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RESTORATIVE JUSTICE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CAMPUS
IMPLEMENTATION

by

Cameron M. Huston

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for a Degree with Honors
(Political Science)

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ABSTRACT

Restorative justice has been used in many student conduct programs at colleges and universities in the United States. Although there is a strong sense of advocacy for the implementation of campus restorative justice programs, many schools shy away from establishing such programs due to a perceived lack of additional funding, staffing, or other resources. This research examines the factors that contribute to the successful implementation of campus restorative justice programs. The theoretical framework examines the principles of participatory democracy to better understand what might motivate a campus to adopt this alternative strategy of addressing student conduct issues. Comparative analysis of surveys and interviews with schools that currently have established restorative justice programs was conducted. The phrase “restorative justice modularity” is used to describe the flexible nature of restorative justice programs, and their ability to be implemented in a range of campus settings and circumstances. Due to the flexible nature of the restorative justice programs examined in this research, implementation is possible in most colleges and universities given the right conditions of support.

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INTRODUCTION

Is the restorative justice framework a feasible alternative means to address college or university campus disciplinary issues and disputes in residence life? Currently, the typical college or university student conduct model addresses student violations of the student code of conduct through disciplinary conduct hearings. More often than not, these hearings result in the issuing of punitive sanction for student offenders, such as warnings, fines, and suspensions. Restorative justice seeks to find better ways to repair harm between victims and offenders than are possible through punitive sanctions. Through personal experiences working in Residence Life at the University of Maine, I've found myself asking if there is a different and more effective way of addressing student conduct violations and this research looks at that question.

In college or university on-campus housing, where students live together while working on their undergraduate degrees, some of the most common infractions committed by students are hall damage and vandalism of student or university property, alcohol or other drug infractions, and "quality-of-life" violations of the academic institution's student code of conduct. By studying the principles of restorative justice and researching the infrastructure of restorative justice programs at other colleges and universities, I hope to show that colleges and universities that adopt a restorative justice program will be better equipped to handle student conduct cases and better able to educate their students on community involvement and responsibility. This would allow for a much more positive on-campus housing experience and engaged student body

through greater investment in an overall positive campus culture and improved student behavior.

The goal of my research is to apply the concept and practices of restorative justice to college student conduct issues and to explore its possible implementation in a campus setting. To do this, I will examine what factors make restorative justice possible, successful, and beneficial for a post-secondary institution and its students. This project will explore the potential of restorative justice in attempt to gain a better understanding of which areas of student conduct at the University of Maine and other colleges or universities might be most responsive to the implementation of a restorative justice policy. This research utilizes frameworks and concepts from the literature on civic engagement and participatory democracy. Participatory democracy is the idea that citizens can and should make meaningful contributions to their political institutions and that they can play a meaningful role in the development of local policy (Terchek & Conte. 2001). Likewise, I assert that restorative justice is an effective and functional alternative to conventional disciplinary practices and punishments for handling common issues of student conduct because it too engages those directly affected in the resolution process.

To better understand how restorative justice works, I will look at both the concepts of restorative justice and participatory democracy to help suggest that the creation of a campus restorative justice program will foster a different, hopefully more engaged, enlightened and invested culture that will result in a better overall community life. I will review past empirical research to highlight relevant findings related to the scope of this research. In the first half of my analysis, I examine survey data from thirteen

schools in the United States that currently have campus restorative justice programs. I will offer thoughts on the implications that these data have on which factors contribute most to the successful implementation of a restorative justice program.

In the second half of my analysis, I will discuss results from two interviews conducted with representatives from schools with a reputation for having well-established restorative justice programs. I hope to use these discussions to better illustrate the positive effects that a restorative justice program can have on a particular school and to present a clearer picture of what specific implementation processes have looked like at these schools. Finally, this section will discuss the various challenges that come with the implementation and continued functioning of campus restorative justice programs.

The final step will be to use the information gathered from surveys and interviews to outline a series of recommendations on how to best implement a campus restorative justice program here at the University of Maine. The importance of this project will come from what I believe may be a more effective model of hearing certain student conduct cases. This model will provide a more educational approach to student conduct and will focus on building student community rather than enforcing mandated punishment. If successful, implementing restorative justice could have a positive impact on residence hall communities by resolving common conduct issues through an alternative means. Additionally, this project may have positive implications for the State of Maine by suggesting that the University of Maine can be at the forefront of more broadly establishing restorative justice programs in college and universities, becoming a model for other institutions of higher education. A major institution like the University of Maine

incorporating restorative justice along with the other efforts in the state could significantly influence the broad adoption of these practices.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

What is Restorative Justice?

Before defining “restorative justice,” some background on the differences between types of justice is required. Restorative justice exists at one end of the spectrum, while retributive justice, widely accepted as the classic model of justice, exists at the other. The focus of retributive justice is on what crime, misconduct, or harm an offender has committed or caused. Because the misconduct committed by the offender is typically a violation of a law, policy, contract, or agreement, retributive justice allows hearing officials to impose punishments or sanctions on offenders as a way of acknowledging or determining guilt and blame or administering pain. Elements of retributive justice generally take a punitive approach to resolution of conflict (Vidmar. 2001).

Restorative justice takes a very different conceptual approach. However, the exact definition of restorative justice is at the center of a contentious debate. The definition presented by Tony Marshall of the Restorative Justice Consortium, widely accepted as among the top working definitions of restorative justice, is met with critique on the limits of the definition. Marshall states that, “...restorative justice is a process whereby all the parties with a stake in a particular offense come together to resolve collectively how to deal with the aftermath of the offense and its implications for the future” (Marshall. 1996, 37). Critiques focus on the limits of the Marshall definition, arguing that it fails to address that the outcome of a restorative justice process must be reparative (Walgrave. 1996, 194). Although the lack of an agreed-upon definition of restorative justice may be viewed as a limiting factor, some critics of restorative justice argue that the fluid

definition is ultimately what bolsters its applicability. McCold (2006) states, “In the evolution of restorative justice, practice has preceded theory. Mediation, circles, and conferencing were used to respond to criminal cases before there was an understanding that these practices were restorative justice. Each practice developed independently and each eventually influenced the others” (2006, 24). In spite of the lack of an agreed-upon definition, there are beliefs and practices that form a coherent sense of restorative justice, including community mediation, restorative circles, and restorative conferencing, with each of these potentially being utilized in many different settings. Because “the core restorative process has broad implications for resolving conflicts and restoring relationships,” (2006, 34), the ability to outline a concise definition is difficult, yet is perhaps unnecessary due to the flexibility of the concept.

For the sake of this research, I will be using the following definition of restorative justice: “Restorative justice is a process to involve, to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offense and to collectively identify and address harms, needs, and obligations, in order to heal and put things as right as possible” (Zehr 2002). At its most basic level, restorative justice focuses on the needs of the victim of misconduct. This process is made easier by the way restorative justice shifts emphasis away from cases being seen as a violation of a law or contract, and instead as a violation of a social relationship. Restorative justice focuses on the interconnectedness between various parties such as the victim, offender, or surrounding community. David Karp, the Associate Dean of Student Affairs and Director of Campus Affairs at Skidmore College, is an advocate for the implementation of restorative justice at colleges and universities as well as the author of many publications on the topic. His work outlines four principles

that form the core of the restorative justice model: repairing harm, inclusive decision-making, active accountability, and building trust (Karp. 2015). These dimensions are iterative and must build on each other for the process to be effective.

Repairing harm:

Absolutely central to the restorative justice process is the focus on repairing harm. While retributive justice most often focuses on administering blame and exacting a punishment, restorative justice works in the other direction to make sure that the needs of the victim and other affected parties are fulfilled *first*. This concept moves away from the need for an offender to be punished, and instead asks that offender to do what they can to repair the harm that they may have caused. Restorative justice does not eliminate a punishment outright, however. Restorative justice is not advocating that offenders be held unaccountable for their actions, but instead that other voices should be included in the process because of the positive societal and cultural benefits of doing so. In other words, this process asks that we move beyond defining accountability as punishment and think in terms of repairing harm.

Inclusive decision-making:

Through inclusive decision-making, restorative justice allows all parties implicated in the misconduct to be involved in the justice-seeking process. What this means is that where a case heard through retributive justice typically allows only one group or entity to make the decision (i.e. jury, hearing board, judge, etc.), restorative justice includes *all affected parties* in the process and allows them to play an active role in the outcome. By doing this, restorative justice addresses the needs of everyone

involved (i.e. the offender, the victim, the community, family members, etc.). Because this process includes multiple stakeholders, the relationships between the offender and each stakeholder can be closely examined to find the most appropriate and suitable means for addressing the harm caused by the offender.

Active accountability:

The restorative justice process suffers without the inclusion of active accountability. If an offender is not willing to be accountable for his/her actions, it becomes difficult for the victim to become actively engaged in the process. This is because by facing the offender, the victim is once again vulnerable. Without accountability from the offender, the victim cannot trust the offender or the process therein, and no reconciliation can occur. Active accountability allows the offender to signal to the victim that he/she is willing to be held accountable for his/her actions and that he/she is actively engaged in the process of working to repair the harm done to the victim. An offender's display of active accountability is essential for the restorative justice process to begin. This process varies in complexity and timeframe, and requires mediation and a deep commitment to building trust.

Building trust:

The final piece of the restorative justice process involves the potential for the victim, offender, and other stakeholders to build trust. Through the concepts of accountability, inclusive decision-making, and the need to repair harm, the restorative justice process allows everyone involved to engage in a positive dialogue about the issue, which is much less likely to take place in a retributive justice model. Building trust is

essential to the process, and can often be the hardest dimension to achieve, especially in very serious cases. The value of this process comes from the fact that the results of a restorative justice hearing can cultivate a trusting relationship or mutual respect where one did not exist previously.

In practice, there are two main types of restorative justice procedures: restorative circles and restorative conferences (Zehr 2002). The restorative circle allows for the gathering of a larger number of affected parties, including the offender(s), victim(s), and supporting parties (typically community members). The circle process uses a circle facilitator and follows a structured script and series of rounds. The discussion asks participants to identify their stake in the issue or conflict, their values relating to that stake, what they hope to see done to repair the issue, and how they felt about the process afterwards. Advantages of the circle come from the fact that it is more informal than the conference, and that it is useful when the lines are blurred between who is the offender and who is the victim. The restorative conference primarily involves the victim and offender, with family or community members playing smaller, supportive roles. Prior to the conference, both parties must discuss the process and their expectations individually, where they later participate in a formal conference in order to come to an agreement on restitution.

