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**Restorative Pedagogies in Primary and Secondary Education:
A Review of Selected Literature**

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Abstract

Purpose

Restorative justice is a philosophy and set of practices aimed toward centering student well-being and positive social relationships in the classroom. Restorative pedagogies offer an approach to teaching/learning that seeks to remedy persistent patterns of punitive and exclusionary school-based practices.

Design, Methodology, and Approach

In this literature review, I employed a constructivist grounded theory approach to first define restorative pedagogies, then offer key themes that emerged across the body of literature. I introduce key foundational texts with a focus on the proliferation of research in the last decade. Lastly, I present critiques and limitations in the body of literature with implications for future research.

Findings

Three pedagogical practices emerged as the most applied in primary and secondary settings. These practices include critical dialogue, circle pedagogy, and the commitment to transforming institutions. In addition, four key themes also emerged with focuses on relationship-building, storytelling, transformation of self, and implications for teacher preparation.

Originality and Value

This review is designed to support teachers, school leaders, and faculty of teacher preparation programs in developing a foundational understanding of the paradigmatic shifts and innovative practices that frame restorative pedagogies as the art of teaching and learning in the classroom.

Keywords: restorative pedagogy, critical dialogue, storytelling, community-building
circle, teacher preparation

Introduction

Applications of the philosophy and practices of restorative justice in primary and secondary education began in the 1990s (González et al., 2019; Vaandering, 2010). Such applications have served as a significant shift in the paradigms that have historically framed the purpose of education (Thorsborne & Blood, 2013; Vaandering, 2010; Winn, 2020; Wong & Gavrielides, 2019). Scholars have noted, “[the] paradigm shift required to create a restorative culture—with a focus on the primacy and quality of relationships—is impossible to achieve with short-term thinking or through traditional teaching methods” (Hollweck et al., 2019, p. 5). Restorative justice calls on educators to recognize schools as interdependent communities where the safety and well-being of all are recognized as a responsibility of the educational institution (Moore, 2018).

The expansion of the restorative philosophy and practices in education over the last three decades has been in response to persistent manifestations of harm perpetuated through the functions of schooling (Riestenberg, 2013; Wadhwa, 2015; Winn, 2020; Wong & Gavrielides, 2019). One such harm is the “racial discipline gap”—accounting for “the disproportionately high rates of detention, suspension, and expulsion experienced by Black and Latino students, especially boys, when compared to their White peers” (Fine, 2018, p. 105). As educational institutions have failed to take effective action to disrupt oppressive exclusionary discipline practices, the school-to-prison pipeline has been recognized as a key form of oppressive harm perpetuated by educational institutions and targeted toward students of color (Wadhwa, 2015).

Early applications of restorative justice in education focused on a model of intervention in response to disruptive student behavior (Evans & Vaandering, 2016; Morrison & Vaandering, 2012). Scholars have noted that although early applications of restorative justice have demonstrated great indicators of success in reducing suspensions, a focus on responsive practices

alone is not enough to address all forms of harm that exist in schools such as those perpetuated on the part of the educational institution and the professionals there-in (Armour, 2016; Morrison et al., 2005; Wadhwa, 2015). Therefore, Winn (2020) called for a paradigm shift in restorative education that demands “justice on both sides” (p. 26), recognizing that educational institutions must remain accountable to the students who are impacted by such injustices. Winn went on to argue teachers and school leaders must approach their role with a critical lens toward the ways that harmful power dynamics shape the educational context. To do so, educators must consider how the social contexts of history matters, race matters, justice matters, and language matters in constructing spaces for teaching and learning in the classroom (Winn & Winn, 2021).

This literature review is designed to evaluate the breadth of research on the topic of restorative pedagogies. Restorative pedagogies demand “filtering the design, delivery, and development of restorative practices ‘THROUGH’ core academic instruction and ‘WITH’ the delivery of high leverage instructional practices” (Revell, 2020, p. 88). Researchers argued restorative philosophy and practices can both serve as the foundation for pedagogies that emphasize key practices for learning such as (a) participatory engagement, (b) considering a variety of perspectives, (c) affirmation of difference, (d) engaging with vulnerability and authenticity, as well as (e) a focus on critical dialogue for transformative justice (Archibold, 2016; Bickmore, 2012; Boyes-Watson & Pranis, 2015; Fine, 2018; Schmitt, 2019; Winn & Winn, 2021; Wolter, 2021).

