research period. However, Year 11’s happiness and school engagement scores appeared to improve more substantially compared to the other year groups and variables. Overall, Year 7 had a reduction in all scores between the two times (Table 14 below).

School 3	Time 1	Time 2
Happiness		
Year 7	M=4.834 (SD=.76)	M=4.770 (SD=.72)
Year 9	M=4.603 (SD=.73)	M=4.624 (SD=.72)
Year 11	M=4.395 (SD=.83)	M=4.683 (SD=.55)
School Engagement		
Year 7	M=3.01 (SD=.40)	M=2.87 (SD=.42)
Year 9	M=2.72 (SD=4.23)	M=2.65 (SD=.35)
Year 11	M=2.48 (SD=.43)	M=2.79 (SD=.40)
Self-Esteem		
Year 7	M=24.24 (SD=2.13)	M=24.19 (SD=2.11)
Year 9	M=23.88 (SD=2.24)	M=23.94 (SD=2.18)
Year 11	M=24.09 (SD=2.42)	M=24.25 (SD=2.16)

Table 14: School 3 Mean Scores by Year Group and Time

Taken as a whole, the mean scores indicated a small trend towards an improvement in recorded scores between the two data collection points. The differences between *Time 1* and *Time 2* are small but indicate positive achievement (in that the scores did not decline) and at a minimum remained stable (Anova results available on pg.138).

Mean Scores	Time 1	Time 2
Happiness	4.61	4.69
School Engagement	2.74	2.77
Self-Esteem	24.04	24.11

Table 15: School 3-Mean Scores

Key Metrics

Inferential tests were used to establish whether there were any statistically significant differences in happiness, school engagement and self-esteem between males and females.

Happiness

Males and females showed no statistically significant difference in mean happiness scores at Time 1 ($t=.217$, $df=303$, $p=.829$) or Time 2 ($t=-.174$, $df=266$, $p=.862$)

School Engagement

The mean school engagement scores of males were not significantly different from that of females at Time 1 ($t=1.213$, $df=300$, $p=.226$) or Time 2 ($t=-1.754$, $df=269$, $p=.862$).

Self-Esteem

At Time 1 males ($M=24.34$, $SD=2.301$) had a significantly higher level of self-esteem compared to females ($M=23.82$, $SD=2.203$) ($t=2.00$, $df=295$, $p=.046$). However, at Time 2 this significance is not repeated and there were no real differences between the two groups ($t=1.073$, $df=264$, $p=.284$).

The difference in scores in happiness, school engagement and self-esteem do not appear to be substantial between male and female students. Self-Esteem at Time 1 did show a gender difference, although this did not hold for Time 2. In addition, these results were very similar to those found in School 2.

To analyse the relationship between the happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem a regression (backward elimination) was conducted; using happiness as the dependent and gender, school engagement and self-esteem as the independent variables at T1 and T2. In both runs, gender and self-esteem were excluded from the final model. The models produced at T1 ($r^2=.185$; $adjusted\ r^2=.182$, $B=.430$, $p=.001$) and T2 ($r^2=.021$; $adjusted\ r^2=.018$, $Beta=.147$, $p=.019$) indicated that school engagement was a significant predictor of happiness in School 3. These results support the previous regression analysis (School 2), which found that school engagement was the best predictor of happiness. However, the elimination of self-esteem from the model was unexpected, considering previous literature using similar regression techniques found “self-esteem to be the most dominant and powerful predictor of happiness” (Furnham and Cheng, 2000, pg. 463).

5.6 Comparative Analysis⁴⁹

To fully explore the interactions between the key evaluation metrics (self-esteem, happiness and school engagement), a comparison between schools was necessary in order to establish any mean differences in outcome scores between the intended whole school approach (School 2) and the preventative-only implementation style (School 3). This comparison assisted in evaluating the implementation styles and provided support for future recommendations as to the optimum delivery of RA in educational settings. The data was analysed to establish what changes (if any) occurred within the schools in regards to the outcome variables

A 2x2 between subject analysis of variance was used to compare the means of both schools at two separate times: scores were the dependent variables and the two different schools were the grouping/independent variables. These results illustrated interesting trends between schools at the two different times.⁵⁰ Firstly, there was a significant interaction between Time (first and second questionnaire administration) and happiness ($F(1, 999)=3.902, p=.048$) and school engagement scores ($F(1,999)=4.074, p=.044$), whereas this interaction was not found to be significant for self-esteem ($F(1,999)=3.005, p=.083$). These results suggest that happiness and school engagement scores depend on the time of the questionnaire administration in School 1 and 2.

However, the analysis of the main effects found that the 'School', rather than the 'Time' was the most significant factor.⁵¹ The time of administration within each school for each of the three variables did not produce significant results at this level (happiness $p=.685$; school engagement $p=.421$; self-esteem $p=.095$), although self-esteem was approaching significance. However, the main effects of the school on happiness and school engagement were significant (again self-esteem was not significant). The mean happiness scores for School 2 were higher than that of School 3 (T1); however, at the final questionnaire administration School 3 improved their scores, whereas there was a decline found in School 2 ($F(1, 999)=14.715, p=.000$). Thus, the net result was that the two scores moved toward each other, decreasing the difference in mean scores between T1 and T2 (see Chart 5 below)

⁴⁹ An ANOVA is used in this research rather than repeated t-tests for group scores as it is less likely to commit a type 1 error, compared to a t-test.

⁵⁰ Year 1 = Time 1 (first questionnaire administration); Year 2 = Final Questionnaire Administration

⁵¹ A cross over interaction does not produce a main effect, despite the interaction.

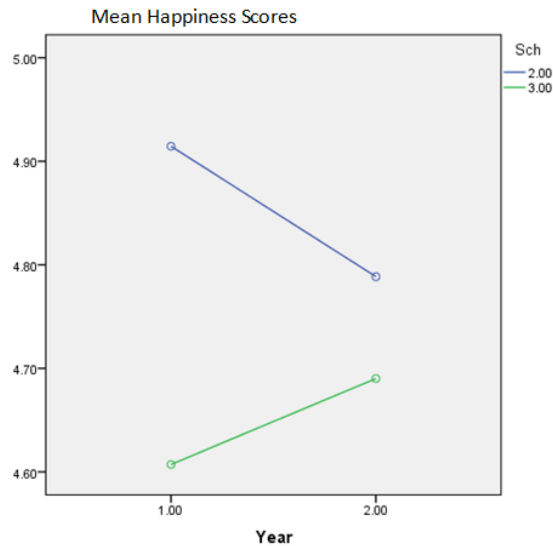


Chart 5: *Mean Happiness Scores*

The difference in mean scores for school engagement saw the opposite effect (see Chart 6 below). Whilst School 2 and School 3 began with a very small difference in mean scores, this gap grew as School 2's scores decreased and School 3's scores increased over time. Therefore, the difference between the two schools increased between T1 and T2 ($F(1, 999)=5.816, p.016$).

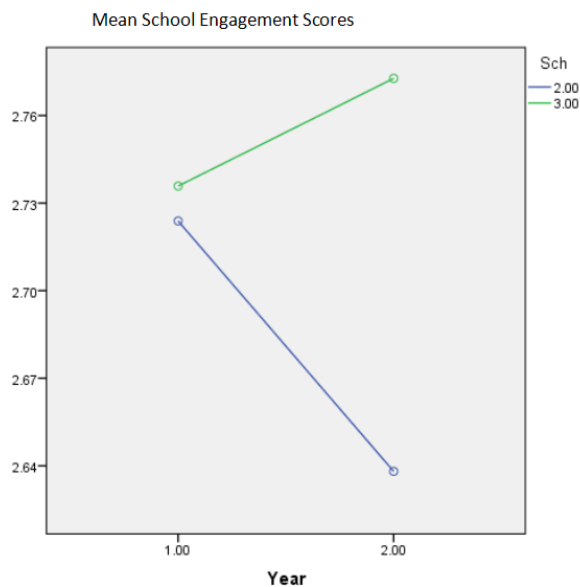


Chart 6: *Mean School Engagement Scores*

The difference in self-esteem scores was approximately .30 points between Schools 2 and 3. The *difference* between the schools remained, however, although interestingly the two schools 'switched' positions; School 3's scores remained relatively unchanged, whereas

School 3’s scores declined quite sharply between T1 and T2. However, this difference was not found to be significant ($F(1, 999)=.095, p=.758$), and is likely due to the fact that the difference remained the same between the two times.

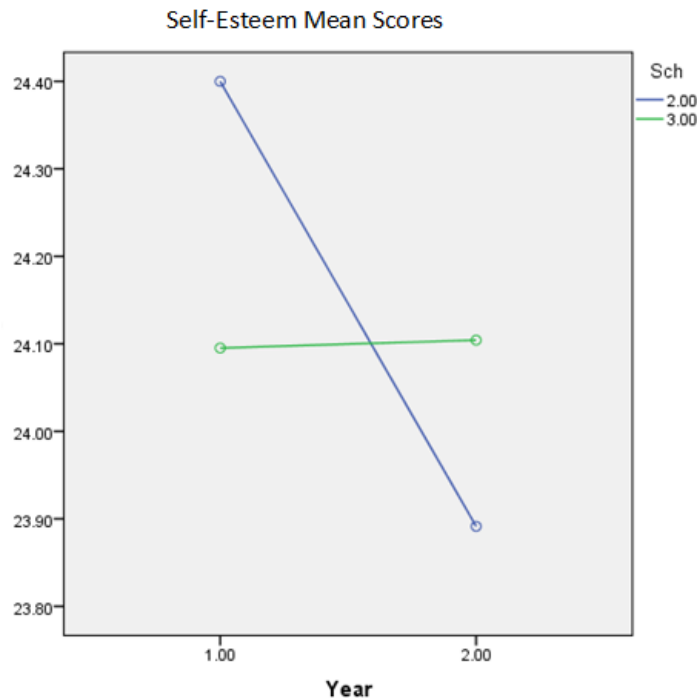


Chart 7: Mean Self-Esteem Scores

The results indicate a difference in scores between the two schools and a general downward trend of all three variables in School 2, whereas School 3 saw a small but noticeable improvement in scores over time (self-esteem remaining unchanged). Overall, this analysis concluded that the school rather than the elapse of time between the two questionnaire administrations was the strongest factor influencing the scores of happiness and school engagement. It was interesting to note that the mean difference in self-esteem between School 2 and School 3 remained stable, although the difference was first attributed to higher mean score in School 2 at T1 and a lower mean score at T2.

Percentile Analysis

The majority of participants had scores that were quite close to the mean at both times. To further establish which population of students improved or declined over the 18-month period, a cross tabulation was utilised to analyse the top and bottom 25% of scores for happiness, school engagement and self-esteem in School 2 and School 3. These figures represent the percentage of the whole of highest and lowest scores, which excludes those scores in the middle 50%.

Happiness scores generally saw a decrease in numbers for both the highest and lowest scorers in both schools. School 2 saw a large decrease of approximately 13% in the number of highest scores.

Happiness		Time 1	Time 2/Time 3
Lowest 25%	School 2	22.3%	16.7%
	School 3	30.8%	26.9%
Highest 25%	School 2	36.7%	24.3%
	School 3	21.6%	20.7%

Table 16: *Happiness-Percent of Lowest and Highest Scores*

There was also a decrease in the number of lowest and the highest scores for school engagement for both schools (see Table 17 below). School 2 saw a 10% decrease in the number of lowest scorers, but also a large decrease (approximately 15%) of high scores. School 3 had a moderate decrease in the number of lowest scores and only a slight decrease (2.4%) in the highest scores. These results indicate that the sample is becoming less diverse over time, with the percentage of respondents in the top and bottom 25th percentiles decreasing and therefore a larger grouping around the mean.

School Engagement		Time 1	Time 2/Time 3
Lowest 25%	School 2	33.5%	26.6%
	School 3	27.4%	20.3%
Highest 25%	School 2	29.2%	13.7%
	School 3	27.4%	25.0%

Table 17: *School Engagement-Percent of Lowest and Highest Scores*

Both School 2 and School 3 again had a decrease in the number of highest and lowest scorers for self-esteem as well. School 2 saw a drop of approximately 8% in the lowest scores but also had a drop of approximately 15% in the highest scorers as well. School 3 had a drop of nearly 5% of the lowest scorers and an approximately 3% drop in the highest scorers.

Self-Esteem		Time 1	Time 2/Time 3
Lowest 25%	School 2	32.9%	24.8%
	School 3	32.6%	28.1%
Highest 25%	School 2	28.7%	13.6%
	School 3	21.1%	18.3%

Table 18: *Self-Esteem-Percent of Lowest and Highest Scores*

For all factors there was a decrease in both the lowest and highest scores between the initial and final questionnaires. The decrease in the lowest 25% of scores was a positive indicator in both schools that between T1 and T2/3 more students scored higher for all three factors.

However, there was also a decrease in the number of highest scorers in both schools. School 3 saw a drop of between 1-3% in each of the areas, whereas School 2 saw a reduction of between 12-15%. The noticeable drop in the highest scorers for School 2 corresponds with the ANOVA results, which consistently saw overall scores fall for all three factors.

Hafan (part of the in-school inclusion unit)

Questionnaires were administered to those students accessing the Hafan facilities during the first lessons of the day. During this week, 18 students completed the question in School 1 and 35 students completed the question in School 2. Throughout the first lesson, more students accessed School 2's Hafan facilities and were more willing to complete the questionnaire. This may be due to the 'drop in' approach utilised in School 2, whereas School 1 has a specific timetable of students who were accessing the facilities during any given lesson slot.

	School 1	School 2	t	p-value
Happiness	M=4.25	M=4.56	-1.267 (df=52)	.211
School Engagement	M=2.48	M=2.71	-1.702 (df=52)	.095
Self-Esteem	M=23.47	M=23.76	-.340 (df=53)	.735

Table 19: *Hafan T-Test Results*

Independent sample t-tests established that there were no significant mean differences between the two Hafan departments (School 1 and School 2) in happiness, school engagement, or self-esteem scores.

Section 3

5.7 Student Perceptions of School⁵²

This section will present the analysis of data on student perceptions in both School 2 and 3. Students were asked if they felt supported by their school generally in both the initial and final questionnaire. School 2 saw the number of students who perceived their school as supportive decrease over time (T1=43%, T3=32%); there was also an increase in non-responses (T1=20%, T3=33%), whereas the number of negative responses remained relatively stable (T1=37%, T3=35%) (see Chart 8 below). One possibility is that the difference in positive responses (11%) and the difference in negative responses (2%) accounts for the 13% increase in non-responses. However, due to anonymity requirements this remains ambiguous, as it is impossible to account for individual student responses.

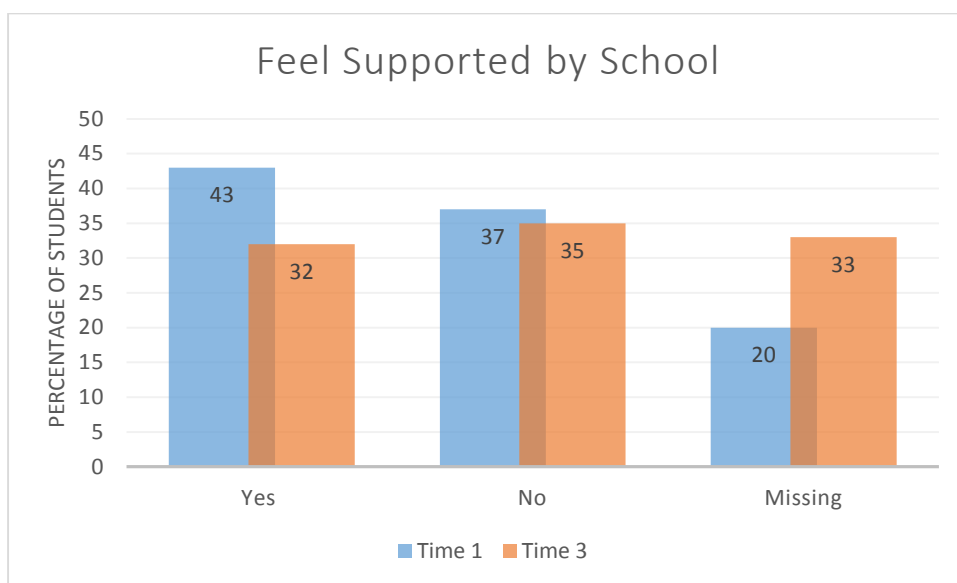


Chart 8: School 2-Student Perception of Support in School

A cross tabulation and chi-square considered the language stream and student perception of school support. There was no difference in language stream found (T3: $\chi^2=.170$, $p=.680$). The results indicated that there was no difference between Welsh and English language stream and their perceptions of school support.

School 3 saw an increase in positive responses over time (T1=40%, T2=47%) but also an increase in negative responses (T1=28%, T2=32%) (see Chart 9 below). The non-responses decreased from T1 (31%) to T2 (21%). One possible explanation was that 10% of the

⁵² Percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number in this section

nonresponses initially, choose to answer this question during the second questionnaire, which accounts for the increases in both the positive and negative responses.

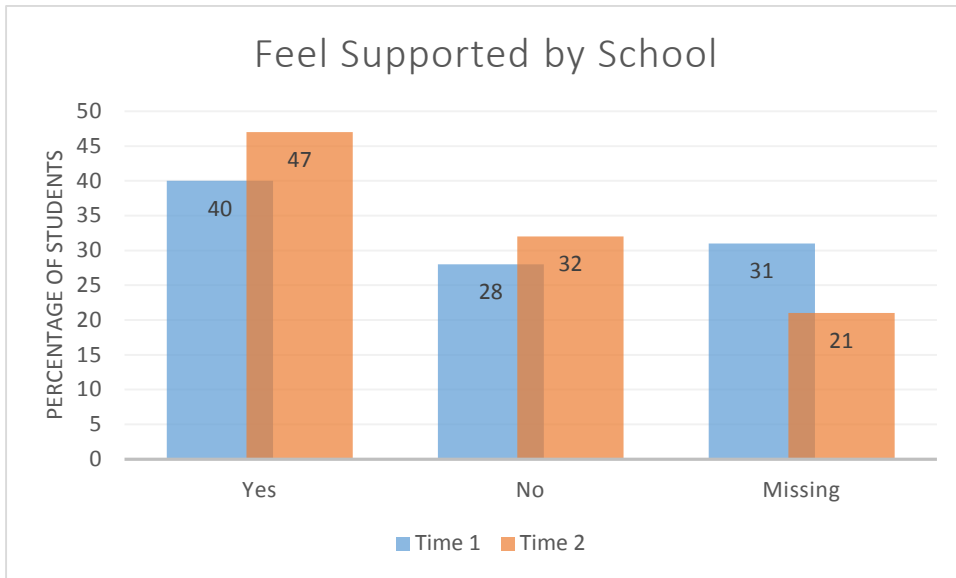


Chart 9: School 3-Student Perception of Support in School

A second question regarding the students' perception of school asked if they considered their school a positive or negative place overall (see Chart 10 below). In School 2, at T1, 51% considered their school a positive place; 23% considered their school a negative place (26% did not respond to this question). At T3, 64% considered their school a positive place and 29% considered their school a negative place (7% non-response rate).

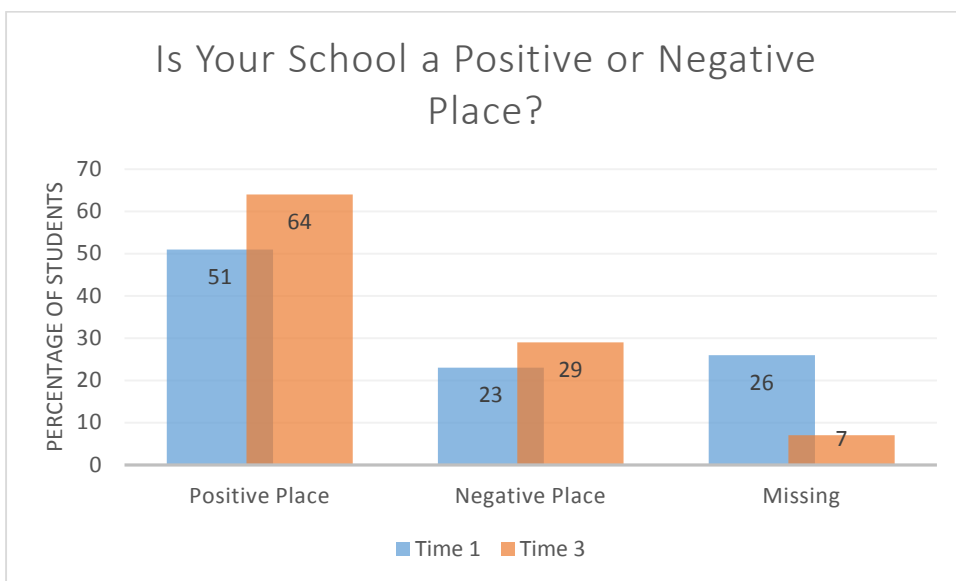


Chart 10: School 2-Is School a Positive or Negative Place?

A cross tabulation and chi-square was performed considering the language stream and their perceptions of the school as either a positive or negative place. The results indicated that more Welsh language students viewed the school as positive and less negative than their English language counterparts at both times (T1: $\chi^2=9.483$, $df=2$, $p<.005$; T3: $\chi^2=.16.233$, $df=2$, $p<=.001$). This result was somewhat counterintuitive considering that no difference was found between language streams and perceptions of school support.

School 3 saw a large increase in positive responses from T1 to T2 (45% to 65%) (see Chart 11 below). There was a decrease in negative responses from 25% (T1) to 13% (T2) and a decrease in non-responses from T1=30% to T2=22%.

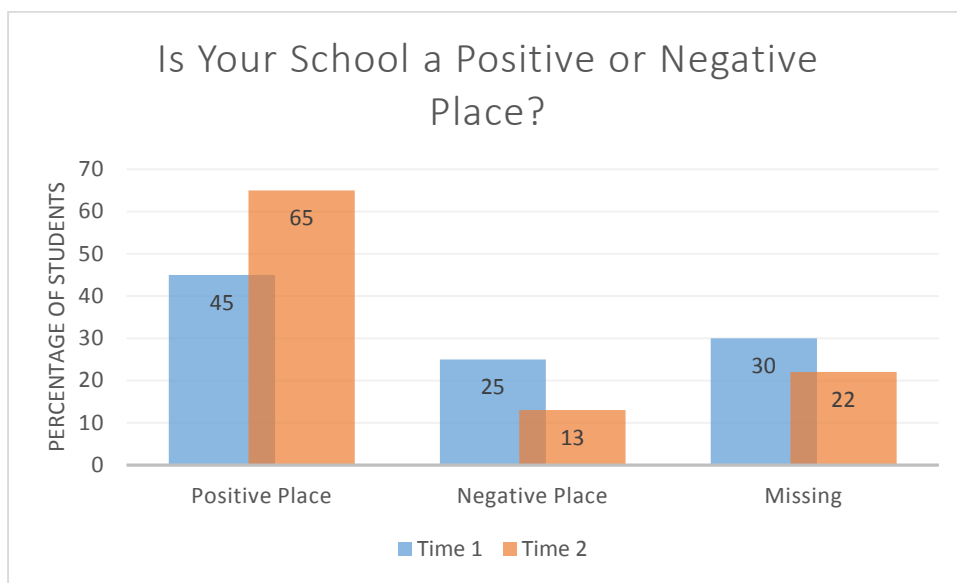


Chart 11: *School 3-Is School a Positive or Negative Place?*

Overall results from School 3 demonstrated a general positive trend throughout each of these questions regarding student perceptions of their school and this supports the positive trend noted in previous sections. School 2 had more mixed results, where there was a decrease in perceptions of support in school, although there was a positive increase in the how the students' viewed their school. Unexpectedly, there was a significant relationship found between language stream and students' perceptions of their school as either positive or negative.

Student Awareness of RA in School

Overall, both schools shared a surprisingly limited student awareness of restorative approaches (Charts 12 and 13 below). In School 2 (T1), only 8% of student heard of restorative approaches, whereas 63% of students stated they had not heard of restorative

approaches (29% of students did not respond to this question). At Time 3, 9% stated they have heard of restorative approaches, 83% stated they were still not aware of restorative approaches (7% did not respond to this question).

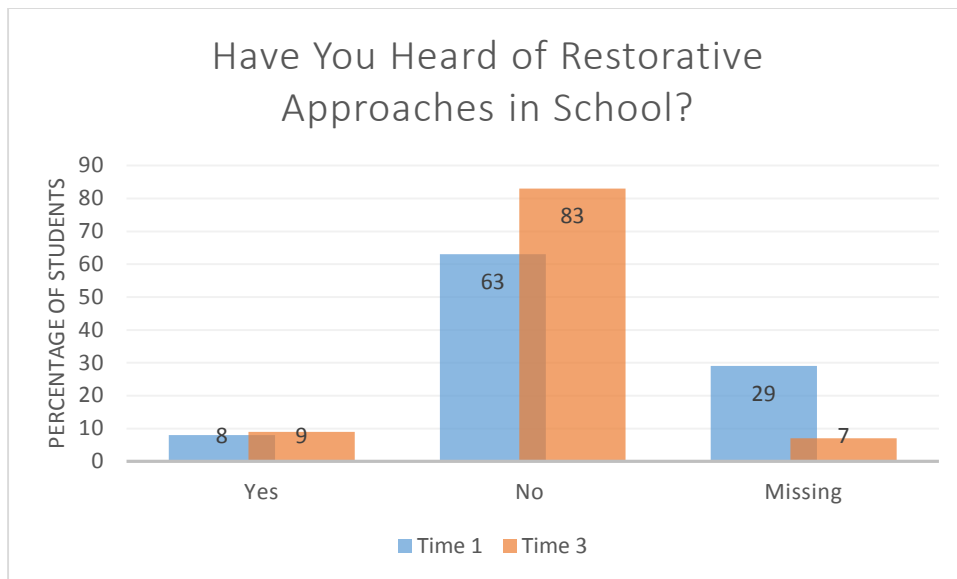


Chart 12: *School 2-Student Awareness of Restorative Approaches in School*

The number of students aware of RA in School 2 remained relatively unchanged, with only a 1% increase despite this school aspiring to a whole-school approach. It was possible that the majority of students who omitted this question during the first wave of questionnaire administration did so choose to answer negatively during the final questionnaire administration.

School 3 results were similar to School 2, including both the limited student awareness and only a very small increase in awareness over time. At Time 1, only 3% of students were aware of RA, whereas 67% of students stated they had not heard of RA and 29% of students did not respond to this question. At Time 2, 8% stated they were aware of RA in school, 77% stated they had not heard of RA and 15% did not respond to this question.

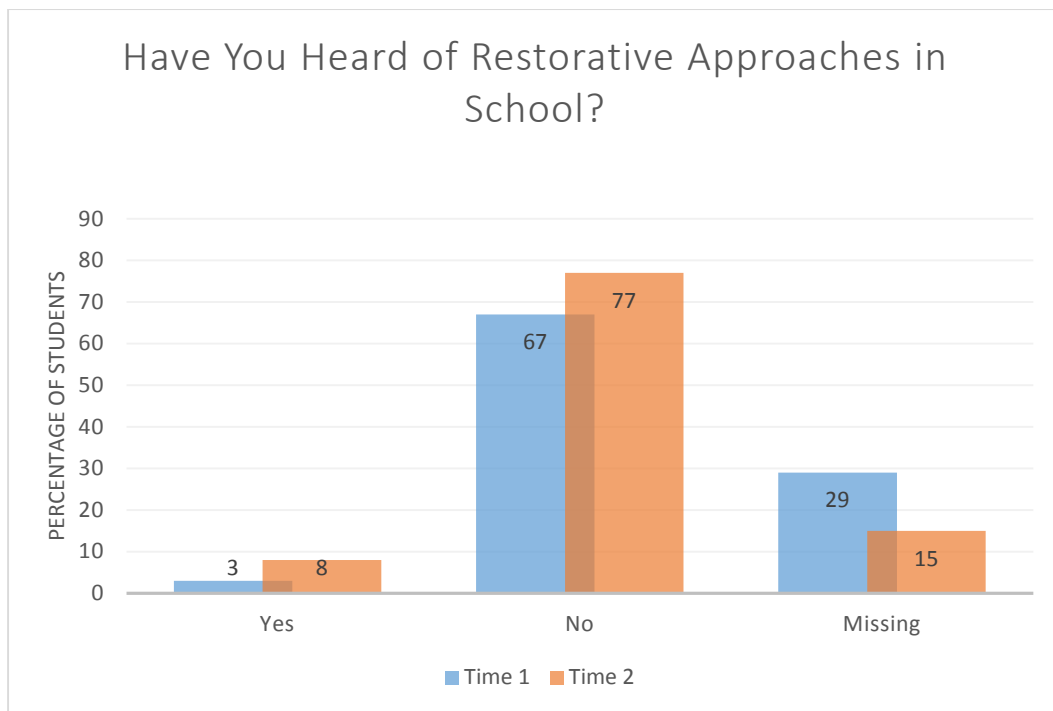


Chart 13: *School 3-Student Awareness of Restorative Approaches in School*

Missing responses are included in this section as Baruch (1998) states that the worst approach to reporting data is ignoring missing responses. Therefore, missing figures are included in this section, although only speculative assumptions can be made as to the reasons behind the missing responses. However, during the final questionnaire administration the number of missing responses decreased, and in some instances fell to only 7%, considered an excellent response rate (Mangione, 1995). Studies suggest that questionnaire response rates vary between 32% and 75% (Nulty, 2008) and this variation is not problematic so long as the responses are representative of the sample (Bryman, 2012). Furthermore, Mangione (1995, pg. 60) classifies responses as excellent (over 85%), very good (70-85%), acceptable (60-69%), barely acceptable (50-59%), and below acceptable (below 50%). Thus, each of these above questions have (approximately) very good response rates.

Section 4

5.8 An Analysis of Happiness, School Engagement, and Self-Esteem

The relationship between happiness and school engagement and self-esteem is complex. The regression analysis in previous sections demonstrated that both self-esteem and school engagement significantly contributed to happiness scores in School 2 (and language stream at T1), whereas only school engagement predicted happiness in School 3. These regression

models show particular predictor variables within a specific context. Taking both schools at the final time to obtain a larger student sample a further correlation was utilised to consider how these three are correlated, in an effort to better understand this complex relationship.

School engagement and self-esteem both had a significant positive correlation with happiness.

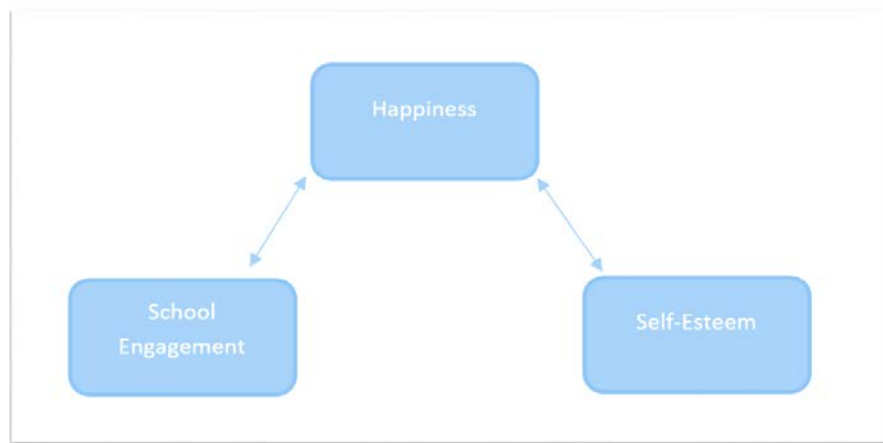


Figure 15: Correlations found between Happiness, School Engagement, and Self-Esteem

Happiness and school engagement have a stronger correlation ($r=.251, p<=.001$), compared to that of happiness and self-esteem ($r=.089, p=.005$). Despite the fact that both school engagement and self-esteem were positively correlated with happiness, these two variables were not found to be correlated together themselves ($r=.000, p=.989$).

Using a backward linear regression for all participants in School 2 and School 3 at T1 and at T2/T3, the best fitting model included both school engagement and self-esteem. At T1 ($r^2=.103$; *adjusted* $r^2=.100$) school engagement was the most significant factor at $p<.001$ ($B=.313, p<=.001$) with self-esteem at $p<.05$ ($B=.086, p=.032$). A very similar model ($r^2=.037$, *adjusted* $r^2=.033$) was produced using T2/T3 participants. School engagement was the most significant factor ($B=.157, p=.001$), followed by self-esteem ($B=.105, p=.028$). These again lend support that school engagement is the stronger predictor of happiness.

Although these effect sizes were fairly small ($r^2 = 10\%$ variance), these low results are expected in social sciences where human behaviour is difficult to predict (Tabernack and Fidell, 2014). However, because there were two significant predictor variables at both times, there was reasonable certainty that both of these are important variables that explain a small amount of variance in happiness in students.

5.9 Conclusion

The evaluation of three separate schools established that there appeared to be some differences between implementation styles. School 1 utilised a reactive-only approach; as a result, it was possible to implement a quasi-experimental repeated measures design to establish a baseline before the experimental condition, followed by a post-test to determine any changes in happiness, school engagement and self-esteem. In this context, the main reason for a referral was a high level of repeated and aggressive classroom disruption. In fact, more than half (58%) of the referrals were a result of non-specific incidents, such as repeated classroom disruptions, as compared to 42% for specific incidents directed towards identifiable persons. There was also a very large range of days a referral remained opened, although surprisingly this was not related to reason for referral. Importantly, participants were resoundingly positive regarding the RA experience as a whole. However, this positivity did not result in any significant changes to the participants' scores between Time 1 and Time 2. We can tentatively conclude that – in this sample/context – that RA had little appreciable impact upon self-esteem, happiness or school engagement.

School 2 trained six RA 'champions' and utilised the RA officer to assist in the implementation. However, no support for the utilisation of formal RA practices was found in this school. Although a handful of students met with the RA officer at some point, these referrals were brief and informal in nature, thus a before and after design was not feasible. School 2 largely had ambitions for a whole-school approach but did not include any formal reactive practice and only very limited classroom based preventative practices. Happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem scores were analysed for all students in Years 7, 9 and 11, and again eighteen months later to record any changes in the variables. There was a general downward trend found in School 2 for all three variables and generally no gender differences in School 2 either. However, in School 2 there was a difference found between the language streams and self-esteem scores at T1.⁵³ A second area that acknowledges a difference in language stream was that of perceptions of school as a positive or negative place, where Welsh stream participants viewed School 2 more positively than their English counterparts. Furthermore, the regression analysis found that language stream was one predictor of happiness within this school at T1.

⁵³ A significant difference was not found at the final questionnaire administration.

School 3 saw a more positive trend in both happiness and school engagement (self-esteem scores remained constant) and this was also supported by the follow up questions regarding perceived support and how they viewed their school (positive or negative place). However, both School 2 and 3 shared the same lack of RA awareness. In the final questionnaire, only 8% (School 3) and 9% (School 2) respectively, had heard of RA, despite an awareness campaign.

The regression analyses of individual schools found that school engagement (both School 1 and School 2) and self-esteem (School 2 only) were predictors of happiness. The model using all participants of both schools at T1 and T2/T3 found that both school engagement and self-esteem were significant predictors of happiness. These results provided support of the importance of these factors to overall student happiness. Upon further analysis, it was found that happiness was correlated with both school engagement and self-esteem, but school engagement as a stronger correlate. However, these two variables were not correlated themselves. Therefore, it appears that although both of these influence happiness, they are independent of each other.