Restorative Justice and Participatory Democracy

In essence, participatory democracy is the practice of putting democracy to use in everyday life through political participation and civic engagement in schools, the workplace, and government. Participatory democracy is characterized by a sense of

political self-efficacy, political attentiveness, and support of governmental bodies or institutions. Together, these form the basis of the idea that public arenas must be reclaimed for citizens to practice localized government, creating a more inclusive political environment where individuals feel like their voices matter and where they are much more invested in the process.

On the subject of participatory democracy, Barber (1984) says, “Men and women who are not directly responsible through common deliberation, common decision, and common action for the policies that determine their common lives are not really free at all, however they enjoy security, private rights, and freedom from interference” (1984, 171). This illustrates that participatory democracy is a response against complacency, marginalization, systemic issues, or a sense of disillusionment with current practices. In a representative model, voters elect officials under the assumption that they will make decisions that best reflect the wishes of their constituents. However, unengaged citizens make this difficult and unlikely, effectively legitimizing authority that they then play no part in shaping. Those who utilize channels of civic engagement and community involvement are instead able to take an active hand in political decision-making. Without participatory democracy, “citizens become subject to laws they did not truly participate in making; they become the passive constituents of representatives who, far from reconstituting the citizens’ aims and interests, usurp their civic functions and deflect their civic energies” (1984, 172).

Walgrave (1996) assesses criteria that he outlines as central to restorative justice’s connection to participatory democratic ideals. These include judicial responsiveness based on “broad and respectful” deliberation that includes all stakeholders and

participants committed to “seeing their self-interest as being at least partly conditioned by common interest” (1996, 197). Walgrave suggests through his examination of restorative justice outcomes that restorative justice is highly participatory in nature and embodies the basic participatory ideals of inclusion, responsiveness, and cohesion in democratic societies. Restorative justice aligns with the spirit of participatory democracy because it supplies an arena for citizens to become involved in a dialogue in which they would normally not participate. Just as restorative justice exists as the opposite of retributive justice, participatory democracy exists as the opposite of a representative democracy model, where voters elect officials to participate in democratic processes for them, and subsequently become disengaged in the process.

Participatory democracy parallels the way that restorative justice cases are localized, specific, and focused on the needs of victims, offenders, and communities as they relate to a certain instance. Based on these ideas, restorative justice has strong ties to participatory democracy. First, restorative justice is a direct response to what many believe to be the systemic problems of retributive justice. In a justice system that pushes for a verdict or conviction, restorative justice approaches this idea from a different angle and instead seeks to repair harm in tandem with ensuring that justice is served for all parties involved. Neither participatory democracy nor restorative justice seek to reject the conventional system altogether. Instead, both offer a cooperative or companion model that follows a bottom-up, personal, and de-institutionalized framework.

Although possible, the localized needs of a particular area may be difficult to address in the confines of a representative democratic model. However, a participatory democratic route that addresses these issues at a local level removes isolation and clutter

from the process to focus on the exact political needs of a specific area, political group, social group, or policy. Similarly, retributive justice models can still be effective or necessary, but the value in using a restorative approach to a specific case still exists. Barber (1984) makes a direct connection between representative democracy and the justice system by stating political representation “impairs the community’s ability to function as a regulating instrument of justice” (1984, 172). Representative democracy entrusts representatives to create laws in a justice system administered and controlled by others. Restorative justice acts as a direct channel for community involvement where the citizens are in charge of the judicial means, seeking involvement from all affected parties and stakeholders.

Finally, participatory democracy and restorative justice are similar in that they both embody the idea of taking direct action to create a better world. Dewey (1939) states that, “The strongest point to be made in behalf of even such rudimentary forms as democracy has already attained, popular voting, majority rule and so on, is that to some extent they involve a consultation and discussion which uncover social needs and troubles” (1939, 167). Social needs and troubles occur in all facets of constituents’ lives and cannot be fully addressed and realized by only representatives. Therefore, political action to redeem these troubles should not be left at the hands of a representative democratic system. Dewey’s emphasis on action directly aligns with the ways that restorative justice seeks to address the needs and concerns of victims, offenders, and community members. Meanwhile, participatory democracy looks to strengthen the weak channels that link community members to the political decision-making process just as restorative justice looks to strengthen involvement of all effected individuals or groups in

the justice process. Both seek a transfer of power to initiate a more involved and active community base in localized issues that matter. Barber (1984) describes the relationship between a collision of two different worlds—“the world of autonomy, individualism, and agency... the world of sociability, community, and interaction” (1984, 177). Within both of their realms (political decision-making or the justice process) participatory democracy and restorative justice seek to find the middle ground between each “world” in a way that can actively engage and positively influence the world in which we live.

Restorative Justice On College Campuses

Using restorative justice in a campus setting requires college administrators first to become familiar with the restorative justice process, and then to apply two additional techniques that tailor this framework to their student conduct model. These factors are building community and rethinking conduct sanctions (Karp & Allena 2004). Together, these factors represent the “before and after” of the student conduct process. Floor or building communities in residence halls are most effective and beneficial to the students living there when they allow them to feel as if they matter in their social setting, which contributes to the overall goals of restorative justice and participatory democracy. Student conduct sanctions can disenfranchise and marginalize students, who then may not see or care about the impact of their actions on others. According to Karp and Allena, restorative justice is most effective on the college campus when both of these factors are addressed together.

Building community:

Community is one of the most important aspects of student life in a residence hall or general campus settings, especially in cases involving quality of life violations where students generally are in close proximity to one another. The restorative justice framework presents an opportunity for students to work through their conduct issues while also potentially repairing and developing community. This connects the importance of community building to both student development and student conduct, and thus potentially reduces the number of violations and increases students' quality of life at the same time.

Rethinking conduct sanctions:

Restorative justice asks campus administrators and conduct officers to rethink sanctions placed on students. The classic sanction is often a fine, referral to campus resources (i.e. alcohol or drug counseling), or court summons, but restorative justice allows for more educational and reparative solutions to be used either alone or in conjunction with classic models. Examples of these include apologies, relevant community service, and the distinction between a flat fine and restitution (for example, directly paying for physical damage that was caused). Classic sanctions are *imposed* on offenders, while in restorative justice, offenders, victims, and community members create a repair agreement together that offenders agree to complete. The conflict resolution and mediation tactics used in restorative justice align more with established practices where building residents are encouraged to solve their own conflicts, such as roommate disputes, within their residential communities. Often, students are encouraged to facilitate

their own means of conflict resolution, yet many have no experience or knowledge of how to accomplish this. Implementing a restorative justice program could extend the notion that students should solve their own conflicts and provide students with the tools to do so.

Currently, there are approximately sixty-five colleges and universities in the United States with restorative justice programs in place. The wide range of conduct cases at colleges and universities present many ways for restorative justice to exist within the university student conduct model. Typical examples of student conduct code violations include academic integrity, drug and alcohol use, quality of life violations (i.e. noise, vandalism), hate crimes, sexual harassment, and issues with athletes, fraternities, or sororities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Much of the research on the use of restorative justice on the college campus is focused on conceptual debates of why the restorative justice framework is a good fit for colleges and universities. While there is a rich body of empirical research on the use of restorative justice in the criminal justice system, there is little empirical research on the use of restorative justice on college campuses. However, the findings of this broader literature on restorative justice can translate to the use of restorative justice on college campuses. These studies generally focus on two dimensions of restorative justice: efficacy and negative responses to restorative justice. Additionally, implications can be drawn from empirical studies on participatory democracy and civic engagement, lending to a third relevant dimension: engagement with institutions. Political involvement creates a more engaged and a more legitimate view of the system amongst citizens. Understanding what makes the use of the restorative justice framework effective and beneficial to the communities that utilize it and understanding how to respond to the critics of the process are important to establishing a campus program.

Poulson (2003) utilized data from seven previously published evaluations of restorative justice and court programs to examine the psychological impact of restorative justice on participants across several different variables. Among these variables were judicial fairness, reductions in fear, accountability, adjudication of cases, and increased respect amongst involved parties. By looking at the outcomes of the restorative justice and court case evaluations, Poulson finds that restorative justice outperforms courtroom procedure in regard to all variables studied. Poulson also noted that while some may not value the importance of these variables as much as others, anyone who does should

consider utilizing restorative justice. “If outcomes such as fairness, accountability, satisfaction, contrition and forgiveness, emotional well-being, and feelings of safety are important, then restorative justice is the clear choice” (2003, 201). By also looking at recent research on youth psychological health and youth suicide, further implications from Poulson’s research suggest that the use of restorative justice could potentially reduce the risk of suicide. Poulson stated, “the largest percentage [of Utah youths to commit suicide] (63%) had been referred to the juvenile justice system. A single encounter with the juvenile justice system doubled the odds of suicide for a youth (compared to nonreferred youths)” (2003, 201). The arena for positive social interactions that restorative justice can create within the criminological setting alone could be enough to prevent youth suicide in some cases.

Latimer, Dowden, and Muise (2005) also examine the effectiveness of restorative justice practices, noting that “current activity at governmental and community levels suggests that restorative justice, in its many forms, is emerging as an increasingly important element in mainstream criminological practice” (Latimer et al. 2005, 127). To assess the effectiveness of restorative justice programs today, Latimer et al. conducted a meta-analysis of previous research studies that compared restorative justice to traditional non-restorative criminological approaches. Among the variables used for assessment of efficacy were victim and offender satisfaction, restitution, compliance, and offender recidivism. The results of this assessment of restorative justice effectiveness show that restorative justice is indeed more effective than non-restorative approaches. However, Latimer et al. acknowledge that the variables used may not be important to all stakeholders in a particular process, and that there is an inherent self-selection bias built

into the restorative justice framework. Self-selection refers to a group or individual's willingness to be involved in a restorative justice process. Individuals who are "self-selecting" restorative justice are more likely to have a positive experience than those who are less enthusiastic about participating in the process. Latimer et al. state, "When an individual is forced to participate in a restorative justice program, most would argue that the program is no longer truly restorative" (Latimer et al. 2005, 139). In spite of this self-selection bias, restorative justice is effective for those who are engaged and supportive of the process, and less effective for those who are not. Much of this distinction contributes to the critique of restorative justice.