The literature on restorative pedagogies is robust considering it spans just a short number of years and offers many examples, concrete strategies, as well as recommendations that can serve teachers well. However, there are shortcomings to the literature including an absence of student voice, a lack of case studies to tease out the complexities of the whole-school model of implementation, and few recommendations for stakeholders outside of teachers and school

leaders. To structure this literature review, I first introduce a definition of restorative justice followed by the criteria through which articles were selected. Next, I introduce key restorative pedagogies in addition to themes across the literature. Lastly, I critique the literature for its limitations before presenting next steps for research.

What is Restorative Justice in Education?

Restorative justice has philosophical roots in many justice theories from both Western and non-Western traditions (Gavrielides, 2011; Reed, 2021; Valandra, 2020; Wong & Gavrielides, 2019). The modern field of restorative justice emerged from the criminal justice system. Further, many recognize Zehr's (1990) early and seminal text as having laid the theoretical groundwork for the growing movement (Evans & Vaandering, 2016). More recently, scholars have noted that a critical perspective toward restorative justice requires philosophy and practices be recognized as rooted in Indigenous values, practices, and ways of being that predate Western society (Bouchard et al., 2016; Davis, 2019; de los Ríos et al., 2019; Evans & Vaandering, 2016; González et al., 2019; Hansen & Antsanen, 2014; Harrison, 2010; High, 2017; Llewellyn & Parker, 2018; Moore, 2018; Ogilvie & Fuller, 2016; Selby & Kagawa, 2018; Vaandering, 2010, 2014b; Valandra, 2020). Such recognition has, at times, been overlooked in the settler-colonial context of higher education (Valandra, 2020). As a result, this stance has served to divide the modern discourse of restorative justice to that of racial justice (Davis, 2019; Valandra, 2020; Winn, 2020; Winn & Winn, 2021).

With recognition of this historical context, Davis (2019) offered the following definition of restorative justice:

Consonant with African and Indigenous communitarian values, restorative justice is profoundly relational and emphasizes bringing together everyone affected by wrongdoing to address the needs and responsibilities and to heal the harm to relationships and the

community . . . While often mistakenly considered only a reactive response to harm, restorative justice is also a proactive relational strategy to create a culture of connectivity where all members of the community thrive and feel valued. (p. 19)

When applied to the context of education, this definition of restorative justice addresses three key perspectives in crafting a definition of restorative pedagogies. First, restorative pedagogies must include a focus on proactive relationship building. Second, restorative pedagogies are not only a set of practices, but also represent a broader paradigm shift to shape all aspects of learning.

Lastly, restorative pedagogies recognize harm as extending beyond the dynamics of interpersonal relationships and includes community-based harms, such as structural and institutional harms.

Across the literature, there were two figures repeated to offer visual representation of restorative applications in education. First, the social discipline window was a common figure employed by researchers to represent the restorative approach to relationship building (Barnett, 2020; Fine, 2018; Morrison et al., 2005; Muhammad, 2020; Thorsborne & Blood, 2013; Vaandering, 2010, 2014a, 2014b). This model was first introduced by Wachtel (1999; see Figure 1). Across the literature, scholars have offered variations on this original model, in this review as represented by a revised version offered by Vaandering (2014b; see Figure 2).