These results indicate that no change in happiness was observed for those students whom underwent a formal restorative process (School 1), and a downward trend for the school intending a traditional whole-school approach (School 2). In contrast, an upward projection for the school utilising preventative-only whole school practices (School 3), and no differences between the two Hafan settings (School 1 and School 2).

The qualitative results reported in the next chapter seek to explain these quantitative findings by exploring the context and theoretical mechanisms within each location that could account for these results. It must be acknowledged that a school is an incredibly complex and dynamic institution, where there are uncountable interactions between people every day. Therefore, the following chapters provide the most likely explanations for these quantitative results.

Chapter 6: Qualitative Findings Part 1-Differences in Context

6.1 Introduction

The aim of the qualitative findings chapters is to understand the contexts (part 1) and the following mechanisms (part 2) within each school, while considering the major factors that helped to facilitate or hinder the implementation process. These contexts and mechanisms explain the quantitative outcomes described in the previous chapter. From the previous quantitative results chapter, it is clear that School 3 had the most positive results, with an increase in both school engagement and happiness. Whereas School 1 did not have any changes and School 2 saw a decline in all three outcome variables.

The implementation of RA in schools is an inherently complex process and the quantitative outcomes only address part of the overall research question, with the qualitative findings informing and providing a more comprehensive response than numerical results alone. The qualitative findings illustrate the critical role of the institutional contexts that either facilitate or impede the implementation process. The major overriding theme related to the organisational context was the importance of SMT leadership and support. The school leadership contributed to the overall receptivity of RA in each school. The evaluation of individual contexts found tensions within the schools that influenced the responsiveness to RA, particularly in School 1 and 2. In School 3 more support from school leaders was observed which helped to facilitate the embedding of RA practices in the classroom.

All three schools implemented RA in a particular manner, with the RA programmes individualised for each of the schools' setting. Although School 1 and School 2 shared RA Officers and identical training opportunities, even these two schools had different implementation styles and end goals. Thus, the qualitative data, as a whole, was gathered from a wide range of methods, tailored for each individual school. This included school and YOT interviews, school observations, student interviews, and focus groups. Ascertaining the students' perspective through focus groups and school observations played a large role in both uncovering the operationalisation of RA and the continued use of traditional punishment methods in each school (largely in Part 2). A number of student interviews were used in School 3 in lieu of focus groups. Interviews with senior management and teaching staff were necessary to gather information on the schools' purposes and future plans for RA, staff awareness and the acceptance of RA by the staff members. Furthermore, detailed questionnaires and subsequent interviews were conducted with the YOT staff directly

responsible for the implementation of RA for each school. The details of the method and location is outlined below (Table 20).

	School 1	School 2	School 3
Student Focus Groups	6	6	
Student Interviews			9
School Observations (lessons)	10	10	10
Hafan and Encil Observations (lessons)	6	7	
Staff Interviews- Senior Management	1	1	1
Staff Interviews- Classroom Teachers	8	10	10
Staff Interviews-RA Champions	3	3	
Staff Interviews-YOT		3	1

Table 20: Data Collection by Method and Location

Each of these qualitative methods were necessary for this research as it was essential not only to monitor the changes in happiness, school engagement and self-esteem by quantitative methods, but also examine the contexts that foster (and/or deter) these and uncover the mechanisms behind such changes. Thematic analysis was used to consider the contexts (Part 1) within each school as well the mechanisms (discussed in Part 2).

6.2 Differences in Contexts

The specific contexts were: School 1 (reactive-only approach) and School 1 Hafan; School 2 (intended whole school approach) and School 2 Hafan; and School 3 (preventative-only whole school approach). An understanding of the context, including the identification of specific impeding and facilitating variables was necessary to fairly represent the implementation process. The construction of the context was largely from interviews with staff members and observations. The context of the implementation was paramount to the success (as measured by happiness, school engagement and self-esteem) of the programme.

When examining the context, a number of themes were identified which greatly impacted the implementation overall (Table 21 below):

- Perceptions of time commitment, staffing and longevity
- Leadership (SMT & LEA)
- Efficacy of Staff Training

Themes			
	School 1 <i>Reactive-Only Approach</i>	School 2 <i>Intended Whole School Approach</i>	School 3 <i>Preventative-Only Whole School Approach</i>
Time, Staffing, & Longevity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Time commitment/staffing issues • RA only used when Officer present 	1. Changes in staffing equated to less staff, resulting in no available time for RA-Only senior staff trained 2. RA Officer restrictions attending the school 3. RA Officer absence results in <i>no</i> ⁵⁴ provisions for RA during that period	1. Changes in staffing equated to less staff, resulting in no available time for RA-Only senior staff trained 2. RA Officer restriction attending the school 3. RA Officer absence results in <i>no</i> provisions for RA during that period	1. No formal conferences-classroom practices are time efficient 2. All staff trained to a minimal level
Leadership <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • LEA • Senior Management barriers 	1. NO LEA support 2. SMT not driving RA/No directive to use in classroom	1. NO LEA support 2. SMT attempting to drive RA/No directive to use in classroom	1. No LEA support 2. SMT driving RA usage/clear expectations
Efficacy of Staff Training <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trained v Untrained Staff • RA varies greatly within schools • Use of corridor conferences 	1. No formal conferencing from Champions-It is the RA Officers role 2. Trained staff not using RA/Some untrained staff using RA principles	1. No formal conferencing from Champions-It is the RA Officers role 2. Trained staff not using RA/Some untrained staff using RA principles	1. No formal conferences 2. Consistent use throughout school

Table 21: *Summary of Themes and Main Findings from Each School*

6.2.1 Theme 1: Time Commitment, Staffing and Longevity

Overall there was a great concern for the time commitment needed to fully utilise RA in school. This was justified by the fact that staffing levels were decreasing and different roles

⁵⁴ The start of this research saw 1 RA Champion employ formal restorative conferences, however by the middle and end of the research this was no longer due to changes in job role/teaching commitments.

amalgamating. This was particularly evident in School 1 and 2, both of which had progressively lost a number of staff members over the 5-year period between 2010-2015.

<i>Full time equivalent of qualified teachers</i>			
<i>Year</i>	2010	2015	% loss of Teachers
<i>School 1</i>	86.2	74	14.2%
<i>School 2</i>	No information ⁵⁵		
<i>School 3</i>	60.8	55.8	9.35%

Table 22: Full time equivalent of qualified teachers (Welsh Government, *My Local School*, 2016)

Teaching staff from School 1 and 2 were most vocal regarding the impact of the loss of staff and resulting increased workloads. Senior members of staff lost several hours per week, usually dedicated to planning and administration, which were replaced with teaching. Other roles were amalgamated (due to redundancy) into singular job roles resulting in added responsibilities for many staff members. Sch1RACamp1 stated that their teaching hours have increased by 25% in one year, as they had lost their ‘Head of Year’ duty time, which had been replaced with teaching. Sch1RACamp1 explained this lost time was the time allocated to Head of Year responsibilities, including the time dedicated to formal RA conferencing⁵⁶. They explained that any formal RA had ended due to decreased time resulting from increased teaching hours.

We are all losing time, everything else is great [about RA]. A corridor conference is something used a lot. It's less confrontational and is quick but it doesn't always work. We don't have the ability and the time to sack a lesson and say 'Let's get it sorted'. We can't have RA in all years either, it's just too time consuming (Sch1RACamp1).

⁵⁵ There has not been an Estyn inspection since 2008 (as of 26/9/16) and there is not any statistical information on this school available on the national school information websites. Information has been attempted to be found from both the education authority and Estyn (see appendix 13 for correspondence). Despite this lack of information, during the research period, there were several redundancies (similar to School 1) and many staff members at School 2 commented on this fact. It is expected that a similar loss of staff was experienced by this school.

⁵⁶ Sch1RACamp1 conducted 6 full conferences (at the start of this research) but was unwilling for the researcher to see the original notes, observe potential conferences, or allow his students to fill in a questionnaire. They felt it was unethical to ask a student in “emotional distress” to have a “stranger witness these events”. However, after the reduction in ‘head of year duty time’ this RA Champion did not facilitate any further conferences.

In School 1 all three Champions viewed RA as too time consuming to be practiced within such a busy timetable. This perception of RA as too time consuming is echoed throughout many evaluation studies, and Cameron and Thorsborne (1999) rank it as the number one organisational factor that results in schools not utilising the practice despite extensive training.

Similarly, the RA Champions in School 2 reiterated these findings. Individually, these staff members all pointed to RA being too time consuming to successfully implement completely in the school at the present time: *“It’s too time consuming and doesn’t always work”* (Sch2RAChamp4). The concern with the time commitment was especially worrying to these staff members in regards to their current roles within the school. They mentioned the restructuring of the roles and the increased workload as the main reasons behind the fact that they were not using any formal conferencing.

Two of the six RA Champions in School 2 recently had their roles changed to incorporate the responsibilities of two support staff (who were recently made redundant), thus expanding their roles in Hafan to include further pastoral care and monitoring. Furthermore, the third RA Champion interviewed was also an assistant headteacher and SENCO coordinator for the school. Champions at both schools felt RA was too time consuming and this belief was also supported by senior management as well.

There is the problem of time...teaching loads increased dramatically this year, especially heads of year, who were the main teachers that had the facilitation training. [Teacher Name], Head of Year [X], had 22 free lessons last year, now he has 16 for example and we just don’t have the funds at this point (Sch1SM1).⁵⁷

The staff trained in RA in School 1 and 2 were from leadership/senior roles within the school including heads of department/year, SENCO⁵⁸ coordinators and assistant head teachers. These established roles already incorporate a large list of time consuming responsibilities, this leaves little time for formal RA practices, such as conferences and the associated preparation stages.

The difference between the implementation style in School 1 and 2 and that in School 3 was that the responsibility to utilise RA on a daily basis was not placed on the senior teachers of the school, rather it was shared by all staff member. In School 3 all staff members shared the

⁵⁷ All names are removed for anonymity and confidentiality purposes. Names of the restorative officers are replaced with [the RA Officer] in all quotes.

⁵⁸ SENCO is an acronym for Special Educational Needs Coordinator.

responsibility of incorporating preventative practices within their teaching. Therefore, the onus was shared amongst the entire staff, whereas in School 1 and 2, the RA Champions felt the ‘burden’ of RA was their responsibility.

It is well documented that factors for successful implementation include support from senior members of staff (further discussion on leadership see pg. 159) (Kokotsaki, 2013). However, in School 1 and 2 *only* the senior members were trained, and the average classroom teacher did not have the awareness or knowledge needed to implement this approach. The senior members already had too many responsibilities to incorporate RA practices into their job roles, therefore it was reserved for the RA Officers. A different approach was found in School 3, where RA was embedded within their usual teaching activities, mainly by the average teacher, thus senior teachers (who presumably have more responsibilities) do not have to bear the responsibility by themselves, rather they act as a support for the more junior classroom teachers.

The evidence suggests that LA1 YOT and school staff interpreted the advice and literature available on the importance of senior management involvement/support and operationalised it as senior members facilitating the practice. Therefore, it was assumed these senior members needed the training before classroom teachers. This resulted in training for only the senior staff members, who already had growing job roles. Additionally, there was a general lack of expectation or guidance from SMT, the consequences of this being that RA was largely abandoned as a school practice and resigned to the RA Officers.

Due to the fact that formal conferences were passed to the RA Officers only in both School 1 and 2 there was a concern for the longevity of these programmes.

Many feared that in the event that my funding came to an end that RA would also come to an end. RA was seen as something that I did and not something that the schools could do (LA1RA1).

I had to take a period of sick leave (almost 3 weeks) ...this proved to be problematic in that referrals had to be put on hold or closed due to no restorative work being conducted by school staff during that period (LA1RA2).

The concern for the longevity of a programme that only utilised a reactive-only approach, resulting in only small ‘pockets’ of use was also found in the Bristol RAis Project: “A disadvantage of using pockets of RAs was that if a school did not take the opportunity to

integrate RAs into school policy during the roll-out period, the opportunity may have been lost all together” (Skinns, et al., 2009, pg. 24).

Despite the whole school implementation style observed in School 3 a similar concern arose. LA2RA3 expressed some apprehensions regarding the future use of RA in the School 3, as he was not taking an active role in the school to ensure the sustainability. LA2RA3 stated “*there is great value in everyday, common interactions, this is the focus...but how much is it [RA] really being used? It will just fall out of the consciousness [of the teachers] after a while*”.

Each school had concerns for the longevity of the programme but due to implementation styles it was apparent that if the funding for the RA Officer ended, the likelihood of RA continuing in School 1 or 2 was highly improbable. The reliance on the RA Officers meant that RA practices only took place on certain days; the officer spent two days in each school during the week (1-day administration responsibilities). The limited days an officer had within each school restricted the number of referrals that could be open at any given time (approximate cap at 20). The longevity of this type of implementation style was questionable, especially considering the uncertain future funding opportunities and absence of sufficient leadership in School 1 and 2. LA1RA1 felt the SMT was most accountable for the lack of longevity:

No individual member of the Senior Management Team took lead on the school’s implementation of Restorative Approaches...RA needs to be promoted by SMT first, to promote to the staff team that it is a priority and they will be supported with its development.

There are concerns for the longevity for each of these schools. However, there was less specific time commitment needed in School 3 due to the implementation approach, resulting in increased usage throughout the school. Whereas, in School 1 and 2, RA practices were reserved for the RA Officer due to perceptions that RA was time consuming and the increase in workloads over the course of the last few years. Resulting in the responsibility resting on one person, funded from an outside organisation, which questions the longevity of the programmes in School 1 and 2.

6.2.2 Theme 2: Leadership

Leadership is paramount to ensuring the successful implementation and subsequent longevity of the programme. Leadership is present at two different levels, within the school and from the local authorities both of which are important facilitating factors for the success of RA (Shaw, 2007). School leaders have the direct capacity to facilitate RA use in schools through standards of policy, procedures, staffing and to a certain extent funding. Furthermore, the importance of leaders to express the overall ethos and communicate how any new initiative will work within their setting is vital (London Councils, 2011). In addition to the school leaders, support offered from the LEA, both financially and in terms of guidance, provides new programmes with the initiative and funding opportunities that increase the prospects of the longevity of the programme.

All three schools stressed the need for LEA support to ensure the longevity of the programme, especially in terms of funding. Sch2SM2 stated that *“more staff and more funds would help to ensure there was a future here...we just don't know without additional help [From the LEA] nothing is certain at the moment”*. He asserted that his school “tried” to operate as a school wide approach but acknowledged certain limitations to this implementation. SchSM2 stressed that the main limitation to achieving the schools' ambitions was lack of support and funding from the LEA, which curtailed the possibility of systematically training all staff to the necessary minimal level. LA1RA1 and LA1RA2 both stated LEA sponsored programmes had priority within School 1 and 2, therefore gaining LEA support was necessary for the longevity of RA in these schools.

Although LA2RA3 worked from a different local authority, they also found very similar limitations to the implementation of RA in schools. The main agreement was the importance of the support from the LEA, and the fact that this was currently not in place. Additionally, LA2RA3 found that because the LEA was not supportive in the implementation it meant that other issues took priority in the school despite the school's willingness to engage with RA. The RA Officer stated the next priority to ensure the longevity was to *“get the LEA on board...we need pressure from above”*.

However, the importance of LEA support does not negate the necessity of internal senior leadership. Schools generally have a top-down management style (London Councils, 2011). Therefore, the top (Senior Management Teams) must direct new initiatives into the

classroom. This drive has a direct impact on perceived support for teachers, subsequent staff attitudes, training options, initial and future planning, and access to the school. These key factors were found to be major barriers to successful RA which was strongly influenced by the leaders of the schools.

Major Barriers		
School 1	School 2	School 3
Funding for Training	Funding for Training	Funding for Training
Planning	Planning	
Access to the School	Access to the School	Access to the School
Staff motivation	Staff motivation	

Table 23: *Major Barriers*

Interestingly, it was difficult to disentangle each of these barriers as they were all significantly connected to each other and the longevity of the programme in general. Furthermore, these were also linked with the lack of support, especially financial, from the LEA. One of the major barriers as considered by the SMT was that of access to funding, which limited training opportunities, RA Officer time at the schools, future plans for expansion, and ultimately staff attitudes towards the programme.

The SMT (School 1 and 2) routinely pointed to the cost of training and the cost of staff time as the major barrier facing RA success. The SMT clearly held the LEA directly responsible for the lack of funding and it was regularly stated that the LEA must fund training opportunities for RA to be implemented in a fully whole school approach. It is recognised that the SMT must work within the schools' budget, however, there are funds for professional development. Furthermore, RA Officers could offer additional training to staff members at no additional cost to the schools (a model demonstrated by School 3). Additionally, previous evaluations have demonstrated a positive impact of RA in schools where no funding was available. London Councils (2011) undertook an evaluation of RA in 3 funded areas (£30,000) and 1 non-funded school. Results indicated that even when funding was not available knowledge and good leadership in regards to RA produced positive results in the school.

Both School 1 and 2 were not organising any further full RA facilitation training⁵⁹. Sch1SM1 stated that the minimal cost was too great to continue training staff members in this manner. *“The school funded the Restorative Champion training [six staff members] for three days. It was £150 per day per staff [for supply teachers] and travel expenses...the budget has changed...”*. Sch2SM2 held similar views:

No, we don't have any training dates. We are happy to have [LA1RA1&2] here but at the moment we are not sending any staff to get the full training from a programme.

School 3 remained committed to preventative classroom based practices only, accordingly lengthy training was not deemed necessary for the success of the programme.

The main difference in training proposals was that School 3 agreed to host further training events, School 2 was reluctant to plan future events but did not dismiss the prospect completely, whereas School 1 was clear on future training prospects: *“The inset days for the coming year are already set, there is no room for RA training. No, no there won't be”* (Sch1SM1).

The SMT at School 3 were resolute in their decision to maintain a preventative-only whole school model of RA implementation. This model was clearly articulated during the initial planning stages and did not waiver. However, the original plans for Schools 2 and 3 were less controlled and quite ambiguous.

There wasn't a clear plan of action. We never know what to expect with funding at the moment. We looked at RA and what was being offered at the time and accepted it but we are not looking forward to expanding this at the moment (Sch1SM1).

The future plans for both School 1 and 2 relied on the RA Officer attending the school twice weekly, with no further training offered to staff members. However, future plans for School 2 remained hopeful.

We would like to continue having [LA1RA1 & 2] here as much as possible but as I understand it, it seems as though [they] has other commitments. Six Champions

⁵⁹ 3-day course needed to facilitate RA conferences; School 3 did not utilise this type of training approach.

are trained to do this role as well in the school. We will continue to promote its use in the school overall. A whole school approach is important.

Although School 2 intended to implement a whole school approach, the plans for continuing RA within the school were ambiguous; it relied on funding opportunities at the YOT and the presence of the RA Officers (which were not secure). The RA Officers stated that they were unsure of any fundamental changes within these schools and stated implementation has not been successful.

Researcher: In your opinion, have restorative approaches been employed effectively in the school?"

LA1RA2 : ...largely no.

Despite the ambitions of the SMT (School 2), the RA officers were not convinced the school would achieve its goal of a whole school approach. Furthermore, although the RA Officers conducted formal conferences in School 1, they did not appear positive regarding any changes within the school itself.

The time of the RA Officers was divided between both schools and this was considered a barrier to increased RA in each of the schools. However, from the RA Officer's perspective the barrier was not the limited time but the restrictions placed on them by the schools in general. All three RA Officers were obliged to work within the limits set by the schools; which were not always the best for the implementation of RA. Overall, it was emphasized that access to schools was complicated and timetabling meetings very difficult. Despite these obstacles, LA1SM4 stated they were "*fortunate to have both School 1 and 2 in the first instance*" and thus they were reluctant to make any further requests to the schools.

The lack of initial and future planning by the SMT in School 1 and 2 and ambiguous attitudes towards future expansion had a direct result on staff attitudes. Previously, it was stated that there was a general lack of awareness and reluctance to engage in future training by staff members in School 1 and 2. This reluctance was also considered by the SMT and used as a reason to discontinue training.

There is a barrier, there is an initial teacher barrier at the thought of additional training...they are resistant to start a new initiative. They get a new initiative, try

it and then it changes. There is a resistance to formal training because there is a perception by the staff when it is new (Sch1SM1).

The resistance to the new initiative (RA), was argued to be a result of time and teaching loads (previously discussed) in School 1 and 2. However, the lack of motivation by staff members to engage with a new initiative was found in previous literature to be a result of minimal senior management support, which results in poor staff attitudes towards the programme (Kane, et al., 2007). A school's 'readiness' to implement the RA programme is largely based on the motivation and support offered by senior staff members. However, a lack of enthusiasm results in 'pockets' of use as seen in School 1 and 2 (Blood and Thorsborne, 2006).

Unlike the school management staff in the previous schools, Sch3SM3 praised RA in the school and openly encouraged future training within the initial remit of implementation. This school did not have a need for excessive funding to continue RA in the chosen implementation style, therefore there was a positive outlook from the senior member of staff on the longevity of the programme and this clearly impacted staff attitudes towards these classroom practices. The vocal support from the SMT in School 3 may stem from historic Estyn Inspections where in 2007 the SMT was praised for their leadership; "The school is led and managed most effectively and efficiently" (Estyn, 2007, pg. 7). Furthermore, during this inspection, it was noted that the whole school shared a "vision" with the leaders of the school and it was noted that the school was continually striving for new ways to improve (pg. 7). This positive inspection occurred after years of shortcoming. However, the 2013 inspection was not as encouraging. The 2013 report stated the SMT fostered a positive school culture but that the SMT needed to improve their leadership in a number of different areas (Estyn, 2013). This research found the leadership demonstrated during the RA implementation strong and clearly driven to establish a successful RA programme by providing clear directives and expectations for each staff member. This harks back to the praise given in the 2007 report and fulfilled some of the leadership shortcomings of the 2013 report.

There is no question that the financial support of the LEA to secure training would help to substantiate the future development of RA within all three schools. However, this is unlikely to occur in the immediate future. There was a general blame placed on the issues of funding which subsequently influenced several additional factors under the control of the school's senior management staff. However, previous research points to the positive results of non-

funded RA schools and the fact that positive leadership has a substantial influence on the planning, training, access and overall staff motivation in each school, without the need for financial support from the LEA.

6.2.3 Theme 3: The Impact of Leadership on the Efficacy of Staff Training

All three schools undertook a range of activities to boost the profile of RA in both the staff and student population. This included school wide assemblies for students, dissemination of information to students and parents, basic training for staff during the first inset day, and awareness presentations to staff and members of the SMTs. The inset day training sessions⁶⁰ were very similar in nature between all schools⁶¹ and included a basic introduction to RA, how to use it in the classroom, role play examples, and concluded with the administration of enquiring question cards.⁶² In School 3, additional training was offered to any teachers who wished to attend evening classes, whereas in School 1 and 2, six staff members from each school underwent intensive RA facilitation training with an outside organisation. This sections reflects on the efficacy of the inset day/awareness campaigns and the facilitation training.

Initial training in School 3 was provided to all staff during an inset day, after which, after-school and evening training⁶³ were provided for those staff who wished to gain a better understanding and additional practical skills in RA. LA2RA3 stated these were “*well attended and that they had to provide additional times as the demand was quite high*”. It was reported that staff at School 3 were very willing to undertake training and a significant number also continued this training further in their personal time.

Teacher interviews in School 3 indicated that all were aware of RA and more than half of the staff questioned were positive about future RA training (despite this being outside of school time)(Table 25).⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Run by the School RA Officer.

⁶¹ This was expected as all RA Officers were trained by the same organisation.

⁶² Although all staff had inset day training and were present during awareness presentations, these members are considered to be “untrained”. The RA Champions are considered the “trained” staff members.

⁶³ Referred to as ‘twilight training’ in some restorative evaluations (see Kane, et al., 2007).

⁶⁴ After each observation the researcher conducted a very structured interview for each staff member.

School 3		
Staff	Have you heard of RA?	Would you like further training?
19	Yes	Yes
20	Yes	Yes
21	Yes	Yes
22	Yes	Yes
23	Yes	No
24	Yes	Yes
25	Yes	No
26	Yes	No
27	Yes	No
28	Yes	Yes

Table 24: School 3 Staff Responses

All ten teachers were aware of RA in their school, and 6 of the 10 would like additional training. In fact, staff number 21 had an evening of additional training but stated he would have liked full training to become a facilitator.

When asked why they would like additional training the responses given were:

Sch3T20: It's my style. I volunteered for additional training but there wasn't capacity.

Sch3T24: I use the language, I do. I'd like to change the way I think about their arguments.

Sch3T28: We've had the basic awareness campaign and basic training, role playing, and I use some of the techniques we learned that day. But there's some good stuff ...anything's good if it improves the behaviour in the classroom.

These staff members saw RA as compatible with their teaching styles and would have liked to further this with additional training. However, other staff members did not view this as a

reason for needing additional training; “*We do a lot of this already. It’s nothing new. We don’t need another training day for it*” (Sch3T27).

Overall, these staff members in School 3 were quite positive about the prospect of future training and were disappointed when they found out that another training was not yet scheduled (at the time of the staff interviews). A smaller number of staff did not want any further training as they felt they were already utilising the approach effectively.

Despite the inset day training/awareness campaigns, there was a combination of both staff reluctance to use the programme and a general lack of awareness found in School 1 and 2, compared to School 3 staff who demonstrated a more positive outlook on the programme and prospects of future training.

In School 1 and 2 the results were not as positive. Teacher interviews indicated a number of staff members were not aware of RA and most staff in these schools indicated they did not want further training sessions.

School 1		
Staff	Have you heard of RA?	Would you like further training?
1	Yes	No
2	Kind of	No
3	Yes	Yes
4	Yes	No
5	Yes	No
6	Yes	No
7	No	No
8	No	No

Table 25: School 1 Staff Responses

It was positive that 6 of the 8 staff member had already heard of RA in School 1. However, one staff member was quite adamant that they had never heard of this: “*I have never heard of RA-never been in a meeting or any type of presentation about it*” (Sch1T7). Despite the fact

that 6 of the 8 teachers were aware of RA, most did not know how RA was used within the school. *“I’ve heard of restorative approaches but I’m not sure about the details or how it is used”* (Sch1T5). This type of statement was echoed throughout the brief interviews with the staff.

In line with the perceptions of LA1SM1⁶⁵, 7 of the 8 teachers did not wish to have training on it. There was a strong consensus that this approach was too time consuming with comments such as:

As a form tutor, we don’t really get the time to develop close relationships...as I understand it RA takes a bit of time (Sch1T1).

There are school funding cuts...class sizes over 30. The only way to deal with disruption is to send them out. If not, they just disrupt the other pupils. If I spend more time with disrupted pupils that means spending less time with the students who are there to do the work. It might pay off down the road but I have to think immediately-who will look after the class if I have to stop to deal with problem behaviour (Sch1T4)?

It is important to consider the one staff member who answered positively about future training; they stated they would like *“any training that could help behaviour management as it’s the one area where I struggle at times”* (Sch1T3).

⁶⁵ See context section for further information on interview with the Deputy Head.

Similar mixed responses were also found in School 2:

School 2		
Staff	Have you heard of RA?	Would you like further training?
9	Yes	No
10	Yes	No
11	Yes	Yes
12	I think so	Maybe
13	Yes	Yes
14	Yes	Yes
15	No	No
16	Yes	Yes
17	Yes	No
18	Yes	No

Table 26: School 2 Staff Responses

Eight of the 10 teachers had heard of RA; however, one could not be certain. However, from this it could be assumed that the awareness campaign was reasonably effective. Only, four of the teachers responded positively about future training, whereas 5 did not want any further training and one was unsure.

When asked why they would/would not want additional training the staff who answered affirmatively stated:

Sch2T11: If something could help...it's important to understand what's going on in their lives.

Sch2T13: It's the way to go these days.

Sch2T14: It would be useful. The biggest problem with teaching is discipline. There are no ways of dealing with bad behaviour or getting rid of them. What this behaviour does to the rest of the class in the meantime-before the student can be moved on. Something has to change.

However, other staff members were not as positive about future training opportunities. Sch2T15 included the fact that the teachers were all expected to undertake training in regards to the career development but time and resources for this was limited. Therefore, the priority for training was placed on those events which could improve career prospects. Other staff members considered RA simply as ‘not shouting’ at the students.

Sch2T18: RA is just like talking and discussing rather than just shouting.

Sch2T17: How restorative was I? It must be a lot because I didn't shout [at a Student, who was disruptive during the observation] (this is in relation to why this staff member assumed they did not need training).

Although the awareness campaign appeared effective as eight of the teachers had responded positively, the further questioning of the staff indicated a lack of understanding. Both Sch2T9 and Sch2T10 undertook a general day introduction to RA, as well as awareness presentations, and they understood this approach as ‘not shouting’ at the students.

There was a general lack of understanding of RA in both School 1 and 2 which resulted in staff not utilising the more preventative strategies discussed during inset day training. It was also evident that staff assumed that RA strategies were more time consuming and therefore not a feasible option in such a busy environment. Inadequate understanding stems from two sources; firstly, the inset day training given to these staff members must be questioned-the process of the brief awareness and skills training was clearly fallible. Secondly, there were no clear expectations or directives for staff to utilise such an approach in the classroom originating from the SMT. The need for senior management to drive this type of initiative is well documented (London Councils, 2011) and was not necessarily in place in either School 1 or 2 (see pg. 159 for further discussion leadership). The process of the awareness training days did not result in complete awareness of RA or produce a successful adoption of basic preventative RA classroom strategies. Therefore, this process of inset day training does not appear to be effective on its own. The continued lack of understanding, as a result of a very brief inset day training, could offer an additional explanation as to why the practices were not utilised in the classroom in School 1 and 2.

However, the inset day training and awareness campaigns in School 3 were quite similar to those in School 1 and 2, and yet the school in this staff were much more positive regarding RA implementation and future prospects of training. Furthermore, all the staff answered

‘Yes’ to the question ‘Have you heard of Restorative Approaches?’’. Therefore, an additional element outside of the training itself appears to be significant to the training process. The more positive perspective offered by School 3 staff was directly related to the strong leadership and clear expectations provided by the SMT (as discussed in the previous section). However, School 1 and 2 did not have the additional layer of strong leadership and thus the staff relied solely on the basic training offered during the inset days. The lack of leadership and the brief training produced inconsistent results in School 1 and 2.

It was observed that many fully trained members of staff did not apply basic RA language principles of open questions, fairness, respectfulness, non-judgemental questions, or enquiring language, whereas some untrained staff embedded these principles within their teaching with only the brief inset day.

Exemplar 1

Sch2OCR30

Student: Miss I'm getting bored here... Can I move seats?

Sch2T13: Why are you bored sitting there?

Student: I just am... (Teacher moves close to the student and squats down. They are both at the student's eye level)

Sch2T13: (in a quiet voice) Are you ok today? You seem a little distracted.

Student: I'm fine... I hate reading this.

Sch2T13: That's ok, it's not too much and then we will move on. Let's try sitting here for a bit longer to see how you get on and if you're still unhappy in 10 minutes we will see what we can do (teacher then stands up and the student continues reading).

In this brief instance, there was an opportunity for the student to become disruptive or for a conflict to arise between the student and teacher. However, in that interaction, the staff member was able to ascertain the student's wellbeing, the reason for the disruption, and refocus the student back to the original work. The untrained staff member used an enquiring and non-judgemental questioning style and maintained a calm and caring tone with the student.

Exemplar 2

Sch1OCR4

SchIT4: I hope everyone is sitting in their correct seats. You two (looking at two students) are not to sit next to one another, move. There are rules on the poster for a reason.

The students responded by moving to their assigned seat and the rest of the class remained silent. The lesson began and students took notes on the information presented.

Student: (whispering to the researcher) We are the thickest in Year 9.

SchIT4: (with a firm tone) You are certainly not thick. Not everyone can be great at everything. Please pay attention.

The lesson continues and one student is visibly upset by the lesson and is whispering to another student.

SchIT4: (Staff moves over the student) What's the matter A?

Student A: It doesn't matter.

SchIT4: Of course it matters.

Student: I can't do it.

SchIT4: I can help you. We just need to work a bit more on it (staff pulls a seat up to the student desk and works with her for a few minutes. She then works independently after).

In this instance the teacher used enquiring questions to find out the purpose of disruption, followed by support for the student. During this observation there were essentially no disruptions due to negative behaviour. Within this classroom, the rules were firmly on display in the form of a handwritten poster, hung in a noticeable position next to the front whiteboard, which were alluded to a few times during the lesson. This observation demonstrated that being firm, ensuring students followed classroom rules, and use of restorative language principles were not mutually exclusive.

Despite the fact that some untrained staff utilised elements of restorative practices, especially the enquiry and non-judgemental questioning, there were also many untrained staff not using such an approach, as expected. These untrained staff largely utilised group threats and assertive/aggressive language to quiet the disruption.

Exemplar 3 demonstrates the common practice of a teacher maintaining negative and commanding body language and tone, and the subsequent presence of disruptive behaviour. There was limited questioning or concern as to why the students were misbehaving; rather blanket threats to the whole of the class were used in an attempt to manage behaviour.

Exemplar 3

Sch1OCR7

Sch1T7: If you annoy me anymore, you won't go next week (to the whole of the class).

The low level distraction continues (ruler tapping, giggles and whispering) and the teacher becomes visibly annoyed and shouts at the entire class to be quiet (and then dings a small bell, the ding is a signal to the class to quieten down).

Sch1T7: If you continue to tap or talk during class I will not be taking you next week. Now stop it!

A group of students giggle at a joke being told.

Sch1T7: I'm getting too old to be standing here talking to you like this (she brings out a bell and dings it). There are two ways to make this bell ding, by tapping it or throwing it.

This interaction was followed by giggling from the class and further threats by the teacher to take away their break. It was only resolved when the school bell rang and the students left the room. In classroom observations such as this, there was very limited questioning or sense of fairness demonstrated by the teachers.

Exemplar 1 and 2 share the important factor of RA questioning/enquiry. In these observations students who were disruptive were asked simple non-judgemental and enquiring questions to find out why the behaviour was occurring. The students responded positively to such enquiry. The third type of behaviour management observed excluded any enquiry and largely the notion of fairness (e.g. shouting at the whole class, despite the fact that many students were quietly working); rather it was dominated by threats of punishment and shouting. This type of behaviour management style can exacerbate disruptive behaviour within the class generally; escalate the behaviour, causing a more serious disruption, and increase student exclusions from the classroom (Martella, et al., 2012).

It was expected that observations of untrained⁶⁶ staff would yield a mix of both RA use and non-RA type behaviour management strategies, as some teachers naturally use RA type language in their teaching without training (Devi-McGleish, 2016). Whereas, it was assumed that those teachers who undertook the full 3-day facilitation training would employ RA practices consistently in their own teaching. However, this conclusion was not supported by the classroom observations.

Two RA Champions were observed during routine teaching activities in both School 1 and 2. Surprisingly, these lessons yielded significantly less RA questioning and enquiry than many classrooms led by untrained teachers. There was a reliance on threats of punishment and very little questioning used in these classrooms, despite full RA training.