Choi et al. (2011) reviewed a series of past empirical studies documenting individuals' experiences, feelings, and opinions through their restorative justice processes to comment on the current state of the research. Criteria for selection were that in each study, victims expressed having a negative experience with their restorative justice process, which Choi et al. considered to be the "outliers" in the body of research on individuals' experiences with restorative justice. By analyzing the negative outliers, Choi et al. attempted to draw conclusions on the source of these negative experiences in the restorative justice process. "For the most part, research findings suggest that the gaps between the ideal and real result from poor practice—inadequate preparation for victim participants, lack of training for practitioners, and structural obstacles" (2011, 41). Just as the traditional means of court proceedings are not without error, restorative justice is also not without procedural flaws. At its core, restorative justice exists to respond to the needs of victims of harm, and a process that fails to do this fails to achieve the goals of restorative justice. Discussing the implications of the finding for the future uses of

restorative justice, Choi et al. stated that practitioners should identify and rectify potential areas where victims may have negative experiences during the restorative justice process (2011, 41).

While many individuals have positive experiences with restorative justice procedures, some do not, and it therefore is important to examine empirical research framed around concerns with the restorative justice process. Morris (2002) responds to a series of definitional issues and critiques about the efficacy of restorative justice and examines research on restorative justice in New Zealand, where significantly more efforts to make use of the restorative justice framework have been made. “New Zealand is the only country which has legislated for a nationwide mandatory system of restorative justice, and, even there, implementing restorative justice values is not unproblematic” (2002, 611). Data from New Zealand, where restorative justice is better established, is worth investigating because it potentially avoids the self-selection variable discussed by Latimer et al. Restorative justice is a relatively modern process, meaning that critics can and should scrutinize it. Morris’ analysis suggests that a large portion of the critique of restorative justice comes from a lack of understanding of the process. Examples of this are programs that claim to be restorative but do not really fit the basic ideals of restorative justice. Morris also analyzed the language of restorative justice critiques, noting that positive and negative spins can be used on the same data. Ultimately, Morris suggested, “Critics need to have a good understanding of the essential values of restorative justice and aim their criticisms at applications that reflect these values. They also need to acknowledge what restorative justice is struggling to combat and replace” (2002, 610).

Restorative justice requires ownership of and direct involvement in the overall process, which can increase overall feelings of legitimacy in institutions. In a study on the developmental effects of political activity, Finkel (1987) examined four different modes of political participation and their effects on shaping individuals' view on political efficacy and regime support. These four modes of participation include voting, campaigning, peaceful protest, and aggressive political behavior. Finkel's hypothesis states that, "Participation in politics is thought to make the citizen more likely to consider the institutions, norms and values of a given regime morally proper, to promote an increase in satisfaction with the system as a whole" (1987, 443). This allows individuals who are more politically engaged to view the political systems they are involved with as more legitimate. To test this hypothesis, Finkel re-analyzed longitudinal data studies conducted in West Germany in 1974 and 1976. Of the four modes of political participation, voting and campaigning had positive effects on attitudes of political efficacy and regime support, respectively. Aggressive political behavior was found to have a negative effect on regime support, and peaceful protests had neither a negative or positive effect. As a form of direct involvement in the justice-seeking process, the use of restorative justice could have the same effects as these modes of political participation on legitimizing support of the criminal justice and transforming the punitive system because of the opportunities for positive involvement in the justice process.

Soss (1999) examined the ways that policy designs of specific governmental programs influence individuals' larger views and ideological orientations on the nature of government. Soss conducted fifty interviews between 1994 and 1995 to assess how participation in a welfare program and its institutional arrangements might affect a

citizen. “Direct experiences with policy design provide citizens with ‘scripts’ that indicate how they can expect government to act” (1999, 376). This suggests that individuals with repeated exposure to the criminal justice system will base their expectations of governmental actions on involvement with criminal justice. This can be both good and bad. One of the welfare programs that Soss studied gave clients very little freedom to make choices about their benefits, giving an already politically disadvantaged group a negative experience of the institution. Another program provided more freedom and autonomy for clients, contributing to the sense that the program truly served the people (1999, 376-377). The clear implications for both restorative justice and democracy in general are that interactions with institutions shape views of governmental legitimacy and individual efficacy or agency within those frameworks.

When institutional experiences give meaningful control to individuals, they internalize those experiences and thus can become much more involved and engaged citizens. Weaver and Lerman (2010) conducted a study to examine how citizens’ interactions with criminal justice change perceptions of government. Weaver and Lerman suggest that contact with the criminal justice system weakens an individual’s participatory involvement by causing a reduced amount of civic engagement, a decreased sense of trust in governmental legitimacy, and an increase in repeated offenses. “Given that the carceral state has become a routine site of interaction between government and citizens, institutions of criminal justice have emerged as an important force in defining citizen participation and understandings, with potentially dire consequences for democratic ideals” (2010, 817). Efforts to reduce recidivism and provide a better experience with the criminal justice system through a restorative justice process are

important to producing a positive effect on civic engagement and political socialization, and reducing rates of recidivism.

Pasek et al. (2008) conducted a study that addressed the use of civic education courses in schools. Acknowledging that previous studies had been done to show the value of civic education in political socialization, Pasek et al. constructed a study to evaluate a high school civic education program by contacting students who participated in the program while in high school (before the 2004 presidential election) and after they graduated (after the 2004 presidential election). The study assessed students' personal measures of "political self-efficacy," which refers to the personal sense of power that someone believes they have to influence political outcomes. Results from the study showed that students who participated in the program felt that they were more politically attentive. Civic education programs like the one studied here may require additional funding or resources and may require that students participate in them for extended periods of time to see results. However, Pasek et al. noted that extensive exposure was not required to increase political participation and engagement: "Effective civic education seems to be a useful tool in building political efficacy, a factor that we find is the backbone of both political knowledge and engagement. It is especially encouraging that these effects can be obtained with only two semesters of supplementary programming" (2008, 36). Similarly, costs of a restorative justice program may deter institutions from implementing such a program. However, this study presents an example of the necessity for a "return on investment" mindset that might be required to effectively solicit support.

Dzur (2011) studied this idea of democratic logic, which comes from the early work of Howard Zehr, and suggests that the lenses through which we view "crime" are

embedded in our social contexts and networks. Dzur examined a group of restorative justice programs and their involvement in the “public and professional domain of criminal justice administration” and how they have responded to the bureaucratic guidelines that regulate the programs. Dzur’s findings suggest that our understanding of crime must be shifted away from individual cases and instances and focus on the effects that small social groups have on crime. Dzur also discusses rational disorganization, or “the realization that including informal and non-routine elements into a formal system enables it to function better” (2011, 374). Essentially, Dzur expresses that a criminological system that is purposefully more decentralized allows for more channels of citizen involvement and empowerment. Dzur includes discussion of public opinion, or “populist punitiveness” and its characteristics that contribute to a need for participatory means of justice. These include the reactive tendencies of public opinion against authority (often untrusted) and the idea that public opinion can easily change. Dzur acknowledges that one of the biggest problems facing restorative justice and more participatory procedures is that reforms would require a significant degree of social change, such as a drastic shift in attitudes towards incarceration. However, Dzur suggests that this change is for the better as long as it encourages public involvement.

Parkinson and Roche (2004) examine the use of restorative justice to assess if it fits with the principle of deliberative democracy in the criminological hearing process. They state that, “for the political scientist, restorative justice offers a vibrant, grassroots example of deliberation in practice. In turn, democratic theory provides a framework that may help restorative justice advocates reconcile the benefits of a semi-private informal process with society’s expectations of a criminal justice system” (2004, 506). Parkinson

and Roche utilize a definition of deliberative democracy that describes the process as “*reasoning* between people as the guiding political procedure, rather than bargaining between competing interests” (2004, 507) and where restorative justice fits in within macro (media, conversation) and micro levels (smaller formal or informal citizen gatherings) of deliberative democracy. In a combined examination of restorative justice principles (participant equality, transformative deliberation, and accountability) and restorative justice initiative programs in the United States and Australia, Parkinson and Roche draw the conclusion that restorative justice qualifies as a form of deliberative democracy. In spite of the fact that different areas of restorative justice have different degrees of success, the basic principles of restorative justice still embody the concept of deliberative democracy. Although deliberative democracy and participatory democracy differ (due to deliberative democracy’s lower emphasis on consensus building), this conclusion is still important because it acknowledges that restorative justice actively engages individuals in the justice-seeking process where the alternative means do not.

In a study on the use of restorative justice at the University of Vermont, Miller (2012) focused on restorative practices, which exist within the realm of restorative justice. Miller differentiates between the two, saying, “Restorative practices are similar to restorative justice because it encompasses very similar approaches to repairing harm, but different, in that it also makes significant efforts to proactively build and establish relationships before issues arise” (Miller, 2012). Miller’s work suggests that restorative practices provide a means for foundational community building in college residence halls that can further strengthen the restorative justice process when it is utilized. Included in the analysis of restorative practices is the value of restorative practices in many facets of

residential life in a campus community, such as roommate conflicts, bias incidents, vandalism, accidental damage, student death, and suicide. An example of this is seen through Miller's discussion of a "first year circle" that asks first year students about their personal goals and their community expectations. Miller's advocacy for restorative practice training includes a brief discussion of trainings that Resident Assistants and other community leaders would need to effectively utilize restorative practices. As such, this illustrates one of the potential downfalls of a restorative practices community-building approach: a learning curve for those engaged in leading or facilitating the process. Student receptivity to such activities could be an obstacle for a number of reasons, including incoming students who have not yet been exposed to the campus culture and therefore do not know what to expect or how to behave within it.

Research on the use of restorative justice in a campus setting has largely been focused on whether it might be a functional alternative to traditional student conduct models, and has essentially been a theoretical debate. Furthermore, in spite of the fact that some qualitative research has been conducted on how restorative justice programs operate at various institutions, research on factors that contribute to successful implementation of campus restorative justice programs is lacking. This has been potentially detrimental to the body of research on this subject. Empirical research that has been done has often been limited to a single school, with very little comparative analysis across multiple schools (despite the fact that dozens of schools currently have some form of restorative justice program in place). Therefore, this project will seek to fill that gap by focusing on measuring variables such as administrative support, student engagement in the process, and financial resources available for restorative justice programs across

multiple institutions. This comparative analysis of how restorative justice programs have been established at multiple colleges and universities will contribute to the already existing research on campus restorative justice.

RESEARCH METHODS

Data Sources

This research examines the overall factors that contribute to the successful implementation of a restorative justice student conduct program at a college or university. The objective of this research study is to determine what constitutes a “successful” restorative justice program and to determine what key factors have led to the implementation of such program at colleges and universities in the United States. To conduct this research, quantitative and qualitative data were collected from two sources:

- An online survey sent to individuals currently in charge of a campus restorative justice program.
- In-person interviews with individuals currently in charge of campus restorative justice programs.