Figure 1

Wachtel's Social Discipline Window

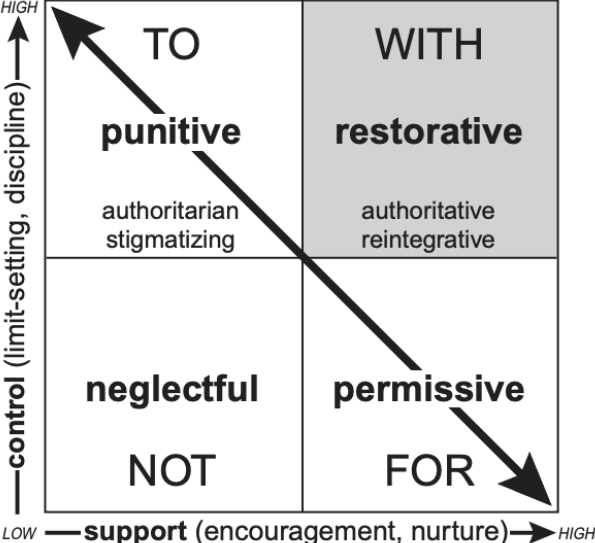
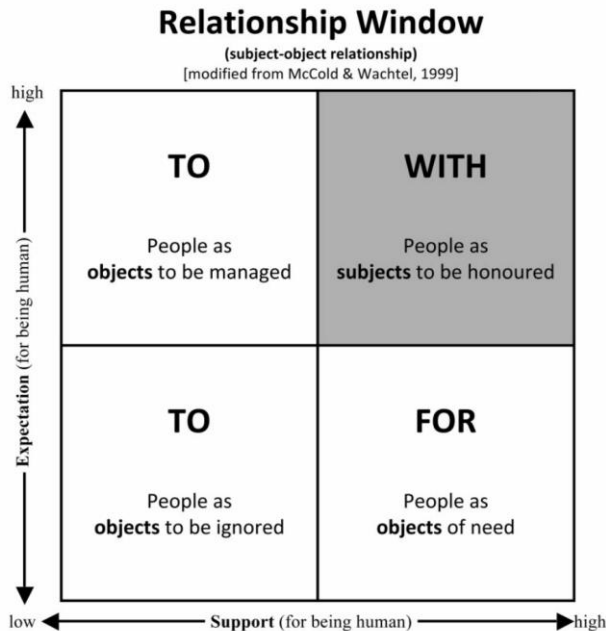


Figure 2

Vaandering's Relationship Window



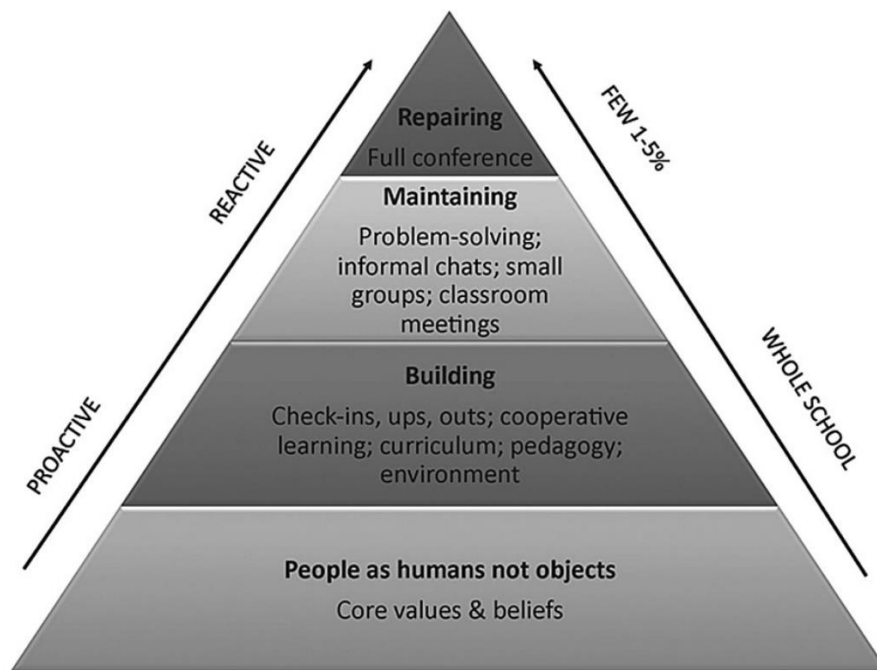
The social discipline window illustrates relationship building between students and teachers as dependent on two axes. The vertical axis demonstrates the teacher's expectations or level of control regarding student behavior. The horizontal axis represents the teacher's approach to nurturing students based on student need. Low levels of expectations and support are categorized as neglectful relationships in which the student is not offered care. High control with low support indicates a punitive relationship, such as one focused on efficiency and discipline. High support and low control indicate a permissive relationship in which students are viewed through low expectations and without accountability. A restorative relationship is described as high expectations with high support. According to Morrison et al. (2005), "this framework ... dispels a common misconception that restorative [practices are] a soft option; in contrast, restorative practices seek to be firm and fair, strong on accountability and support" (Morrison et al., 2005, p. 349). The social discipline window was designed to illustrate high quality relationships occur in the classroom when learning is an act in which teachers engage with students, rather than a

structure where instruction is occurring to or for students who in-turn become entirely dependent on the teacher.

Another figure repeated in the literature is a tiered model illustrating the Implementation Relationship Triangle, cited in Vaandering, 2014b (Figure 3; see also the Hierarchy of Restorative Responses; Morrison, 2007; Morrison et al., 2005; Morrison & Vaandering, 2012).