Sch1RAChamp3: ...right, if you don't behave I'll leave a note for the supply teacher next week.

There was already a presumption that students would not behave in the current classroom and this would lead to punishment in the following week (when there would be a supply teacher). There were further instances where the RA Champion dismissed the feelings and academic needs of the students.

Exemplar 4
Sch1OCR5

Student: I wasn't here last week.

Sch1RAChamp1: Well, unfortunately you weren't here so you can't do it. Maybe next time you will attend and get a chance.

Student: (sits down and doesn't begin any work. It appears they are not certain what to do as the class continue to work on a project started the previous week).

Although there was no evidence that the trained RA Champions used shouting as a method of behaviour management, which was common in the observations of untrained staff, the RA trained staff still used threats, judgemental language, as well as a general lack of a supportive language in their interactions with students. This questions the respect and non-judgemental position these staff members should maintain with students.

⁶⁶ Untrained in these three schools means not having full 3-day facilitation training, rather only the awareness/low level classroom preventative campaign.

The RA Champions in both Hafan departments (School 1 and School 2) were also observed. LA1 established a Hafan in every secondary school to support academic, emotional and behavioural needs (National Assembly for Wales, 2012). Although each secondary school (in LA1) has this area of support, the directives for Hafan are open to interpretation and several different implementation approaches are possible. School 1 was resoundingly utilised for academic support and structured lessons for social, emotional and behavioural provisions, whereas School 2 utilised Hafan as a respite from the school environment should students experience any issues or negative emotions during the school day.

Hafan (School 1) demonstrated a consistent use of RA throughout the observed lessons, despite several different programmes in place during the period of observation. Hafan staff embedded RA practices within the daily routine, therefore there was not a period when RA was ‘used or not used’, rather it was embedded within their teaching practices. This method of embedding the principles of RA into teaching practice, to guide interactions between people, is supported by many restorative organisations is the essence of RA (Restorative Justice Consortium, 2005).

The use of RA principles or practices in Hafan (School 2) was less obvious. In this setting, the staff attempted to apply the practices to mediate potential conflict situations. However, by trying to avoid conflict at any cost, these scenarios diminished many restorative principles. There were many instances observed where students were not held accountable for their behaviour, school policies were not enforced, and the supportive relationship between staff and students was not present.

Exemplar 5

School 2 Hafan

At the start of the school day a student walks into Hafan.

Student: (In a loud manner directed toward the staff) *I'm not going home tonight.*

Sch2RACamp4: *What happened?*

Student C: *We had a fight this morning and I said I'm not going home and Dad said fine.*

Sch2RACamp4: (Sch2RACamp5 gets up and goes to the cupboard for some materials) *Ok, well try to have a good day today.*

Student: *I won't. This place fucking sucks (then walks out).*

Sch2RACHamp4: (directed towards Sch2RACHamp5): He's going to have a good day (in an ironic tone).

Firstly, during this brief encounter between the Hafan staff and student, other students were present and able to hear the exchange. There were very few enquiring questions, or presence of supportive body language or tone by the staff despite the obvious emotional turmoil of the student. Overall, this lack of concern for this student was alarming and many basic RA principles were disregarded.

Initially, Hafan was the cornerstone of RA implementation; *"We wanted to target Hafan...we felt it was a closed environment with at risk students...easier to put forward"* (LA1SM4). This rationale succeeded within School 1, where RA was embedded with the daily functioning of the classroom. In contrast, the use of RA in Hafan (School 2) was less obvious and in several staff-student interactions conflicted with the main principles of RA in this setting.

The observations in School 1 and 2 share many similar qualities; mainly that most staff members, despite any training, still largely rely on threats of punishment as the core behaviour management strategy. However, there were a few instances where untrained staff naturally used RA principles in their teaching as it is part of their usual teaching style. Additionally, Hafan in School 1 was found to inherently and consistently use RA practices and principles in their daily teaching. Observations in School 3 shared many similar characteristics with Hafan in School 1, in that they embedded RA principles and practices within their teaching. They largely utilised enquiring questions to prevent conflict situations and were generally supportive of students' academic and emotional needs. This type of positive interaction was found throughout the school.

In School 3, there were many instances of potential minor disruptions and conflict, as found in any school. However, teachers promptly resolved the potential conflict by utilising enquiring questions and maintaining a calm and caring tone.

Exemplar 6

Sch3OCR50

Two female students whispering in the back corner.

Sch3T20: Can the whole class please put their pencils down and look at the board?

Whispering continues

Sch3T20: Walks to the back of the room and talks to the students.

The teacher then returns to the board. Both students are looking at the board now.

After the introduction to the lesson the teacher sits with the girls. They did not complete their homework because they didn't understand and were trying to figure it out at the start of the lesson. The teacher explains how to complete the homework and then starts then on the work for the lesson, whilst the rest of the class are working in pairs.

The teacher could have reacted at the start of the lesson by threatening the students who were disrupting the class. Instead, the teacher chose to discreetly find out the reason for the disruption and help to resolve the problem. The teacher utilised non-judgemental and enquiring questions, whilst maintaining a calm and supportive tone and body language.

Although School 3 had the least formal approach to RA overall, the training was highly effective. The RA Officer and the school agreed on the outcome and achieved this through general training of all staff members, with additional training options. However, the training in School 3 was supported by the clear directives made by the senior management of the school and this resulted in a highly consistent use of such strategies.

School 1 and 2, arguably had the most intensive training, including establishing RA Champions in the school and all staff receiving inset day training and awareness information some basic awareness. The awareness campaign for the general staff was not effective as many staff had not heard of RA and there was very limited evidence of RA use in School 1 and 2 classrooms. The occasional observation of teachers that utilised RA principles was not related to whether they had training of RA, rather it was more likely their natural teaching style (Devi-McGleish, 2016). These schools did not have the second layer of support from school leadership needed to establish an effective training process. The brief inset day

training required further direction and expectations from the SMT to be implemented successfully in the classrooms.

From the YOT perspective both School 1 and 2 were expected to participate in the inset day training and awareness campaigns, and facilitation training to propagate RA use throughout the schools. Despite the perceptions of the YOT, School 1 maintained a firm reactive-only approach, with little use of the RA Champions. School 2 emphasised its desire to continue to achieve a whole school approach, although it also relied on RA Officers for all RA needs. Despite the reliance the YOT staff were more supportive of the prospect of School 2 achieving a whole school in the future because of the possibility of a peer mentoring scheme.

The impression I have from [School 1] is that no school-based staff conduct Restorative Approaches...There is no member of senior management that leads RA at the school and so this process difficult in maintaining a consistent service to all pupils...School 2 have sought to implement a RA Peer mentor scheme- which will consist of training 18 Year 9 pupils at the start of the academic year...This may be replaced by the Welsh baccalaureate linked scheme...School 2 have sought to use RA as a self-governing tool for the pupils (LA1RA2).

Despite the prospect of School 2 wishing to achieve a whole school status in the future, and the fact the YOT staff are more optimistic regarding the prospects of this school, the efficacy of the awareness campaign and the training provided is questionable, as there very little evidence to demonstrate the awareness and application of RA in School 2. The interviews and documents provided by the RA Officers suggest more (informal) mini-conferences and much fewer formal conferences have taken place in this school, as most of the allocated time for this school was been spent acquiring necessary approval for the welsh-baccalaureate accreditation.

It is evident that the training provided was not effective in School 1 and 2 but was much more successful in School 3. Interestingly, the documents for the basic awareness training for all three schools were quite similar and are a product of the same implementation pack. That begs the question as to why it was more successful in one location than the others. It is the conclusion of this research that clear directives from SMT are one of the most important facilitating factors for successful implementation, as evidenced by the consistent use in School 3.

6.3 Context Conclusion

Within each implementation style there are a number of variables that could influence the success or failure of the programme. School 3 shared a clear plan with the YOT and achieved this through effective training, SMT support and clear directives given to the staff. It could be argued that the implementation style preferred by this school was less labour intensive but this also allowed for the outcomes to be met with success. The plans in LA1 envisaged by the YOT staff, for School 1 and 2 were not necessarily shared by the schools. The ambiguous plans were also met with a lack of leadership that resulted in inconsistent use. Ultimately, School 1 preferred to maintain a reactive-only approach due to staff reluctance and issues with funding and time. School 2 continued to strive for a whole school status but this was met with an absence of staff awareness, likely due to ambiguous directives and an overall lack support from the SMT. Whereas School 3 sought to implement a preventative-only approach school-wide and achieved this by strong SMT directives and support. The leadership and support from SMT was crucial to the success of RA in School 3, but this was not present in the other two schools.

Chapter 7: Qualitative Findings Part 2 - Restorative Mechanisms and the Importance of Engagement

7.1 Introduction

The context in which the programme operates influences which mechanism are triggered or blocked (Pawson and Tilley, 1997), therefore in addition to evaluating the contexts, it is also important to consider the possible mechanisms that provoke change in RA programmes. It was found that the theoretical mechanisms differ depending on the type of RA practice being utilised.⁶⁷ Issues of procedural and distributed fairness had a large role in both the perceptions of school in general in all three schools and in restorative processes specifically. Whereas the mechanisms of reintegrative shaming and social learning theory were evident in particular areas. Similar to Part 1, thematic analysis was used to analyse the theoretical mechanism found in the schools.

Lastly, the qualitative analysis explored the nature of the relationship between school engagement and classroom use of RA. School engagement and use of RA classroom practices are often linked but rarely studied concurrently. Using scheduled observations based on two school engagement scales and the examination of the use of RA practices in the classroom, it was noted that those classrooms with greater engagement also utilised RA language and questioning. This section is largely based on qualitative description, data which was mostly drawn from classroom observation.

7.2 Restorative Mechanisms

Thematic analysis was undertaken to examine the qualitative data and consider themes which support the theorised mechanisms of change. This research considered both RA specific mechanisms (found in focus groups dedicated to RA participants and interviews with RA Officers), as well as mechanisms important for the general school population. The RA literature stresses the importance of integrating daily RA preventative practices within the school itself as well as utilising formal reactive procedures with particular individuals after a conflict. Therefore, it was necessary not only to acknowledge the perceptions from those

⁶⁷ Reactive RA refers to the formal RA process called into effect after a conflict (as a reaction to a harm/conflict); whereas preventative strategies are largely those implemented on a daily basis and used as a matter of routine rather than a reaction, as a method of 'preventing' conflict before it occurs. This is usually in the form of RA language and questioning.

directly involved in a formal RA practice, but also from students in the general population to consider how RA effected the school overall.

Three important general conclusions were drawn from this research in regard to the mechanisms. Firstly, that mechanisms identified in the RA literature which support the successful use of such practices are equally significant to RA participants, as well as the general school population. Secondly, it was expected that themes surrounding the three main theoretical underpinnings of restorative practices (procedural fairness, social learning and reintegrative shaming), as described in the literature, would be present. However, there was an unexpected distinction found between the fairness in policy and the fairness of outcomes repeatedly observed during this study. Consequently, an additional theme surrounding the issues of distributive fairness emerged from the data. Thirdly and surprisingly, themes supporting reintegrative shaming, a renowned theory of RJ, were only found in limited instances, whereas themes to support the role of Social Learning Theory were established in both Hafan and during formal RA processes. The four mechanisms of change found in this research include:

1. Procedural Fairness
2. Distributive Fairness
3. Social Learning Theory
4. Reintegrative Shaming

The idea of fairness is an ambiguous term, which is often used in the literature but rarely defined. Procedural fairness (referred to as procedural justice in the criminology literature)⁶⁸, is commonly pointed to as a cornerstone of RA practice. Surprisingly, this research also found distributive fairness as a pivotal mechanism as well. The main difference between these two types of fairness concerns the perception of fairness in the processes within the system compared to the perception of fairness in the outcomes of the system. There was a distinct division between the perception that the policies and procedures were unfair (procedural) and/or the outcomes within the school were unfair (distributive). These two are inextricably linked as policies that are viewed as unfair are directly related to the perception of unfair outcomes as well.

⁶⁸ This research is not a legal study, therefore it is appropriate to remove any legal connotations, such as the word 'justice' from an educational context.

The themes supporting both procedural and distributive fairness, in both RA specific settings and the general school environment are listed below (Table 24):

<i>Procedural Fairness</i>	<i>Distributive Fairness</i>
RA Specific Subthemes:	RA Specific Subthemes:
Need for Standard School-Wide RA Policy	Apology as an Outcome
Importance of Standardised Preparation Procedures for both the Transgressors and Victims	Listening
General School Subtheme:	General School Subthemes
Consistency of Treatment-Between Departments, Staff and Students	Listening and Giving Voice to Students
Disparity in the Perceptions of Hafan	Support
	Punishment as an Outcome

Table 27: *Themes Supporting Fairness Mechanisms*

7.2.1 Procedural Fairness

Procedural fairness plays a central role in restorative practice and predicts that all parties will consider the conflict resolution as fair, despite outcome favourability (Thibaut and Walker, 1975). The importance of procedural fairness to organisational policy has a wide reaching impact, particularly on issues such as satisfaction rates, future rule-abiding behaviour, and importantly participant well-being (Tyler and Blader, 2003; Tyler, 2006; Murphy and Tyler, 2008). Considering the procedural fairness mechanism within an educational setting is paramount to understanding the potential for success or failure within the RA programmes and the implications for future deterrence of negative behaviour and student well-being.

7.2.1.1 RA Specific Subthemes

Two subthemes for restorative practices specifically developed from the overarching ‘Procedural Fairness’ theme:

1. *Need for Standard School-Wide RA Policy*
2. *Importance of Standardised Preparation Procedures for both the Transgressors and Victims*

Need for Standard School-Wide RA Policy

The implementation style and the clear guidance from the SMT in School 3 created an environment where additional policy was not needed in regard to RA usage. The implementation in School 3 required daily classroom language and questioning alternatives by the teacher, embedded within the teaching approach, while maintaining the already established behaviour management framework. Therefore, there was no need to create additional policy as RA in this instance was not used as an alternative to traditional punishment methods as these were still in place.

We need to look at this holistically. There is a behaviour management strategy in place that took a long time to implement and we don't want to get rid of something that is working. But we could add to it. RA gives us something else to work with. We need as many resources as we can get here (Sch3SM3).⁶⁹

The teachers (School 3) used preventative RA in the classrooms without changing existing behaviour management policy. Despite the fact that this school would not modify existing policies to incorporate RA into the more punitive behaviour management policies, the SMT did provide clear expectations for all staff to maintain a consistent level of RA and supporting methods within each classroom. RA preventative practices were expected to be used regularly throughout the school; observations and teacher interviews supported these expectations.

Sch3SM3: The teachers are expected to approach their teaching in a certain style that reflects RA. There is probably nothing tangible to show you but they use it in their teaching. We try to understand where the students are coming from. They all have their individual needs that must be met.

⁶⁹ A complete list participant abbreviation codes is found in appendix 18.

Researcher: *How does this relate to the traditional behaviour management programme in place?*

Sch3SM3: *We have standard policy and a structured tier system in place-this has to be followed. Ideally, this isn't needed and can be stopped in the classroom before outside intervention is needed.*

Sch3SM3 had a clear vision of how RA should be implemented and saw it as a preventative measure rather than a reactive measure in this school. School 3 did not need to alter its policies to accommodate the use of preventative RA, rather it provided expectations for the staff to incorporate it before the punitive model was accessed. The approach taken by this school is emblematic of Braithwaite's (1999) RJ Model (see Figure 2, pg.20); where RA is used up to a point, then more 'incapacitative' justice is used; in School 3 'incapacitative justice' is replaced with the existing behaviour policy. There was not a separate pathway to RA or to punishment, rather each student was taught using classroom restorative practices and if needed would access the standard behaviour management system in place.

Both School 1 and 2 implemented RA in a different manner which exposed a number of weaknesses and tensions between RA and the current behaviour management system. In both School 1 and 2 it was evident that there was a general lack of RA policy, which was needed as there were multiple pathways available to access the programme. Neither school had any clear regulations/policies related to the integration of RA in with the standard behaviour policy and framework of traditional punishment, resulting in several negative consequences. Firstly, it appeared quite arbitrary which students were 'punished' and which were referred to the RA Officer, additionally RA operated alongside traditional punishment. Additionally, because of a general lack of policy, only a relatively small number of students had access to RA provisions. Lastly, punishment was used as a threat to coerce students into accepting RA outcomes. All of which could be overcome with clear policy and guidelines from school leadership.

School 1 used both formal restorative practices (conferences and restorative meetings) alongside detention and even Encil.

I get detention and sometimes I see the RA Officer, it all depends...

what teacher it is...sometimes I do both (detention and seeing The RA Officer)
(Sch1FG1N7).

We still were sent to Encil and then had to say sorry... (Sch2FG1N68).

The use of restorative practices alongside punishment is controversial. In the RA literature a whole school approach as an alternative to traditional punishment is often viewed as the ideal standard (this takes a somewhat abolitionists view, analogous with RJ abolitionists, see pg. 19) but has only been met in a small number of schools.⁷⁰ Those schools not achieving a full whole school approach still rely on the traditional behaviour management and the use of punishment. The combined use of RA and punishment is a contentious issue and restorative scholars remain undecided on this issue (McCold, 2000; Walgrave, 2001). Despite the continued debate on the use of punishment alongside restorative practice, there is little ambiguity regarding the need for consistent behaviour management policies. “No school policy is of any value if it is not understood and applied consistently by all staff” (Steer, pg. 5, 2006). This may be in the form of restorative approaches working alongside or within the traditional system, but consistent policy needs to be established based on a working model. This lack of standard policy resulted in only a minority of students utilising the services of the RA Officer in either School 1 or 2.

To illustrate the necessity of a standard working policy, during the research period two transgressor were referred to the RA Officer to resolve bullying incidents. However, during this period a further 15 individuals were logged for bullying and subsequently dealt with via the anti-bullying policy. The anti-bullying policy includes the following sanctions (School 1 anti-bullying policy, 2016, pg. 2)

- detention at break and lunchtimes
- removal from lessons
- Headmaster’s detention
- placement in ENCIL
- fixed term exclusion
- or even a permanent exclusion, depending on the gravity of the case.

This policy does not mention the possibility of a referral to the RA officer. The inconsistency in referrals was detrimental the programme’s success.

⁷⁰ The YJB National Evaluation of 26 School only found 4 were implementing a whole school approach.

Theoretically, students could access RA from two different routes in both School 1 and 2: 1. Referred by a teacher/staff member 2. Seek out the RA Officer themselves in the form of a drop-in clinic run at certain times throughout the week. However, due to the lack of awareness ‘route 2’ was not utilised during the research period resulting in the drop-in service being exclusively used by the established referrals in School.⁷¹

The drop-in sessions in School 1 were primarily utilised for formal restorative meetings, focusing on issues such as time management, anger or social issues, and similar concerns. School 2’s drop in sessions were less formal and included brief ‘check in’ meetings that included questions regarding the participants’ well-being. When asked why students repeatedly utilised drop-in the session, sentiments such as *‘They said we could come back anytime we needed’*⁷² were asserted (Sch2FG1N63). This was supported in the quantitative data which revealed many referrals open for nearly a year. Therefore, during the course of the research period, a general lack of school-wide policy resulted in only a small handful of students repeatedly accessing the restorative resources for long periods of time.⁷³

The use of coercion is also an uneasy topic within the restorative literature. Some proponents advocate a strictly volunteer basis as described in the purist model of restorative justice (McCold, 2000), whereas others state that a coerced restorative outcome is better than the alternative of pure punishment (Walgrave, 2001; VanNess, 2002). However, the lack of policy leaves this open to individual teacher’s interpretation of RA.

I wasn’t given a choice-my head teacher said do it [RA] or I wouldn’t be allowed to go to my leavers...so I wasn’t given a choice...

Researcher: So it was forced?

Yes I was forced to do it. I would either be punished by not going to leavers or I had to see [The RA Officer] (Sch1FG1N70).

The use of coercion is another controversial topic and questions the restorative nature of the programme and diminishes the procedural fairness perceived by the students. The need for a standard school wide policy on RA, including the use of punishment and coercion diminished the perceptions of procedural fairness of the programme.

⁷¹ Quantitative data supports this general lack of awareness in School 2 where only 9% stated they have heard of restorative approaches at Time 3 (end of the research period).

⁷² See Social Learning Section, Section 7.2.3 pg. 213 for further discussion.

⁷³ Open cases ranged from 6-309 (M=109) days in School 1

Importance of Standardised Preparation Procedures for both the Transgressors and Victims

The importance of standard policy was not only important to accessing the RA provision but also reflected in the lack of standardised policy for the preparation of all parties involved. Focus groups 1 ('transgressors') and 2 ('victims') had disparate views of the intentions of the RA Officer based on their experience of the preparation procedures. Participants in focus group 1 ('transgressors') viewed The RA Officer as someone who was there to help them with any matter that might arise. The transgressor focus groups praised the preparation given by the RA Officer.

The transgressor focus groups found that the RA Officer took great care in describing the process by explaining who would be involved during the preparatory and conference stages and what would happen. The students repeatedly interchanged the terminology of knowing what is going to happen, with the term 'fair'; which was unexpected.

They [RA Officer] explained what was going to happen so we all knew...what it was like...they explained what's said and it's all fair (Sch1FG1N7).

We had to meet with the [RA Officer] a few times...they told us what was going on and what we should do when we meet. So I thought it was OK. We're (the friendship group) OK now...it was all fair (Sch1FG1N8).

They explain that they (the other student) could talk and I could talk and it was explained who could talk ... it was fair (Sch1FG1N6).

The transgressor focus groups repeatedly acknowledged that the preparation stages of RA (i.e. discussing what would happen and who would have a turn to speak) strongly influenced their perception of whether it was fair. The consistent framework that the RA Officer worked from for this group, particularly the preceding knowledge that each participant would have the opportunity to speak all contributed to the idea of 'fairness'.

However, this again was different within RA group 2 ('victims'). This group saw the RA Officer as someone there to help the 'transgressors' and often commented that they did not have much interaction with them.

[The RA Officer] never came to get me...I wanted to talk about it...but [they] would always be with the [transgressors] (Sch1FG2N13).

I only saw [The RA Officer] once to agree to meet [the transgressor] (Sch2FG2N74).

They weren't interested in me...we barely saw [The RA Officer]. [The RA Officer] saw [the transgressor] tons of times. [The transgressor] got to get out of class loads to see [The RA Officer] (Sch1FG2N11).

There was a general lack of policy concerning the allocation of meeting time for all parties involved. It was evident that the 'victims' felt that they did not receive due care and attention from the RA Officer. This resulted in the 'victims' groups expressing concern over the ability of RA Officers in general to resolve potential conflicts between students. This group largely accepted that the school staff, including the RA Officers, could do little to resolve conflict and were unconvinced that the RA process could change the situation.

*Sch1FG2N11: When someone getting bullied-it will take ages for someone to do something...until it gets to the worst point. I was being picked on and I told the head of year and then my mum came to school and talked for ages because I didn't want to come to school or do anything. Because every time they saw me they would shout something. It wasn't until my mum called the head of year and said I wasn't coming to school that the head of year actually did something...she had a **word** [said in a sarcastic tone] with the girls.*

Researcher: *Did that help?*

Sch1FG2N11: No not really. Then I saw [the RA Officer], I saw them twice, three months after it started. She saw the other girls more and I didn't really get to speak to them much. Some of the girls said sorry to me in the hall but the other girls didn't.

It could be done better. We need someone to do something straight away but no one ever sorts it (Sch1FG2N11).

I don't know if it would last [the improved behaviour of the transgressors] (Sch2FG2N71).

The participants expressed their perception that the authority figures cannot remedy any of the conflicts they were facing with other students. These participants did not have confidence in any authority figure to rectify the situation or alleviate the problem. Even when the parties

had gone through the restorative process, these participants did not express confidence that the restorative contract would be maintained.

Despite the fact that both LA1RA1 and LA1RA2 both felt that the RA process unconditionally benefitted all parties involved (transgressor and victim), there was some acknowledgement that the RA process did not entirely resolve all conflicts:

I have found that if the reason for referral is due to an incident of physical conflict between 2 or 3 individual pupils. The person harmed will benefit from the process as they receive explanations, apologies and reassurances. If the reason for referral relates to a group conflict, the person or persons harmed benefit with having the opportunity to express their side of the story, additionally they will receive apologies and reassurances. These benefits may be short-term as the conflict may continue between certain members of the group, nevertheless, giving the opportunity to the harmed person to express the impact on them benefits them in terms of being acknowledged as a human being who possesses thoughts and feelings (LA1RA1).

The lack of confidence in the restorative outcomes felt by students in the ‘victims’ focus group may be well founded as the RA Officers themselves acknowledged the positive outcomes may be temporary. Although The RA Officer stated the process was still beneficial to the ‘victims’ as the process “*acknowledged [the victims] as a human being who possesses thoughts and feelings*”. This sentiment was not shared by this group of students, who stated the need for more demonstrable outcomes.

The absence of a standard school-wide RA policy, with specific regulation of issues such as punishment and coercion, and a more specific policy and procedures regarding preparation time for both parties had the potential to negate the benefits of procedural fairness within the programme in School 1 and 2. Although the transgressors generally agreed that there was a high level of procedural fairness, the same sentiment was not echoed by the victims, or in fact the RA Officers themselves.

7.2.1.2 General School Subthemes

Two general school subthemes emerged from the principal theme of ‘Procedural Fairness’. These themes were relevant to the schools as a whole, rather than RA specific:

1. *Consistency of Treatment-Between Departments, Staff and Students*
2. *Disparity in the Perceptions of Hafan*

One of the most common threads found throughout all focus groups in both School 1 and 2 was that students felt they were treated inconsistently. Participants repeatedly made reference to this perception at several behaviour management levels within school. Firstly, each school department operated a different behaviour management system. Secondly, there was a shared perception that teachers within the school all used different methods to manage class behaviour. Lastly, and perhaps most related to negative feelings toward the school, was the perception that within the student body, pupils were treated inconsistently. Within School 2, this last level was very specific and consisted of a difference between students in the different language streams, whereas in School 1 the inconsistent treatment was found between the ‘good’ and ‘bad’ students. There are several negative outcomes associated with the labelling experienced by the student in School 1 including a reduced self-esteem and a steady decline in engagement behaviours (Ekins, 2010).

Consistency of Treatment-Between Departments, Staff and Students

The perceived differences in behaviour management strategies between departments were similar in both School 1 and 2.

School is kinda fair...some teachers treat us nice...it depends on what teacher (Sch1FG3N18).

One word to describe my school...its unfair...how come in maths we get in more trouble for doing the same thing than in English (Sch1FG5N41)?

In Science is bad...you can't do anything...but in English it's better because we're allowed to chat about stuff (Sch2FG2N72).

They're [teachers] all a bit different (Sch1FG4N40).

Significant discussions ensued in both School 1 and 2, where students all gave similar accounts of different policies being implemented within the schools. Students discussed different departments in relations to how ‘strict’ they were considered. The perception of inconsistent use between departments is imperative to behaviour management, as clarity and consistency in school behaviour management policies are routinely emphasised as the cornerstones of any successful policy (Taylor, 2011).

Large schools are more likely to have more truancy and general negative behaviours (Haller, 1992). Heaviside, et al. (1998) found that schools with an enrolment of over 1,000 pupils are at risk for increased and more significant discipline issues. Although consistent behaviour policies are key to overcoming these issues, it is also very difficult to achieve in large schools (Gottfredson, 1989). Both School 1 and 2 suffer from the lack of consistency and this simultaneously increases negative behaviour while diminishing perceptions of procedural fairness.

School 1 and School 2 both had very general codes of conduct and an overarching behaviour management policy. Due to the general nature of these policies, teachers and departments were expected to enact more specific rules. The general nature of the behaviour policies may be intentional to give each department some autonomy, as previous research suggests organising large schools into smaller units is one method of decreasing the negative risk factors associated with large pupil numbers (American Institutes for Research Report, 2002). However, by establishing semi-autonomous departments, with only general policies to follow, students who are moving between departments experience the effects of different rules throughout the day.

Secondly, inconsistent treatment was also found not only between departments but also between teachers. This was unsurprising as in the behaviour management policy of School 1, it specifically states “Teachers are primarily responsible for their own classroom discipline” (School 1, Behaviour for Learning Policy, 2016, pg. 2). This allowed teachers to follow their own management techniques, within the remit of the school and department, which were quite broad. Students in both schools were acutely cognisant that teachers had different types of behaviour management strategies such as shouting, sending students out of the classroom, and to a lesser extent, those who resolved the conflict through calm questioning.

Some nice teachers are calmer and are not aggressive with us. The angry teachers just shout at us (Sch1FG4N31).

There was an emphasis on shouting and sending students ‘out’. It was unclear what occurred when students were sent out of the classroom. In regards to school policy, another teacher should collect the student and in School 2 this responsibility usually rests on the Hafan staff.

*They just say **out**. They call Hafan or Encil or whatever to come get us and that’s it, then we go sit somewhere else until the bell (Sch2FGN111).*

Disruptive students were often sent out of the classroom with little attempt to resolve the initial issue, as per the behaviour management policies in place within both schools. “Anyone who prevents teachers from teaching and pupils from learning will be taken out of lessons and punished” (School 1, Code of Conduct, 2016). In both schools, students could be removed from the classroom for relatively minor infringements such as “Poor motivation. Minor classroom disruption. Uniform infringement.” (School 1 Behaviour Management Policy, 2015). Similar reasons for classroom exclusion were stated by Sch2RACamp4:

We are called anytime a student misbehaves in class...it can be for anything...someone won't tuck their shirt in...we bring them here (Hafan) (Sch2RACamp4).

Despite both School 1 and 2's use of classroom exclusion, LA1 in general is often stated as being the most inclusive authority in Wales, with 'out of school' exclusions far below the national average.

[LA 1] is the most inclusive authority in Wales... exclusion rates both fixed and permanent are excellent and the best in Wales and compares favourably with statistical neighbours in England... and preventing exclusion from mainstream schools have been two of our educational strategic priorities (National Assembly for Wales, 2012, no pagination).

This is largely credited to the establishment of Hafan and Encil in all LA1 secondary schools (National Assembly for Wales, 2012.). Reducing 'out of school' exclusion has been on the agenda for Welsh schools for several years as school attendance is believed to be a significant factor for school engagement and future attainment levels. However, the practice of removing students from classrooms for relatively minor infractions, no doubt has an impact on student engagement, as it is impossible for students to connect with the learning whilst excluded from the learning environment, despite remaining within the physical school building.

They never talk to us...It's easier to send us out...Sometimes I just walk around...(Sch1FG1N4)

Some teachers talk to us and give us a warning but other teachers just send us out (Sch2FG1N65).

Sometimes we go into the corridor (Sch2FG6N110).

Although official figures find LA1 exclusions the lowest in the country, the two schools participating in this research, have practices that effectively exclude students from the classroom. RA has a large role to play here in regards to reducing potential classroom conflict before class exclusion is necessary. Using classroom preventative practices such as RA language and questioning could help to reduce the number of minor classroom conflict, improve perceptions of fairness, subsequently promoting compliant behaviour (Murphy and Tyler, 2008), and the need for classroom exclusions.

School 3 was not exempt from similar policies for the removal of disruptive pupils from the classroom, however, this did not operate as a routine behaviour management strategy. Students were aware of this policy but did not feel that it was unwarranted, or unfair, particularly if the disruption was aggressive in nature.

If it's [their behaviour] bad, then they [the teacher] get work for you and you stay there with them [the Head of Year] (Sch3PI120).

Removing a student from the classroom was a rare occurrence in School 3; however, unlike School 1 and 2, when used, the students were given work to complete so not to impact on their learning and engagement. Additionally, the school would also contact the parents/guardians of the disruptive student, as part of the standard policy:

...on occasion teachers do need help in the classroom if a student is particularly aggressive...this policy is not needed often...students are aware that their parents will be called (Sch3SM27).

Although the significant difference in frequency of use was noted, there was also a difference found between Schools 1 and 2, and School 3 in the expected level of communication between the school and parents. This was reinforced by Sch3PI121 who stated, “*We don't get in trouble a lot but if we keep doing something our parents are called in here and we have to tell them what we've been doing*”.

In addition to sending students out of the classroom, there were a number of accounts in School 1 and 2 of teachers shouting at students, and surprisingly students were aware that some staff members were angry and considered others as aggressive. In general, the predominant use of reactive behaviour management strategies, such as shouting, was

prevalent throughout School 1 and 2 and this was directly related to decreases in student engagement (Clunies-Ross, et al., 2008). Not only does shouting specifically decrease engagement but it has also been found to increase overall negative behaviours in children (Preux, 2014).

The third layer of perceived inconsistent treatment rests not between departments or staff but within the student body themselves. This highly emotive subtheme was clearly important to students within School 1 and 2. In School 1, the inconsistent treatment between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ students was recognised throughout all the focus groups. Within School 2, a similar theme emerged regarding the differences in treatment between the language streams (English and Welsh). The unfair treatment of students began as a general discussion in which all focus groups took part. Interestingly, students from focus groups 3 and 4 openly discussed the different treatment between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ students stating: “*Some teachers act differently to different people*” (Sch1FG3N25) and “*They can be a bit harsh to some of us*” (Sch2FG4N89). However, this group of students did not have specific examples of this happening to themselves; rather it was more of an acknowledgement that this occurred in the school.

Unexpectedly, the inconsistent treatment was not perceived to be the exception but considered the norm at both School 1 and 2. Although the students perceived this as a normal standard of behaviour from staff at school, it was still acknowledged as being unfair. However, the general awareness of this treatment was replaced with specific examples in other focus groups, which gave way to emotive and personal experiences of the inconsistent treatment. Students in School 1 described instances where they felt they were treated unfairly due to their ‘bad’ label, compared to other students who may present with the same behaviour.

Well, I just think sometimes it’s unfair because when I said something to my teacher I was angry at something they said before. So if for me I would do something I would get something else compared to other people. So I would say that is unfair (quick speaking, agitated tone) ...it’s because, we are the bad ones...like we’ve been in trouble before so now we are always getting in trouble (Sch1FG6N53).

They don’t care about us...we’re the ones in trouble (Sch1FG6N60).

There was a perception that the teachers do not care about this group of students and spend most of their time with the ‘good’ students in the classroom.

School 2 also experienced inconsistent treatment between groups of students. The perceptions of inconsistencies included perceptions of differences between the Welsh and English stream students. The focus groups reported that the English stream students were sent to Encil more often than Welsh students: “*The Welsh never get into trouble like us...just go in [to Encil] and you’ll see*” (Sch2FG6N112). Students routinely stated that inconsistent treatment between the two groups of students caused negative feelings towards the school. This was supported in the quantitative results that found a significant difference between Welsh and English students’ perception (positive or negative) of school; Welsh students viewed their school more positively than their English counterparts (as reported in the quantitative chapter).

The data collection methods from students in School 3 did not include student focus groups due to their time relatively lengthy time commitment.⁷⁴ However, from the student interviews, there was very little indication that major groups within the school were treated differently than others. Quantitative results also support this qualitative finding as the analysis of the final questionnaires found only 13% of participants reported their school was a negative place, compared to 29% in School 2.