My expectations for this research study are that the surveys and interviews will produce clear data and insights on what conditions make the implementation of a restorative justice program both feasible and effective.

Data Collection

Quantitative data was collected through an online survey sent to officials (both supervisors or individuals who perform restorative justice hearings) who facilitate or administrate campus restorative justice programs. The survey is attached in Appendix A. The survey asked respondents to outline various aspects related to the implementation and continued functioning of the campus restorative justice program they represent. The

survey asked a basic set of questions regarding the infrastructure of each restorative justice program. This included the resources required to run the program, success rates and statistics, and the typical types of student conduct cases dealt with by the program. Additionally, the survey asked respondents to assess the levels of support for, and active engagement in, the restorative justice program from students and administration at each school. Respondents offered their own thoughts on student and administrative support of the restorative justice program at their school.

The goal of the survey is to measure what factors are *most* influential and *most* important to the implementation of a restorative justice program. Schools were selected based on their inclusion in Skidmore College's list of "Campus Restorative Justice Programs." Skidmore College was one of the first schools in the country to establish a restorative justice program. This list compiles all schools in the United States and Canada who have reached out to Skidmore to include their school on the list.

Qualitative data was collected through interviews with campus student conduct officials at two schools with restorative justice programs. Both schools were selected for an interview based on their reputation for having an established restorative justice program as well as campus officials heavily involved in the advocacy of implementing restorative justice at other colleges and universities. Skidmore College in Saratoga Springs, New York was selected because it was one of the first colleges in the country to establish a restorative justice program, and because David Karp, an author of extensive literature on restorative justice, is deeply involved with the facilitation of Skidmore's program. The University of Vermont in Burlington, Vermont was selected because it is a larger state university that more closely resembles the size and administrative structure of

the University of Maine. Additionally, both schools were selected based on their proximity to the University of Maine. This allowed travel to be more feasible and affordable. Respondents were contacted and informed of the study via email. The interviews were not recorded. Written notes were taken at each interview.

The in-person interviews sought more detailed insights from participants on their school's restorative justice program, including the program's history, specific resources required to run the program, and why each official advocates for restorative justice on college campuses. The interview also asked respondents to explain what has been most valuable about the restorative justice program to their school specifically, including the impact they believe it has had on students, campus administration, and the student conduct process in general. Interview questions are attached in Appendix B.

This study involved human subject research. Both the in-person interviews and the survey required written consent. Respondents to the online survey were made aware that their responses might be cited in the final research findings. The researchers in this project have undergone training in the ethical and legal obligations involved in conducting human subject research. All human subject research was approved through the University of Maine Institutional Review Board.

Framework For Analysis

To address the research question, I will examine data obtained in the survey through a comparative analysis of the characteristics of each school's restorative justice program. This will be done to suggest which of these characteristics best contribute to the successful implementation of a campus restorative justice program. I will consider the

viewpoints and suggestions from interview respondents to assist in the creation of a restorative justice policy recommendation for the University of Maine.

The results of this study should be a concise depiction of what criteria contribute to the successful implementation of a restorative justice program and a recommendation to the University of Maine on the feasibility of establishing a restorative justice program. If establishing a restorative justice program is found to be feasible for the University of Maine, I will outline a series of suggestions on how to effectively and efficiently do so. If establishing a restorative justice program is found to be unfeasible, I will discuss what steps should be taken to make the University of Maine more receptive to the implementation of one. Additionally, the results of this study may be of value to schools beyond the University of Maine.

ANALYSIS: SURVEY RESULTS

Fifteen schools out of the forty-five contacted responded to the survey portion of this research, producing a 33% response rate. While not enough data was collected to engage in inferential statistics, the survey responses regarding the characteristics of each school's restorative justice program will be examined through comparative analysis of funding and personnel, perceived efficacy, and overall goals of the restorative justice program. In the following analysis, I will highlight the key findings of the survey, specifically, which characteristics I found are most significant in addressing the research question of what contributes to the successful implementation of campus restorative justice programs in colleges or universities.

Out of the fifteen schools that responded to the survey, thirteen said that they currently had an established campus restorative justice program. The two respondents who stated that they did not currently have an established program were asked, "Are you looking to start one? Why or why not?" Their responses were:

- "We are looking to implement restorative practices in conduct meeting (sic) with students."
- "Yes, I am working with several units and organizations on campus in an effort to train people and get them to "buy in" to using RJ [restorative justice] and RP [restorative practices] in housing, Student Conduct, Cooperative Housing, student organizations and more."

Although it is important to note that these two schools are looking to officially establish a restorative justice program, for the sake of this analysis, only the schools that

answered yes to having an established program were asked the remaining questions in the survey.

Establishing a restorative justice program on a college campus is an achievable goal under the right circumstances. Findings of this research suggest that institution type and population size are not prohibitive factors, and that there are a range of different types of cases and staffing setups that can be used for a campus program. While there may be initial startup costs, most programs do not require additional funding or resources once they are up and running. Soliciting support from students and major stakeholders in a campus community (students and administration) is central to the startup process and to addressing the challenges of implementation. In addition, a program must effectively be able to address the needs of its campus in order for implementation to be successful.

Student Population Size

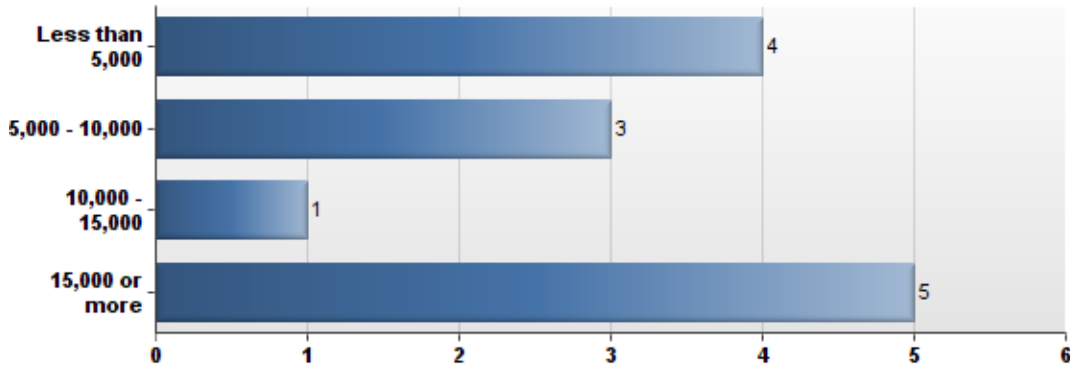
Of the thirteen schools with restorative justice programs in place, student population sizes varied, ranging from less than 5,000 to greater than 15,000 (see Table 1 and Figure 1). Student population size is an important variable to analyze for several reasons. First, size may play a factor in personnel, funding, and resources available to a school. Presumably, bigger schools may have bigger caseloads because of their larger student populations while smaller schools may have smaller caseloads because of smaller student populations. This alone may affect a school's ability to use restorative justice to hear cases based on availability of human resources or staff to hear cases. Initially, I expected the data here to be split, showing that certain student population sizes were

more likely to contribute to a school having a restorative justice program. However, these data indicate that restorative justice programs exist at schools of a range of population sizes. The implications of these data are much more positive than my initial expectations. Instead of showing that a student population size is a limiting factor in whether or not a school is able to establish a restorative justice program, these data suggest that a restorative justice program can be tailored to meet the needs of any school regardless of the size of the student population.

Table 1: Schools With Established Restorative Justice Programs In Sample

College	Population Size	Public or Private?
Guilford College	Less than 5,000	Private
DePauw University	Less than 5,000	Private
Trinity University	Less than 5,000	Private
University of Wisconsin - River Falls	Less than 5,000	Public
State University of New York at Albany	5,000 – 10,000	Public
State University of New York at Geneseo	5,000 – 10,000	Public
Michigan Technological University	5,000 – 10,000	Public
University of Vermont	10,000 - 15,000	Public
James Madison University	More than 15,000	Public
Louisiana State University	More than 15,000	Public
Michigan State University	More than 15,000	Public
University of Florida	More than 15,000	Public
University of South Carolina	More than 15,000	Public

Figure 1: “What is the approximate size of the on-campus student body?”



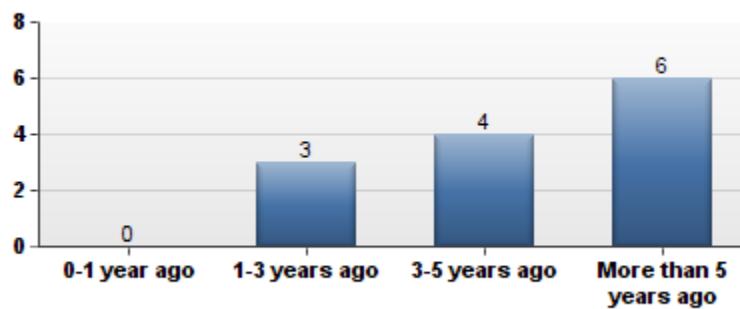
Another important distinction to draw is between public and private schools. Public institutions, which have many limits and regulations, differ from private schools, which may have a greater degree of freedom from state regulations. Public schools may be financially limited, while private schools may have more financial resources available to support a program. Only three of the thirteen schools that responded were private. Similar to the implications of population size, these data again suggest that both public and private institutions can implement restorative justice programs. While the only private schools that responded to this survey had small student populations, further study might be directed at restorative justice programs within private schools with larger student populations.

Program Characteristics: Structure and Personnel

Establishment of the campus restorative justice programs in this survey ranges from one to more than five years ago, with six programs being established more than five

years ago (see Figure 2). None of the respondents of this survey represent campus restorative justice programs that were established within the last year. These data suggest that these programs can be considered as reliable examples of restorative justice programs to be examined for this study. Presumably, programs that have been established longer are more stable, less likely to have operational difficulties, and may be in less danger of being discontinued.

Figure 2: “When Was Your Restorative Justice Program Established?”



Because the administrative and student conduct structures presumably differ at each school, exact consistency between campus restorative justice programs is unlikely. Programs vary in departmental location, personnel, funding, goals, and case types. In an open-ended question, respondents were asked to briefly describe the structure of their school’s restorative justice program, including the department or unit out of which the program is run. The differing program structures discussed by respondents also support the idea that campus restorative justice programs are flexible and can be tailored to fit any college or university.