Figure 3

Model of Implementation Relationship Triangle



(Vaandering, 2014b)

This model illustrates restorative practices as a four (or three) tiered framework. At the base of the framework are proactive relationship-building practices that reflect a foundation of core beliefs and values that prioritize well-being as central to the purpose of education. The highest two tiers represent practices that occur as a response to harm. These practices are more aligned to conferencing, “intensive interventions that include repairing damage, reintegrating back into the school after a student absence, and resolving differences” (Armour, 2016, p. 1018).

The practices that constitute the top tiers have been most widely explored in primary and secondary contexts (Morrison et al., 2005), however more research into restorative pedagogies that craft proactive spaces for learning and relationship building (illustrated as the base of the triangle) has been needed.

Guiding Questions

The literature made clear philosophy and practices of restorative justice are well aligned to cultivating spaces of teaching and learning that center student well-being (Armour, 2016; Evans & Vaandering, 2016; Winn, 2020). Despite these rich opportunities, the topic of restorative pedagogies has been deemphasized over the last three decades as the literature emphasized applications of restorative justice framed as a matter of discipline, or as a response to student behavior (Armour, 2016; Evans & Vaandering, 2016). Therefore, this literature review is guided by the three questions designed to emphasize restorative pedagogies, the philosophy and practices of restorative justice as applied proactively to classrooms and other spaces of teaching and learning.

- How can the philosophy and practices of restorative justice shape pedagogy (processes for teaching and learning) in the primary and secondary classroom?
- How do the philosophy and practices of restorative justice align with or challenge the current model of formal primary and secondary education?
- What opportunities and barriers have researchers identified when applying the philosophy and practices of restorative justice as a pedagogy in primary and secondary education?

Literature Selection

I selected literature for this review based on a combination of search strategies. Included in the search were library resources, Google Scholar, EBSCO, and PROQUEST. Article search terms, phrases, and keywords included: restorative justice, restorative practices, education,

primary and secondary education, pedagogy, circling pedagogy, community-building circle, and Indigenous practices. Over the last three decades, research into restorative justice in education has quickly expanded. The term “restorative justice in education” returned 105,000 results through Google Scholar alone. Therefore, the criteria for article selection needed additional refining. The term restorative justice can be difficult to define as philosophy and practices vary in interpretation across historical narratives and in consideration of the local knowledge held by communities that is yet unwritten (Evans & Vaandering, 2016). Therefore, the criteria by which literature was selected as “restorative” is provided below. For this review, pedagogy has been defined in its most fundamental form, as any conscious activity designed to enhance student learning (Vaandering, 2014a). Guided by these definitions, I completed an initial selection of key articles at the intersection of these two terms, then I reviewed and compared the reference lists to identify other essential titles. To craft the final list, I used the following three criteria to determine the saliency with which articles aligned to the topic of restorative pedagogies. Ultimately, the final list was composed of 45 titles. Although not all selected titles address all three components listed below, each text does account for one or more of the following areas of emphasis:

- Restorative justice as a proactive practice: Restorative justice is implemented in primary and secondary education as illustrated in a four tiered model. This model includes as the base level, a focus on community-building practices that are implemented in the entirety of the learning community. As restorative pedagogies guide the process of teaching and learning in the classroom, these practices are proactive in cultivating positive classroom climates (High, 2017; Vaandering, 2014a, 2014b). As such, articles that focused on restorative justice solely in the second or third tiers were deemphasized. Therefore, scholarship on restorative justice as a disciplinary intervention has been excluded from this literature review.

- Restorative practices are rooted in global and ancient Indigenous values, practices, and ways of being (Bickmore, 2012; Bouchard et al., 2016; Davis, 2019; Harrison, 2010; Hollweck et al., 2019; Moore, 2018; Pranis, 2005; Reed, 2021; Rerucha, 2021; Vaandering, 2010; Valandra, 2020): Early applications of restorative justice in education have been critiqued for deemphasizing the Indigenous roots of these practices, thereby creating the opportunity for white practitioners to appropriate and dominate the scholarly narrative and subsequent applications of restorative practices (Valandra, 2020). In recognition of the call for “colorizing restorative justice,” this review emphasized works that address the Indigenous roots of restorative practices seeking “shared-power, dialogue-based approaches that invite excluded or marginalized individuals and/or groups into the center of decision-making” (Dundas, 2020, p. 217).
- Structural and cultural violence are harms to be repaired: The top two tiers of implementation include practices for repairing harm in relationships in instances of conflict. However, scholars have noted that a focus on exclusively interpersonal forms of harm have failed to address structural and institutional forms of violence that also shape how harm and oppression unfold in primary and secondary settings (Riestenberg, 2013; Vaandering, 2010, 2014a, 2014b; Winn, 2020). Therefore, the articles selected in this review offer a critical analysis of power and oppression at the interpersonal, structural, and institutional levels and address these forms of violence as harms to “[make] right” through proactive restorative pedagogies (Archibold, 2016, p. 5).