In both School 1 and 2 there were several different levels of inconsistent treatment with negative consequences on student behaviour, engagement, and perceptions of fairness. To improve the negative consequences of inconsistent treatment schools staff should all reinforce the same behaviour standards and follow one common discipline policy (Nelson, 2002). There was less evidence in School 3 of inconsistent treatment between departments, teachers or students. The consistency found in this school resulted in higher levels of perceived procedural fairness and reduced frequency of disruptive behaviour in the classrooms.

Disparity in the Perceptions of Hafan (LA 1)

There are a number of policies in place county-wide (LA1) to ensure all students in need of additional academic, emotional or social support have access to Hafan. The presence of Hafan in both School 1 and School 2 and the policies and school wide initiatives in place

⁷⁴ School 3 did not permit student focus groups but did allow student interviews.

should ensure high levels of procedural justice throughout the process of gaining access to Hafan support. However, the approach for providing support to those students in need was different in both schools, resulting in a disparity in perceptions of fairness of this facility.

In School 1, students who did not utilise Hafan viewed it as a normal element of the school and did not mention any issues surrounding the ‘fairness’ of some students accessing additional support.⁷⁵ Students from the Hafan and Encil focus groups were particularly positive about Hafan and considered it important for attaining the best outcomes in school.

It's [school] depressing...Hafan will help. It will help. I've been in there for a year...[In] Hafan you get some help...with your work (Sch1FG5N45).

Students who utilised the support of Hafan viewed it as a place where they could receive the assistance they needed, in a caring but professional setting. Observations (Sch1OH11-18) further confirmed the firm policies in place, which promoted good behaviour and school engagement. Students must be engaged in school work throughout each lesson; this may be in the form of the traditional curriculum for most students but for others it includes lessons on social, behavioural, and emotional development. The setting was a traditional classroom with similar routines and standards in place that would be expected in any other area of the school. Strict rules were adhered to and these on display within the classroom (and reiterated when needed during the lesson). Additionally, posters on RA were also present within this setting (see Picture 5, pg. 216). The students accessing Hafan (School 1) continued their school work and abided by the same standards of behaviour as expected in the general school population. Therefore, students outside of Hafan did not consider it procedurally unfair despite the fact that students were not attending their mainstream lessons and received additional support.

School 1 did not have any issues implementing fair policies in regard to accessing the support of Hafan or the practices within the facility. However, in School 2, the issues of access and the activities within Hafan were a significant issue for several focus groups. Students in Hafan and Encil focus groups had very little to comment on how they viewed it, whereas the remaining focus groups (who did not have access), were particularly vocal about the policies surrounding access and the practices within Hafan.

⁷⁵ This indifference is assumed by the researcher to be a result of the focus groups as perceiving Hafan as fair.

In particular, students outside of the Hafan and Encil focus groups had an unexpected reaction to the use of ‘Hafan Cards’. These cards allowed eligible students to leave a lesson without question. Students outside the Hafan and Encil focus groups viewed this as a “*get out of jail free card*” (Sch2FG3N77). Students in the Hafan focus group stated this card could be used for a variety of reasons: feeling overwhelmed, depressed, anxious, agitated or angry. The Hafan group members saw this as a positive step in dealing with underlying problems, whereas other students viewed the policies in place to go to Hafan and the student’s ability to incontestably being excused from lessons as “*a joke*” (Sch2FG3N75). Students from other focus groups agreed that the policies that allow Hafan students to leave any lesson at any time without reasonable justification was procedurally unfair.

...Hafan is unfair (Sch2FG4N90).

Some people get detention and some people get to go to Hafan. It’s not fair...(Sch2FG2N73).

There’s no point in being punished because the teachers and everyone knows that you can go to Hafan and have tea and toast. They can just walk out and go to Hafan...they know how they can use Hafan (Sch2FG2N71).

Hafan is too easy...just because they are chatty in there. [Hafan teacher] just lets them come in and they just stay there (Sch2FG4N92).

It should be soft for the ones who need it, not when they are bad. Some are suffering at home...[They] can come in for a chat and a cuddle but it is being abused (Sch2FG3N84).

The thing is about Hafan it is the easy option for bad ones. They can just give the teacher a card when they want to leave the room (Sch2FG4N99).

Students not utilising the Hafan provisions were highly emotive about this subject, and felt that the pupils on the Hafan register unfairly escape punishment. They questioned the fairness of the policies of the Hafan cards and the practices within Hafan itself. Students outside of Hafan viewed the practice of having tea and toast with disruptive students as unfair, as they felt they would get ‘punished’ for similar behaviour. Both the policies accessing Hafan and the procedures with the Hafan provision questions the procedural fairness of this facility in School 2.

The lack of procedural fairness in Hafan was not only perceived by the students but also observed by the researcher.

Exemplar 7

School 2 Hafan

Sch2SM2 walks into Hafan and speaks to Student A, who is already speaking to Sch2RACHamp4. Sch2SM2 comments that the student's finger nail polish is inappropriate for school and must be removed. The student states that they are 'gel nails' and cannot be removed. Sch2RACHamp4 agrees that gel nails cannot be removed easily. When Sch2SM2 leaves the room, Sch2RACHamp4 says "*Those are stickers, aren't they?*" and Student A replies, "*Yes*" (giggles).

Not only does Sch2RACHamp4 display disrespect for their fellow colleague and the school rules, they also undermined the procedural fairness of Hafan by permitting accessories (nail art) forbidden by school policy. Additionally, Sch2RACHamp4 quite obviously lied to another staff member (a member of the senior management). This clearly illustrated the lack of procedural fairness and gave additional context as to why students not accessing Hafan perceive it as an unfair provision within the school.

Exemplar 8

School 2 Hafan

A further example in Hafan corroborated previous observations when a notable conflict arose between Sch2SM2 and a student. Initially, Student B was speaking to Sch2RACHamp4 and Sch2RACHamp5 when Sch2SM2 entered the room and noticed the student not wearing appropriate shoes.

Sch2SM2: *How did it come to be that you are wearing these today (looking at student's feet)? You need to visit the shoe bank.*⁷⁶

Student B: *I don't like them.*

Sch2SM2: *Tell me why you won't wear them...*

Student B: *I won't wear them.*

⁷⁶ Hafan has a cupboard of black shoes and uniforms that students use when not wearing appropriate attire.

Sch2SM2: *Realistically you must leave here with a pair of shoes and in a good mood. I know you're going to be in a bad mood but hopefully it will be short lived.*

Student B: *They're skanky.*

Sch2SM2: *They are anti-bacc'd every day. Just check there are some in his size (speaking to Sch2RACHamp4).*

Student B: *(Student walks out of room and into the hall.)*

Sch2SM2: *Come back in here and we can resolve this.*

Sch2RACHamp5: *Just let him wear his shoes. He can promise to wear the right one's tomorrow.*

Sch2RACHamp4: *I can write him a letter so his teachers won't get on his case today.*

Sch2SM2: *(Leaves the room and does not return.)*

This example provided some evidence to the tensions between the teaching staff in Hafan (who have been RA trained⁷⁷) and the senior management team, as well as the failure to consistently apply school policies throughout the student body. This lack of procedural fairness increased the perception of unfair treatment between the students (those in Hafan and those not in Hafan).

Conversely, this type of inconsistent treatment was not found in School 3, despite the school's reputation of having uncompromising policies and use of punishment. Although this school does not have the Hafan facilities as found in LA1, it does have lessons where certain students receive additional academic, emotional and behavioural support. The students interviewed did not view this as unfair and simply stated that "*some [students] need some help*" (Sch3PI120). There was no evidence that students who accessed the facilities for additional support somehow avoided punishment. Therefore, the procedural fairness of accessing additional support (and receiving punishment) was not questioned by the students. This was similar to the Hafan in School 1, where students did not question the procedural fairness and accepted that some students needed additional support, and that these students would not escape punishment (as reported in School 2). Surprisingly, a similarity between Hafan (School 1) and School 3 resulted from comparable operations, resulting in high level of procedural fairness in both.

⁷⁷ This also questions the RA training (see Training section)

Students openly acknowledged the 'strict' nature of School 3 but this was not found to be unfair as it was applied evenly throughout the student body. Despite this reputation there was very little classroom disruption found in School 3 and staff did not shout or make threats. The strict nature of the discipline policies was applied evenly throughout the student body and across departments; therefore, rules and outcomes of the behaviour policy were more likely to be followed (Murphy and Tyler, 2008).

Consistent school wide policies were important to the perceptions of procedural fairness, resulting in increased compliant behaviour (Tyler, 2006). In both School 1 and 2 the behaviour management policies in place were perceived to be unfair by the students due to the inconsistent application throughout the school, therefore questioning the procedural fairness within these settings and reducing levels of rule compliance (Bradford, et al., 2015; Tyler, 2006). These inconsistencies in treatment arose between departments, teachers and within the student body. In School 1 it was evident that students perceived a difference between the 'good' and 'bad' pupils, whereas in School 2 the inconsistencies of treatment within the student body resulted from the perceptions of differences between the language streams, and those students who accessed Hafan. Overall, this lack of procedural consistency with School 1 and 2 was linked to negative perceptions of the schools overall. Hafan in School 1 and School 3, shared similar embedded RA practices and applied organisational policy consistently throughout their practices, therefore, there was no questioning the procedural fairness found in these settings.

7.2.2 Distributive Fairness

Both 'RA Specific' and 'General School' subthemes developed from the main theme of 'Distributive Fairness'. Distributive fairness refers to the perceived fairness of the distribution of outcomes or goods (Deutsch, 1975); the definition of 'outcomes' or 'goods' is quite broad and can represent both tangible and intangible commodities. In this research, students were most aware of distributive discrepancies of intangible goods, such as 'support' and 'listening'.

7.2.2.1 RA Specific Subthemes

1. *Use of an Apology as an Outcome*
2. *Listening*

The subject of an apology and the significance of listening were paramount to both RA Focus groups. Although these elements both played a major role in these focus groups, the importance placed on an apology differed greatly between groups, as well as the significance of *who* did the listening.

Use of an Apology as an Outcome

The role of an apology in restorative practices is well documented. Some scholars view the gesture of giving and accepting an apology as a core element of restorative practices (Doak and O'Mahony, 2006). It is stated that victims place more significance on emotional reparation, in the form of an apology, than the desire for material compensation (Shoham and Knepper, 2010). However, apologies are an emotionally complex process for all participants. Participants in focus group 1 (transgressors) initially struggled to admit the importance of their apology; whereas participants in focus group 2 (victims) did not necessarily have faith in the transformative impact of such a gesture.

Students in the focus group 1 presented two different layers of giving an apology. In the first instance most students disregarded the importance of the apology and boasted that they were forced to do it but didn't really mean it or that they apologised to avoid detention (again, questions standard policies on coercion).

Saying sorry is easier than going to detention. We all had to say sorry but I didn't mean it (Sch1FG1N10).

Within this first layer there was a general consensus on the superficial nature of this gesture from the group on this point; with a lot of affirming noises from their peers. There was a sense of bravado from a few of the more vocal participants but not all students engaged in this discussion. However, once one participant began to tell of how they apologised it became apparent that this act was more than an empty gesture as it was originally discussed. It was as if it was necessary to remove the initial layer of pretentiousness before coming to the genuine feelings of the group.

I was supposed to say sorry but I didn't want to. I was walking down the corridor and he said something to me so I smacked him but I got in trouble. But I said sorry and then he said sorry too (Sch1FG1N6).

I wanted to apologise because it was my fault (Sch2FG1N67).

I apologised and I didn't even have to...(Sch2FG1N68).

There was an emotional conflict the students were struggling with, where their pride and the judgement of their peers played an important role. However, after the initial reluctance, some participants in focus group 1 felt there were benefits from apologising, such as the restoration of friendships, this was particularly important to those students who were referred for aggressive behaviour towards a particular person.

In the victim's group, the impact of the apology was less convincing; although it must be noted there were only a limited number of participants in these groups, with not all receiving an apology (or at least not remembering the apology) (School 1 N=6; School 2 N=4). This was largely due to the fact that victims were largely excluded from the restorative processes in School 1 and in School 2 informal mini-conferences/corridor conferences were used (without records).

Although the apology was viewed by the transgressor as an acceptance of wrong-doing and as a sign of their willingness to alter their behaviour, it was not easily accepted by the victim. There was a subset of participants in Focus Group 2 who did not think an apology was enough. Specifically, two cases where the participants were bullied. The victims of bullying spoke highly emotively and felt that an apology was "*just words*" and only their future behaviour would prove if they meant it (Sch2FG2N71).

These participants, although they agreed that RA was a fair process, and the apology was a useful first step, still felt that the transgressors should have some further actions imposed.

An apology is just them saying...I still have to see them afraid it's going to start again...they don't have nothing they have to do (Sch1FG2N12).

Interestingly, it appeared from these two focus groups that the impact of giving/receiving an apology was not identical, and this may be related to the type of original transgression. The act of apologizing was seen as quite a grand gesture in the transgressor group, however, it did not have such an impact on all individuals in the victims focus group. In particular, victims

who had experienced repeated victimisation (bullying) from a particular individual were less likely to accept an apology as the final remedy to the conflict. They felt more was needed to prove the intent of the apology was sincere.

Listening

The importance of listening for the participants of RA could not be overstated. This subtheme dominated the both RA focus groups. Participants of focus group 1 repeatedly stressed that the RA Officer spent time listening to what caused the referral and their associated thoughts and feelings; rather than impetuously shouting or punishing the student. These qualities were the most important attributes of the RA Officer. These were discussed emphatically, and it was made clear that the student participants felt quite passionate about this characteristic of the RA Officer.

The RA Officer would ask us how we were doing that day and that week. She really seemed interested (Sch1FG1N1).

RA Officer sits there and listens to us...They really care...They listen (Sch1FG1N4).

If something bad happens, [RA Officer] could help you and not get mad or shout or gets annoyed or anything like that and they would tell you how to react. I really liked them because they listened to me (Sch1FG1N5).

You could tell them anything...they listened and gave you some help on what to do next (Sch2FG1N65).

[The RA Officer] never gets mad at us or shouts at us...they found out what happened first (Sch2FG1N64) (group all agreed and talked over each other on this subject).

It was also apparent that not expressing negative emotions, such as anger or annoyance with the students was also an important factor whilst actively listening to the students.

Participants in the victims group also wanted to be listened to but not by the RA Officer. The participants in focus group 2 did not point to the RA Officer as the key person who should listen. Rather, they felt it was important that the transgressor listened to how it felt to be a victim.

[The transgressor] had to listen how it felt [being bullied] (Sch1FG2N12).

At least [the transgressor] knows how I feel now (Sch2FGN74).

Both RA groups felt that RA gave them the chance to speak without judgement and that someone was listening to them. However, the key person listening was different for both groups. Participants in focus group 1 (transgressors) felt quite strongly that the key person listening was the RA Officer, however, the second focus group (victims) group did not mention the RA Officer but felt it was important that the transgressor listened to them.

7.2.2.2 General School Subthemes

Three subthemes within the general school developed from the theme of distributive fairness:

1. *Listening and Giving Voice to Students*
2. *Support*
3. *Punishment*

The concept of distributive fairness surrounds the equality of outcomes from any policies or procedures within a group. A group where the equality of an outcome is high is perceived to be distributively fair. These outcomes may be tangible, such as the distribution of actual goods or it may take the form of an intangible element such as verbal feedback or time with teachers. In this research it was found three such intangible themes supported the importance of the mechanism of distributive justice within a school: listening to students, supporting students, and punishment.

Listening and Giving Voice to Students

Giving students a voice/listening to students are two sides of the same coin. Firstly, policies need to be in place to ensure students have a pathway to express their opinions but someone also needs to be at the receiving end of this path. It was put forth that policies were available in each school to ensure UK legislation was followed (procedurally fair). However, it was questionable that the final outcome of someone listening to these voices was available.

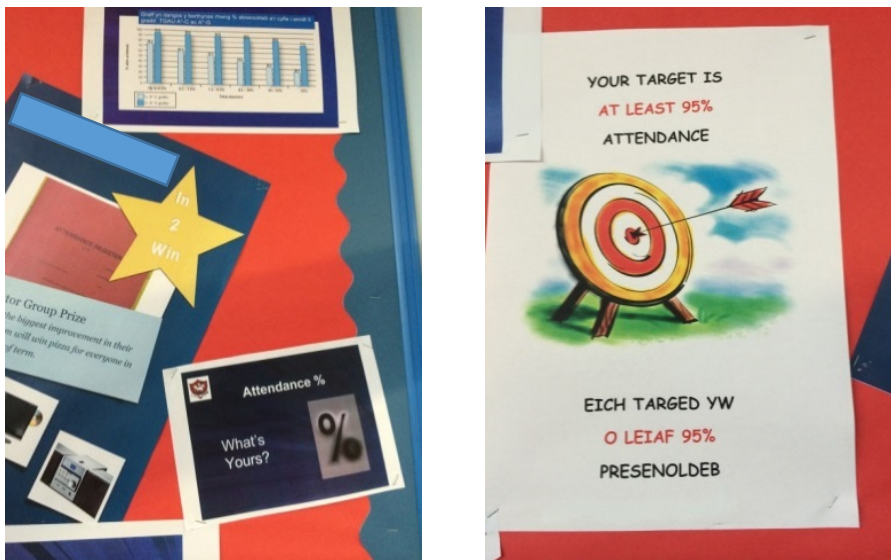
The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) maintains policies that support the voice of every child. Additionally, statutory guidance from the Department for Education states that all pupils must be listened to and have the opportunity to contribute to the decision making processes within the school (Department for Education, 2014). The policies needed to give students a venue to voice their opinions was found in all three schools, mainly in the

form of a student council. Although the efficacy of this venue was uncertain and many students did not feel that their voices were heard at either the school or classroom level.

The main method of complying with the UNCRC and the statutory guidance from the Department for Education was in the form of student councils. The school council in School 3 was particularly active:

The school council has contributed widely to improving the school's environment and is involved in whole school developments, such as improving attendance (Estyn, 2013).

It was clear that the school council had a firmly established role in significant decisions within the school. This was supported by previous Estyn inspections, staff interviews which found that the student council were consulted for a variety of school-wide projects (SchSM3), and school observations. School council projects were considered integral to improving the school, such as the drive to improve attendance rates. The student council attendance awareness campaign was clearly displayed (Pictures 1 and 2 below) on the main school board in the reception area and clearly had a critical role in improving school wide attendance.



Pictures 1 and 2: School 3 Student Council Sponsored Attendance Awareness Campaign

The active contribution of the student council impacts on the collective efficacy of the school community, an issue that Bazemore (2000) states is an important agenda for successful restorative practices. He reports that collective efficacy is a significant aspect to ensure community problem solving and stronger community relationships are built, both of which are important elements in the school. Therefore, the active contribution of the student council

is one element that can work alongside RA implementation to improve problem solving and community bonds in the schools.

Observations support the integral nature of the student council in School 3, however, within School 1 and 2 the role of the student council was more ambiguous. The comments made by the inspection board Estyn were quite positive regarding School 1's student council: "enthusiastic members of the school council who, as well as influencing decisions such as changes to the school uniform, organise whole school fundraising events" (2014, pg.7). However, the importance of such matters to the students and the significance of the student council to the student body overall is questionable.

Who even is on the student council? I don't even know what they do anyway
(Sch1FG5N45).

Similarly, the students in School 2 were equally unsure what role the student council played in the decision making processes of the school. When asked specifically how the student council gave them a voice within the school, the responses were ambiguous, even within the student council focus group.

We meet once a month and have an agenda. Sometimes we vote on things
(Sch2FG4N90).

(In response) Yeah, we vote but nothing changes so it doesn't really matter if we're even there (Sch2FG4N95).

A brief debate ensued where the younger member of the student council focus group felt that their role was important to school decision making, whereas the older member did not accept this opinion, stating the only matter the student council had a role in the previous year was organising a 'Fun Day'.

All three schools had fair policies in place that support the development of the school council. Ideally this would fulfil the legislation to allow each student a venue to voice their opinions and have an active role in the school decision making process. Thibaut and Walker (1975) find that having policies in place to give voice influences the perceived fairness and the participants find the outcome more positive. However, in regards to the school council the students did have a venue for their student voice but they felt they were not listened to by the school authorities. This questions the distributive fairness of the school councils in School 1

and 2, as the students still perceived themselves as being unheard and/or the outcomes of their decisions were limited to inconsequential matters (such as planning a fun day). Lind and Tyler (1988) also support this conclusion, as the participants in their research only judged the outcome as fair, if the appropriate authority figure gave suitable consideration. Therefore, policies may be fair, but outcomes may be perceived as unfair if the students did not observe due consideration of their voice by suitable authority figures.

Little research has considered the relationship between collective efficacy and distributive justice. However, Alexander (2011) found that in impoverished areas, collective efficacy advances the perception of distributive fairness. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that an active student council, who are given due consideration, can improve the collective efficacy, resulting in stronger community relationships in the school.

The theme of wanting to be listened to was also found in focus groups 1, 5 and 6 (Transgressors, Hafan, and Encil focus groups) but for completely different reasons. These groups felt that they were not listened to within the classroom and teachers often dismissed their opinions or 'sides of the story' without any consideration.

Most teachers don't know us or why we are bad sometimes (Sch2FG5N103).

Detention makes my anger worse...like...I might be mad but when I go in there I get worse. They need to find out what's wrong (Sch2FG1N65).

These students assigned some responsibility for their negative behaviour to the teachers who they perceived as not listening to them when issues arose. Importantly, these group of students also assigned perceptions of listening as a sign of the teaching caring.

No one listens to us, it's not like they care anyways (Sch2FG1N68).

It is clear that, at least for these groups of students, they found adults who listened to them as someone who also cared for them. The link between listening and caring was not just found within this research. In fact, listening is a good signal that a teacher cares for a pupil (Gootman, 2008). Therefore, the intuition displayed by these students and the equation of *not listening (unfair)=not caring* is in fact not an erroneous conclusion. Teacher caring has been found to be linked with classroom perceptions of fairness (Chory, 2007). Unfortunately, this is also a vicious cycle as poor listening on behalf of teaching staff is also linked to behaviour management issues (Schultz, 2003).

Support

The idea of caring is also linked to the inconsistent treatment between students and the level of support offered to each student. In School 1 there was perceived inconsistent treatment between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ students (discussed previously, see pg. 188). There was a perception that the teachers did not care about the ‘bad’ group of students and spent most of their time with the ‘good’ students in the classroom.

*They don't care about us...we're the ones in trouble (Sch1FG6N60).*⁷⁸

This is in contradiction to the *Every Child Matters* (2003) government initiative, which outlines five basic outcomes⁷⁹ that every child should be expected to achieve “to maximize their potential” (pg. 5). The outcome of achieving their maximum potential lies heavily with the teaching staff in schools. However, the perception of teachers not caring for their students strongly diminishes the ability of that staff member to evoke the best from the student.

To meet these outcomes set by the government, a considerable responsibility is placed on every school (*Every Child Matters*, 2003, pg. 20). The label of ‘bad’ was strongly associated with student perceptions of lack of caring and caring was linked to both the distributive outcomes of staff listening and support. The perceived lack of support for certain groups of students was evident in School 2 where some students did not feel supported in reaching their goals.

I told Mr W what job I wanted to do and all he said was I should do this instead...I hate it (noises of agreement from the group). (Researcher) Why would he do that? Because he thinks I'm thick (Sch2FG6N111).

This lack of perceived support was also found in the quantitative data gathered from School 2, in which only 32% of the students felt supported by the school.⁸⁰ Considering that only (approximately) one-third of the student responses felt that they were supported at school, this questions the ability of the school to reach the outcomes set by the *Every Child Matters* initiative.

⁷⁸ Quote also used in Section: *Consistency of Treatment-Between Departments, Staff and Students*.

⁷⁹ Five outcomes: be healthy, stay safe, enjoy and achieve, make a positive contribution and achieve economic well-being.

⁸⁰ At the last data collection time.

This link between teacher support and caring was also apparent in School 3.

Teachers are there to help us...sometimes you don't want to be here but they always ask if you're OK.

You can choose what level you're on so you don't mind doing it too much.⁸¹ Then they [Teachers] will come help your group.

These students were aware of the teachers' available support, and considered each 'type' of student as equally supported by the staff. This was also substantiated in the quantitative results⁸² where 47% of students felt supported by their school.

The equitable distribution of 'support' was doubted by the students in both School 1 and School 2. Certain groups in each of these schools felt that they did not receive the support needed by teaching staff due to their particular label (i.e. bad or thick). This further suggests that the inconsistent treatment between students (procedurally unfair) has an impact on the distributive fairness of certain outcomes.

Punishment

Similarly, punishment as an outcome was also questioned by the students. In previous sections it was discussed that the policies of punishment were inconsistent throughout both School 1 and 2. The lack of procedural fairness in this area also casted doubt on the level of distributive fairness of the punishment, as unfair policies often result in dubious outcomes (Van den Bos, et al., 1997).

In addition to the unfair administration of punishment there were several further reasons why the distributive fairness of this practice was disputed: 1. Punishment negates the student's voice and 2. Punishment increases negative emotion.

Detention makes my anger worse..like...I might be mad but when I go in there I get worse. They need to find out what wrong (Sch2FG1N65).⁸³

⁸¹ Referring to the 'chilli pepper system'.

⁸² Numbers from the final collection time

⁸³ Quote previously used in section: *Listening and Giving Voice to Students*

Surely it doesn't work if you have to keep going back. I wasn't bad. We did have conversations that calmed me down (Sch2FG4N96).

The recurrent message from the students was that punishment only served to increase negative feelings, including anger. This was further observed with the specific punishment of Encil, which was repeatedly found to increase negative emotions: “*Encil is just like a box... it makes me feel depressed and I just get lost*” (Sch1FG6N60).

School 3 also had ‘Encil-like facilities’ to reduce the number of school exclusions and used detention quite regularly. These students also shared the negative emotional outcomes of being in such a setting, however, there appears to be two main differences between the administration of punishment in School 1 and 2 and that of School 3. Firstly, as discussed previously the policies surrounding the use of punishment in School 3 were more consistent throughout the school. Secondly, although there were negative feelings associated with the punishment, there was also an acceptance of responsibility, which was not present in School 1 and 2.

I hate going to detention...all you do is work...I wouldn't stop talking and shouting and [The teacher] sent me out [to the Head of Year].

Students here acknowledged their wrong doing, punishment was administered but there was not any blame placed on the staff.

The first instance of punishment being unfair rests on the biased use of punishment throughout Schools 1 and 2 (discussed in previous sections). However, two further aspects question the distributive fairness of the practice: the *need* and the *relationships* theories of distributive fairness. The perception of distributive fairness rests partly on the procedural fairness of the policies which promote equal distribution of the outcome (punishment) in a population (inconsistent treatment, including use of punishment discussed previously in procedural fairness section), but also on the needs of the participants (which are not being met by punishment) and the relationship between the participants and the authority figure (Vermunt and Tornblom, 2007).

The relationship between the outcome receiver (student) and the authority figure must have certain characteristics for the distribution of punishment to be perceived as distributively fair. These characteristics are largely related to solidarity and the opinion that both the authority figure and the outcome receiver have mutually exclusive interests (i.e. the best interest of the

student in mind) (Mau and Wrobel, 2007). However, this type of relationship between the students and staff was not evident in School 1 and 2.

Rubbish...they're [the teachers] all rubbish. They all just get you in trouble. They never ask you what is wrong... (Sch1FG6N55).

The tensions between staff and students in School 1 and 2 did not have the needed qualities for the relationship aspect of distributive fairness to be fulfilled, resulted in perceived unfair use of punishment. Distributive fairness also rests on the need principle, which considers the need of the outcome receiver (the student). In general, the needs of the students were not considered in any obvious fashion, particularly during instances of conflict in the classroom. The unmet needs of the students often resulted in the use of punishment to manage behaviour. Once punished (such as during a period in detention or Encil) the needs of the student were still not considered, further questioning the distributive fairness of the practice.

Within School 3 the consideration for the factors of relationship and need were more obvious from both student interviews and classroom observations.

They ask at the beginning [How we are feeling?...]we use the cards...sometimes I don't want to do it [school work] but they [the teacher] will help (Sch3PI123).

Students viewed the teachers as people who was there to help them, indicating a more positive relationship compared to those in School 1 and 2. Additionally, the realisation of the need principle was noticeable during classroom observations. The need principle was supported by the use of the 'chilli pepper' system in each classroom.

Sch3T19⁸⁴: (During an Observation Sch3OCR49) *Who is feeling like a 5 chilli day?....Not any. Why not? How many of you want to start with 3 chillies? (a few hands go up)...3 chilli group you can start on the purple book and work together. I'm going to sit with the 1 chilli group (teacher moves to sit between two tables to work with students who are starting on the 1 chilli criteria).*

Sch3T19: (to the researcher, whilst the students are working) *We give them the options and the challenge to move up. It all depends on how comfortable they are and only they know that.*

Researcher: *What do you do if a student doesn't want to do any of the levels?*

⁸⁴ This was not part of the standard interview at the end of the lesson; rather this dialogue occurred during a classroom observation.

Sch3T19: *The school has very little disruptive behaviour and they enjoy a challenge. They want to be here. We give them choices and listen to the students. If I force them to do chilli 5, it would just cause problems so we work up to it.*

The chilli pepper system was used consistently throughout the school, including between different year groups and departments. This system considers the need of the student as the driving factor, as it challenges the students academically but also accounts for the student's levels of confidence.

The second noticeable systematic learning resource in School 3, used to assess the need of the students, was the 'traffic light system'.⁸⁵ Although this system could be used to address any number of questions, staff routinely used it to gauge student well-being before a lesson began. These cards allowed staff to ask questions and the students could respond by holding up the appropriate cards (Green=Good, Yellow=In the Middle/Unsure, Red=Bad/I don't Understand).

Sch3N25⁸⁶: (During Observation Sch3OCR55) How are we all feeling today?

Class: Holds up the card (all three colours are present in the class).

Sch3N25: Great. I'm doing fine today and looking forward to seeing your homework. Homework books out please.

Sch3N25: (To the researcher) Now I know of how everyone is getting on and can monitor different students.

Sch3N25: ...The Deputy Head asked the staff to start using these cards to ask students questions. It's quite useful really because sometimes students don't want to share but they will with the cards if the whole class does it. (Throughout the lesson, the teacher asked individual students if they were "OK" and used the cards for more academic questions.)

To the learner, this system equally distributed the teacher's enquiring questioning to the whole class but also allowed the teacher to monitor individual needs of the students. The student interviews also strengthened the observations of good staff/pupil relationships.

The teachers don't want to get us in trouble...we can talk to them... (Sch3PI122).

⁸⁵ This system was a simple set of traffic lights cards back (Red, Yellow and Green Cards) attached to the back of the student planners.

They ask at the beginning [How we are feeling]...we use the cards...sometimes I don't want to do it [school work] but they [the teacher] will help (Sch3PI123).⁸⁷

This again confirms the observations made on the positive relationship between teachers and pupils. The consistent school-wide use of the chilli pepper and traffic light systems helped to establish this positive relationship. These systems helped to determine the needs of all the students on a daily basis, as well as promoted a positive relationship between staff and students (Chory, 2007). Although these classroom practices were not directly a result of RA implementation, they were complimentary practices, as RA is viewed as a programme which often runs “congruent with other programmes” (Riestenberg, 2014, pg. 211). Furthermore, Riestenberg (2014, pg.211) states that additional strategies can “complement whole school approaches to create positive relationships and sympathetic approaches to behaviour management”. Although School 3 did not necessarily implement these strategies as specific RA practices, they run congruently and help to embed RA principles within the classroom.

The overall theme of fairness and the many subthemes identified supported the importance of the mechanisms of procedural and distributive justice. The mechanisms were important to both formal/reactive RA practices but also the general school, where whole school practices observed in School 3 were relevant to the increase in these mechanisms. The importance of fairness relied equally on both the procedural and distributive aspects, as a procedurally fair policy (formation of student council) was still dependent on fairness of the distributive outcomes (authority figures giving student council members due consideration). Furthermore, distributive fairness relied on the relationship and need principles, which was mainly found in School 3. Surprisingly, the use of punishment in School 3 supported the importance of procedural and distributive mechanisms. The policies and distribution of punishment were consistent throughout School 3, thus the use of such sanctions did not undermine the perceptions of fairness in school.

The embedded use of RA within School 3 contributed to the high levels of perceived fairness found throughout the school. School 1 and 2 relied solely on a reactive approach to RA (School 1: formal lengthy processes; School 2: informal and brief encounters), which did not improve daily classroom interactions and these schools suffered from lower levels of fairness overall. The role of RA had been marginalised to only conflict situations, whereas it could be utilised throughout the school to improve student perceptions of fairness, impacting on

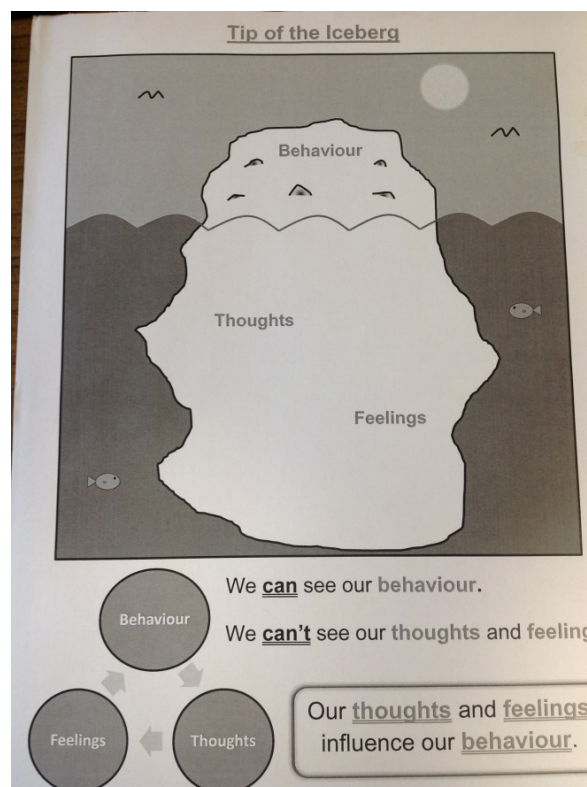
⁸⁷ Quote used previously in section.

student engagement, staff-student relationships and feelings of aggression toward staff (Chory, 2007; Chory-Assad, 2002; Uludag, 2014).

7.2.3 Social Learning Theory

There was evidence for the use of social learning theory, in particular modelling, in both Hafan (School 1) and in the work of the RA Officers. Social learning theory largely operates through the functions of observation and modelling of behaviour (Bandura, 1977). Evidence of modelling were found through examples given during student focus groups, staff interviews, as well as during observations.

The importance of modelling appropriate behaviour was first identified in interviews with LA1RA1 and LA1RA2. An illustration of an iceberg (Picture 3 below) was used to convey the principles behind the restorative meetings between officers and students. This illustrates Bandura's (1997) social learning theory model where mediational processes occur between event and behaviour.



Picture 3: LA1RA1's Iceberg Worksheet

Bandura described these as cognitive process, however, on this iceberg these are displayed as thoughts and feelings. This iceberg illustration used in the restorative processes undertaken in School 1 and 2 supports the mechanism of social learning theory.

Participants in focus group 1 stated that the RA Officers helped them to alter many different behaviours and emotions related to anger.