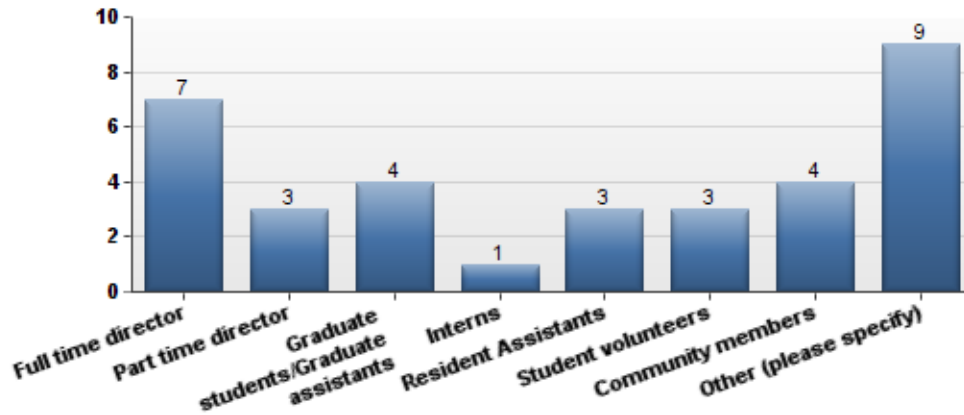
The respondent representing the University of South Carolina discussed a partnership between University Housing and the conduct office: “The RJ program is run out of the conduct office. We work in partnership with University Housing as most of the RJ conferences that happen come from incidents in the residence halls” (K. Holzman, survey, February 2015). The departmental partnership that this respondent mentions is an example of how support and involvement from different campus departments can contribute to the effective facilitation of a program. The respondent from the State University of New York at Albany described a similar departmental collaboration: “We have a board process, which is run out of the Conduct Office and our Dept. of Residential Life, which works closely with the conduct office and uses a restorative approach in confronting and adjudicating behavioral cases in the residence halls. Both offices are part of the Division of Student Success” (S. D'Alessandro, survey, February 2015). Alone, a restorative justice program might be a daunting task for a single department to run, but with different campus partnerships, departments can come together to better support the program operations. Moreover, this cooperative approach is a natural fit for the collaborative ideals of restorative justice.

When describing their restorative justice program, a respondent from Louisiana State University said, “We do not have a formal, advertised restorative justice program but do facilitate both restorative justice conferences and restorative justice circles as a resolution option if a conflict or case seems suited for a restorative justice approach” (M. Gregory, survey, February 2015). This informal approach is another example of ways that a restorative justice program can be implemented on a college campus. Instead of establishing formal restorative justice program guidelines, this school opted to use

restorative justice to hear cases that might be responsive to the process. This program could be an example of an effective way to transition into a more full-fledged restorative justice program. By keeping a program informal, schools create the opportunity for restorative justice to be used when they feel it might be beneficial, but still retain the more traditional student conduct structures.

Another example of a unique program structure came from the University of Wisconsin River Falls, which contracts with a local restorative justice non-profit organization (the St. Croix Valley Restorative Justice Program) to handle student conduct issues (K. Miner, survey, February 2015). Here, multiple departments worked with the non-profit, including their ResLife department, the Student Conduct office, and the Student Leadership office. By outsourcing restorative justice cases to a group that is already equipped to handle them, this school was able to save on costs and utilize resources that were already present in the community.

Figure 3: Institutional Role of Survey Respondents



This research identified a number of potential actors or personnel involved in campus restorative justice programs. Each of these were listed in the survey and respondents were asked to identify which of the listed individuals or personnel were involved in the functioning of their school’s restorative justice program (see Figure 3). Respondents were prompted to select all personnel that apply to their program, meaning that any program could have a combination of the positions identified. Two important points of interest emerge from these data. The first is that the group of respondents stated that all types of individuals are involved in the functioning of their school’s restorative justice program. While some were present at some schools and not others, each program is structured differently with different personnel types. Although interns are listed as the least frequently involved in each program (with only once instance) and full-time directors are listed most frequently (with seven instances of involvement), all personnel types generally vary in frequency. This speaks to an essential facet of participatory democracy as it relates to restorative justice programs. Instead of a single student conduct

official imposing sanctions on students who violate the code of conduct, justice is being dispensed by a larger and more diverse group of people who are actively participating in the justice process. This echoes the ideas of Barber, who believed that communities should act as regulating instruments of justice (1984, 172). Additionally, individuals who are more involved in a process like restorative justice can increase their own sense of political self-efficacy by greater institutional engagement through the restorative justice process.

The second point of interest comes from the “other” category. This category was answered the most frequently. Respondents were asked to specify any additional personnel types that were not included in the survey. The frequency by which this category was selected further suggests that each campus restorative justice program differs and that particular types of personnel are not limiting factors in terms of establishing programs. Included in the “other” section were the following:

- Various interested campus staff
- Assistant Director (with other responsibilities elsewhere on campus)
- Administrative staff
- “The Inter-Residence Association (IRA) and Hall Councils”
- Student Conduct coordinator
- Students involved in a Counseling Practicum

Respondents were also asked about the personnel size of their program as an open-ended question. When looking at this data based on school population size, personnel size varies, with population size seeming to have little effect on how many actors were

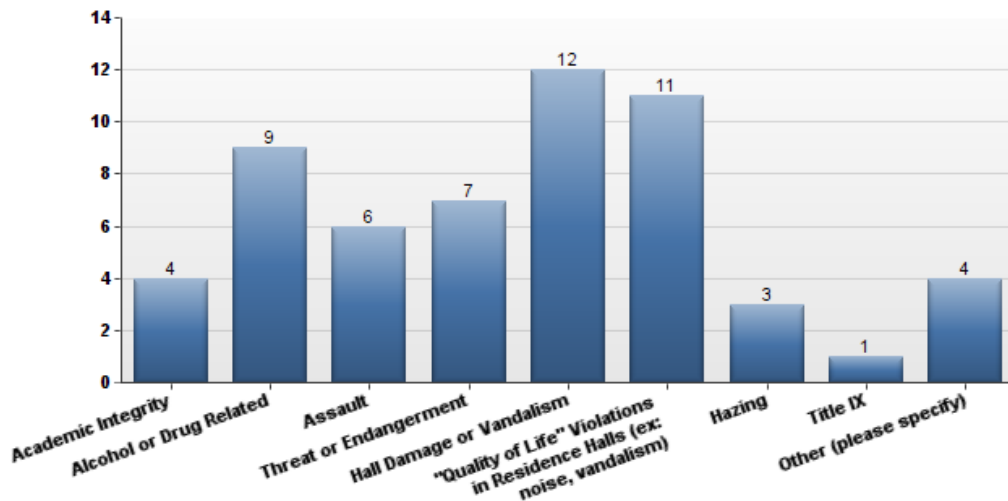
involved in running the program. Of respondents from schools with less than 5,000 students, personnel sizes ranged from one person running the program to a program run by six individuals (a full time director, an office manager, and four other staffers). The same was true within the other population categories. There were no trends in personnel composition within the student population size categories. This further suggests that there is no “exact” personnel model for a campus restorative justice program. With so many different types of personnel involved in each program, the data speak to the degrees of variability and flexibility in staffing a campus restorative justice program. Thus, the flexibility in staffing as demonstrated by the data collected is an important selling point of restorative justice. The campus restorative justice programs surveyed operate with different personnel compositions and with population size that seem to have no discernable influence on how many personnel are required for a program. This suggests that personnel compositions for campus restorative justice programs can be constructed based on resources, staff, and employees that are already available to the school.

Types of Cases Heard at Restorative Justice Schools

Respondents were asked what types of cases can be heard through a restorative justice program at their school and were prompted to select as many of these types as were applicable. One respondent did not answer this question. The data represented here show that the thirteen schools with established restorative justice programs hear all of the different case categories represented in the survey, as well as “other” cases that were not included (see Figure 4). Despite this higher frequency of some cases utilizing restorative justice than others, the data again represent the differences amongst the responding restorative justice programs. Rather than only certain types of cases being heard, the data

show that these schools are able to construct a restorative justice program to respond to the areas they wish to address. This suggests that campus restorative justice programs can be flexible in which types of cases are heard through the program, allowing for the possibility for almost any case to be heard through a restorative justice program depending on the needs and goals of each school.

Figure 4: “What types of cases are typically heard in your restorative justice program?”



Note: responses under “other” included harassment and hate crimes.

Of the case types represented in the survey, three types of cases were most prominent: hall damage or vandalism, “quality of life,” and alcohol or other drug cases. Twelve respondents said that their restorative justice programs hear hall damage or vandalism cases, eleven said that their programs hear “quality of life” cases, and nine said that their programs hear alcohol or drug related cases. The fact that these cases are most

frequently addressed through restorative justice methods stands out because often these are the types of cases that represent the majority of cases heard by student conduct on college campuses. If most established restorative justice programs are hearing these types of cases, this trend is encouraging for schools seeking to establish a program because such cases provide a starting point for types of cases that could be heard. Infractions of these types make up a majority of student conduct cases and affect daily student life in residence halls. This can be summarized through two important factors: These cases are often the types of cases heard most in student conduct hearings, and they are often the types of cases that have the greatest influence, be it positive or negative, over students' experiences living in residence hall communities. Together, these two factors converge in a way that sets the stage for more participatory community decision-making. Students who dislike living in disruptive communities can take action by being involved in the restorative justice process. Restorative justice invites students to play a direct role in maintaining a positive residential community and is effective or worthwhile because it encourages student engagement and accountability.

Respondents were asked to estimate what percentages of cases were heard through their school's restorative justice program. One respondent did not answer this question. Eight respondents estimated that their school heard less than 20% of conduct cases through restorative justice, two schools estimated between 41-60%, and two schools estimated between 81-100% of cases (see Figure 5 and Table 2).