Key Practices of Restorative Pedagogies

Restorative pedagogies fall in a range from informal to formal (Barnett, 2020; Carter, 2013; González et al., 2019; Morrison & Vaandering, 2012; Riestenberg, 2013; Vaandering, 2014b). Carter (2013) explained that informal learning happens through students’ observations or

responses to conflict that emerge in casual interpersonal relationships, such as during a minor disagreement between two students in the classroom. In contrast, formal restorative pedagogies include structured teaching practices that guide the delivery of curriculum and instruction (Bickmore, 2012, 2014; Vaandering, 2014a).

Schmitt (2019) offered a comprehensive list of the goals of restorative education. The author argued that restorative education resists dominant Eurocentric norms of schooling and prioritizes knowledge acquisition over the management of student behavior. Additionally, restorative pedagogies “promote critical thinking, writing, and communication skills, encourage identity development and engagement in education, and function as a means to deconstruct whiteness, work towards decolonizing classrooms, and make culturally sustaining and critical pedagogies a priority” (Schmitt, 2019, p. 11). Three key pedagogical practices emerged in the literature as the most commonly applied in primary and secondary settings. These key practices include critical dialogue, circle pedagogy, and the commitment to transforming educational institutions.

Critical Dialogue

Critical dialogue is designed for the purpose of critiquing oppressive power structures in the pursuit of both individual and collective transformation. At times, teachers may seek to validate their teaching based on the level of harmony present in the classroom, or the number of students who feel “good” (hooks, 1994). However, Bickmore (2014) argued that a harmony-oriented approach to teaching can become harmful if such a performance supersedes critical examinations of power. Rather, critical dialogue centers conflict management and anti-discriminatory practices as essential to developing strong relationships for learning.

Scholars pointed to Freire’s (2012) philosophy of education for liberation as foundational to cultivating critical dialogue (Bickmore, 2012; Vaandering, 2010). Conscientization, or critical

consciousness, is the outcome of participatory dialogue in which participants explore their own hidden assumptions and biases, as well as the connected systems of social power and oppression, as the catalyst for transformation of self in the pursuit of liberation. Llewellyn and Parker (2018) stated “dialogic inquiry is a critical reflection on social and conflictual issues with attention to the relationships at stake in a classroom and community” (p. 401). Critical dialogue aims to elicit topics of conflict and contrasting viewpoints as well as prompt discussions on topics that produce tensions in the classroom (Parker & Bickmore, 2020a). Such interrogations of oppressive systems of power in combination with critical self-reflection make a powerful catalyst for personal transformation and the reduction of harm (Selby & Kagawa, 2018).

Researchers highlighted pedagogies that teachers are using to facilitate critical dialogue in the classroom that include role-playing, short sharing, quick decision games (such as “raise your hand if you like...”), pair-dialogue, small group deliberations, literature circles, reflective writing, spoken word poetry, and group presentations (Bickmore, 2014; Bouchard et al., 2016; Hollweck et al., 2019; Reimer, 2019; Revell, 2020; Schmitt, 2019). A variety of instructional practices fall under the umbrella of critical dialogue, but the important point is that participants engage in a structured process of conflict engagement with the goal of transformation through conscientization.

Circle Pedagogy

The pedagogy of the circle was the most emphasized restorative practice in the literature. Hansen and Antsanen (2014) stated:

Consistent with traditional Indigenous models of justice, we teach through the circle and thus the chairs are arranged in a circle. We see that the circle encourages classroom discussion and promotes a sense of equality in the classroom. Promoting classroom discussion is very important to our teachings. (p. 3)

At the heart of restorative pedagogies rests the importance of peacebuilding relationships as a necessary condition for learning. Circles in the classroom serve to establish a climate of care, where students can engage in new content, learn new skills, and discover strategies with which to navigate conflict that can balance both trust and autonomy (Baldwin & Linnea, 2010; Bickmore, 2014; Hollweck et al., 2019; Parker & Bickmore, 2020a, 2020b; Riestenberg, 2013). Moreover, High (2017) recognized circle practices as well aligned to the essential elements of dignity; thereby supporting student well-being through measures of acceptance, inclusion, recognition, understanding, and accountability.