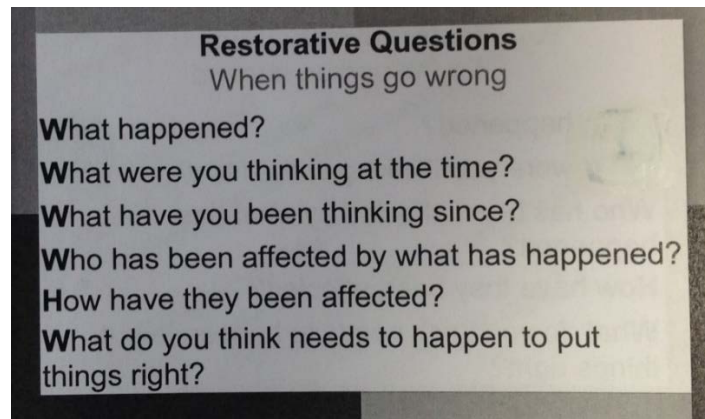
I liked [the RA Officer]..they helped me sort some stuff out at home...I was mad...I hit a lot (Sch1FG1N4).

I just get mad sometimes...[The RA Officer] helped calm me down (Sch1FG1N2).

[The RA Officer] taught me not to get mad at things and people when they get me down (Sch1FG1N3).

The importance of providing clear behavioural expectations, providing guidelines and teaching appropriate behaviour was paramount to the RA Officers in School 1. This was achieved through role play scenarios and LA1RA1 felt this activity was a particularly beneficial method to teaching students appropriate school behaviour as “*some children honestly do not know how to behave...they were never taught at home*”. Additionally, the term “*positive reinforcement activities*” was used to describe these role playing scenarios; where students were given positive verbal reinforcement when appropriate behaviour was displayed. Although this type of learning by reinforcement is generally assumed as primarily operant conditioning, it also has a significant role within social learning theories and the acquisition of new behaviour. It was evident that social learning theory contributed to the methods used within the restorative programme, particularly in School 1.

Although changing the outward physical behaviour of the students was paramount in School 1, the importance of improving empathy was also considered significant by all three RA Officers. All schools had a focus on using restorative questions and versions of these questions were administered to all teaching staff in all departments in all three schools in the format of a small business card (Picture 4 below). LA2RA3 stated that these basic questions “*are used in the classrooms as the lowest level of restorative intervention*”.



Picture 4: *Picture taken of the Restorative Question Card from LA2RA3*

In regards to the development of empathy, Question 5 was the most relevant. The importance of understanding how the other participant was affected (not simply physically but more importantly emotionally) was quite important to all RA Officers. This is often cited as a significant aspect to restorative practices in general: “to enable those who offend understand the implications of his or her actions” (Ministry of Justice, 2014, no pagination). However, to fully appreciate the emotional harm of another person the ability to empathise must be present in the individual.

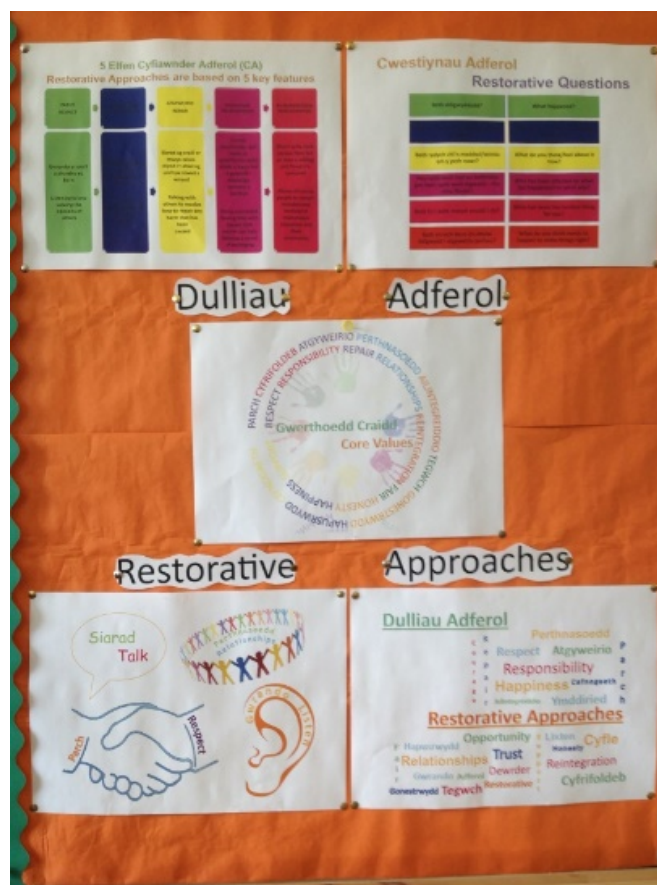
All three RA Officers stressed the importance of ‘victim awareness’. Victim awareness was explained to be the “*awareness of what the victim is feeling*” in regards to the conflict (LA1RA1). To support victim awareness, role play was found in School 1 to enhance empathetic development. In these scenarios the transgressor was asked to play the part of the victim and consider how they might feel during the conflict and subsequent meetings. The use of role play is reported to be an effective strategy for empathy development in children (Homeyer and Morrison, 2008), and thus may help develop the ‘victim awareness’ stressed by the RA Officers. However, School 3 did not utilise such a specific approach to empathy development but there was an appreciation of the importance of having students “*put themselves in other people’s shoes...to help them realise how they could have hurt someone else*” (Sch3SM3), by use of the restorative questions.

The focus group Sch1FG1 substantiated the use of role play and the intended development of empathy in School 1. These students confirmed that during restorative meetings the officers asked them to consider how the other person was feeling in relation to the conflict event. This was largely considered a beneficial practice as some students did not realise their behaviour was harming another person. This was supported by the quantitative results that found that 7

of the 19 RA participants stated they liked RA because it allowed them to realise the consequences of their actions in relation to the victim.

It is unclear how long social learning practices take to change behaviour. However, it is a teaching process which does not occur instantly. The small numbers of students accessing RA and the fact that referrals were kept open (M=160 days) for some time after any RA conference took place supports the use of this mechanisms of change within RA.

Within Hafan (in School 1), the use of RA was considered consistent with their ethos and assumed such an approach improved well-being through both social and academic learning: *“anything that helps students deal with their emotions and all the conflict and peer groups that are constantly the problem has to improve their well-being. If they have poor well-being they won’t learn so we have to focus on both”*. This department displayed restorative posters and the Head of Hafan kept an RA question card in her diary (this was shown to the researcher-stapled to the back of the first page⁸⁸) and a large bulletin board was dedicated to restorative posters (Picture 5 below).



Picture 5: RA Posters Displayed in Hafan (School 1)

⁸⁸ This was the same card used in School 3 (see Picture 4).

RA in Hafan (School 1) had a focus on the emotions that precipitated a conflict, similar to the iceberg analogy used by the RA Officers, and how to respond to these appropriately to improve student well-being. Sch1RACamp2 (Head of Hafan) stated this was accomplished by modelling:

Two members of staff modelling different behaviours for the targeted students, targeting attachment issues, language, social skills, good behaviour in the classroom, conflict resolution. If these targets are met by the student they get golden time...they can bring a friend, it's a version of a star chart. It has a strong focus on diagnostics and development strategy for emotions, standards of behaviour...for disengaged and negative classroom behaviours... We then feedback to teachers on methods that can improve these behaviours... Hafan can help sort it out, it's not as extreme as going to see [The RA Officer] (Sch1RACamp2).

In this instance, it was clear that modelling and positive reinforcement were the basis for student's learning a number of social skills, very similar to those practices of the RA Officer.

Exemplar 10

School 1 Hafan

*Staff: Let's pretend we had a fight with our best friend. Maybe they did something you didn't like. What do you think is the best way to deal with it?
Student 1, how would you deal with it?*

Student 1: I don't know. Maybe I would talk to them (students in the group joking... "hit them"!)

Staff: How would you feel?

Student 1: I would be sad and mad at them.

Staff: Does anyone think it is OK to hit someone because you are mad at something they did? (Students all say 'no' and shake their heads). Can you point to the face that would describe how you are feeling (large poster of emotions)? (Student points to an angry face) Now, how best should you deal with an emotion such as anger...

This scenario continued, where the staff maintained the dialogue on appropriate behaviour and emotions. A significant amount of time was spent with these specific student groups,

which were dedicated to social and emotional development, particularly during conflict situations. This was a substantial theme within this Hafan unit, even for those students referred for academic difficulties. Students not wishing to engage with their academic work were asked why and staff took a considerable part of each lesson uncovering any issues that may be hindering their academic progress.

There were specific RA practices that were clearly grounded in social learning theories. This was particularly obvious in the use of role play and modelling to both achieve certain behavioural standards and importantly to empathy development in students. Interestingly, similar practices were also utilised in the Hafan department. This is partially explained as the Head of Hafan had the full facilitation training but also due to the very specific remit of the facility. Within Hafan, there was not a specific RA time or process, rather RA principles were embedded in their teaching practices and daily interactions with the students.

7.2.4 Reintegrative Shaming

Unlike previous mechanisms, reintegrative shaming theory (Braithwaite, 1989) was conceived specifically in relation to the use of restorative practices. This theory combines shame, forgiveness and ultimately reintegration of the offender back into the original community. Despite the theory's prevalence in the literature as one of the foundations of restorative practices evidence to support its presence, as a working mechanism within the schools, was relatively non-existent. The limited presence of reintegrative shaming was likely due to the fact that a strong community was needed to support the function of the theory and this was not present within School 1 or 2 (Johnstone, 2011). Both schools were delineated quite severely, by year, department, or language stream; each almost acting autonomously. As such, one community with shared social bonds was not obvious and thus the reintegrative shaming could not be activated.

There was one referral where the mechanism of reintegrative shaming was apparent and occurred in the close community of a sports team. A sports team has the same elements as a more conventional community as it establishes social bonds and creates a culture specific to the group (MacQueen, et al., 2001). Therefore, reintegrative shaming was possible as the process of shaming was followed by reintegration back into the community.

The transgressor was dismissed from a sports team due to their behaviour (frequent use of inappropriate language, aggression, and similar). The coach referred him to RA and through

this process the participant, the coach, and the team (the captain as a representative of the team) underwent a restorative process including individual sessions (with the transgressor) and restorative conferencing. The transgressor apologised to the team, which included a brief speech regarding the importance of sport and the team. As part of the outcome agreement he then had to apologise to the full team. The success of the apology was unexpected:

All I did was say 'Sorry'... (surprised that it had such a dramatic impact)
(Sch1FG1N10)

The transgressor was also surprised that his teammates let him back on the team after the apology. The captain of the sports team stated that the sincere apology confirmed that the transgressor would cease the disruptive and negative behaviours.⁸⁹

Apologising is hard...to do it proves he meant it...it was kind of embarrassing but he had to do it... (Sch1FG2N14).

After the conference a restorative contract was made and signed by all parties, where it was agreed that any further negative behaviours would result in instant dismissal from the sports team. The transgressor re-joined the team and commenced training immediately.⁹⁰

This begs the question as to why the apology was seen as meaningful and forgiveness more readily imparted (previous section-victims were not convinced by apology and sought more demonstrable outcomes). Two main differences emerge between previous discussions on apology, where the majority of participants (victims) in focus group 2 did not fully accept an apology nor give forgiveness: 1. The lack of community and 2. Type of victimisation.

The most obvious difference between the referrals where the apology was viewed with scepticism and where it was firmly accepted was the difference in shared social bonds. Students from different areas of such large schools did not share the same social bonds as those who were members of specific groups. Therefore, the potential mechanism of reintegrative shaming was diminished for most of the referrals, as participants needed close social bonds for this theory to be applicable (Johnstone, 2011). The giving of an apology is a “core feature of reintegrative shaming” theory (Goodman-Delahunty, et. al., 2005, pg. 458) and this theory relies heavily on the presence of a community. Thus reintegrative shaming

⁸⁹ The coach (during a follow up meeting) was also asked about the significance of the apology and he stated that he was proud of the student for apologising.

⁹⁰ At the end of the study this student remained an active team player with no further referrals.

and the positive effects of an apology are not able to produce change when the social bonds of a community are not present.

The unforeseen limited presence of reintegrative shaming in the RA programmes was initially surprising. However, the activation of reintegrative shaming partially rests on the presence of social bonds and School 1 and 2 largely operate as several separate institutions, with very weak bonds within the general populations. Therefore, organisations with weak bonds are unlikely to present scenarios where reintegrative shaming takes a lead role in the success of the restorative practice.

7.2.5 Mechanisms Conclusion

The four main mechanisms of restorative practices: procedural fairness, distributive fairness, social learning, and reintegrative shaming all were present in different situations within the schools. There was a powerful focus on the importance of both procedural and distributive fairness for all students generally. The significance of perceived fairness in schools cannot be overestimated as it has links with many important pro-school behaviours and compliance with school policy. RA practices were viewed as highly procedural and distributively fair, which had a significant impact on perception of fairness for the transgressors. However, the positive impact on the victims was not as evident.

The student participants overall had strong views in regard to their perceptions of fairness. This is one area that further RA practices could help to improve. School 1 and 2 would benefit from embedding such practices within their daily teaching, whereas School 3 demonstrated consistently high levels of fairness despite its continued use of punishment as a method of behaviour management. Furthermore, the collective efficacy of the student council in School 3 was evident, giving students an active role within the school. This active nature of the student council and the use of both the consistent use of the chilli pepper and traffic light systems reaffirms the fairness of this school.

The use of social learning theory as an important mechanism of RA was evident in two particular locations. Both RA Officers and Hafan Staff (School 1) used such an approach to help students to learn and improve their behaviour, particular during a conflict. The use of role play and positive reinforcement to encourage students to employ modelled behaviour was specifically mentioned by both Hafan and the RA Officers. Lastly, the use mechanism of reintegrative shaming, perhaps the most well-known theoretical support for RA, was only found in one referral. Despite the limited evidence to support the wide-spread application of

this mechanism, it was perhaps the most powerful as evidenced by clear victim forgiveness, reintegration into original community, as well as no evidence of future referrals for misconduct.

7.3 Observations of School Engagement and Restorative Practices

Given the mixed methods approach, school engagement was also measured through classroom observations. The school observations were centred on school engagement and the use of restorative practices within the classroom. To monitor engagement two separate established observation schedules were employed to ensure reliability (Valentine, 1996; Roehig and Christensen 2010). However, there were no such schedules available for the observation of the use of restorative practices within a classroom. Therefore, themes were taken from the school implementation pack which outlined six key elements for the use of RA language in the classroom: the use of open questions, fairness, respectfulness, non-judgemental questions, enquiring language, and body language and tone used whilst interacting with students. The observation of both engagement and RA simultaneously will provide further support to establish the existence of a relationship between engagement and RA, as suggested by several different RA organisations.

The school engagement observations relied on the published observation schedules from Valentine (1996) and Roehig, and Christensen (2010). Valentine (2007) observation schedule focused on the level of cognitive student-engagement through the observation of student-led or teacher-led activities, whereas Roehig and Christensen's (2010) schedule assessed behavioural and emotional engagement. Rather than strictly scoring the observations, qualitative descriptions were used to convey the main findings for the three main areas of engagement identified in the school engagement schedules.

The combination of both engagement observation schedules monitored behavioural, emotional and cognitive engagement. Generally, the classrooms where there was a high level of student-led learning observed (cognitive engagement) also had high levels of behavioural and emotional engagement, as these three are naturally linked (Fredericks, et al., 2005) and there were not any observations that found contrary results. Therefore, those classes where there was a substantial amount of teacher-directed desk work (low cognitive engagement) also had lower levels of behavioural and cognitive engagement.

This can be seen in the previous observation (Exemplar 3) where there was a substantial amount of traditional seat work, which is consistent with low cognitive engagement. In this example, there were also a significant number of students actively pursuing other activities or disrupting the class (ruler tapping, whispering, talking, reading books not relevant to the class), which resulted in very low levels of observed emotional and behavioural engagement.

Exemplar 3 (see pg. 172) demonstrated a relatively common practice whereby a substantial portion of the lesson time was utilised to manage behaviour. It was found that 15 of the 45 observed minutes were spent managing behavioural issues and that 30 minutes were dedicated to what Valentine (2006) described as ‘students doing seatwork...without teacher support’ (see appendix 15). This type of activity was equivalent to low cognitive engagement. The low levels of cognitive engagement were consistent with corresponding low results of emotional and behavioural engagement based on Roehig and Christensen’s (2010) observational schedule. It was found that classrooms with a significant amount of disruptive behaviour also incorporated maximum desk work, minimal staff support and nominal restorative language, as demonstrated by Exemplar 3.

In agreement with these findings were similar observations that higher levels of cognitive engagement⁹¹ with either the active engagement of teachers to facilitate learning and/or a student-led learning activity, corresponded with higher levels of behavioural and emotional engagement, lower levels of disruption and higher levels of RA language and questioning. It was observed in one classroom all 45 minutes included high engagement activities. In this classroom, all but the introduction of the activity included student learning conversations and student active engaged learning. Specifically, these activities surrounded group work and discussion of a particular scene of a famous play. During this period there was significant students-led learning with the staff still actively engaged with the class. This high levels of engagement resulted in very little disruptive behaviour. Interestingly, it also corresponded with increased usage of restorative language compared to those classrooms with lower engagement levels.

⁹¹ Activities that included the following categories based on Valentine’s (2005) schedule: Student work with teacher engaged, teacher-led instruction, student learning conversations and student active engaged learning

Higher levels of engagement were observed in small group work where the learning was student led. Interestingly, this type of activity was largely reserved for upper year groups, and traditional seat work more often observed in the lower classes.

Exemplar 9

Throughout this lesson in Year 10, student-led learning accounted for nearly 30 minutes of the lesson, with the remaining time dedicated to teacher-engaged teaching (explaining the activity and review of previously learnt knowledge). During these types of high cognitive engagement activities, it was also observed that students had high behavioural and emotional engagement and very little disruptive behaviour. The teacher also routinely used restorative questions when students were off task and had a warm body language and tone.

The observations confirmed the strong connection between cognitive, behavioural and emotional engagement and their respective links with disruptive behaviour. The observations also supported the notion that higher levels of engagement correspond with increased staff support and maximum levels of RA language and questioning.

A second area of observation was the differentiation between teaching activities and the year group. Overall, it was noted that the observations of lower years found more individual seat work, lower engagement cognitive engagement, and reduced use of restorative language; whereas the upper year groups experienced more student-led activities (group work, working in pairs, making posters, doing research), as well as higher cognitive, behavioural and emotional engagement, less disruptive behaviour, and more consistent use of restorative language.

Overall, it was evident that all three types of engagement were closely related. Important, these observations also found that those classrooms with high levels of engagement also had teachers that used a moderate to high level of RA language. The most common element of RA language found most often in classrooms with high levels of engagement was enquiring questioning. This type of questioning was most evident in School 3, where staff routinely asked students questions rather than making threats or assuming knowledge of the problem. This method was used to diffuse potential disruptive situations, as well as assess the well-being of the class before lessons start.

Exemplar 10

Teacher: Who thinks it's a good idea to talk during class? Red for no and green for yes

Class: All green cards

Teacher: Right, let's look at the board and listen to the video clip.

In this example the traffic light system is used to redirect disruptive students without directly pointing to individual students, which could make pupils feel uncomfortable, embarrassed and potentially create a conflict situation.

Interestingly School 1 and 2 also had untrained teachers that employed this strategy to diffuse situations, although it occurred less often.

Exemplar 11

A potentially disruptive incident occurred during this lesson involved a student who was obviously not engaged and was distracting a fellow pupil.

Teacher: (walks over the student): Are you ok today?

Student: Yes.

Teacher: Would you like some help with this, it's a bit tricky (teacher pulls a chair next to the student's desk and explains the activity)?

After supporting the student, the teacher tells the researcher, "It's important to understand what's going on in their lives".

In this very brief encounter the teacher ascertained the student's feelings (presumably through their body language and tone), and resolved a potential conflict before it escalated. This situation could have deteriorated, with the student continuing the disruptive behaviour and/or the student coming into direct conflict with his classmate. In Exemplar 10 and 11 the teachers used enquiring questions to re-engage the students with the learning environment, thus diffusing an impending disruption/conflict and improving engagement.

Observations from Hafan (School 1) also support these conclusions. Additionally The National Assembly for Wales also recognises the positive impact of Hafan on engagement: "The effect of Hafan (and Enci)l: the pupils connect better with their education..." (2012., pg.

4). The positive relationship between restorative practices and school engagement were observed in all three schools. In particular, it appears that the use of restorative language, in particular enquiring questions, as a direct role to play in reducing disruptive behaviour and improving school engagement. However, the presence of high engagement activities and the use of restorative language was most likely to occur with older students; whereas in the younger years seat work (low engagement) , higher levels of disruption, and less use of restorative language were more common.

7.4 Conclusion

The context and mechanisms within each school varied due to both the selected implemented style and the different variables within each school. School 1 and 2 began with similar implementation aims but these diverged at some point during the initial training stage with School 1 choosing to remain as a reactive-only school and School 2 striving for a whole school approach. School 3 persisted with their initial implementation style, and as a result achieved their planned outcomes, thus having a preventative-only style embedded in classroom practices. The training and leadership present in School 3 made these achievements possible.

The mechanisms within each school varied depending on the chosen implementation style. The importance of fairness was key to all students. The concepts of procedural and distributive justice dominated the majority of student focus groups. Students in the focus groups generally felt that school was not a fair institution due to the inconsistency of treatment found throughout. School 3 demonstrated that fair policies and practices in the classroom (supported by the use of RA congruent practices) resulted in students perceiving their school fair.

The importance of social learning theory was also apparent in both long-standing referrals to the RA Officers and in Hafan (School 1). The evidence for reintegrative shaming was not a frequent mechanism but when present it was quite powerful. The use of apology in this case was transformative to both the transgressor and the victims. However, this was largely based on the presence of a direct community, which may not always be present in large schools.

The observations on engagement supported the literature, in that all three types of engagement are closely related. The additional observation schedule of RA language also

found that those classes with moderate to high levels of engagement also had teachers that routinely used restorative language, specifically enquiring questions. This area of research needs much more attention in the future, as there is not currently a validated observation schedule for restorative language. Additionally, there is not a specific observation schedule to monitor all three types of engagement. Thus, this area of enquiry needs further investigation to substantiate the preliminary findings on the close relationship between engagement and the use of RA language in the classroom.

Chapter 8: The Impact of Restorative Approaches in Educational Contexts and the Importance of Fairness to a Whole School Approach

8.1 Introduction

Initial RJ evaluations relied heavily on measures of participant satisfaction and recidivism rates of the offender (Department of Justice, Canada, 2015). Later, a second wave of RJ researchers, encouraged the evaluation of more novel outcomes to assess restorative success (Rugge and Scott, 2009), rather than the traditional reliance on satisfaction and recidivism rates. This resulted in more evaluations and research exploring the impact of additional intrapersonal outcomes in relation to restorative practices (see Kelly and Thorsborne, 2014; Gavrielides, 2016). A similar course is charted by RA evaluations, with early research largely concerned with measuring attendance, numbers of school conflict incidents, and attainment of students. RA research is beginning to follow in the footsteps of RJ, and many advocates are now calling for more psychological evaluations of outcomes (Hurley, et al., 2015).

Aligned with the need for further psychological evaluations, the current research specifically evaluates three claims made by restorative advocates (including organisations, trainers and researchers): that restorative approaches improve happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem (Wachtel, 2012; Porter, 2007; Beaumaris North Primary School, n.d.). Unfortunately, a response to the research questions is less than straightforward; as a simple ‘yes’ or ‘no’ does not actually convey the complexities of implementation and the subsequent outcomes. Kurki (2003, pg. 307) reflects on this issue and states that evaluating restorative programmes is innately difficult as there are “variations in philosophy, eligibility, and practices among restorative initiatives that complicates evaluation”. Due to the flexibility in practices, a mixed method approach is more appropriate to offer a robust and holistic answer to the overall driving questions, as it produces “a more complete picture by combining information from complementary kinds of data or sources” (Denscombe, 2008, pg. 272).

The current study considers three separate schools, each using a different implementation style. Due to the overall complexity of the research, it is necessary to employ a framework with which to organise the research and understand the meaning of the collected data. Therefore, the scientific realist framework (Contents+Mechanisms=Outcomes) plays a central role in organising and managing the quantitative and qualitative data. In using the scientific realist framework as a method to organise and understand the findings, it is possible to establish whether different contexts of RA implementation produce different outcomes and

offer explanations as to why this might occur (Clarke, 1999). The following scientific realist framework provides a general summary of the main findings (Table 28 below).

	Contexts (C)	Mechanisms (M)	Outcomes (O)
Contexts (C) + Mechanisms (M) = Outcomes (O)			
1	School 1: Reactive-Only Approach	RA process: Social Learning Theory Procedural Fairness Distributive Fairness Reintegrative Shaming ⁹² School Overall: Very little support for these mechanisms	No change
2	School 1: Hafan	Consistently found: Social Learning Theory Procedural Fairness Distributive Fairness	No differences between School 1 Hafan and School 2 Hafan
3	School 2: Intended Whole School (reactive + preventative)	RA Practices: Informal-no mechanisms present School Overall: Pockets of procedural fairness in classrooms; generally very little support for these mechanisms	Negative trend found for happiness, school engagement and self-esteem
4	School 2: Hafan	Mechanisms not present	No differences between School 1 Hafan and School 2 Hafan
5	School 3: Whole school preventive-only approach	Consistently found throughout school: Social Learning Theory Procedural Fairness Distributive Fairness	Improved happiness and school engagement; stable levels of self-esteem

Table 28: Context + Mechanisms=Outcomes for Restorative Approaches in Each School

⁹² Found in 1 referral (football team example).

In essence, the context is the specific school, with its corresponding implementation approach, including the facilitating and limiting factors within each location. Table 28 outlines the main mechanisms and outcomes for each of the contexts. The mechanisms are the RA theories that are proposed to actually change the behaviour of the participants and the outcomes are the quantitative results of the happiness, school engagement and self-esteem scores.

School 1 was a reactive-only school, however, the RA officers worked intensively with those students and it was surprising to find there was no improvement in their scores. This was despite all four mechanisms of change being present. Similarly, School 2 saw a decline in all scores over time, although this school intended to achieve a traditional whole-school approach. School 3 employed the least intensive RA practices throughout the school, but saw the most positive improvements in scores overtime.

The following discussion reflects on why these results occurred. Specifically, this chapter considers the overall importance of organisational and process factors which had direct consequences on the outcomes of each programme. The organisational factor of *school leadership* had the capacity to influence the schools' readiness to change and the subsequent adoption of the RA programme. This discussion also links processes within the school with perceptions of fairness and the observance of both the UNCRC and the Welsh *7 Core Aims* for children. The role of student voice and the importance of community is considered relevant to both meeting the obligations set out by both the UNCRC in general, and the Welsh adaptation of these requirements. Significantly, both the presence of an active student voice and community play a central role in perceptions of fairness within the schools, as well as the perpetuation of this mechanism. The above factors have consequences on the success of the RA programmes. Furthermore, this chapter also considers whether the schools achieved the end goal of implementing an RA programme. Lastly, the limitations and confounding factors found in this research are discussed.

8.2 Organisational Factors: The Impact of School Leadership on the Capacity to Change

Organisations are defined as a stable group of individuals all working towards a common goal (Morgan, 1986). However, a leader is needed to provide the necessary support and guidance to achieve the goal, such as implementing a new initiative or programme. Within

such a complex social structure the role of senior leadership is a key organisational factor documented as playing a pivotal role in successful programme implementation (Mahaffey and Newton, 2008). In fact, research routinely points to effective leadership as the basis of any successful organisational change:

Transformational process will change mind-sets, target values and build a culture which can truly support new strategies and organisational aspirations. However, it can only be driven by passionate and persistent leadership at the top. Therefore, transformational change begins with transforming the mind-sets of managers (Lee, 2004, pg. 39).

In all three schools the head teacher had limited involvement, after initial discussions; rather the deputy heads were often the point of contact and main force behind the RA initiatives. The role of the deputy head of the school had direct consequences on the staff resistance to change, as well as the overall staff readiness to change. Staff *resistance* and *readiness* for change strongly influenced staff attitudes and the acceptance of RA in each school.

Readiness to change is defined as the cognitive state of an individual experienced prior to the changing of the behaviour, whereas staff resistance is a cognitive and emotional state of an employee that has a negative stance regarding the change (Armenakis, et al., 1993). Staff resistance and readiness to change jointly influence how the staff of any organisation accept and implement changes to policy and practices. These two concepts are directly influenced by the leadership of the organisation.

School 3 experienced less staff resistance and were more ready to change. This was due to the participation of staff in the change and the clear vision and strong commitment to the planned implementation approach expressed by the SMT. The Deputy Head worked closely with RA Officer 3 and the staff to meet the training needs of the school. The inclusion of staff and the YOT Officer in decisions regarding training options encouraged the staff to actively participate with the change, fostering staff readiness (van Dam, et al., 2008). During this period the SMT also established two school-wide behaviour management strategies to help improve student behaviour and participation. There were clear expectations and directives given to all teachers in regards to using these strategies, encouraging less staff resistance and the systematic school-wide implementation (Morrison, et. al., 2005).

The systematic method of implementation followed Mahaffy and Newtown's (2008) model of organisation change, that includes, as the first step, effective school leadership. The

remaining steps in the process are: identifying the current and ideal school culture/philosophy, raising awareness and lastly the implementation. Throughout the process, the school leaders must be actively present to continue to drive the process. Even during the final implementation stage, monitoring, reviewing and support must be offered by the leaders to ensure success (Mahaffy and Newtown, 2008). In the course of interviews and observations in School 3, it was noted that a similar process was clearly articulated and practiced by the Deputy Head, resulting in a successful organisation change. The first step in the change process in School 3 was effective leadership; there an image of positive and strong leaders which helped to facilitate organisational change and the adoption of an RA philosophy school-wide. It was clear that the school was guiding the teachers to use practices that promoted a positive school culture, founded on supportive staff-student relationships. There was a drive to raise awareness on the use of the classroom strategies during implementation. The organisation as a whole was ready to experience change and there was less resistance to this change as seen in staff interviews and the consistent use of the new strategies documented during observations. These encouraging findings, were perhaps so strongly driven by the SMT as a result of the most recent substandard Estyn report, as compared to the previously highly commended inspection reports, spurring on positive changes in the school.

The capacity for change found in School 3 had a positive impact on staff attitudes towards RA specifically, increasing awareness (all staff interviewed were aware of RA), and the eagerness towards training (6 of the 10 staff questioned sought further training). In fact, additional training evenings (outside of working hours) were arranged to accommodate the number of staff wishing to improve their knowledge and practical skills on RA use in the classroom. Staff enthusiasm for training reflects Weiner's (2009) assertions that those organisations who are *ready* for change will have members that are more cooperative and motivated for the programme to succeed. The organisation's overall readiness to change was not only judged by staff willingness to undergo additional training, but importantly, the evidence of the commitment to change was realised through the observations of teaching, which consistently demonstrated restorative principles embedded within everyday interactions.

In contrast, a general lack of this capacity for change was observed in both Schools 1 and 2. More evidence of staff resistance and a lack of readiness to change was evident in both of these schools, as demonstrated by SMT and staff interviews, observations, and importantly

through student focus groups. Data gathered from these two research sites discovered only small pockets of use throughout both schools. Despite the literature pointing towards the limited quality of RA experienced through this 'pocket' approach to RA, the SMT in School 1 was content with remaining within this type of implementation style. The pocket approach in School 1 included retaining the RA officer twice weekly, as long as the YOT funded the position, but there were not any further training or RA initiatives beginning in the school. Whereas School 2 asserted the importance of and ambitions of achieving a traditional whole school approach; the SMT were more positive on the development of RA (in their school) and advocated the need to continue to establish a whole-school approach. However, during the final stages of this research there were not any plans for future training or awareness campaigns, nor any strategies on how to further the current (limited) RA practices towards the traditional whole-school approach this school was seeking. Interestingly, the RA Officers were more positive about the future of RA in School 2, due to the overall positive assertions made by the SMT. However, the current research did not find any evidence of consistent use and a general negative attitude towards RA from the staff, therefore, doubting the future prospects of RA in School 2.

The limited pockets of use in School 1 and School 2 are attributed to the passive leadership style in both schools, resulting from the lack of clear expectations and/or guidance from the SMT, encouraging staff resistance to the programme. Staff resistance was most notable during staff interviews where there was a distinctive negative attitude towards RA, particularly regarding future training prospects. Such a finding is a common factor in many schools undertaking RA implementation (Hopkins, 2007) and one of the main reasons behind programme failures (Beer and Nohria, 2000)

The main cause of programme failure in the literature is staff resistance (Beer and Nohria, 2000) and this was particularly evident in the resistance to training in both School 1 and 2. The majority of staff did not wish to have specific training in RA (School 1-1 staff member wanted further training; School 2-4 people confirmed they wanted further training/1 staff member was unsure). Several reasons for the lack of interest in training were given by the staff, such as teacher's often felt RA was too time consuming to use in their school and there was a misunderstanding of the basic philosophy of RA. There was some confusion in School 2 particularly regarding the actual practical aspects of the approach, where some teachers assumed RA was simply 'not shouting', therefore no further training was deemed necessary.

This is a common finding and in line with a YJB (2004) evaluation who found that only a very small number of staff (7%) could identify key principles of RA.

The lack of staff understanding and general awareness of RA found in both School 1 and 2 was surprising given the extent of the basic exposure to RA during inset days and awareness campaigns. The same training and awareness presentations were given at both schools and this resulted in similar responses by staff regarding awareness: School 2, eight of the ten staff questioned stated they definitely knew of RA and in School 1, seven of the ten teachers questioned had heard of RA. Again, similarities arose regarding staffs' ability refer students to the RA officer should a conflict arise. This finding was surprising as the RA Officer dedicated 2 full days to each school a week and yet teachers' were apparently not utilising it. The RA system largely works on the premise that staff refer the students to the RA officer; without the initial referrals the process breaks down. These results, although unexpected, are supported by previous evaluations, such as the YJB (2004) study that found 43% of all staff in the 28 schools studied reported that they did not know what RA was or only knew very little, despite the implementation in their school.

In addition to the limited staff awareness, there was also a general lack of student awareness. Lack of student awareness was the second point of break down in the RA process in School 1 and to a lesser extent School 2, as both operated 'drop-in' sessions, that included RA office hours during certain times of the week where students (referred or not) could speak to the RA Officer. Only the limited number of students previously referred to the RA officer would access the drop in service in the schools; students who had never seen the RA officer were not aware of the availability or even the existence of the programme (In School 2 at T1 only 8% of the students questioned heard of RA and at T3 there was only a 1% rise in awareness).⁹³ The general lack of awareness equates to drop-in sessions being reserved for the limited number of previously referred students or by the exceptionally small number of students aware of the programme from the awareness campaigns.

In addition to the RA Officer, both School 1 and 2 had fully trained RA Champions, dedicated to facilitating and promoting RA throughout the organisations. However, the RA Champions also were resistant to change, largely citing time as the contributing factor. Although the main awareness campaigns were the responsibility of the RA Officers initially,

⁹³ In School 1 records indicate that only those students previously referred accessed the drop in services. School 2 did not keep such records due to the informality of the services offered. However, most students were considered 'repeat' users.

the RA Champions also had a duty to raise awareness. The RA Champions resistance, and absence of any promotional activities, also contributed to the general lack of student awareness, and the break-down of the 'drop-in' service.