Figure 5: Estimated Percentage of Cases Heard Through Restorative Justice Hearings

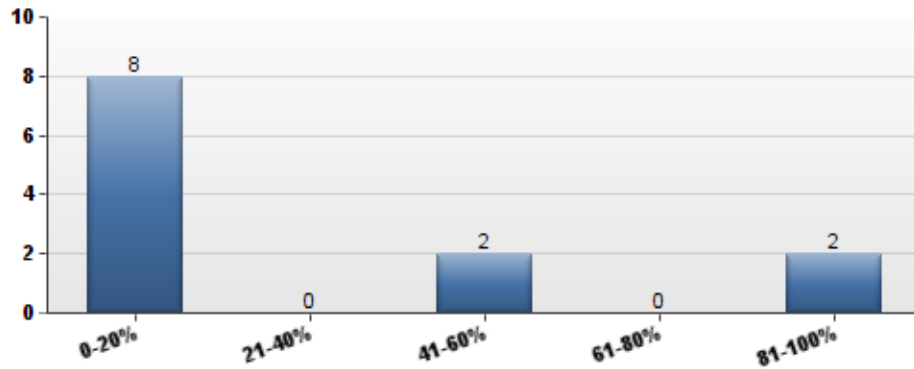


Table 2: Percentage of Cases Heard, Types of Cases Heard

College	% Heard Through RJ	Types of Cases Heard
Guilford College	Did not answer	Did not answer
DePauw University	0-20%	Alcohol/Drug, Threat/Endangerment, Hall Damage/Vandalism, "Quality of Life"
Louisiana State University	0-20%	Academic Integrity, Assault, Hall Damage/Vandalism, "Quality of Life"
Michigan Technological University	0-20%	Alcohol/Drug, Assault, Threat/Endangerment, Hall Damage/Vandalism, "Quality of Life", Hazing
State University of New York at Albany	0-20%	Academic Integrity, Alcohol/Drug, Assault, Threat/Endangerment, Hall Damage/Vandalism, "Quality of Life"
State University of New York at Geneseo	0-20%	Hall Damage/Vandalism, "Quality of Life"
Trinity University	0-20%	Alcohol/Drug, Hall Damage/Vandalism, "Quality of Life"
University of South Carolina	0-20%	Threat/Endangerment, Hall Damage/Vandalism, "Quality of Life"
University of Vermont	0-20%	Alcohol/Drug, Threat/Endangerment, "Quality of Life"
University of Florida	41-60%	Academic Integrity, Alcohol/Drug, Hall Damage/Vandalism, Assault, Threat/Endangerment, "Quality of Life", Hazing, Title IX
University of Wisconsin - River Falls	41-60%	Alcohol/Drug, Threat/Endangerment, Hall Damage/Vandalism, "Quality of Life"
James Madison University	81-100%	Alcohol/Drug, Hall Damage/Vandalism, "Quality of Life", Hazing
Michigan State University	81-100%	Academic Integrity, Alcohol/Drug, Assault, Hall Damage/Vandalism, "Quality of Life"

For the schools that heard 81-100% of their cases through restorative justice hearings (James Madison University and Michigan State), both stated that additional personnel were required for the program. The respondent from James Madison University stated that the program required funding, while the respondent from Michigan State stated that it did not. Another factor that can be examined here is the “culture” or institutional mission of a school. Although this factor is hard to quantify, it still may play a role. Schools like James Madison University and the University of Vermont include social justice and equal rights as part of their mission which might contribute to hearing more cases through restorative justice. However, there is a drastic difference between the numbers of cases each school hears through restorative justice (Vermont at 0-20% and James Madison at 81-100%), so this is most likely not true for all schools. Data from James Madison suggest that a commitment to social justice could be a factor in the percentage of cases heard through restorative justice, but the data from University of Vermont do not confirm this. There could be many other factors at play, leaving room for future research on the matter.

Ultimately, the most likely explanation for the low numbers of cases heard through restorative justice at these schools is time. Restorative justice cases take more time to administer. At schools with larger caseloads, and where personnel may be spread thin, devoting the same amount of attention that restorative justice cases require would be impossible. This is a potential limitation of campus restorative justice that could be explored through further research on what factors would result in the expansion of the number of cases heard through restorative justice procedures.

Additional Funding and Personnel

When it comes to the early stages of establishing a campus restorative justice program, funding is another important concern that can be raised by campus administration. Inability to allocate or acquire funds that will support the program could be one of the key obstacles preventing some schools from establishing a program. However, these data suggest otherwise. Ten of the thirteen respondents with restorative justice programs stated that their school’s program did not currently require any additional funding to run the program (see Table 3).

Table 3: Additional Funding and Personnel For Restorative Justice Programs

College	Requires Funding?	Requires Personnel?
Guilford College	No	No
DePauw University	Yes	No
Trinity University	No	Yes
University of Wisconsin - River Falls	No	No
State University of New York at Albany	No	No
State University of New York at Geneseo	No	No
Michigan Technological University	No	No
University of Vermont	Yes	No
James Madison University	Yes	Yes
Louisiana State University	No	No
Michigan State University	No	Yes
University of Florida	No	No
University of South Carolina	No	No

One respondent who represents DePauw University mentioned that their program receives regular student government support and additional support from the school’s

Conflict Studies program (where the program is located), stating that the program ran on a few thousand dollars a year (R. Goldberg, survey, February 2015). The implications from this information connect to student engagement in the restorative justice process. If students feel that restorative justice is something they want on their campus, it would suddenly become much easier for schools to seek funding from organizations like student government to support a restorative justice program. One potential downfall here is student turnover. As students graduate, the wishes of the student body and interest in something like restorative justice could change, making it less likely for groups such as student government to continue offering funding and support. Although this particular program required continual funding annually, steps could be taken to create a sustainable program, as evidenced by the funding strategies followed by another school. The University of Maine has a Peace and Reconciliation Studies minor housed in the Division of Lifelong Learning, which could play a role in the establishment of a program.

Another respondent, the director of the University of Vermont's restorative justice program, stated that this startup cost was approximately \$50,000. This respondent mentioned that these costs covered multiple trainings from IIRP (International Institute of Restorative Practices), books, training materials, and a "train the trainer workshop" that would give them the capacity to train individuals involved in the program on their own (S. Miller, survey, February 2015). Although this particular school required initial funding to get the restorative justice program up and running, the school was later able to make the program sustainable by implementing their own training protocols. In this instance, even a significant investment of \$50k was a one-time cost that would set up the program for success for the extended future. In this case, even though the one-time cost

might still be an impediment for many schools to establish a campus restorative justice program, creating a sustainable program is still a possibility after funding is secured. This opens the door for potential offsets later, such as reduced rates of property damage, fewer complaints to be handled, or a much more engaged and happier student body. All of these could potentially contribute to the justifying and/or offsetting the initial investment.

A respondent from James Madison University stated that the funding required for their school's program was used to fund one position for the student conduct office, creating some overlap between general program funding and funding for additional personnel (C. Ehrhart, survey, February 2015). This might explain why James Madison University was the only school surveyed that required both additional funding and additional personnel. Overall, when asked whether or not their school's restorative justice programs required additional personnel to run, three said yes and ten said no. A respondent from Trinity University mentioned the use of "campus partners" from other departments to assist in the operations of the restorative justice program. Campus partners might include representatives from on-campus counseling centers, LGBT services, and multicultural affairs. This instance presents an example of additional personnel becoming involved through the reallocation of campus partners' current responsibilities, all without additional funding required to support these positions. The respondent from Michigan State University said, "For a period of time, we had a contracted employee who did extraordinary work getting infrastructure such as videos, web presence, and an annual symposium in place. That person's position was discontinued during a leadership change." This instance presents an example of work that was essential at the outset, but once in place, the program did not require the same staff

capacity and the position was eventually discontinued. Overall, the evidence here shows that additional personnel are largely not required to establish a restorative justice program. Presumably, other schools are able to reallocate personnel and adjust their responsibilities to include assistance in running the program.

To assess the effects that additional funding or personnel would have on the percentage of cases heard through restorative justice hearings, I filtered the survey results to show percentages of cases heard for the three schools that required additional funding and for the three schools that required additional personnel. For institutions requiring additional funding, two schools heard cases in the 0-20% range and one school heard cases in the 81-100% range. For additional personnel, one school heard cases in the 0-20% range and two heard cases in the 81-100% range. While there are only three examples of each, this filter showed that different ranges of cases heard through a restorative justice hearing did in fact vary, regardless of their use of additional funding and personnel. Ultimately, these trends contribute to the notion that the establishment of a campus restorative justice program can take place through several routes. Such programs can and do exist with or without additional funding and personnel.

Together, these findings contribute to an overarching theme of “modularity” in the implementation of campus restorative justice. Modularity refers to the ways that different institutional components can be separated and recombined in different configurations. The flexibility shown through student population size, status as a public or private institution, personnel configurations, types of cases heard, and funding sources are just a few of the factors that contribute to restorative justice modularity. The variability shown here is a positive characteristic of restorative justice programs that can

enable restorative justice to take root in many different settings. Instead of questioning whether or not a restorative justice program *can* be established, campus administrators should instead look at *how* it could be established at their institution. Simply put, the working components of a restorative justice program can be unboxed and arranged in many ways to fit the varying needs of different schools. This process demands the engagement and involvement that are central to the idea of participatory democracy. Because restorative justice programs can be flexible and shaped to fit the needs of an institution, the implementation process requires the principles of participatory democracy through engagement, involvement, and investment towards a greater sense of agency and influence. Essentially, a campus restorative justice program is flexible and can easily fit the needs of an institution, but work must be done to figure out what those needs are and how the program will address them. This is best accomplished through a participatory approach.

ANALYSIS: INTERVIEW RESULTS

For the interview portion of this research, I conducted interviews with Gail Shampnois from the University of Vermont, and with David Karp and Erin Dagle at Skidmore College. In the interviews, I asked each interviewee to talk in detail about their personal reasoning behind supporting and advocating for restorative justice, how their school first established a restorative justice program, challenges that they foresaw in the implementation process, and advice on how to combat these challenges. In the following analysis, I will highlight the common themes that emerged in each interview, how they relate to the ideas of participatory democracy and civic engagement, and what implications they have for the implementation of campus restorative justice programs at other colleges and universities.

Why Restorative Justice?

David Karp, the Associate Dean of Student Affairs and Director of Campus Life at Skidmore College, discussed in a personal interview how restorative justice requires a shift in philosophy on student conduct, including different attitudes on training. Karp (personal communication, March 4, 2015) mentioned that students who go through the restorative justice conference or integrity board hearing are more likely to complete their sanctions, saying that even though hearings like this require more time and involvement, he believes that they are an effective use of time. Skidmore College makes use of different examples of restorative justice models, including conferences, circles and variations of these processes such as boards and administrative hearings. Karp also mentioned that RAs at Skidmore are not given any restorative justice training. Instead,

restorative justice is housed in student conduct through hearing processes. Restorative justice conferences and integrity board hearings both embody a format that has a natural fit within student conduct. What this means is that restorative justice can fit within non-restorative justice conduct models by keeping the process similar yet shifting the goals and ideals to be more restorative in nature.