Staff resistance to change is inevitable in most educational organisations (Hopkins, 2007). To overcome this complex obstacle strong leadership is needed. The need for intensive involvement of the SMT is not an uncommon finding (Kokotsaki, 2013), and Hopkins, (2007, pg. 16) states "that the involvement of senior management is crucial". Overall, this research found that the organisation's readiness to change and individual staff resistance were both attributed to the strength of the leadership found in the schools. Additional factors related to resistance, such as staff attitudes, awareness, and views on training were also directly influenced by the school leadership. Similar results were found in Kane, et al. (2007, pg. 7), who stated readiness, change processes, training and leadership were all major facilitating factors found in schools that successfully implement RA.

8.3 Process and Distribution Factors: Perceptions of Fairness

The importance of fairness was articulated throughout the qualitative finding and this was found to be divided into two types: fairness of the process, known as procedural fairness, and the subsequent fairness of the outcome, known as distributive fairness. Procedural fairness is largely concerned with the procedures and processes of an institution or leader's decision making (Murphy and Tyler, 2008), whereas distributive fairness is the perception of how goods, rewards, and costs are distributed among the recipients (Deutsch, 1975). The importance of fair treatment is not only related to a number of positive school behaviours but also to national legislation. The UNCRC sets out a number of rights of a child, many of which are directly related to education (The Funky Dragon, 2007). Welsh schools are obliged to fulfil these rights for each student, however the overall inconsistent treatment found in this research questions the observance of this legislation on some occasions.

Students in School 3 perceived the school as procedurally, as well as distributively fair; despite the students acknowledging the strict and punitive nature of the behaviour management practices (should they be needed). School 3 applied the rules of the school consistently, with little evidence of bias towards specific groups or members of the student population. Unlike School 3, students in School 1 and 2 perceived rules as being either inherently unfair in themselves and inconsistently applied. These students also questioned the distribution allocation of staff time and resources.

Perceived unfair rules have many negative consequences such as increasing conflict, reducing self-regulatory behaviour (Tyler, 2009), and an overall reduction in psychological well-being (Lucas, et al., 2013). Despite the fact that restorative practices hinge on the premise of fairness (Thorsborne and Blood, 2005; Wachtel, 2005), the perceptions of fairness varied greatly in the schools, specifically between language streams and Hafan provisions in School 2, and between different departments/teachers and ‘good’ and ‘bad’ students in School 1. The connection between perceptions of fairness and psychological well-being may go some way in explaining the link between the qualitative findings and quantitative outcomes in the current research. Previous research should predict that the school which experienced improved perceptions of fairness (School 3), would have higher levels of psychological well-being, whereas those schools (School 1 and 2) with perceived unfairness would result in reductions in well-being. The current research supports the findings from Lucas, et al. (2013) and the link between perceptions of fairness and well-being, and the school with the greatest levels of fairness also experienced better levels of well-being. Importantly, the present research identifies two factors influencing the perceptions of fairness in schools, student voice and a cohesive community. Fairness in schools in general, the importance of an active student voice, and the role of community are all related to the rights afforded to children in Wales.

8.3.1 Inconsistent Treatment in Schools and the Rights of a Child

Perceptions of inconsistent treatment were found in many places in both School 1 and 2, whereas School 3 presented higher levels of uniform treatment throughout the institution. This was due to the fact that School 1 and 2 contained several semi-autonomous units within the larger schools, whereas School 3 operated as one unified organisation, all of which contribute to students’ perception of fairness. The whole school preventive-only implementation found in School 3 did not just attempt to apply principles of fairness superficially into the school, rather School 3 made great efforts to embed consistent practices within each classroom which supported the mechanisms of fairness throughout the school. The unified practices resulted in more positive experiences of staff-student relationships, improved student voice, and the feelings of school community.

The notion of consistency in treatment was paramount to the perception of fairness in all contexts, however, this was undermined by school policy which allowed smaller units within the school to operate individual discipline policies (seen in School 1 and 2). This type of

policy arose from previous research that found large schools generally had more behaviour problems compared to small schools; where research repeatedly found small schools had better performance and attendance levels, leading to a 'small school's movement', particularly in the US (Oxley, 2001; Sharif, 2008). This movement called for the construction of smaller schools but where this is not feasible the alternative is to create smaller communities within a larger school.

In the UK this movement is less obvious but still present; large schools are broken into smaller departments, delineated ability groups, year groups, and in some instances, as in School 2, language streams to combat the potential negative consequences of school size. In this research, these smaller units within the school had the autonomy to establish different rules and apply them as they saw fit. In School 1 this resulted in different departments and teachers enforcing varying behaviour policies, whereas in School 2 the same issue was observed in the different language streams. Although the creation of smaller semi-autonomous units is an acceptable practice to counteract the negative impact of a large school, this policy of allowing these separate units to create their own rules added to the perceptions of inconsistent treatment, questioning the procedural and distributive fairness of the schools.

Large enrolment numbers are associated with a number of negative consequences, such as higher drop-out rates, less positive and supportive relationships (Pittman and Haughwout, 1987), and more exclusion, even after accounting for factors such as social economic status (Fowler and Walberg, 1991). The policy of creating smaller communities is shown to counteract many of these negative consequences of a large school (Barker, 1986). Ironically, in both School 1 and 2 this practice encouraged further negative behaviour through a process known as *rule diffusion*. Rule diffusion is a result of inconsistent school rules, as well as the presence of implicit rules, which creates an uncertainty in the children with regards to choosing appropriate behaviour, as well as the associated consequence of the unwanted behaviour (Thornberg, 2007). Therefore, students in School 1 and 2 had difficulties ascertaining the rules, as well as confusion on the potential for punishment due to the diffusion of rules, encouraging further negative behaviour.

The policy of allowing individual teachers, departments, and language streams the authority to instate and enforce their own rules and practices, creates the issue of rule diffusion, and undermining the fairness experienced by students. There were many secondary complications

related to this, such as diminished staff-student relationships, the reduced potential for an active student voice, as well as a general lack of a whole school community, which in itself creates numerous obstacles for effective RA practices. These findings are in agreement with previous evaluations (in Wales), which question the consistency of treatment in schools. The issue of inconsistent disciplinary practices is not only linked to negative perceptions of fairness but also questions the school's observance of the rights of the child as described by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) and within Wales specifically, this presents obstacles to meeting the *Seven Core Aims* (see pg. 35).

The Funky Dragon explored these *Core Aims* in a national evaluation where several issues within education were found to be in noncompliance with the UNCRC, specifically the consistency of disciplinary practices. During the survey it was found that punishments “are not administered ‘consistently’” (Funky Dragon, 2007, pg. 37). Although the respondents (aged 11-18) thought discipline was a necessary in schools, they felt that the current systems were ineffective in achieving behavioural change. The Funky Dragon stated these findings questioned observance of Article 28 of the Convention: discipline should be “...administered in a manner consistent with a child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention” (page 37).

In line with the findings from Funky Dragon, the present research found the lack of consistent treatment regarding discipline a key issue for students in School 1 and School 2. Both schools reported inconsistent practices between teachers and departments, and variable treatment between different groups of students as well. In School 1 this related to the varied treatment between departments and between the so called ‘good’ students and those labelled as ‘bad’ student. The qualitative findings in School 2 found differences in perceived treatment between the English and Welsh language streams. The perceived differences in treatment not only questions the universal UNCRC Articles but in the Welsh context specifically, this concerns a number of the *Seven Core Aims*. At the most basic, Aim Number 1 is not satisfied if the young people already feel negatively labelled or treated.

8.3.2 Disparities Between Language Streams

The different language streams in School 2 allow students a choice of learning in their preferred language. The dual stream system supports the Welsh strategy of *Iaith Pawb*, the national action plan which aims to increase bilingualism and the use of the Welsh language more generally (Williams, 2005) (see pg.4). Dual streams also help to meet *Core Aim 2* (*have a comprehensive range of education and learning opportunities*) and the cultural aspects of *Core Aim 5* (*are listened to, treated with respect, and have their race and cultural identity recognised*). A central outcome for *Core Aim 2* is that “Children and young people are able to receive education in the medium of Welsh”, where the main indicator of meeting this target is the “percentage of pupils in Welsh-medium teaching at primary and secondary levels [and] Welsh teaching in secondary school years 7 to 11” (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003b, pg. 57). In meeting the targets for *Iaith Pawb*, as well as fulfilling some of the Core Aims for Welsh-language students, School 2 marginalised students from other language backgrounds. Therefore, the consequences of meeting the remit of *Iaith Pawb* resulted in School 2 not meeting the *Seven Core Aims* (particularly aims one to five) for *all* students. The policies put in place to meet *Iaith Pawb* targets, questions not only the overall procedural fairness of the policy but importantly the distributive fairness of the school as well.

At a higher, UK level, the practice of dual stream education, and the potential for marginalisation of different languages, questions the adherence of the overarching equality and human rights legislation. The UK government states that equality and human rights, under which is the UNCRC, stresses “working toward a fairer society by improving equality and reducing discrimination and disadvantage for all, at work, in public and political life, and in people’s life chances” (Policy Paper, 2010-2015 Government Policy: Equality). Distributive fairness is directly related to equality legislation, which aims to increase fair treatment. Equality is generally defined as equal treatment or more simply “treating everybody in the same way” (O’Brien, 2011, pg. 147), which is considered the foundation of distributive fairness. Two additional factors underpin perceptions of distributive fairness, equity and need. Equity is generally understood as rewards or goods being distributed based on individual contribution (rather than shared equally), whereas the need principle states that distribution is based on one’s need. The underlying principles of equality, equity, and need form the overall

perceptions of distributive fairness (Steiner, et al., 2006). The present research finds that the procedurally unfair policy which allowed for smaller school communities to establish their own rules resulted in diminished distributive fairness, including negative perceptions of equality, equity and need. At the most basic, the inequality experienced by the students (as discussed above) as a result of school policy, resulted in inconsistent treatment of the students. However, inequality in schools has been reported to lead to a number of more serious negative outcomes, including decreased school performance, drop out and disengagement (Ogbu, 1994), again supporting the aggregate outcomes in School 2. However, at a lower group level, engagement scores for the individual language streams do not necessarily support Ogbu's (1994) results, as significant differences between the two streams were not found. Thus, although the overall engagement scores for the entire sample decreased, there was not a difference between groups, despite perceptions of unfair treatment. Additional research is needed to monitor the extent of perceived inequality experienced, and if particular principles of distributive fairness impact more on engagement scores than others. The perceptions of student support also provide some support for the need for additional research, as the importance of equity and need came to the fore during discussions on Hafan provisions.

8.3.3 Perceptions of Hafan

Important for this current research is the influence of relationships on distribution allocation based on need. Lamm and Schwinger (1983) found that positive relationships had the most sympathetic distribution allocation, whereas those participants with negative relationships experienced conflict after distribution. The perceived unfairness related to equity and need experienced in School 2 was particularly evident in relation to the additional support offered to Hafan students. The students not accessing Hafan saw this facility as providing unfair advantages to those students attending, therefore questioning the social bonds within this school.

The *Second Core Aim (a Comprehensive Range of Education Training and Learning Opportunities)* outlines improved education for those with special educational needs. Hafan facilities in LA1 (introduced in LA1 in the 2010-2011 school year), helps fulfil this obligation, with nearly a third of all students in LA1 accessing these provisions at some point during an academic year (Cyngor Sir [LA1] Country Council, 2013). An inquiry into

attendance and behaviour conducted by the Children and Young People Committee found that Hafan (and Encil) can make a positive contribution to the schools.

[LAI] has funded the set-up of Hafan (nurture) and Encil (seclusion) centres in every secondary school. These are very effective in maintaining and supporting pupils who feel vulnerable, lose interest in their education, are at risk of being excluded or are vulnerable due to family or social problems. They offer education programmes and support that has been tailored to meet the needs of pupils who require help to improve/support their learning, behaviour, attendance or attitude towards education. They help vulnerable pupils to achieve to the best of their ability via multi-agency support; they keep the pupils in school and at their studies while they attend to their problems; and they help pupils who have been excluded to re-join mainstream classes (The National Assembly for Wales, 2013, no pagination).

The current research supports the underlying principles and targets of Hafan in its attempt to support the most vulnerable of students, as well as meet the requirements of the *Seven Core Aims*. However, the execution of the fundamental principles of Hafan is questionable in some instances (particularly School 2), whereby attempting to meet the rights set out for vulnerable students, could be seen to diminish the rights of others.

To meet both the equity and need principle of distributive fairness, those students with most need (academic, behavioural and emotional) ought to receive the most support. This ultimately results in those students receiving more staff time and an increased amount of the school's budget as compared to those students not receiving these extra provisions. Students in School 1 perceived this distribution as fair and were content with those students with the most need receiving additional allocation of staff support. However, these feelings were not shared in School 2.

The overall provisions of Hafan in School 2 were perceived by students who were not accessing these facilities as being quite unfair. These feelings were dependent on both the methods of access and the practices within the facility. Hafan students were viewed as abusing the existing policies in place which allowed them to leave regular lessons to access Hafan support, often without due cause. Similarly, students outside of Hafan questioned the practices within Hafan. The perceived unfairness relates to both the need and equity principles of distributive fairness. The negative perception of Hafan in School 2, could be a

reaction resulting from the tense relationships between different groups of students, as the need principle is not as powerful in situations where relationships are weak (Lamm and Schwinger, 1980, 1983). Therefore, within an organisation with weak relationships between their members, distribution of resources based on the need principles is more likely to be perceived as unfair.

8.3.4 Disadvantages of Labelling Children

The use of labels in education is controversial but common in our education system. The process may involve labelling based on ability or importantly for this research based on behaviour. Examples include students labelled with ‘social, emotional and behavioural difficulties’ or a generic ‘challenging’ behaviour label. These may be in the form of a formal statement or informally by the school.⁹⁴ The labelling of children in the current traditional punitive model found in the education system often results in students with such labels receiving punishment rather than support (Macleod, 2006), reaffirming the initial label and leading to a number of negative consequences. Negative labels are quite persistent and tend to remain stable from lower school to secondary school; the presence of a label as young people mature increases the likelihood of engaging in risky behaviours (Ercole, 2009).

The statistics available for Local Authority 1 find that on average 1 in 5 students will have additional learning needs at some point in their school career. This includes not only specific disabilities but also social and behavioural issues (LA1 County Council, *Special Educational Needs*, 2015). Based on the current punitive model (Macleod, 2006) utilised in education, these students are more likely to receive punishment (rather than support), and endure the stigma of a label throughout their educational career (Center for Mental Health in Schools at UCLA, 2015). Students in School 1 perceived themselves as labelled ‘good’ or ‘bad’ students and reported associated treatment of teachers based on these labels. The perceptions of the students in these groups is consistent with both educational and psychological literature which states that once labelled, often there is a negative impact on subsequent treatment by teachers (Good, 1987).

⁹⁴ A statement of special needs is a formal document detailing the learning difficulties and how these needs will be met if it is beyond the scope of the school to support. The school also has more informal systems through Action/Action Plus systems (Government Digital Service, 2014)

Similar to the inconsistencies in treatment between the two language streams, the perceived differential treatment between these groups of students is contrary to both the UNCRC and the 7 *Core Aims*. The students in School 1 perceived themselves as labelled ‘good’ or ‘bad’ students but Macleod (2006) states that rather than labelling students and offering punitive solutions, schools should look towards a more welfare based solution, giving more opportunity for individual agency. LA1 has attempted to take a more welfare based solution by the creation of Hafan facilities, however, the process of labelling students is still present. This is evidenced by the fact that the ‘bad’ label was often linked to their need for additional support (as evidenced by the students labelled ‘bad’ were in the Hafan and/or Encil focus groups). Although the importance of a welfare based system (rather than a punitive model) is not denied, other authors offer alternative remedies to the consequences of labelling, specifically activities encouraging constructive student voice. (Sellman, 2009; Cafai and Cooper, 2010; Mowat, 2014).

8.3.5 The Positive Effects of an Active Student Voice and Cohesive School Community

The current research found two positive influential factors on the perceptions of fairness overall, that being the presence of an authentic student voice and the sense of community. Schools with an active student voice reap many benefits, from reducing labelling impressions, improving relationships between staff and students, and increased school engagement. The presence of an active student voice allows students to influence decision making about their own learning, which helps to fulfil the equity and need principles of distributive fairness (Rogers, 2014). Furthermore, it realises one of the basic principles outlined by Welsh Government in support the UNCRC- “The voice of the young person is actively sought and listened to” (Welsh Government, 2014, pg. 5).

It was observed that the most active decision making practices were found in School 3, where students participated in making choices for themselves in the classroom, as well as contributing to school wide discussions. The positive function of these practices helped to shape the perceptions of distributive fairness and improve school engagement in School 3 (Fielding, 2011; Rogers, 2014). Finn’s (1989) model of school engagement (Figure 8) first identified the importance of what he described participating in school governance and decision making, as a method of creating a fairer system and increasing school engagement. Although this model was developed before the ‘student voice’ movement, but lays a

foundation for the express need of student expression and opinion and its links with fairness, with the result of improved school engagement.

The outlets for the student voice in School 3 came from two main domains. Firstly, within each classroom students were routinely asked enquiring questions, which helped to shape the daily classroom tasks. The process of gathering ‘data’ from the students about themselves, on issues such as their well-being and academic progress is noted by Fielding (2011) as one type of activity to activate the student voice that helps to build a partnership with students. Based on Hart’s (1992, see Figure 11, pg. 81) Ladder of Participation this would satisfy the 4th and possibly the 5th rungs of the ladder, fulfilling the following criteria (Hart, 1992, pg. 11).

- 1. The children understand the intentions of the project;*
- 2. They know who made the decisions concerning their involvement and why;*
- 3. They have a meaningful (rather than ‘decorative’) role;*
- 4. They volunteer for the project after the project was made clear to them.*

The conclusion that the ‘data gathering’ observed in School 3 reaches the 4th/5th rung and is considered as a participatory practice is contrary to Hart’s (1992) assertions. Hart (1992) states that using children to gather ‘data’ is actually a form of practice better placed on the lowest rung “Manipulation” (also known as “misguided”), as students may not have the capacity to understand the reasons behind the data gathering. However, through the observations of the classrooms, the researcher felt students in School 3 were aware of the purposes of the chilli peppers and traffic light system, and that their responses had a direct impact on shaping the lesson, thus leading to a higher rung on the ladder of participation.

Secondly, the student council was an active participant in school wide decision making. The importance of student councils to student voice is well documented (Department for Education and Science, 2002). Those schools with an effective student council are rewarded with many benefits when students feel they have an active role to play in their school, such as increased engagement (Finn, 1989). The findings from School 3, suggest that the student council in this school achieved higher levels of participation compared to School 1 and 2, which were firmly placed on the “Tokenism” rung which is described as “those instances in which children are apparently given a voice, but in fact have little or no choice about the subject or the style of communicating it, and little or no opportunity to formulate their own opinions” (Hart, 1992, pg. 9). The active contribution of School 3’s council displays the

characteristics found in rung 6 “Adult-initiative shared decisions with children”, as their initiatives were initially conceived by adults, but the decision making and execution was in the hands of the council itself.

An active student voice is more than the election of student representations; fair policies and procedures must be in place to both *activate* and subsequently *act upon* these needs to be truly successful (Lind and Tyler, 1988). Lundy (2007) describes the student voice as having 4 separate elements: space, voice, audience, and influence. The actual voice of the student is only one small piece; student must also have a venue for their decision making powers, an audience who listens, and the power to influence the decision making process. Without these additional elements the student voice is only a token gesture. As Sellman (2014) states, it is not the initiative itself but the creation of the positive conditions which allow the initiative to thrive which is paramount for success (pg. 229).

This was seen in School 3, where there were consistent strategies in place in each classroom to ensure the presence of an active student voice, as well as active responses on the behalf of the teaching staff to the expressed needs of the students. Specifically, students had the ability to choose their level of challenge in different tasks depending on their subjective measure of ability and confidence (chilli pepper system), as well as a system which teachers utilised to monitor emotions and feelings of the students (traffic light system). Teachers were then able to actively accommodate and respond to the students’ needs within each classroom (differentiating lessons as a response to student need). At a higher level the students also had an active voice within school-wide decision making. School 3 had an active school council which played a significant role in decision making and had a lead role in activities which were significant to the school (such as the attendance drives and associated prizes). Both School 1 and 2 also had student councils, which fulfil the necessary policies, however, these student councils did not necessarily have an active student voice. The members of School 1 and 2 councils reported being overlooked and only involved in inconsequential matters, therefore diminishing the student voice and perceptions of distributive fairness (Mockler and Groundwater-Smith, 2015; Alexander, 2011).

The fact that School 1 and 2 had councils but these were viewed as ineffectual raised several issues pertaining to implementing student voice practices these contexts. Critchely (2003) reports many school councils suffer from similar issues, such as the students were either ignored, the students didn’t actually have any power to change the issues being voted on, or

the participation levels varied. Thus the policy of establishing a school council was present, however, the context needed for the initiative to be successful was not (Sellman, 2014; Lundy, 2007). Issues such as these undermine the benefits of student voice, and have the potential to create negative consequences such as cynicism among the student population (Brasof, 2015).

Schools that only provide inauthentic displays of student voice, or what Wisby (2011, pg. 35) states as “merely paying lip service to the ideas of [student] consultation and participation”, are contrary to the UNCRC (Article 12). Although the UNCRC sought to increase the presence and power of the student voice (Pupil Voice Wales, n.d.), many scholars argue this will not be sincerely embraced whilst the negative perceptions of youth still dominate public policy (Brasof, 2015).

In relation to the Wales specifically and the *Seven Core Aims*, the available provisions for an active student voice, support many of the indicators needed to fulfil the requirements of *Core Aim 5 (treated with respect and have race and cultural identity recognised)*. To partially satisfy this requirement schools need to evidence “effective participation” and “decision making” and this is often achieved through the creation of student councils. (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003, pg. 62). However, merely paying “lip-service” (Wisby (2011, pg. 35) may help satisfy the requirements placed on schools, it does not promote the positive benefits associated with an authentic student voice.

One of the main benefits of an authentic student voice is related to the development of positive staff-student relationships in school (Mitra, et al., 2011), the importance of which is well documented and also plays a role in perceptions of fairness (Chory, 2007; Lister, 2013). The positive relationships between staff and students, as observed in School 3, provided the appropriate scaffolding for students both socially and academically (Baker, 2008). Furthermore, Bandura (1997) found that positive staff-student relationships improve student motivation to perform well in school through social learning. Positive staff-student relationships improve perceptions of school, help to maintain a healthy level of self-esteem, and encourage school engagement (Stracuzzi and Mills, 2010). The development of positive relationships, supported by the consistent use of RA and RA compatible classroom strategies, which help to foster student voice, helps to explain the positive trend in School 3 results.

It is unlikely that each of these elements work in isolation; rather the perceptions of fairness, an active student voice at both the classroom and school level, as well the positive staff-

student relationships work together and most probably form a type of feedback loop, which goes some way in explaining the positive qualitative findings and improved quantitative scores experienced in School 3. Future research needs to build on these preliminary findings and clarify the potential of a feedback loop. These elements did not operate in isolated locations within the school; rather they functioned within a wider community in School 3. The importance of community is routinely discussed in the restorative literature; however, this factor is rarely recognised as a potential limiting issue in the application of restorative principles in a school setting. The current research found the presence of a cohesive school community played an essential role in both student perceptions of fairness and the efficacy and restorative practices. The perceptions of both procedural and distributive fairness interact with the fabric of a school community in several different ways, including the quality of relationships and overall school identification. A cohesive school community was also needed for two different aspects of restorative practices. Firstly, it had a direct impact on the perceived value of an apology and secondly it affected the generation of the reintegrative shaming mechanism.

Procedural fairness plays an integral part in unifying a school's community. At the most basic level, it demands that all policies and procedures are created fairly, which ideally supports consistent administration. This works through the process of shaping one's social identity within a group. Tyler and Blader (2003) theorise that procedural fairness not only shapes social identity but ultimately influences one's engagement with the group, referred to as the Group-Engagement Model. This model explains how perceptions of procedural fairness influence group engagement, resulting in cooperative behaviours as a result of the need for 'identity security'. The underlying need for security results in cohesive positive group behaviour and the stable structure of a community. Thus those organisations, such as schools with improved levels of procedural fairness also experience more positive group behaviour and identity. Based on the Group-Engagement Model, those schools with a perceived absence of fairness should result in reduced engagement.⁹⁵

The foundation of fair procedures in establishing a working community is relevant to effective restorative practices. However, many scholars now question the efficacy of such practices in a society in which the concept of community is slowly eroding. There are now many questions being posed as to how restorative practices can function in a society that largely lacks a coherent community. Cunneen (2003, pg. 185) states "a core concept

⁹⁵ School Engagement Scores decreased over time in School 2, supporting this theory.

underpinning restorative justice has been the concept of community”. Hence the issue of community is especially important for the potential of the mechanism of reintegrative shaming, which works through the powerful role of community shaming and subsequent reintegration (Braithwaite, 1989). Although this issue is largely discussed with the RJ and CJS realm, it should also be considered within a school setting. It could be assumed that a school is a ready-made community as it generally fulfils the accepted definition: “a group of people with diverse characteristics who are linked by social ties, share common perspectives, and engage in joint action in geographical locations or settings” (MacQueen, et. al., 2001, pg. 1929). Although the schools in this research have a large group of people in one location, it is argued that establishing a *community* is actually very difficult in this context, as the individuals do not all share social ties, or common perspectives, and only rarely engage in joint actions. The current research does not regard a school as a prefabricated community; rather School 1 and 2 are settings that encompasses many smaller communities within one location.

The lack of a cohesive school community may be partly due to the inconsistent treatment found in School 1 and 2. In both schools, students did not identify themselves as part of a school body, rather they view themselves as belonging within certain groups in the school. The lack of consistently applied policies and rules throughout School 1 and 2 exacerbated the feelings of subgroup identification, while diminishing the perceptions of a cohesive school-wide community; the students distinguished themselves as part of a specific group within the school. In School 1 the label of ‘good’ or ‘bad’ was to be the defining factor, whereas in School 2 the language stream was the delineating element. Thus, the students identified less with the school and more with certain groups within the school, reducing the power of community.

The lack of a school community directly impacted on the ability of RA in School 1 to activate the most renowned mechanism of reintegrative shaming and diminished the power of an apology, both of which rely on the presence of a cohesive community and associated social bonds. An apology by the transgressor is one of the cornerstones of effective RA in general as it is valued outcome in itself in most restorative conferences (Doak and O’Mahony, 2006). Additionally, an apology is considered “a core feature of reintegrative shaming” specifically (Goodman-Delahunty, et. al., 2007, pg. 458). Thus, if an apology is problematic it is very likely the mechanism of reintegrative shaming will not be supported. In the present research

the use of apology was limited and the activation of reintegrative shaming was nearly non-existent, both due to the absence of community.

The presence of fragmented communities questions the ability of an apology to repair the harm done after a conflict. Bottoms (2003) identifies the use of apology as a very contentious issue in restorative practices and observes that the ‘miraculous qualities’ (pg. 96) of an apology are only present during ideal situations and that these ideals are rarely present in practical settings. He points to the fact that the transgressors and victims are not part of the same social or moral community as the main reason behind the failure of an apology to successfully generate the social mechanisms needed to be effective. The failure of the apology to help repair the harm done was found in the RA practices of LA1. Participants in the victims focus groups largely felt that the impact of the apology was negligible. Specifically, they pointed to the presumption that an apology was not an effective means of changing behaviour in a transgressor. This feeling amongst the victims was particularly pertinent to the victims of bullying. Very little research is available on types of conflict/behaviour and use of apology, however Du Rose and Skinns (2014) reported similar findings:

Several pupils who had been bullied also thought that punishment may be more effective than restorative approaches in dealing with pupils who has harmed them and were disappointed when punishment was not used (pg. 198).

The present research supports many restorative scholars’ (DuRose and Skinns, 2014; Bottoms, 2003; Mika, et al., 2004) scepticism on the effectiveness of the apology, particularly in regards to bullying victimisation and the need for an ideal situation. The limited impact of an apology on the victim in the current research is not surprising considering the fragmented nature of the school; similar feature was discussed by Johnstone (2011):

Apology and forgiveness may work well as ways of healing rifts and settling disputes among people who are closely bound together, and who are eager to maintain and repair these bonds, when they are threatened by some misdeed (pg. 109).

In School 1, the formal act of an apology was meaningless to the victims as there was a general lack of social bonds tying the transgressor and victim together. In a large school (in excess of 1,000 pupils) there are great divisions between year groups, ability groups, and social groups. In instances where there are no connections between the participants, the

necessary relationships to achieve the ‘miraculous’ qualities of a successful apology may be absent. To achieve the maximum value of an apology a cohesive community is needed.

In addition to the value of an apology, a community is also needed to generate the specific mechanism of reintegrative shaming. The community is at the heart of this restorative mechanism and is needed for the initial shaming, the apology, most importantly the reintegration aspects of the theory. Reintegrative shaming is viewed as an integrative theory which encompasses a number of further theories including Hirschi’s Social Bonds theory (Mongold and Edwards, 2014). The social bonds in a conventional community enable shared values and beliefs, and commitment to mutual goals, which are needed to experience reintegrative shaming. When these bonds are not present, the transgressor is likely to feel disintegrative results, which include sanctions and stigmatizing of the individual (Walsh and Hemmens, 2011).

The positive impact of a cohesive community and strong social bonds was evident in one referral from School 1. In this instance the presence of an identifiable community, allowed for both the act of an apology and reintegrative shaming to effectively operate. In this case, the community was a sports team and the captain acted as the main victim (on behalf of the team). The victim and the coach accepted the sincerity of the apology and the eagerness to fulfil a restorative contract. The sincerity of the transgressor was perceived by the coach and (acting) victim as a sign of the transgressor’s commitment to change their behaviour. The captain and the coach were able to forgive the transgressor and accept him back into the sports team. Follow up interviews with the coach support the ‘miraculous’ nature of the apology, as there was documented behavioural improvement and the transgressor remained on the team. The improved behaviour is consistent with other reviews which find sincere remorse reduces recidivism in young offenders (Hayes and Daly, 2003).

In this example, there was a definable community, activating the reintegrative shaming mechanism, the success of which hinged on the use of a sincere apology by the transgressor. This example illustrated the power of reintegrative shaming where the disruptive student was asked to leave the group, but was accepted back once a genuine apology was given and a restorative contract signed. Whilst the scores for this participant did not change⁹⁶, there was a significant improvement of behaviour as noted by the coach and captain. Despite the unchanged scores, it is reasonable to speculate that if RA was not used and the student was

⁹⁶ T1 scores Happiness, School Engagement and Self-Esteem: 4.75, 3.07, 24; T2 scores: 4.75, 3.2, 24

forced to leave the sports team, this could lead to decreases in happiness, engagement and self-esteem, as well as subsequent negative outcomes.

The example described above stresses the importance of a cohesive community for an effective apology and activation of the reintegrative shaming mechanism. School 1 and 2 largely functioned as a group of smaller communities operating within one setting. The lack of a cohesive school community and the corresponding inconsistent treatment of students at both an individual and group level, made it difficult to successfully activate the most renowned restorative mechanism, reintegrative shaming, and reduced the power of an apology.

Overall both an active student voice and a cohesive school community had a positive impact on the perceptions of fairness observed in School 3. However, in both School 2 and 3 there was a general lack of school community, as students more closely identified themselves as part of a subgroup. The general lack of social bonds found in these schools had a detrimental impact on the power of an apology and also made the mechanism of reintegrative only operational in one referral. The implementation of RA in School 1 and 2, had several issues and it is unclear if RA can operate in an organisation where inconsistent policies and practices make it difficult to establish the restorative principles necessary to operate a fair and consistent programme.

8.4 Realisation of a Restorative Programme

The contextual factors discussed above (organisational, process and distribution factors) are directly related to the resulting programme. In some instances, these factors limit the restorative nature of the programme itself. However, questioning the 'restorativeness' of a programme is a complex task, partially due to the flexible nature of the concept and the controversial issue of definition. Johnstone and Van Ness state that (2011)

One of the significant implications of viewing restorative justice as a deeply contested concept is that there is not likely ever to be (indeed perhaps should not be) a single accepted conception of restorative justice. Instead, we must acknowledge the differing and indeed competing ideas about its nature (pg. 9).

Despite the on-going debates over definition and practice, the use of restorative justice moved from a CJS initiative to an educational one in the 1990s (Morrison, 2011), taking with it many of the same disputes areas not yet resolved. Considering whether an implemented

programme or practice is restorative is difficult, as there has yet to be an agreed upon definition and many different types of practices may come beneath the restorative umbrella.⁹⁷

One method for understanding and organising the practices within a school is to consider them through the lens of the restorative triangle (Morrison, 2011; Hopkins, 2002). This section largely examines the three different contexts and how these relate to the three different levels observed in the restorative triangle. It then questions the restorative nature of School 1's approach and considers the importance of a traditional whole-school approach. Lastly, it reflects on the limitations of this research, specifically the issues with school and RA evaluations, including multiple initiatives within a school, the on-going controversy with definitions, and generalisability.

A whole school approach incorporates several different layers of implementation and fulfilling each is repeatedly found to produce more positive outcomes than other implementation styles (Skinns, et al., 2009). The definition of a whole school approach includes using both preventative and reactive practices within a school (Kane, et al., 2007). To achieve this approach, it is necessary for the school to implement not only specific practices but to instil a cultural whole school shift in thinking. The restorative triangle was developed by Hopkins (2002, 2007) to better incorporate the different elements of a whole school approach. Hopkins states that this model (Figure 16 below) "illustrates that a restorative ethos and value base must inform the restorative skills used, and these skills need to inform a variety of restorative interventions or processes" (2007, pg. 8). The process is the most practical element which includes the actual restorative practices in place (both preventative and reactive); the mid-level includes the training to develop the skills of all staff members who have contact with the students; the bottom level is the foundation of the implementation and includes the overall philosophy of the school is working towards. The philosophy/ethos of the school should inform all policies and practices within the school overall.

⁹⁷ See Chapter 2.2 for further discussion.

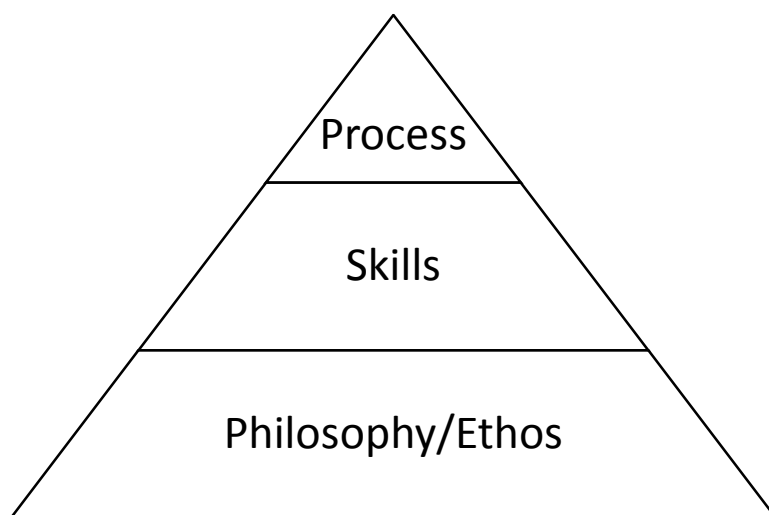


Figure 16: *Restorative Pyramid* (Hopkins, 2002, pg. 144)

A similar model was developed by Morrison (2011) who took a more ‘health care prevention’ slant to the pyramid, where it is assumed only a certain percentage of the population will comply at different levels, similar to Braithwaite’s (1999) model ‘Toward an integration of restoration, deterrent and incapacitative justice’ (see Figure 2, pg. 20).