Expanding upon this, Erin Dagle, the Assistant Director of Student Conduct and Conflict Resolution at Skidmore College said the following: “Not all cases can be heard through restorative justice hearings, but that doesn’t mean we can’t approach them from consistent mentalities” (Dagle, personal communication, March 4, 2015). For example, alcohol or other drug (AOD) hearings are heard through a standard student conduct hearing, but Dagle found that students often responded very well to questions that might be asked in a restorative justice hearing. A standard hearing might ask what the student did and why they did it, but taking a step back to ask the student if he/she thought about who he might be hurting, what the long term consequences of his/her actions might be, or to ask him/her to reflect on other factors that might have motivated the behavior, this allows the student to have more input and control of the process. Even if restorative justice isn’t being used in a particular case, this creates the opportunity for positive restorative justice outcomes in lower level sanctions. This suggests that a possible step towards a campus restorative justice policy could be to gradually introduce a more restorative mindset into the student conduct process and to shift away from a punitive mindset.

Dagle also discussed making the transition from working at Syracuse University, where there were no restorative elements to student conduct procedures, to working at

Skidmore College and how implementing restorative justice questions into some non-restorative justice cases proved to be a positive experience that students responded to extremely well. If spillover effects on non-restorative justice processes like this were to take place, students might become better at self-reflection and realizing how their behaviors affect not only their peers, but also the communities in which they live. A mindset like this has a natural fit within the participatory democracy framework by connecting self-awareness to community and by potentially increasing individuals' sense of political self-efficacy. Political self-efficacy, the measure of how successful one is in political involvement, can be increased when individuals realize that their involvement in the restorative justice process can produce positive outcomes for students and their residential communities. By engaging in the process, students commit to addressing the problem and finding ways to solve it, rather than simply being punished for it.

The benefits that restorative justice has for individuals make up one side of restorative justice advocacy. However, restorative justice can set in motion institutional benefits as well. Gail Champnois, Director of Student and Community Relations at the University of Vermont (UVM), also advocates for the implementation of restorative justice on college campuses. "I support restorative justice on the college campus because it serves as a way to actualize UVM's community values and standards" (Champnois, personal communication, March 3, 2015). Champnois noted that without something like restorative justice, UVM's community standards are difficult to put into practice. Restorative justice allows them to become a living and breathing part of UVM's community support programs. Champnois referred to UVM's "Common Ground," or a set of values and ideals adopted by the campus as a whole. The UVM Common Ground

includes respect, integrity, innovation, openness, justice, and responsibility. By using restorative justice, Champnois believes that UVM has created a way to promote these values directly into the campus community rather than just discussing them and hoping that they take root. Restorative justice allows for these values to be put into action.

Insights on the values of restorative justice from Karp, Dagle, and Champnois reveal that support for the development and building of student community is central to the mindset or culture that is required of a campus restorative justice program. The uses of restorative justice in the student conduct process serve as a way to not only address issues of student engagement in their campus community, but also as a way to further strengthen it as well. Although this process requires two things that traditional models of student conduct do not (more time and active student engagement in the process), these interviews have shown that the advantages can potentially justify the extra time and effort that must be invested in the process.

Implementation Processes

David Karp briefly described the history of the implementation of restorative justice at Skidmore College, stating that in 1999 a group of students returned from a conference and voiced their concerns with Skidmore's then-current student conduct practices. There were many student conduct appeals, a sign that students truly weren't happy with the processes and outcomes. At the time, Karp was a Sociology professor at Skidmore. He became involved in the implementation of restorative justice at Skidmore College because he was asked to participate in discussions on what the policy would look like and how it would work. Karp stated, "Skidmore's restorative justice program is the

result of a campus administration that was responsive to the wishes of the students” (Karp, personal communication, March 4, 2015). This is a clear connection to participatory democracy. The students at Skidmore who initially pushed for a change in the student conduct process embodied the ideals of Barber and Dewey by voicing their concerns with the current framework and seeking an alternative that they felt would best serve the student population. Additionally, the responsiveness of campus administration to the “ground up” approach taken by the students shows the positive outcomes that can result from responding to the needs of active and engaged individuals.

Shampnois also gave a detailed description of the early stages of the implementation of the restorative justice program at UVM. Shampnois outlined the process as beginning in March 2009, when Steve Korr and Ted Wachtel of the International Institute of Restorative Practices (IIRP) agreed to visit the UVM campus to present on restorative justice and restorative practices for UVM’s Residential Life and Division of Student Affairs. From there, Korr and Wachtel came to the UVM campus and conducted a two hour “buy in” meeting for Residential Life and other related departments, including Academic Support Programs, Career Services, Center for Student Ethics and Standards, Office of Student and Community Relations, Student Life, LGBTQ Student Center and Police Services (Shampnois, personal communication, March 3, 2015). Shampnois said the following in regards to getting support from campus administration: “We had the total support of our Dean and Vice Provost. It was important not to make [the implementation of a restorative justice program] one person’s job.” She said that after getting multiple people to “buy in” to the idea, it became much easier to get it off the ground. Shampnois also discussed other ways that she likes to sell the idea of

campus restorative justice. To get people to buy in to the idea of starting a restorative justice program, or to find more support for it, she talked about telling stories about successful restorative justice cases. “Storytelling is an important form of data because it gives individuals a clear example of a powerful case, and asks them to think about what might have happened in that case if restorative justice were not used.”

Following the initial presentations and startup period at UVM, Shampnois stated that the rest of the implementation process involved trainings for Residential Life and campus partners in June of 2009, and training of UVM Resident Advisors (RAs) during their regular August training sessions. Both training sessions took three days. Shampnois briefly discussed the ways that RAs have responded to restorative justice and restorative practices trainings and how it has been useful for retention in the RA position, saying that RAs buy in to the restorative justice program at different levels. “Our department has used this as an opportunity to conduct attitudinal surveys to measure how our RAs are responding to restorative justice” (Shampnois, personal communication, March 3, 2015). One of the key findings was that retention rates for the position have gone up, as more RAs are staying for longer than one year. Trainers from the IIRP returned in August 2010 to conduct the training for RAs again, and then returned in May 2011 for a “training of trainers” for UVM staff to allow for a sustainable training program. UVM conducted its first solo training for RAs and staff in July and August 2011, and has continued to do so since.

Both schools represent two very different implementation processes: one student driven, quickly embraced by campus administration, and one driven by campus administration, later embraced by the students whom the policy benefitted. The

implementation of restorative justice at Skidmore College and the University of Vermont shows that support and approval of restorative justice from students and campus administration alike serve as important starting points for a restorative justice program. Beyond this, the idea of restorative justice modularity is important for the buy-in process because a restorative justice program can be configured and approached in different ways. Both instances illustrate that it is not the origin of the policy that is important, but that the “buy-in” from stakeholders that Shampnois describes is key. Both of these implementation processes show us that, for campuses considering restorative justice procedures, startup costs and logistics should be much less of a concern. Instead, soliciting support for the program from a campus community, including both students and administration, should be the first step taken. Finding ways to get this support is one of the many different implementation challenges schools might face. This can be accomplished through principles of participatory democracy from both students and campus administrators, such as self-efficacy and institutional interaction. Self-efficacy and engagement can increase in students who are involved in both the practice of restorative justice and in supporting its implementation because of the opportunities it extends for students to have a positive interaction with campus administration and student conduct. Soliciting support is absolutely central to the implementation process, and the ways by which individuals could support or petition for a campus restorative justice program are central to the ways that citizens use participatory democracy in other settings.

Challenges of Implementation

When asked about what he saw as some of the most significant challenges of implementing a restorative justice program, David Karp mentioned, “One problem I’ve witnessed is that some schools or institutions will participate in restorative justice or mediation trainings to become prepared for certain types cases that will fit the restorative justice model, and then they struggle to find such cases to hear” (Karp, personal communication, March 4, 2015). For example, a restorative justice conference model is one that requires certain kinds of cases because of the way it functions. Often, cases that fit this model are larger in scope with more community stakeholders involved. The case would be much more complex than many of the typical cases that are heard (i.e. vandalism or noise). Thus, the concept of modularity in a campus restorative justice program is useful, because as Karp stated, it is important for institutions to let people know that the resources and capacity for case hearings like this are available and flexible. Institutions that are equipped to utilize restorative justice in as many types of cases and instances as possible will be most effective. “At Skidmore, we use restorative justice for as many case types as possible. There is no ‘funneling’ system where we direct cases to either side. If there is an opportunity for restorative justice to be used in a positive way, we will use it.” Appropriate cases for a restorative justice hearing involve students and “community” members (be it residence hall, campus, or actual members of the local community) who are not only involved in the conduct issue, but also have a heavy personal investment in it as well. Karp and Dagle said that if individuals were inadequately engaged in the process, restorative justice procedures would not work. Initial engagement in the process is required if it is to result in the political self-efficacy

that is required for the process to be successful. If students do not feel that the process will work or be effective, they won't engage, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy of procedural ineffectiveness. The more engaged students are in the process, the more likely it might be to work, and potentially even increase feelings of political self-efficacy.

Gail Shampnois described restorative justice as a process that one never truly completes. She states, "Some cases require lots of follow up and checking in" (Shampnois, personal communication, March 3, 2015). However, she said that this is also an advantage because it consistently creates new opportunities for students, staff, campus, and surrounding communities to learn and engage with restorative justice. Even though some cases may seem like they require a significant amount of attention and time, Shampnois said that she still believes it is a cost effective method of addressing issues, because without it, students would be much less likely to receive the high degree of support that she believes restorative justice offers.

Another challenge mentioned by Shampnois was the need for social justice and diversity elements in a restorative justice program. This means recognition of implicit societal racial bias, diversity trainings, and enhanced awareness of ethnic and racial stereotypes should come before the implementation of restorative justice takes place. People who don't understand, support, or buy into restorative justice will take one instance of its failure and use it to suggest that the practice doesn't work. Shampnois states, "Because of this, social justice is a significant weak point that must be addressed" (Shampnois, personal communication, March 4, 2015). Those practicing restorative justice must be willing to embrace multiculturalism and different social backgrounds. Social justice is an important aspect of the process, which, if left out, can trivialize the

entire procedure. Shampnois referenced the film “Burning Bridges,” which deals with five young men in their early twenties who set fire to an important historical covered bridge in a rural Pennsylvania community. The film follows the young men, their families, and their communities as they go through the restorative justice conference process. In the end of the film, the perpetrators receive a significantly reduced sentence, largely due to the powerful restorative justice experience in which they participated. However, Shampnois asked whether men of a different race would have been given the same opportunity in that community, once again citing the importance of the social justice element to a restorative justice program. This is where the flexibility and democratic nature of restorative justice can impose such a threat. If a restorative justice program, which allows for significant flexibility and discretion in its procedures, doesn’t embrace social justice, it could potentially be building implicit racial bias into the conduct system, going against everything restorative justice stands for. This would create a paradox by making restorative justice, a system that purports to better ensure justice, more likely to introduce racial bias into the campus community.