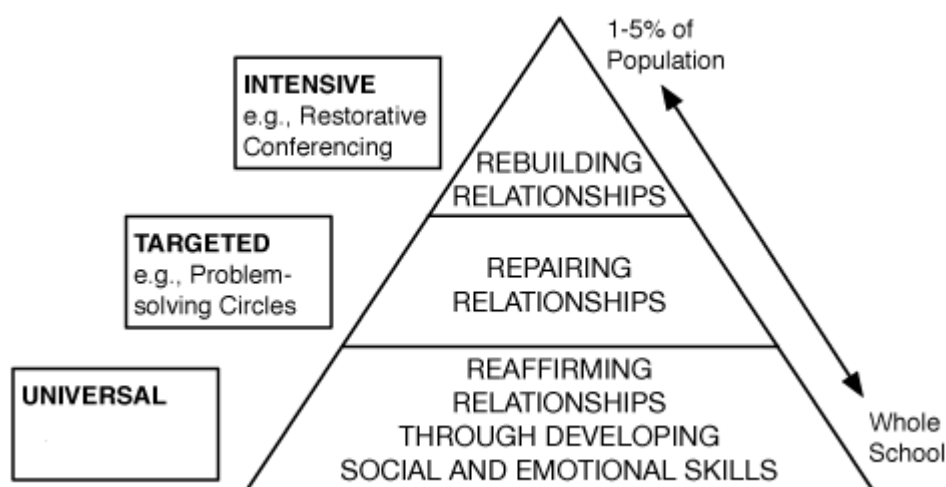


Figure 17: *Regulatory Pyramid for Schools* (Morrison, 2011, pg. 333)⁹⁸

As with Hopkins’ model, Morrison’s version of the restorative pyramid, the primary or universal base of the pyramid, is clearly articulated as a necessary component as a foundation for the successive layers. She states that (2011),

Within this conception model, the students who receive intensive intervention, typically have also been involved in targeted intervention, and all students,

⁹⁸ Figure 17 also found in Chapter 2 labelled as Figure 3.

including those at the targeted and intensive levels, are involved in the universal, or primary, intervention (pg. 333).

These interventions move from what she calls the ‘proactive’, and what this research refers to as preventative, to the reactive (2005, pg. 106). In agreement with Hopkin’s assertions, Morrison concludes that a school must include the primary foundation for the success of the subsequent levels. The base of the triangle is a necessary component for a restorative programme as it involves all members of the organisation in creating a cohesive climate of respect, increasing the feelings of belonging, as well as inducing procedural fairness (Morrison, 2011, pg. 333).

In the present research, the context of the schools is considered in relation to these restorative pyramids, considering how they fulfil each of the different levels, including the position of the management teams and the perspectives of the teachers. It is clear from School 1 that the bottom and mid-level was not achieved considering the reactive-only implementation style. The senior management team did not appear interested in furthering RA in the school, nor plan any future training. The school utilised the services of the RA Officer consistently for two days a week where formal RA practices including conferences and enquiries took place. However, the six RA champions did not provide RA facilitation nor did they promote RA within the school in any systematic manner. Similar results were observed in School 2, despite the vocal interest concerning the school’s ambition to achieve a whole-school programme. Although this school also had six trained RA Champions and the RA Officer on the premises two full days a week, there was a limited number and questionable quality of restorative enquiries.⁹⁹ Therefore, it is unlikely that School 2 fulfilled any of the levels of the restorative triangles.

Both School 1 and 2 largely disregarded the fundamental base layer of the RA triangles, despite two of the main scholars in the RA literature emphasizing the importance of this element. School 3 took the opposite approach and focused on the base layer, and only partially met the top level (processes) of Hopkins’ pyramid. Rather this school focused on whole school practices and the importance of instilling the values of RA throughout the organisation. Interestingly, this school causes a discrepancy between the two RA triangles. School 3 does not meet the standard required of a whole school within Morrison’s restorative triangle, as it completely discounts the upper “tertiary or intensive” level, and only somewhat

⁹⁹ Some RA practices were utilised such as basic enquiries and mini/corridor conferences. However, limited notes were kept and no follow up meetings were held.

meets the second “targeted” layer. The second level is only partially met as the school does not specifically target particular students in need of more reactive-approaches (i.e. conferences after a dispute). However, based on Hopkin’s restorative triangle, this school mostly met all three layers as it provided staff training (skills-middle level), implemented these practices (process-top level), which operated within an RA school philosophy (philosophy/ethos-bottom level).

The upper two levels of both triangles are more easily quantifiable and documentation can be produced to evidence these being met, such as the fact that it is possible to count the actual restorative meetings and conferences to indicate that these levels are achieved. Paradoxically, the base level, on which both authors agree is essential to the success of any restorative programme, is both more problematic to monitor or evaluate and arguably more difficult to achieve due to the issues related to change and staff resistance (Beer and Nohria, 2000). Despite these difficulties, this research sought to evaluate RA preventative classroom practices, in particular the use of restorative language, as a measure of how well the base layer of these pyramids are being met. RA scholars agree that “one of the most recognisable aspects of any organisation’s culture is the language” (Thorsborne and Blood, 2005, pg. 13).

Evaluating RA language use is more difficult compared to quantifying the number of the more formal practices, such as conferences, or the staff training a school may undertake. However, this research utilised the schools’ implementation packs to establish the themes covered in staff training on the use of restorative language. Both local authorities shared the same initial training organisation¹⁰⁰, this resulted to very similar implementation packs, including details on the use of restorative language. This pack states that restorative language, including open questions, non-judgemental questions, enquiring questions (rather than critical), fairness, respectfulness, body language and tone are crucial to classroom preventative practices and the whole school cultural shift needed to fulfil the restorative triangles.¹⁰¹

These six individual elements can be merged to create three broad categories: RA dialogue (includes the questioning), body language, and tone of voice. The Kent Safe Schools project also asserts that these three broad categories are the defining characteristics of effective

¹⁰⁰ All three RA Officers were trained by the same organisation at different times.

¹⁰¹ These 6 elements were monitored during classroom observation (see Appendix 15).

classroom practice. Interestingly, the Kent research places great emphasis on the importance of body language and tone, despite the difficulty in measuring such elements.

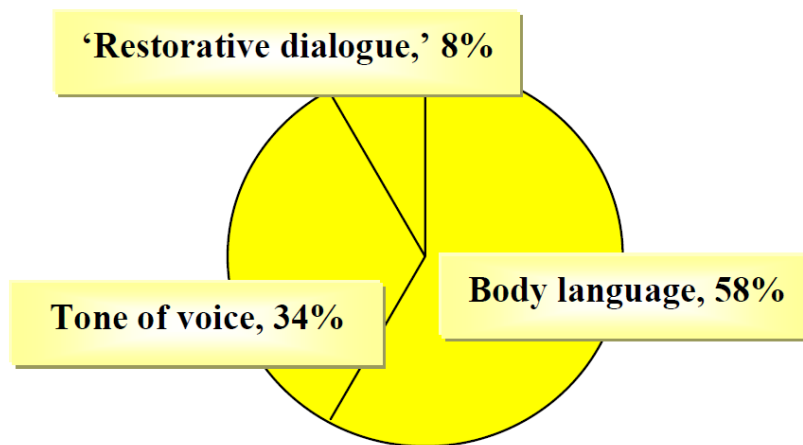


Figure 18: Kent Youth Offending Service Restorative Language Components (n.d., pg. 3)

From this perspective, tone and body language account for a substantial amount of effective restorative communication in the classroom. This is supported by Russell (n.d., pg.11) who states that “body language and tone of voice are two extremely important constituents of restorative language”. It is clear that body language and tone are vital aspects of RA practices in the classroom, although these are inherently difficult to ‘measure’, and arguably challenging to teach during inset day training. These elements are essential for effective teaching and small changes to language use can result in improvement in classroom behaviour (Tai, 2014). Previous RA evaluations find that relatively small changes in language such as rephrasing ‘blame’ type questions into a more restorative question can positively impact on both staff and students:

The frequent use of the restorative question ‘What has happened?’ instead of asking ‘What did you do?’ and allowing both parties to voice their viewpoint helped change the school culture from one of ‘blame’ to one of dialogue and discussion. This more democratic use of language, together with the realisation that incidents can be dealt with much more efficiently through the RA process, gradually led to a change in pupils’ and teachers’ attitudes (Kokotsaki, 2013, pg. 24).

The consistent use of such practices helps to substantiate the presence of the RA philosophy/ethos schools needed to generate a lasting RA programme.

The use of such language, including tone and body language varied greatly within each school. The teachers in School 1 varied considerably; some untrained teachers consistently utilised RA language and questioning throughout their lessons, including also having a very open and supportive tone and body language. Despite this positive finding, many more untrained teachers utilised a punitive and authoritarian teaching style. Most surprising were the observations of RA Champions (Three in each of School 1 and School 2), where only one of these observations resulted in high levels of observed RA in the classroom (Hafan). The use of RA language in School 2 saw a more consistent teaching approach, where the majority of staff members employed traditional, punitive styles of behaviour management in their teaching. Again, the observations of RA Champions, where the researcher assumed high levels of RA would be in operation, actually found the opposite was confirmed. Both these schools presented low levels of RA language in the classroom overall, despite inset-day basic training/awareness and the full facilitation training of six senior members of staff. Overall, there was a lack of consistency of RA and any other behaviour management strategies found throughout these two schools. Without consideration of how restorative practices fit into the school philosophy and establishing consistent use throughout the school, very limited positive outcomes are to be expected (YJBb, 2004; Blood, 2005), which was the main findings for School 1 and School 2.

School 3 utilised more consistent practices, which included the use of RA language. The chilli pepper and traffic light systems were delivered through the use of RA language, and used to support enquiring (rather than blame) questioning. These were regularly utilised by the teachers to assess the students' emotional states, understanding of the lesson, and to actively engage the whole class with their overall learning. Through these systems the staff were able to have effective communication through RA questioning. In general, the staff members had calm and supportive body language and tone and refrained from threats of punishment to manage negative behaviour. There was very little negative behaviour observed, as the staff members used enquiring questions as a preventative measure to resolve potential conflict situations.

Although School 3 did not implement the 'ideal' RA programme, it did maintain high consistency of its strategies throughout the entire school. Watkins and Wagner (2000) found

that schools using any whole school approach, rather than isolated practices, fare better in general in regards to reducing disruptive and challenging behaviour. This is in agreement with Morrison (2011) who states implementing a whole-school strategy can defuse potential conflict situations before they escalate.

The primary level of intervention targets all members of the school community through an immunization strategy whereby the community develops defence mechanisms such that conflict does not escalate (pg. 332).

Government guidance states that consistent whole school approaches to promoting positive behaviour are fundamental for every school (Service Children's Education, 2013). So any consistent whole school programme should result in positive results. This could partially explain why this school saw an upward trend in student happiness and school engagement and stable self-esteem scores during the research period, despite only implementing one type of RA practice.

Both School 1 and School 2 have partially achieved upper and mid-levels of the Restorative Pyramids. These schools have nominated and trained six staff members each, utilising a well-recognised training organisation that offered intensive facilitation training. Additionally, each school undertook awareness campaigns, targeting both staff and students. These were positive steps towards achieving a strong RA programme in their respective schools. Although, neither school experienced positive results from these efforts. These schools focused on the mid and upper levels of the triangle without reflecting on how the whole institution itself needed to create the restorative foundation to fulfil the base of the RA pyramids. The schools' established prevailing philosophy and ethos were not challenged, and the RA practices could not flourish within a culture that was not conducive to RA principles. This resulted in pockets of use in both schools.

A different approach was taken in School 3, which began their RA development with a focus on school wide consistency and language use. This helped to support a school wide foundation of principles, where certain strategies were able to flourish throughout. From the initial stages of this research it was questionable as to how this type of RA implementation would fare, as very little research has considered prevention only programmes. From the positive trends in the outcomes, and the contextual evidence, it is concluded that this school successfully implemented their planned whole school preventive-only approach and largely fulfilled Hopkins' (2002) restorative triangle.

8.4.1 Restorative or Rehabilitative? The Evidence from School 1

School 1 utilised the most formal and recognisable of RA practices, including the restorative conference. This section considers if these practices contain the necessary restorative mechanisms, and further questions if these practices are RA in nature or more closely aligned to principles of rehabilitation. One factor that recurred throughout the research in this school was the lack of victim participation, even when a victim was identified and consented, there was still very limited participation. The victims found that the RA process largely ignored their needs and the consenting victims only rarely met with the RA Officer. This questions the ability of the practices established in School 1 to equally meet the needs of all participants.

The lack of victim participation overall supports the conclusion that the programme itself was excessively transgressor oriented and questions this programmes ability to meet the requirements set out by the joint endeavour between the Welsh Government and the YJB. The joint strategy “Children and Young People First”, whose principles are based on the UNCRC, explicitly state “*The voices of victims are heard, and they are provided with the opportunity to share their views and take part in restorative approaches*” (Welsh Government, 2014, pg. 5). The overly transgressor focused nature of this programme questions the ability of such an approach to meet the requirements of the Welsh Government and its duties to maintain the principles of the UNCRC in all programmes and policies delivered through the local YOTS.

Dignan and Cavendino (1998) offer an explanation as to why restorative programmes are at great risk of restorative programmes becoming overly offender-oriented. They point to the funding body (such as probation) as the driving force behind the initiative. Therefore, organisations who are funded by agencies largely concerned with reducing offending are likely to focus on the offender (transgressor). This is one obvious issue in this research, as all three programmes were implemented by the YOT, who are committed to reducing the risk of offending for young people. Although, School 3 were not affected by this factor due to their implementation, it was quite visible in School 1, which resulted in very little attention paid to the needs of the victims.

Although, the RA literature does not make reference to issues regarding programmes exceedingly focused on the transgressor, the RJ literature has a widespread concern for this issue.

Very often, restorative justice not only reflects offender needs— making amends, and changing and rehabilitating offenders—but also is driven by such needs. Restorative justice may be offender initiated, and may be oriented to an offender timeline. Such needs and practices may not be compatible with victim needs, however (Mika, et al., 2004, no pagination).

Further support for the transgressor-focused elements of this programme (School 1) was found in the length of referral time. The duration of referrals lasted between 6 and 309 days. However, the length of referral time did not have any impact on the levels of happiness, school engagement or self-esteem. Seven of the eight students referred for high levels of repeated and aggressive disruption also had referral lengths of more than 80 days. These students with longer open referrals, accessed the drop in clinics often, and were more frequently referred to other outside programmes. These facts point towards the programme acting as an assessment unit and subsequent gateway to more specialised programmes for those students in need, rather than a truly restorative programme dedicated to restoring the harm for both the transgressor and victim.

During these long referral periods, the RA Officer promoted prosocial behaviour with the individuals. Practically, this was in the form of teaching anger management and social and emotional skills. This fits well within a social learning theory foundation (Lochman, et. al., 2004). This research supports the notion that the RA Officer acted as a scaffold for the participants; supporting the students to achieve a better understanding of their behaviour and advising alternative solutions to conflict. RA Officers indicated that referral lengths were based purely on student needs, therefore those students who needed additional support could access RA provisions despite the initial severity and/or physical harm to the victim (example: fighting referrals with the most physical harm had relatively short referral lengths).

The lengthier referrals required more intensive work considering the roots of the initial behaviours, such as repeated bullying behaviours or chronic disruption. Chronic disruptive behaviour, the most commonly referred behaviour, is a difficult behaviour to resolve and impacts large groups of students in school. It is a very significant problem in many secondary

schools, with some government funding of RA provided to tackle this issue specifically (Leibmann, 2007).

Chronic disruptive behaviour is viewed by “secondary school teachers... as one of the most serious hurdle in effective teaching learning process in the classroom” and is the number one cause of teacher stress (Ghazi, et al., 2013, pg. 350). There are multiple aetiologies of chronic disruptive behaviour, however, excluding learning difficulties and mental health, it is expected that these negative behaviours are a result of the interaction between learned behaviour and the environment (McPhee and Craig, 2009). Although this type of behaviour is the most common, it is also arguably one of the most difficult behaviours to overcome, with the greatest referral times. This may be due to the initial causes and the necessary learning to change the behaviour.

The RA programme in School 1 incorporated long referral lengths and intensive guidance for those students. There was evidence of a strong focus on developing social and emotional skills through social learning methods for the students in this programme, which may go beyond the intended purposes of RA as stated by the RA Officers awareness presentation:

Provide a safe environment in which there is openness to express thoughts and feelings;
Increase levels of respect, empathy, support and communication amongst pupils;
Help develop problem-solving skills;
Allowing pupils to deal more constructively with conflict;
Improve pupils’ levels of confidence in staff;
Increase feelings of safety, for both staff and pupils;
Reduce incidents of bullying, anti-social behaviour and interpersonal conflict;
Improve the school environment, effectively enhancing learning and development;
Improve the link between home and school.

(LA 1 Awareness Presentation: see appendix 14 for slide)

These main aims presented by LA1 YOT staff are common to many RA programmes in general. However, in School 1, due to the types of behaviour that prompted the initial referral, the referral length, and the transgressor centred approach, it was questionable whether the RA implemented more closely resembled that of counselling or a rehabilitation-type approach. It is also questionable as to whether the training provided for the RA Officers equips them to adequately ‘treat’ individuals with such complex needs.

There is a strong link between being transgressor-focused and being more closely aligned with rehabilitation. For those victims referred to the RA Officer in School 1, there were several issues mentioned in focus groups related to the amount of time and attention paid to these participants. The victims found that the RA Officer rarely instigated contact with them and spent most of their time with the transgressor of the conflict, again pointing to a more rehabilitative approach. This type of rehabilitative restorative practice is not “compatible” with the needs of the victim (Mika, et al., 2004, pg. 2). Within this type of practice, the needs of the victim were secondary, or perhaps not even considered, as compared to the needs of the transgressor, which was the overall message identified from victim’s groups. In School 1, the transgressor-focused approach questions the ability of RA in this context to meet the needs of the victim, therefore, was more closely aligned with a rehabilitative model (Mantle, et. al., 2005).

RJ and rehabilitation¹⁰² are largely assumed to be two separate frameworks as described by the social discipline window (see Figure 1, pg. 15); where rehabilitation is viewed as high support but low accountability, compared to RJ which is assumed to be high support and high accountability (McCold and Wachtel, 2002). The description of practices from School 1 better fit the rehabilitation box of the social discipline window as there were very few instances where students were held accountable for their behaviour. Rather their behaviours were treated through a series of social and emotional development sessions.

The YOT in LA1 included RA in schools within the prevention services, with the main aim of “developing interventions that have demonstrated effectiveness in reducing crime and offending” (Youth Justice Service, 2015, pg. 4). This is also the remit of a rehabilitative approach seen in the CJS (Andrews and Bonta, 2003). Therefore, the practical function of RA in School 1 more closely resembled a “repackaging of rehabilitation” (Daly, 2000, pg. 45).

It is argued here that the implementation of RA in School 1 was largely focused on a rehabilitative model. This is of concern as Ward and Langlands (2009) state that absorbing rehabilitation values widens the scope of RJ to such an extent that it loses its fundamental purposes, such as meeting the needs of all parties involved (Kane, et al., 2007). The exclusion of the victim from the RA process is one main concern which may result from the integration of rehabilitation within the restorative framework (Walgrave, 2004), as seen in School 1. The evidence from this evaluation supports the conclusion that the victim was largely excluded,

¹⁰² As stated previously, very little research is available on RA and the rehabilitative model, therefore literature here is drawn from RJ.

resulting in a transgressor-focused programme which was more closely aligned with rehabilitative ideals rather than restorative principles.

As stated previously, the reactive approach seen in School 1 largely excluded victim participation. Due to the nature of the referrals only eight of the nineteen referrals were considered as having an individual victim and these participants felt relegated to a very small part of the process. Additionally, the remaining eleven referrals did not include or identify a victim, thus no apologies were made. The presence of a victim (s) in both low and high level classroom disruption was not considered by the RA officers. So these remaining cases do not meet the fundamental requirements of the basic structure needed for a successful restorative process, as described by Sherman and Strang (2007).

The practice of only considering the transgressor for issues such as disruptive behaviour assumes that the only type of victim-a direct victim. This may stem from the legal definition where a victim is defined as “a person who has suffered harm” (CPS, Victim’s Code, 2006). The assumption of a victim as a singular person is problematic in a school setting, as often, there are multiple people harmed by one person. Therefore, within a school there are multiple levels of victimisation present, this could include a singular victim, but in the case of disruptive behaviour this may include a group or classroom of victims, and the teacher. However, these levels of victimisation were not considered in the RA practices in School 1.

In addition to multiple victimisation, the larger community is also a vital member of a restorative process after a conflict. The balance of victim, offender, and community interests is a fundamental principle in a restorative programme (Strang and Sherman, 2003), where the welfare of each party is met equally through the restorative practice. In the instances of chronic disruptive behaviour, the larger school community was also affected but largely ignored. Bazemore (1998) suggests that RJ advocates often overlook the needs of the citizens of the local community. He states that restorative practices must meet the needs of all three participants (transgressors, victims, and the community) and it is impossible to meet the needs of one of these participants without meeting the needs of the others.

An underlying premise of restorative justice is the idea that offenders are not well served when the needs of victim and community are neglected and when these two coparticipants are not in some way involved in the process (Bazemore, 1998, Towards Integration and resonance, para. 1).

In School 1, for the majority of referrals involved disruptive behaviour and subsequent restorative interventions did not include additional participants. It was not recognised that the disruptive behaviour negatively affected the larger group (excluding the football captain example, see pg. 218-219). This had a direct impact on the potential for mechanisms of reintegration within the restorative process (Bazemore, 1998).

The RA practices in School 1 failed to recognise the victimisation of the larger group or the school community. In these cases, the RA officer role play and modelling to encourage appropriate behaviour, however, it is questionable if these practices are as powerful as when a victim or member of community provokes emotional responses in the transgressor.¹⁰³ When no direct victim can be identified, it would be beneficial to consider a representative person to act on behalf of the local group or community. Although these social learning practices promote more positive behaviours in the transgressors, it fits more in a rehabilitative model where treatment rather than restoration is key. In the future, using a representative of the harmed group in lieu of a direct victim, could encourage the mechanism of reintegrative shaming, and promote more restoration and reparation of harm.

Despite the conclusion that the focus on social learning theory is more conducive to a rehabilitative model, the practices of role play and modelling may encourage empathy development (Wallis, 2014). The importance of the ability to empathise is reported throughout the restorative literature, including Harris, et al. (2004) who found empathy a necessary ingredient for successful restorative practices. Furthermore, Wallis (2014) states that empathy is not only a paramount ingredient for successful restorative practices but that restorative practitioners can develop empathy during a restorative process.

restorative practitioners have great faith that empathy can be learnt, at any age ... they believe that developing a capacity for empathy can contribute directly to preventing future victimisation (Wallis, 2014, pg. 92).

Restorative processes are said to support empathy development but also rest on possessing empathy as well. The underlying role of empathy and the teaching of empathy to both the mechanisms of social learning theory and reintegrative shaming is of concern to this research, as the development of empathy is less than straight-forward in adolescence.

¹⁰³ Retsinger and Scheff (1996) state that there are a number of emotional stages during an RA encounter that is necessary for both the offender and the victim. The presence of the victim elicits certain emotions within the transgressor that is necessary to eventually move pass the initial harm.

The success of empathy development programmes is equivocal. There are some research findings which point to the success of empathy development programmes (Wong, et al., 2011), whereas other psychological literature finds that both age and gender of participants are the key to successful or failed results. This is particularly important as recent research finds empathic skills in males in early adolescence decline before regaining levels in later adolescence (van der Graaf, et al., 2014; Allemand, et al., 2014). In regards to this research, the majority of student participants were males between 12-16 years of age-the stage of lowest empathy. This questions the ability of the mechanism of reintegrative shaming to make any changes in this cohort of participants, even in situations where this mechanism could be activated. Therefore, the conclusions reached here are somewhat contradictory in nature. Firstly, School 1's RA practices are rehabilitative in nature. These practices need to include all parties, and bring the mechanism of reintegrative shaming to the fore to better fit a restorative framework. However, the ability of all students in this cohort to empathise (a key element for reintegrative shaming) is questionable. It is evident that substantially more research is needed to monitor empathy levels and the use of restorative practices in this age group.

The rehabilitative approach taken in this school also led to protracted referral lengths including time-consuming activities, such intensive support to reach, maintain, and monitor outcome agreements. The intensive work with individual students was solely the responsibility of one RA Officer. The overall implementation style combined with the rehabilitative approach produced a large workload that resulted in questionable support given to reaching and maintaining outcome agreements, which could have negative consequences on the transgressors.

Restorative outcome agreements ranged in composition but all included a meaningful or purposeful intention. By definition these restorative tasks could be labelled as goals as they are personally meaningful and valued by the individual (Emmons, 2005). Achieving a goal, such as fulfilling an outcome agreement positively impacts on happiness (Fugl-Meyer, et al., 1991; see pg.56). Goal achievement is heavily reliant on additional support. The availability of support, due to the high demands placed on the RA Officer, is questionable in this school, potentially leading to negative outcomes.

Achieving outcome agreement was necessary for the success of each referred case. The following was an example of one such case managed by the RA officer, where the

transgressor stole a sum of money from a good friend. The transgressor was deeply apologetic for such actions and agreed that the correct course of action was to repay the money in an effort to rebuild the friendship. However, this student did not have recourse to any personal funds and the family were not supportive. The RA Officer and Pastoral Advisor at School 1 helped to secure the transgressor part time employment so that they could repay the money and have a small income, which would lessen the need to steal in the future. However, after substantial efforts on everyone's part, including the transgressor at the initial stages, the transgressor failed to continue with the employment and was not able to repay the money, so the student failed to achieve the goal. From this perspective, it is possible to speculate on the consequences of such a failure, obviously the initial friendship could not be repaired but also the emotional impact on the transgressor must be considered. When setting goals for the students involved in the restorative process they must be achievable and with appropriate support offered throughout the entire process.

This example illustrates the difficulties facing RA in the reactive-only implementation style, where the weight of setting and supporting goals is placed on very few individuals. The set outcomes must be person specific and the individual must be able to initiate, carry out and maintain it (Layous and Lybomirsky, 2013). Furthermore, due to the reference point and diminished responsibility theories (Heath, et al. 1999, see pg. 56) it is unlikely that difficult goals will be achieved without setting smaller subgoals within each step, necessitating a considerable amount of support. These individualised plans are time consuming, a significant limitation to the approach taken by School 1.

The present research concludes that it was unrealistic to expect the RA Officer to support each individual whilst striving to achieve such complex goals. This RA Officer maintained a small but intensive case load. Setting goals and organising the logistics for these individuals, from all outward appearances suggested a positive step in repairing harm but may be idealistic in some cases. This is not to say that such practices should be abandoned, rather the goals should be suitable for each individual, where circumstances and levels of support offered outside RA can be identified and implemented. Without such assessments, the goals set within the outcome agreements actually be detrimental to the participants of the process, including diminished happiness levels, feelings of disappointment and mental health issues (Nurmi, 1997; Heath, et. al., 1999; Brandtstädter and Rothermund, 2002).

Further research is needed to explore this issue as it is necessary to consider the activities set by the RA process, whether these are achieved, and the psychological outcomes if they are not. It would then be possible to look at differences between those who have achieved their RA goals and those who have not, in relation to their subjective happiness. Thus, formal RA agreements need to include provisions for additional support and monitoring to ensure the goals are met.

RA in School 1 operated a transgressor-focused programme that arguably was more closely aligned with rehabilitation than restorative values. However, discounting possible individual or programme issues, it was still unlikely that the programme could elicit enduring changes when most students spend the majority of their time in an environment that did not support the fundamental RA philosophy. RA was viewed as something that operated within a specific location in the school (RA operated from a mobile unit outside the main building of the school); RA was seen as something that happened at a particular time and in a specific location in the school and therefore, outside of this location RA did not seem to exist. The bubble in which RA operated did not have the necessary support from the school to establish any lasting changes in the participants. The discord between the established school philosophy and the philosophy needed for RA programmes to flourish resulted in a very limited ability of RA to make any difference to outcomes of the participants.

Both Sellman (2014) and McCall (2014) agree that it would be difficult for students to apply any learning gained from a reactive-only RA process due to a clash between the new learning (gained from the RA process) and the traditional approaches found in the wider school setting:

Long term success depends upon the capacity of the particular individuals involved to understand and integrate the lessons contained within the [RA] process. It will be harder for students to understand and integrate such learning if the values and skills associated with the process are not reflected and reinforced in wider school culture (McCall, 2014, pg. 233).

Furthermore, Sherman and Strang (2007, pg. 55) also recognise the limitations of a reactive-only approach and find “using restorative conferencing for specific incidents, isolated from other restorative practices, appears to have limited value for school conduct generally”. The current research supports the literature, in that it is unlikely

that the implementation style of School 1 could making a lasting impact on either the direct participants of the programme or on the general student population.

This also explains the conflicting results from the two Hafan departments. Hafan (School 1) had clear objectives, utilised RA principles and practices, thus eliciting subsequent restorative mechanisms. However, the outcomes between the participants in Hafan (School 1) and Hafan (School 2) were not significantly different, even though the qualitative findings from Hafan (School 2) did not incorporate any RA principles or practices and there was a distinct lack of restorative mechanisms overall. The explanation for the similarity of results between the two Hafan departments correspond to the previous discussion-these Hafan departments were embedded within a system that did not support the necessary mechanisms of change. The students in School 1 spent limited time in the Hafan department, relative to the time spent in the wider school environment. So any positive practices utilised in Hafan (School 1) would not have the desired impact when embedded within an environment that did not have the necessary support.

This finding is paramount to future programme implementation plans, especially in LA1 where the YOT are establishing RA programmes in Hafan departments, rather than in the school. The utility of this approach is questionable, as the positive practices taught and learned in Hafan will not translate to improved outcomes for the participants if the overall school philosophy is not supportive of RA. Likewise, implementing reactive-only programmes in general is unlikely to produce any enduring changes if the underlying school philosophy is not sympathetic to RA principles and practices. Interestingly, School 3 took the opposite approach, and solely focused on building a positive school philosophy and culture, while foregoing any changes to the actual discipline policy.

8.4.2 Is a Traditional Whole-School Approach Necessary? The Improbable Success of a Preventative-Only Implementation

In general, there is much less discussion on preventative-only programmes, although McCall (2014) briefly considers such a proposal and states that a preventative-only programme faces similar limitations to that of a reactive-only implementation, and thus will not produce successful results.

By the same token, whether a school can succeed in developing the caring culture necessary to equip students as both citizens of the here and now as well as the future depends on whether such lessons are reflected and reinforced by the

school's behaviour management system. A student who learns and expects to be involved with decision-making will quickly become disillusioned if their behaviour is responded to arbitrarily and punitively (McCall, 2014, pg. 233).

Here McCall (2014) asserts that a school that only focuses on changing a school culture (focusing on the base of the restorative triangles), whilst maintaining a punitive behaviour management system, cannot succeed in a restorative sense. She asserts that the punitive behaviour management system and the restorative culture promote two divergent principles. As such, McCall (2014) and others (Hopkins, 2002) advocate the traditional whole-school approach which incorporates the reactive and the preventative practices. School 3 chose to implement a preventative-only programme, which, based on McCall's assertions, should have failed. However, a positive trend for both happiness and school engagement was evident (and self-esteem was stable in this school), lending support to the success of such an approach.

The whole school preventive-only implementation did not just attempt to apply principles of fairness superficially into the school, rather School 3 made great efforts to embed consistent practices within each classroom which supported the mechanisms of fairness throughout the school. The perceptions of fairness by both the students and staff, in each classroom, and as a school overall had additional benefits of improving staff-student relationships, feelings of school community and school engagement (Rumberger, 1995).

The importance of consistent strategies applied throughout the school is significant to the perceptions of fairness experienced by the students. Perceived unfair rules (either the process of determining the rules or the distribution of these rules) results in increased conflict, decreased motivation, and overall disengagement (Johnson and Johnson, 2012). Students in School 3 perceived the school as procedurally, as well as distributively fair; despite the students acknowledging the strict and punitive nature of the behaviour management practices (should they be needed). The staff and students did not perceive the clash between the school culture and the punitive behavioural management system as described by McCall (2014). This may be a result of the high levels of consistency found throughout, unlike the arbitrary punitiveness McCall states would result from this type of implementation style.

School 3 maintained a 'strict' discipline policy. The overall implementation approach is reminiscent of Braithwaite's (1999) integrative model (see Figure 2, pg. 20) which applies restorative practices for the entire population, however, the person who continually reoffends will ultimately be incapacitated in some form to prevent recidivism. In this model Braithwaite

recognises that all people will not be duly influenced by restorative practices, therefore alternative options must be available for such irrational actors. Ashworth (2002) voices some concern over models of restorative practice that attempt to integrate with a current punitive ideology. He states that restorative values will begin to erode over time, resulting in a purely punitive system once again. This is one potential future concern for this school and an issue that needs further research. However, at by the end of the research period, restorative values were still dominant and had not eroded, although it is acknowledged that this is a possibility in the future.

Despite certain criticisms of an implementation approach which integrates a restorative philosophy into the school culture, while maintaining the established punitive system, the preventative-only whole school approach resulted in more positive outcomes than both School 1 and 2. School 3 applied the rules of the school consistently and made use of school-wide strategies, with little evidence of bias towards specific groups or members of the student population. Unlike Schools 1 and 2, where students routinely pointed to rules as being inherently unjust and inconsistently applied, questioning these schools' procedural and distributive fairness. This supports the overall significance of applying school-wide classroom-based policies. Consistent school wide strategies unify the school, increasing fairness and perceptions of community, and ultimately improve engagement (Hoy, et. al., 2006).

In School 3, these preventative school-wide based policies supported improved social behaviour and decreases in disruptive classroom behaviour (Sugai and Horner, 2002). School 3 implemented a preventative-only whole school programme, although not the traditional whole school approach usually advocated, it still produced the necessary environment to generate strong perceptions of fairness. Procedural and distributive fairness, as well as a unified school community played an essential role in explaining the improved outcomes here. This research concludes that a preventive-only approach produces more positive results in the form of a school-wide cultural change, and should continue to experience such effects so long as this school maintains consistent whole school practices. This indicates that models outside the traditional whole-school approach also result in positive cultural change.

Despite these positive trends seen in School 3, there remains some uncertainty regarding the results. It is clear that this school produced the most positive outcomes (indicated in both the qualitative and quantitative findings), however, it is questionable as to whether this is due to

RA specific practices, or from implementing a whole school preventative approach in general.