Implementation Advice

When it comes to writing an official restorative justice policy, Erin Dagle from Skidmore College discussed that most student conduct manuals are conducive to adding a restorative justice policy. “When you look in the student handbook or conduct code at most colleges, you find that many of them contain language that is already open to something like restorative justice” (Dagle, personal communication, March 4, 2015). Most student conduct manuals outline administrative hearing processes and the circumstances under which they will occur, but they do not contain strict guidelines for

how the hearing should occur, leaving them open to the use of a restorative justice hearing. Dagle recommended utilizing the flexibility inherent in existing procedures as an important strategy, as many schools may have been deterred from implementing a restorative justice policy due to lack of time and resources to rewrite student conduct manuals.

David Karp discussed two different implementation strategies. The first of these was finding ways to increase student support of restorative justice. “Student momentum makes it easier. If the students want something like this, it is harder for the college to deny them of it” (Karp, personal communication, March 4, 2015). This presents yet another connection to participatory democracy by acknowledging that a grassroots or ground-up approach can play a significant role in the implementation process. At Skidmore, a one credit academic course on restorative justice is offered to teach students about restorative justice. The teaching component engages students in the processes and makes them more likely to not only support restorative justice, but to want to become involved in the process as well. Karp mentioned that he often found the students who are exposed to restorative justice and who are given the opportunity to explore what it can do have become very supportive of the idea. A class that teaches restorative justice also addresses the issue of student turnover. Offering a class on restorative justice provides sustainability for the program by providing an ongoing opportunity to educate the student body on the potential values of restorative justice. Students who are interested in restorative justice on their college campus will eventually graduate, but a class that continues to offer opportunities to learn about it can combat this problem by having a way for new students to learn about restorative justice year after year. Although a

restorative justice class would likely not have any direct ties to campus misconduct proceedings, a class could still be key to building and maintaining student support for a program and would contribute to a campus culture that embraces restorative justice.

Karp also suggested regional training. “I’ve witnessed some schools that participate in regional training. By gathering several schools together to share the cost of the training, it becomes much easier for schools to commit to the process” (Karp, personal communication, March 4, 2015). Regional training not only reduces costs for schools, but also it helps to create a network of support and collaboration for conduct officials to use in addressing problems that may arise or for offering advice on other strategies that work. This strategy can help influence student culture at multiple schools all at the same time. Even though collaboration may not work well for all schools due to challenges such as conflicting campus values and different funding sources, the process could still be very effective when done right.

Next Steps

Based on survey and interview results, I believe that the following steps should be taken for the University of Maine to effectively establish its own campus restorative justice system.

- Find a key contact (or group of contacts) that is willing to dedicate time to soliciting administrative support for a campus restorative justice program. This individual or individuals should begin to present the restorative justice framework to key figures such as the Dean of Students and Residence Life Director, and any other relevant Student Life employees. Additionally, the contact or contacts

should reach out to other schools in the state to discuss the possibilities of collaboration in funding training.

- Seek restorative justice training. If funding is available, the University of Maine should fund training for representatives from Residence Life, The Office of Community Standards, Rights & Responsibilities, and any other Student Life employees deemed appropriate. Within Residence Life, representatives from the departmental Resident Assistant Training Committee should attend trainings.
- Offer a restorative justice academic course. An academic course would educate students on restorative justice and could potentially increase support for a program from students and allow students to potentially play a role in the implementation process. Examples of this could be investigating the student code of conduct for areas that might be most responsive to restorative justice, and helping develop a more detailed strategic plan for implementation. This course could be offered through the University of Maine's Peace and Reconciliation Studies Program.

These steps would be important to initiating the process. However, subsequent steps and reforms would be required later. These steps would need to be determined after a further assessment of implementation progress.

CONCLUSION

Under the right circumstances, the implementation of a campus restorative justice program is an achievable goal. Absolutely essential to implementation is a strong sense of support for a restorative justice program from students and campus administration, which can be most easily solicited from an active and involved base of students or administrators. Results from examining school population size, personnel structures, types of cases heard, and funding sources suggest that the makeup of a campus restorative justice structure is largely dependent on the college or university it is located at, supporting the idea of campus restorative justice modularity. Instead of there being several key factors that make implementation more or less difficult, a campus restorative justice program can be structured and configured in a variety of manners to fit the needs and goals of the school at which the program is being implemented.

Participation and engagement are important to the restorative justice process. Appropriately, these ideas are very important to the implementation process as well. Participatory democracy and restorative justice go hand in hand, both in practice and in implementation. Active engagement and accountability are at the very core of the practice of restorative justice, and both are also essential to the implementation process. Without the practice of participatory democracy, the implementation of a campus restorative justice program would become much more difficult, and the practice of restorative justice would suffer as well.

Despite these findings, there is ample room for more research on the use of restorative justice on college campuses. A more detailed analysis of the percentage of

cases schools hear through restorative justice procedures might help address concerns of whether such a program is worth time and investment. A closer examination of levels of measures of program efficacy and support from students and administration of schools with restorative justice programs could demonstrate circumstances under which programs are more successful. Another area would be to more closely examine motives for *not* implementing a restorative justice program. This could be done by looking at schools that initiated the process, but didn't follow through, or schools that may have had restorative justice programs in the past, yet later terminated the program.

Establishing a restorative justice program could be beneficial for the University of Maine for several reasons. The University of Maine is well positioned to consider restorative justice because of several structures already in place that would support such a program. These include the Peace and Reconciliation Studies Program and the University of Maine Diversity Leadership Institute, which could conduct the trainings on diversity and social justice issues. There are also community resources available, such as the Restorative Justice Project of Midcoast in Belfast, Maine. These pieces could contribute to implementing a campus restorative justice program, especially when campus resources are limited. A restorative justice program could develop students into more engaged individuals who participate in campus misconduct by helping them become more engaged and successful students. Restorative justice can address recidivism and repeat offenses while lowering hall damage or vandalism and creating better residence hall communities. Finally, establishing a restorative justice program would help The University of Maine become a key player in initiatives to establish restorative justice in

higher education in Maine, contributing to the goal of making Maine the first “restorative state.”

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APPENDIX A

Survey Questions for Restorative Justice Programs

General Respondent Information

1. What is your name?
2. What is your job title?
3. What is the name of your school?
4. What is the approximate size of the on-campus student body?
5. Please briefly describe the structure of your school's restorative justice program (Ex: What department or unit is it run out of? i.e. Residence Life, Student Affairs, Student life, student-run program, etc)
6. Briefly describe your role in your school's restorative justice program.

Implementation/Infrastructure of Restorative Justice Program

7. Does your school currently have a restorative justice program in place?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

If "Yes", please continue survey.

If "No", are you looking to start one? Why or why not?

8. When did your school first establish a restorative justice program?
 - a. 0-1 year ago
 - b. 1-3 years ago
 - c. 3-5 years ago
 - d. More than 5 years ago
9. Please briefly describe the infrastructure of your restorative justice program (i.e. what department is it part of?)
10. What is the personnel size of your restorative justice program? (Ex: Is there a full-time director running this program? How many people are directly involved in running this program?)
11. Check all that apply for each of the following individuals who work for your school's restorative justice program:

- a. Full time director
- b. Part time director
- c. Graduate students/Graduate assistants
- d. Interns
- e. Resident Assistants
- f. Student volunteers
- g. Community Members
- h. Other (please specify)

12. Were additional personnel required for the establishment of your restorative justice program?

- a. Yes
- b. No

If “Yes”, how many?

13. Does your restorative justice program require funding?

If “Yes”, what is the source of these funds? How much does it cost to run the program?

Information on Restorative Justice Cases

14. What types of cases are typically involved in your school’s restorative justice program? Check all that apply.

- a. Academic Integrity
- b. Alcohol or Drug Related
- c. Assault
- d. Threat or Endangerment
- e. Hall Damage or Vandalism
- f. “Quality of Life” Violations in Residence Halls (ex: noise, vandalism)
- g. Hazing
- h. Title IX
- i. Other (please specify)

15. What percentage of your school’s student conduct cases would you estimate are heard through a restorative justice hearing?

16. Please briefly describe the goals of your school’s restorative justice program.

17. How would you rate the level of effectiveness in achieving these goals? – 5 point

- 1- Very ineffective
- 2- Ineffective
- 3- Neutral
- 4- Effective

- 5- Very effective
- 6- Don't know/prefer not to answer

18. How would you rate the level of interest in or support of your school's restorative justice program from the student body? – 5 point

- 1- Very uninterested/very unsupportive
- 2- Uninterested/unsupportive
- 3- Neutral
- 4- Interested/supportive
- 5- Very interested/supportive
- 6- Don't know/prefer not to answer

19. How would you rate the level of interest in or support of your school's restorative justice program from the school administration? – 5 point

- 1- Very uninterested/very unsupportive
- 2- Uninterested/unsupportive
- 3- Neutral
- 4- Interested/supportive
- 5- Very interested/supportive
- 6- Don't know/prefer not to answer

20. Can we contact you or follow up?

- a. Yes
- b. No

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions for Restorative Justice Programs

1. What is your name and job title?
2. What appeals to you about the use of restorative justice in a college setting?
3. What do you think some of the advantages of using restorative justice in a college setting are? Disadvantages?
4. Describe the history of the implementation of your school's restorative justice program. How did your school's restorative justice program first "come to be?"
5. How are individuals involved your school's restorative justice program trained to handle cases?
6. Do you believe that your school's restorative justice program is a cost effective means of dealing with student conduct cases?
7. Can you describe your school's support (both administration and student body) of restorative justice (both prior to and after a restorative justice program was established)?
8. Can you describe a case where restorative justice was used that might not have had as positive an outcome without the use of restorative justice?
9. What sort of impact do you think your school's restorative justice program has had on your campus community?
10. Are there dimensions of your program that are important to understand that we haven't yet discussed?
11. Would you advocate for the creation of a restorative justice at a college or university? Why or why not?

AUTHOR'S BIO

Cameron Huston was born on October 1st, 1992. He was grew up in Washburn, Maine, and graduated from Washburn District High School in 2011. While at the University of Maine, Cameron majored in Political Science and minored in Legal Studies and Sociology. Cameron was a Resident Assistant in Gannet, Penobscot, and Colvin Halls and was a brother and Secretary of the Alpha Tau Omega Fraternity. Cameron was a member of the Mock Trial team and served as Secretary for the Class of 2015 Class Council. After graduation, Cameron plans to move to Bloomington, Indiana to pursue a degree in Public Affairs at Indiana University's School of Public and Environmental Affairs.