8.5 Limitations of Whole-School Results: Multiple Initiatives, RA Definitions and Generalisability

From the three schools, it is evident that School 3 produced the most positive changes, both culturally and in the scores of happiness and school engagement (stable self-esteem). This supports the notion that RA has a positive impact on happiness and school engagement, as well as the ability to maintain stable levels of self-esteem if implemented in a preventative-only whole school manner. However, there are additional considerations that need to be reflected upon, such as many effective school-wide preventative programmes (non-RA) produce similar results. Additionally, it is common to have a number of on-going programmes and initiatives in operation at any given time. The issue of multiple initiatives highlights the difficulties with defining RA in a school context and with school evaluations in general.

School 3 provides support that RA can produce positive changes in both happiness and school engagement. This school had many facilitating factors (see pg. 270 for comprehensive list) and shows an upward trend in outcome measures. There are concerns that this may not be due to RA per se. Whole school approaches are not unique to RA and educational literature states that clear and consistent policies and rules throughout a school are just as important, or even more so, than the type of behaviour management style in place (Rogers, 1995). School-wide preventative practices are documented as having positive outcomes such as improved school climate and decreased negative behaviours in general (Mayer, 1995; Sulzer-Azaroff and Mayer, 1994; Mayer et al., 1983). In general, whole school approaches to behaviour management leads to increased school engagement and decreased classroom disruption (Sugai and Horner, 2002; Rosenshine and Stevens, 1986). Whole-school preventative approaches are currently implemented for a variety of issues, including behaviour management, well-being, and citizenship, as this strategy is recognised as providing the strongest foundation for lasting positive change in a school. Therefore, based on previous educational literature, it is not surprising that a systematically implemented RA preventative-only whole school approach produced the most positive results (Although from the RA literature's position, this is an unlikely model to adopt). It is the position of this research that although RA principles are the underlying impetus, it is likely that most

successfully implemented whole-school preventative approach would also produce similar results.

The issue of multiple initiatives within schools is a second factor of concern, and one which is common to many RA evaluations (Kane, et al, 2007). Evaluations of RA often suggest that multiple initiatives in one school can be a facilitating or a hindering factor depending on their purposes. The limitation found with several multiple initiatives taking place in one setting is that it is difficult to draw firm conclusions between the programme and the outcomes. The schools in this research had many different initiatives taking place in different years, departments and with targeted pupils (such as anger management, etc).

To provide an example, during the research period each school was in the midst of school wide attendance drives to help boost rates (a core indicator for many school assessments such as Estyn). These drives were not related to RA, however, RA evaluations routinely monitor attendance and regularly find that attendance improves after implementation (Kane, et al., 2007). Furthermore, RA programmes regularly include improved attendance as one of the main goals (YJB, 2004a). In the present study, attendance rates improved over the course of the research period, although it would be a misrepresentation of the data to state that this improvement was related to RA implementation. Therefore, making any assertions in regards to RA improving attendance in the present research is spurious in nature.

Multiple school initiatives are common in many RA evaluations and can result in spurious conclusions, however, some researchers found that these additional initiatives may be a positive factor, as described by Kane, et al. (2007):

All schools in the pilot were involved in multiple initiatives...that multiple innovations were not a problem when they were seen to connect to each other and to the same values base (pg. 93).

Here Kane, et al. (2007) claim the positive results in the pilot schools are due to RA implementation, rather than any other initiative. To overcome this causal limitation, evaluations often conclude that RA is a type of “‘glue’ that enabled multiple innovations to be experienced as a single, encompassing and coherent endeavour” (Kane, et al., 2007, pg. 94).

The positive outcomes seen in School 3 are attributed to the implementation of RA preventative practices and the two additional classroom strategies in place (chilli pepper and

stoplight strategies). Although these strategies facilitated RA principles, they were not specifically implemented as part of the RA programme; rather they were implemented around the same time and with similar goals (improved communication, relationships and behaviour). However, Kane, et al. (2007) state that this should not overly concern RA evaluations, as RA is the foundation on which all these additional strategies are linked together to form a coherent approach within the school. For this reason, the present research concludes that the embedded RA philosophy and classroom language use, as well as the RA sympathetic strategies (chilli-pepper and stoplight systems) worked together to produce the positive trends seen in School 3.

Evaluations containing multiple initiatives also experience issues related to definition. The problems arising from the general assertion that restorative practices cannot be defined (Daly, 2016), reinforce this limitation. Specifically, if RA is not defined from the beginning, it is difficult to state what is and what is not an RA practice. The YJB (2004a) found a similar limitation in their evaluation of RA in schools:

One of the challenges of the programme was to define what a restorative justice conference actually was... (pg. 12).

In School 1 there was a lengthy conference process that the school and YOT considered RA, whereas School 2 claimed to utilise a type of corridor/mini conference as a form of reactive RA practices. In both instances the clarity on the type of conference was questionable. Furthermore, School 3 utilised the chilli pepper and traffic light strategies, which were not employed as part of the RA programme but these maintained a general RA philosophy and purpose.

Essentially, the lack of a firm definition allowed for each of these schools to employ a number of different practices and authors disagree on the benefits and limitations of such flexibility. O'Mahony and Doak (2009) comment on this issue, and state that the flexibility of the practices is a positive and defining characteristic of restorative programmes. Contrary to O'Mahony and Doak, Daly (2016) finds that the flexibility allows many programmes to fall under the rubric of restorative and states that the divergent views of the definition restrict the prospects of robust RA evaluation.

A significant example of this is seen in School 2, where the researcher did not find sufficient evidence of any RA practices. Nevertheless, the SMT staff were certain that RA practices were present in the school. Daly (2016) summarises this limitation by stating that:

As a concept, RJ has become too capacious and imprecise. If it cannot be defined, it cannot be subject to empirical and theoretical study (pg.14).

This issue is exemplified by Ruge and Scott (2009, pg. 1) who state that “because RJ is a flexible process designed to meet the needs of everyone involved, restoration may involve almost anything”. The schools, the YOT staff, and the researcher all hold different interpretations of RA practices. The divergent definitions and implementation of the RA practices in each of the three schools makes evaluation very complex. This definitional and interpretational issue is not only a limitation found within this evaluation but also is considered by many (including Daly) as a significant burden for restorative evaluation as a whole.

The individuality of each implementation style, as a result of the flexible nature of RA, and subsequent case-study type design taken in this research for each context brings into question the generalisability of the results. The results of unique contexts and mechanisms apply directly to the schools in the current research. Scientific realists recognise the specificity of the research but do not find generalisability a limitation. The Pawson and Tilley (1997) acknowledge the specific nature of individual organisations but state the findings and results from a scientific realist evaluation are open to adaptation and adjustment in future evaluations. Therefore, they may act as a base for future research but also recognise these will be amended in future.

School evaluations are inherently complex, as schools are constantly changing and are fluid environments with countless relationships and daily interactions. Timmins and Miller (2007) recognise the difficulties in school evaluations and state that these are overcome by employing appropriate research skills and utilising relevant literature. Furthermore, Pawson and Tilley (1997) advocate triangulating the findings from several sources to substantiate findings and adjust theories throughout the research period. Thus, this research applied an interdisciplinary outlook, utilising resources from criminology, psychology and educational literature. It also employed a mixed methods approach to provide a comprehensive understanding of the context and mechanisms, or as Pawson and Tilley (2004, pg. 2) state “What works for whom in what circumstances and in what respects, and how?”

Although there are a number of recognised limitations, steps were taken in this research to reduce these at every possible point. This research sought to apply recommendations offered by Timmins and Miller (2007) and Pawson and Tilley (1997) by interviewing the relevant

stakeholders at both the school and YOT level in an effort to substantiate any claims, as well as include the perceptions of students and school observations, which were particularly relevant to the development of the theoretical mechanisms.¹⁰⁴ Although the quantifiable results of the evaluation could address the overall research question, these numerical results do not provide any explanation as to how and why these outcomes were produced. Therefore, this research not only addresses the final outcomes of programme implementation but also provides an explanation for these results. However, in doing so, there are recognised limitations in the research, which are inherent both in evaluations of schools and RA overall.

¹⁰⁴ The mechanism of distributive fairness was not included in the original C+M=O. Through student focus groups and observations, it became apparent that the fairness of distribution is just as relevant as the fairness of the original policies or rules in the school.

Chapter 9: Conclusion and Future Directions

9.1 Introduction

Presently, very little evidence is available to fully support the assumption that RA positively impacts on happiness, school engagement and self-esteem. Furthermore, due to the flexibility of RA practices, it is uncertain what type of implementation is the most appropriate to positively influence these psychological constructs. The current research project evaluates the assertions made by restorative advocates pertaining to the influence of restorative practices on student happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem and provides support for the variations in outcomes produced by different implementation approaches.

To evaluate the assertions made regarding student happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem this research included three schools, necessitating a complex methodological framework integrating both quantitative and qualitative data. Therefore, this study is greatly informed by the realist approach advocated by Pawson and Tilley (1997) and their equation “context + mechanisms = outcomes”. The present research integrated this equation into the design in order to examine the context of implementation and subsequent mechanisms that support the outcomes of the programme. Therefore, the response to the research questions includes the contextual factors that influence the outcomes, as well as the underlying mechanisms of change within each of the settings.

This chapter addresses the research questions and considers the implications of these findings. Additionally, it offers recommendations and areas where future research would be useful. Results are naturally context specific; however, many of the main findings could benefit future implementation of restorative programmes in schools.

9.2 Addressing the Research Questions

This section reviews the findings to address the main research question and the sub questions.

Main Research Question:

Does the implementation of RA in educational settings influence measures of pupil happiness, school engagement and/or self-esteem?

Sub-questions:

- 1. Which approach(es) to implementation are most likely to influence key indicators of pupil happiness, school engagement, and/or self-esteem?**

- 2. Do institutional factors influence the positive implementation of RA programmes?**
- 3. What mechanism(s) of RA best foster positive change in happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem?**
- 4. How can RA moderate the relationships between happiness, self-esteem and school engagement?**

To address the main research question, it is first necessary to consider the four sub-questions which relate to the influence of context and contextual factors, mechanisms and the relationship between RA and the three psychological outcomes, before returning to the main research question.

Which approach(es) to implementation are most likely to influence key indicators of happiness, school engagement, and/or self-esteem?

Both the qualitative findings and quantitative results suggest that the preventative-only implementation approach adopted by School 3 to be the most promising. The quantitative results illustrate a small but significant positive trend in scores (as compared to School 2) and the qualitative findings reinforce the importance of consistent school wide practices. The stability of these practices strongly influenced students' perceptions of fairness, itself related to a number of positive benefits seen in this school, including reduced disruptive behaviour and an active student voice. Consistent school wide practices cultivated an active student voice, both in the classroom and on an organisational level, which fosters positive staff-student relationships (see sub-question 3).

Two main factors inhibited the positive impact of RA on the participants in the reactive-only approach. Firstly, the reactive-only implementation approach taken in School 1 did not allow for the further establishment of consistent school wide practices. In general, this type of approach to implementation did not have the necessary authority in the school to make the essential changes for any positive results to gain traction. The RA programme itself operated in isolation, thus any positive improvements encouraged during the period of referral were very unlikely to be supported in the wider school environment. Furthermore, the RA programme itself relied heavily on rehabilitative ideals, which is highly controversial in the restorative literature (McCold, and Wachtel, 2002). The rehabilitative style of RA implemented in School 1 relied heavily on outcome agreements, defined here as *goals*.

Failure to reach a goal can be detrimental to psychological wellbeing (Heath, et al., 1999) and there is additional evidence to suggest that not all participants achieved their objectives within the programme time frame. These two aspects of the implementation approach adopted by School 1, significantly diminished the possibility of RA achieving any sustained improvements in student well-being and/or engagement.

Overall, there is little evidence to support the implementation of RA in School 2; thus it is very unlikely that positive outcomes would be recorded in this school. The RA programme for referred students was largely informal, with little inclusion of recognised RA practices. Similarly, classroom RA practices - in the form of restorative language and questioning - were relatively limited. These lack of the cores two features of the a traditional ‘whole school’ approach (reactive and preventative methods) make it unlikely that any changes in the outcomes measured in this school could be attributed to the implementation of RA.

Do institutional factors influence the positive implementation of RA programmes?

The success or failure of the RA programmes is context dependent and largely reinforced by a number of school and programme level factors. The most significant factor emerging in this context is *leadership*. The management of the schools directly influences the organisations readiness to change, as well as staff resistance to change (Kane, et al. 2007; Blood and Thorsborne; 2006). Overall, school leadership is found to be the most significant enabler (or inhibitor) in each context. The following summary of the major impeding and facilitating factors are provided for each context and most can be attributed directly to the leadership of the school.

School 3 utilised the least formal approach to RA, but saw the most positive improvements over the research period; this development was largely attributed to the strong leadership, which was sustained throughout the implementation process. The clear expectations provided by the school SMT, staff support, and provisions for training, helped to foster a philosophical change in the organisation. Subsequently, these developments were able fulfil the base of the ‘restorative pyramid’ (Hopkins, 2002, see Figure 16, pg. 252). This strong and supportive leadership found in School 3 also fostered positive staff attitudes towards the use of RA practices and further encouraged the use of RA practices during daily teaching activities and interactions. The consistent use of such practices again helps to reinforce the change of school philosophy. Therefore, the clear and direct leadership evident in School 3 resulted in a consistent whole school approach (Hopkins, 2007). Despite the presence of a number of

facilitating factors directly attributable to the school leadership, this school also experienced a number of impeding factors; significant among these was the school’s continued reliance on a more traditional punitive discipline policy.

Several factors were present which helped to facilitate the success of the implementation (as well as any impeding factors) in School 3, summarised in Table 29 below:

School 3	
Facilitating Factors	Impeding Factors
School Level	
Strong leadership	No LEA support
Clear implementation plan	Punitive response to conflict
Explicit expectations provided for all staff	
Staff support, including training	
Change in school philosophy, supporting RA practices	
Venues for an active student voice	
RA Programme Level	
Three mechanisms in place ¹⁰⁵	
Consistency	
Preventative practices reduce classroom conflict	

Table 29: School 3-Major Facilitating and Impeding Factors

The leadership in School 1 was also strongly influential in the adoption of RA and the potential for future progress within the organisation. Despite the initial resources allocated to the adoption of RA (including six staff receiving full facilitation training and a classroom space dedicated to RA), the initial pursuit to achieve a sustainable school wide approach quickly diminished.

The RA program in School 1 was directed by the RA officer being in attendance two days per week. The programme here was a reactive approach, only coming into play once a conflict arose. Each participant was subsequently referred to the RA officer, thus relying on school staff awareness for the initial referral. Such a program is intensive, focusing on the

¹⁰⁵ Procedural and distributive fairness and social learning theory

underlying issues of the misbehaviour and considered a “client-centred approach” (LA1RA1)¹⁰⁶, more closely aligned with rehabilitative ideals. This implementation approach created a number of barriers, frequently resulting in only very limited pockets of use (see Table 30 below).

School 1	
Facilitating Factors	Impeding Factors
School Level	
Six trained RA Champions	Passive SMT leadership
	No allocated time or resources for the RA Champions
	Lack of implementation planning
	Lack of awareness (staff and students)
	Reluctance for future training
	No LEA support
	Semi-autonomous departments
RA Programme Level	
Trained RA Officer with no teaching duties (2 days a week)	RA Officer must work within the stipulations of the school
Drop in sessions available	Rehabilitation oriented-transgressor focused
Programme aimed at conflict	Variable referral lengths
Four mechanisms in place ¹⁰⁷	
Formal process	

Table 30: School 1-Major Facilitating and Impeding Factors

Despite the fact that the RA provision in School 2 had ambitions to achieve a traditional whole school approach, this school saw a general downward trend in all recorded measures. During observations, it became apparent that there was a general lack of understanding of RA, with few formal RA conferences taking place within the programme. Overall, the school did not appear to provide the necessary provisions to foster a school philosophy which supports the consistent use of preventative classroom practices; neither did they adequately

¹⁰⁶ RA provisions could be accessed as long as felt necessary by the transgressor

¹⁰⁷ Evidence for social learning theory, reintegrative shaming, procedural and distributive fairness

provide the RA Officers with the support needed to establish a robust reactive process. Overall, the school was a relatively passive participant in the implementation of RA (see Table 31 below).

School 2	
Facilitating Factors	Impeding Factors
School Level	
Six trained RA Champions	Lack of SMT leadership
	Lack of implementation planning despite ambitions
	No allocated time or resources for the RA Champions
	Lack of Awareness (staff and students)
	Reluctance for future training
	No LEA support
	Operating two separate language streams
RA Programme Level	
Trained RA Officer with no teaching duties (2 days a week)	Transgressor focused
	Limited referrals
	Informal meetings

Table 31: *School 2-Major Facilitating and Impeding Factors*

Overall, the success or failure of the RA programmes were principally a result of the strength of leadership and subsequent support offered by the SMT. The clear directions presented by School 3’s SMT, encouraged staff to adopt RA principles and use consistent practice within all classrooms. In doing so, it helped to foster a change in school philosophy. School 1 and 2, even with the significant resources put towards staff training, were less able to establish a such a shift in school philosophy. Thus, any positive changes within the RA programme in School 1, would be unlikely to be supported outside of the RA classroom. Ultimately, the ambitions of School 2 did not mirror the support offered to staff, resulting in less take up of RA practices overall.

What mechanism of RA best foster positive change in happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem?

Interestingly, both the RA programme in School 1 and School 3 shared three mechanisms of change, although these appeared to operate quite differently in each context. School 1 utilised social learning theory, procedural fairness, and distributed fairness consistently throughout the RA programme but only from the transgressors' perspective. The transgressors of the RA programme also considered the process to be fair. However, the victim participants questioned the procedural and distributive equality within the programme. Outside of the RA initiatives participants of the focus groups themselves questioned the fairness of the school in general. These students perceived imbalanced treatment throughout the school, including between departments, teachers, and among the student body.

Similar perceptions were also reported in School 2, where students in the English language stream considered themselves as unfairly treated, compared to their Welsh counterparts. A general perception of unfair treatment is partially supported by the outcomes of this research; initial findings suggest a difference in self-esteem scores between the English and Welsh language students at Time 1 and the differences between the two streams and their perceptions of school.¹⁰⁸ These findings may indicate fairness issues in School 2 related to *different treatment between language streams*. The lack of fairness noted by students in both schools is relevant to the fulfilment of the UNCRC, and in the Welsh context the *7 Core Aims*. Any discrepancies in treatment, particularly in regards to punishment, are noted within previous school evaluations (*Funky Dragon*, 2007). In the Welsh context specifically, the practice of language streaming questions the policy of *Iaith Pawb* and the national focus on bi-lingual education.

School 3 operated somewhat differently from the previous two schools, in that it did not have language streaming and the school did not operate as autonomous departments. The functional policies and practices observed in School 3 produced similar mechanisms to those found in the RA programme¹⁰⁹ (School 1), but these were operationalised quite differently. Social learning theory and fairness were both present in School 3; however, these took quite different forms as compared to the RA programme in School 1. Although social learning theory was present in School 3, it was perhaps less observable. Teachers subtly modelled

¹⁰⁸English students perceived their school as more negatively compared to Welsh students (see pg. 145).

¹⁰⁹ Reintegrative shaming was not present.

positive RA practices, promoting pro-community representations within the classroom, whereas in School 1's RA programme modelling was quite an overt practice. Although the role of social learning theory was important in School 3, by far the most significant mechanism was fairness. The high levels of procedural and distributive fairness observed throughout the school was achieved through consistent practices and treatment in all classrooms observed. This consistently enabled three major elements to come to the fore: the promotion of further perceptions of fairness, activation of student voice, and the positive concept of school community.

School 1 and School 2 operated as groups of smaller communities within one large space. Whereas, the consistency observed in School 3 encouraged a community impression, as the policies, practices, and treatment of students were uniform throughout the school. The mechanisms of procedural and distributive fairness also helped to foster the schools' student voice (Rogers, 2014). The promotion of fairness necessarily includes authentic student participation, in which School 3 sought to involve students at many different levels within their school. Importantly, activities and practices that promote an active student voice also helped fulfil the schools' obligation to the UNCRC (Welsh Government, 2014). Thus, fairness, as a school-wide mechanism, is imperative to the success of the restorative programme. In establishing practices that promote fairness in schools, the outcomes also encourage community ideals and an effective student voice, further influencing positive staff-student relationships and perceptions of fairness (Mitra, et al., 2011; Lister, 2013). Schools high in procedural and distributive fairness are likely to experience two major positive outcomes: decreases in unwanted behaviour and improved psychological well-being of the students. The emotions experienced (i.e. happiness and anger) due to a fair/unfair experience can predict future compliant behaviour (Murphy and Tyler, 2008). Thus, a school low in procedural and distributive fairness can assume more future instances of non-compliant behaviour, whereas a school high in fairness and subsequent happiness of the persons inside the organisation will experience an increase in compliant behaviour.

Outside of education, the positive relationship between procedural and distributive fairness and well-being have been well documented (Lucas, et al., 2008, 2011; Murphey and Tyler, 2008). The positive benefits of fairness go further than influencing compliant behaviour; importantly they positively influence individual psychological well-being, such as happiness, engagement, and self-esteem (Backworth and Murphy, 2016; Murphy and Tyler, 2008; Lucas, et. al., 2008, 2011). The link between fairness and subsequent psychological benefits

is well established, thus, those institutions possessing higher levels of fairness also encourage positive psychological well-being.

How can RA moderate the relationships between happiness, self-esteem and school engagement?

The data collected through the quantitative analysis methods did not appear to support a relationship between restorative practices and self-esteem. However, there was strong support for the link between restorative practices and school engagement, and subsequently school engagement and happiness.¹¹⁰ It is unlikely that RA directly impacts on happiness; rather several moderating variables, including school engagement, influences any positive shifts. The evidence to support the link between RA and engagement originates from two separate sources. The first - the quantitative results - indicate that engagement improved in School 3 over the course of the research period. Whilst this effect was not large, the trend over time is significant. The qualitative findings were consistent with this trend and support the conclusion that this school had successfully implemented a relatively unique RA programme.

The second line of evidence stems from the observations from all three schools. The analysis of the observation schedules repeatedly found a strong relationship between those classrooms high in restorative language and those high in engagement. Classrooms where teachers consistently utilised restorative language and questioning also had corresponding high levels of engagement and low levels of disruptive behaviour. In contrast, those classrooms that utilised shouting, threats, and punishment as a means of behaviour management, had lower levels of engagement and increased student disruption. Therefore, this comparison supports the link between restorative practices and school engagement, which is not unsurprising given that school engagement is a malleable construct, highly influenced by school policies and practices (Rumberger and Palardy, 2005). Significantly, the engagement literature reports that policies and practices promoting fair treatment also improve school engagement (Klem and Connell, 2004; Rumberger, 1995). Furthermore, the level of active student voice is also related to school engagement; thus those schools with higher levels of student voice are likely to have increase school engagement (Mittra 2009). Therefore, a consistently applied RA programme is likely to encourage school engagement through the mechanism of fairness and subsequent activation of an authentic student voice.

¹¹⁰ Engagement and self-esteem are both reported as predictors of happiness (Vella-Brodrick, et. al., 2009; Rosenberg, et al. 1995)

The outcomes from School 2, present interesting results, which are contradictory to the prevailing theories of self-esteem. The quantitative analysis for School 2 found a downward trend in aggregate self-esteem scores. The decline in self-esteem scores in general is surprising and contradictory to the proposed stability of this trait-like construct (Pelmann and Swan, 1989). In contrast, School 3, saw a stable levels of self-esteem throughout the research period, despite a positive trend for both happiness and school engagement, supporting the current understanding of this construct.

Furthermore, previous research found that minority or stereotyped students who face diminished self-esteem in comparison to the dominant culture, reduce school engagement/identity by placing less importance on this domain, rather than lower levels of self-esteem (Robinson, et al., 1990; Osborne, 1995). The current analysis did not show any significant difference between the two language streams and school engagement, therefore not supporting this theory. This finding is surprising considering the differences in perceptions of school between the two language streams, where English students reported more negative perceptions compared to Welsh students. A legitimate assumption would be to expect those students with more positive perceptions would have corresponding higher engagement scores compared to those student (English language students) with more negative perceptions. However, the analysis found a significant difference in self-esteem scores at Time 1 between the language streams, where, based on previous literature, it would be assumed there would be a difference in school engagement scores.

Whole school restorative practices, incorporating the mechanism of fairness and promoting student voice, are most likely to lead to programme success; positively influencing school engagement and happiness. School 2 presented very interesting findings, including a difference in the general treatment between language streams. The results of which are outcomes that are contrary to prevailing theories on self-esteem and engagement. Indicating a further need to study these factors in relation to bi-lingual education, and the ability of RA to function in such an institution.

Does the implementation of RA in educational settings influence measures of pupil wellbeing and school engagement?

The response to this question is multifaceted and is dependent on the context and associated organisational factors, and the operation of the necessary mechanisms. It is unlikely that a school, such as School 1, which operates a reactive-only approach to RA will result in positive changes to participant well-being or school engagement. Similarly, schools with ambitions to achieve a traditional whole school approach, but lack the driving leadership and subsequent resources, including support and directives, will not achieve positive results. The most promising results are likely to be found in schools that fundamentally operate as one community, consistently applying rules and student treatment equally throughout the organisation. The effect being high levels of fairness, which have several positive secondary outcomes, such as an active student voice, improved rule compliance, and increased school engagement. Therefore, this research concludes that whole school approaches to RA can positively impact on school engagement levels

However, there is very little evidence to support the conclusion that RA impacts directly on self-esteem or happiness scores. Self-esteem scores remained relatively constant in both School 1 and School 3. Providing support for the conclusion that neither specific RA reactive processes (such as conferencing) operating in a non-RA school, nor preventative RA practices operating within a whole school approach influence levels of self-esteem. Happiness measures are more complex as the scores are dependent on a number of additional variables. The results indicate happiness is influenced by both school engagement, and to a lesser extent self-esteem scores. It is most likely that RA indirectly influences happiness scores through a number of moderating variables, including school engagement.

One of the most interesting finding is that a traditional whole school approach may not be the only implementation choice, especially if the necessary school resources are not available. The main conclusions are that RA classroom preventative practices are most likely to improve school engagement scores and this indirectly influences happiness. Therefore, the claims that RA improves school engagement and happiness in certain contexts is supported by this research to an extent. However, there is no evidence to support the claim that RA improves self-esteem.

9.3 Further Implications and Future Research

The results of a mixed methodology provide a robust foundation for analysis of claims that RA improves school engagement. The classroom observations in all three schools and the scores from School 3 are consistent with this conclusion. Whereas the evidence for the improvement of happiness is not as strong. Although School 3 saw an increase in happiness scores over time, there were not qualitative instruments available to provide additional support that RA was directly responsible for these improvements. Furthermore, the quantitative analysis finds that school engagement consistently predicts happiness scores. Whilst there is relatively little research on the relationship between happiness and school engagement, some of the more theoretically informed scholars include engagement as one orientation to reaching happiness (Seligman, 2002; Csikszentmihalyi, 1991). This research supports such a theoretical orientation, as the analysis consistently indicated that school engagement predicts happiness. Therefore, happiness and school engagement need further theoretical consideration, as well as practical research to fully understand how these two constructs are related.

Previous research has also found that self-esteem and happiness are strongly correlated (Baumeister, et al., 2003). Although this research finds a correlation between the two, the relationship does not appear as strong as that of happiness and school engagement. This evaluation provides initial results recognising the complex relationship between happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem, three constructs often discussed together in the RA literature but rarely empirically considered. Overall, the terms happiness, school engagement and self-esteem are discussed frequently in both the RA and education literature, however, the relationships between these psychological constructs are difficult to discern. The present research finds strong evidence to support the notion that RA preventative classroom practices (such as enquiring questioning, supportive body language and tone) positively impact on school engagement and provides initial support regarding the positive relationship between school engagement and happiness. However, further research is needed to consider what is undoubtedly a substantively complex relationship. Despite the need for additional research, the practical implications from these findings suggest that focusing on daily classroom RA strategies can help to improve school engagement, reduce classroom disruption, and potentially improve pupil happiness.

One of the most surprising findings was that the most successful context was also the least conventional, largely attributed to the leadership of the school and the firm RA model planned prior to implementation. School 3 took an approach closely linked to Braithwaite's (1999) model of RJ. It is of the opinion of this researcher that RA should familiarise itself with the theoretical models proposed in the RJ literature. At the moment most RA supporters advocate the abolishment of the traditional discipline systems in school and replacing it with a traditional whole-school approach (incorporating preventative and reactive practices). An abolitionist view of this type has been largely discounted as unrealistic in the CJS, and similar evaluations of RA find that most schools never achieve the ideal RA whole school model. Therefore, future RA research and implementation needs to consider different theoretical models, as complete elimination of the current systems are unlikely.

A second unexpected result was the downward trend seen in self-esteem experienced by School 2. The stability of self-esteem is often characterised as comparable to a personality trait, both being arduous to change (Trzesniewski, et al., 2003). Relative stability was recorded in both Schools 1 and 3. However, a drop in scores in School 2 may be influenced by the differences in language streams and perceptions of the school as being a 'negative' place. The use of RA in a heterogeneous school with two separate language streams and a clear division of students necessitates further attention. Firstly, what is the role of RA in such a school. Secondly, future research on self-esteem needs to specifically consider institutional factors that negatively impact feelings of self-worth within schools with separate language streams.

The formal reactionary RA process in School 1 is the best example of a conventional and iconic RA process found in this evaluation. However, there were several elements that necessitate further exploration. Firstly, the process in School 1 was largely transgressor focused and verges on a rehabilitative 'model'. Should this become the chosen approach, additional research on the impact of RA on the victims, especially bullying, are needed. Despite the formal and extensive nature of the process utilised in School 1, no changes in outcomes were firmly established. Similarly, results between Hafan (School 1) and Hafan (School 2) were not significantly different, even though School 1's Hafan provided a very comparable environment to that found in School 3. These findings were due to the fact that the Hafan provision (School 1) was set within an environment unfavourable to the mechanisms of change, despite the presence of these mechanisms in the enclosed environments, including the RA programme and Hafan (School 1). The pockets of use have

been widely criticized in the literature (McCall, 2014); however, a focused follow up study would be needed to reveal why schools still choose this implementation approach despite its apparent failure to produce successful changes.

Lastly, this research examined RA use in the classroom and the links with school engagement. However, there is currently not a dedicated RA tool available to be able to measure its use in the classroom. As a substitute for a valid measurement tool, this research applied the six areas of RA classroom practices found in the school implementation packs. Again, future evaluation would necessitate a bespoke scale to continue to improve RA research.

9.4 Recommendations

The following are the key recommendations based on both the results from this study in combination with the available literature.

- The importance of supportive school leadership to the success of any program cannot be overestimated. Leadership that provides support and clear expectations is essential to success.
- A whole school approach is most successful, however, there are different models of this and each need consideration based on what is feasible in the school.
- Do not focus on one area of the school (such as Hafan) as possible changes within these ‘pockets’ will not translate outside of that specific environment.
- Consider facilitation training for more junior members of staff. SMT staff have multiple roles and responsibilities and may not have time to facilitate lengthy RA conferences.
- An active student voice is central to the perceptions of student fairness. This can be achieved by prioritizing the role of the student council and by including students during daily classroom decision making.
- Perceptions of fair treatment are essential in schools. Implementing consistent school wide policies and practices foster perceptions of fairness. A whole school approach goes some way to achieving this but schools also need to consider their established organisation policies and practices and how these may affect the balance between different groups of students.

9.5 Conclusion

Previous research by schools, restorative trainers, and advocates, have suggested there to be a positive impact from RA on measures related to happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem; however, there is often little empirical data to support these claims. The present research specifically measures potential changes in these psychological constructs over a period to time (using validated psychometric scales) to establish links between RA implementation and the impact upon happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem. Furthermore, qualitative data offers both support and, equally importantly, explanations for the quantitative results. The methods employed here deliver a more holistic evaluation of RA.

Educational evaluations emphasise the use of positivist experimental designs, including the use of randomised control trials, for collecting data on school programmes (Chatterji, 2005). However, such designs can create what Pawson and Tilly (1997) refer to as ‘black boxes’; studies which report the results, but do little to elucidate why these outcomes occur.

Therefore, many scholars researching dynamic systems - such as schools - advocate using methodologies more sympathetic to the complexities of the settings and the overall purposes of the programme (Bevington, 2015; Chaterji, 2005; Pawson and Tilly 1997). Specifically, Bevington (2015, pg. 108) states that by using a ‘sympathetic’ methodology encourages a “deeper and more personal picture”, allowing for a more thorough understanding of the ‘when, how and why’ a programme works.

The present research utilises a scientific realists approach to programme evaluation to uncover not only the measureable outcomes, but also offers explanations for such results, the overall context, and specific mechanisms. The quantitative results illustrate interesting trends in all three schools, which don’t necessarily reflect the overall transformations observed in some of the settings. Specifically, there were limited significant findings relating to changes in the outcome measures (happiness, school engagement, and self-esteem) in each school over time; however, a comparison of both School 2 (intended traditional whole school approach) and School 3 (whole school preventative-only approach), did record a significant difference in happiness and school engagement between these two settings. Although these quantitative outcomes indicate some level of difference between schools, it does little to explain these results.

Using multiple qualitative methods offers a thorough and more comprehensive account of the dynamic systems under investigation (Patton, 1999). The qualitative findings were an

essential link between establishing a relationship between RA implementation and improvement in school engagement measures. Whilst the quantitative results found School 3 had significantly higher school engagement scores compared to School 2 over time, the qualitative data offers evidence for the connection between RA and school engagement in two primary areas. Firstly, School 3 showed a positive improvement in school engagement scores¹¹¹, corresponding with the consistent use of RA practices utilised throughout the school. Secondly, those classrooms (regardless of school location) with the most consistently applied RA practices, also boasted the greatest improvement in observed school engagement results. The use of quantitative results alone would have struggled to provide the necessary evidence to determine the relationship between RA practices and school engagement.

The main findings of this research uphold some of the wider assertions by advocates and researchers regarding positive changes in school engagement. However, these findings are context dependent and influenced by the driving mechanisms. It was found that the context with the most positive changes were experienced in School 3, due to the consistency of the preventative-only whole school approach. The consistency in practices observed throughout this school was championed by the SMT; this helped to develop the student voice and positive relationships between staff and students. These elements were strongly related to very high levels of perceived student fairness: the prevailing mechanism in this research. Previous research (e.g. Tyler, 2006), indicates that perceptions of fairness are related to rule obedience; therefore, classrooms with prominent and consistent RA use, generally had less frequent disruptive behaviour. The net result was a positive effect on the amount of on-task behaviour, resulting in an overall set of improved school engagement scores for these classrooms.

The need for a methodology that is likely to be sympathetic to the dynamics of a complex social system is essential in school research in order to fully capture the comprehensive evaluation of both the institution and programme, alongside the wider influences on the findings. In utilising the scientific realist framework, this research was able to address not only the impact of RA on school engagement, happiness, and self-esteem, but also reflect on the driving factors behind the quantitative results. This section opened by challenging the assumption - most often asserted by RA advocates and researchers - that the relationships between RA, happiness, school engagement and self-esteem are predominantly positive. In

¹¹¹ School 2 and 3 initially had nearly identical school engagement scores; however, a significant difference emerged over time.

contrast, this research finds little evidence that RA actually improves self-esteem. However, it does provide support that RA can improve school engagement (and subsequent happiness) within certain contexts.

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