The pedagogy of circle has been aligned to positive outcomes among students conducive to learning such as increased concentration, motivation, communication, listening, and enhanced self-esteem (Bouchard et al., 2016). To create spaces for critical dialogue that prioritize well-being, teachers must recognize selecting the right questions, the right talking piece, and right facilitation, (in which right is defined as the conditions most conducive to learning), can make a significant impact on the outcomes of the circle (Parker & Bickmore, 2020a). Teachers must have a strong understanding of oppression, Eurocentrism, and their own implicit biases before attempting to guide students in navigating such topics that have the potential to elicit greater harm rather than peacebuilding relationships (Bouchard et al., 2016; Parker & Bickmore, 2020a).

Transformative Practice

The topic of teacher readiness is well aligned to the final key practice of restorative pedagogies: transformative practice. Essentially, if educators implement restorative pedagogies, they must also be prepared to address the interpersonal, structural, and cultural harms that emerge as an outcome of dialogue (Annamma, 2021). Historically, schools have served to sort, socialize, and control students as emerging members of the hegemonic social order (Archibold, 2016). Additionally, Bickmore (2012) also pointed to Freire (2012) who offered the concept of the

“banking concept of education,” a system in which students are treated as empty vessels with nothing to contribute to the learning environment (p. 116). These harmful paradigms that impact the day-to-day realities in classrooms can be recognized in “standardized pre-specified curriculum expectations, high-stakes testing, timetables, and scant teacher development opportunities” (Bickmore, 2014, p. 555). Therefore, it is inevitable teachers who use restorative pedagogies in the classroom will encounter confrontation with interpersonal, structural, and institutional forms of harm.

However, Archibold (2016) recommended educators view this transformative practice as an opportunity. The author stated transformative practices “advance the opportunity to frame new instructional methodologies that allow educators to transgress the limitations of racially and culturally unjust schooling that has not affirmed all children’s identities as intelligent human beings of esteem and value” (p. 3). Through identifying harm in the classroom as a violation of relationships, as opposed to a violation of rules, critical dialogue creates the opportunity for students and adults to pursue conscientization and address long-standing forms of harm (Bickmore, 2012; Hollweck et al., 2019). Even in the face of the inevitable distrust and controversy that critical dialogue reveals, restorative pedagogies equip school communities with the skills necessary to repair themselves (Carter, 2013).

Themes

The section below serves to highlight common themes found across the literature. These four themes include: (a) the value of relationships, (b) storytelling and meaning making through diverse perspectives, (c) transformation of self, and (d) the importance of teacher preparation.

The Value of Relationships

Restorative pedagogies center relationships as the most important condition for learning. Relationships include those “with self, adults, students, amongst students, with pedagogy,

curriculum, and institutional structures” (Hollweck et al., 2019, p. 6). Relationships are also a form of wealth that students are provided or denied based on the quality of their positive connectedness to the school community (Morrison et al., 2005). Therefore, students who are denied the opportunity to develop robust positive relationships face a form of marginalization while navigating hegemonic social structures (Morrison et al., 2005).

Positive relationships foster a classroom “where students feel like they belong, are respected and valued, and cared for, [and] they are more likely to take the necessary intellectual, social-emotional, and psychological risks that lead to academic achievement and positive social-emotional development” (Archibold, 2016, pp. 2–3). Additionally, the nonviolent relationships that emerge from peacebuilding pedagogies empower students to recognize the harmful effects of their own implicit biases (Fine, 2018). Moreover, through restorative pedagogies students can learn to communicate and be heard across cultural differences (Bickmore, 2012). Restorative pedagogies recognize relationship building, as a form of wealth, is never politically neutral (Hollweck et al., 2019).

However, often schools fail to serve students in building positive relationships as teachers and leaders tend to favor systems of reward and punishment (Harrison, 2010). Therefore, restorative pedagogies challenge teachers to build meaningful relationships with their students, despite the challenges that exist in the current structure of schooling. Anyon et al. (2018) found that students performed better when teacher’s cultivated strong relationships to better understand their triggers and deeper motivations. Teachers can develop an intuition in recognizing pedagogical strategies to proactively meet students' needs (Fine, 2018). Therefore, when it comes to the conditions that best support student learning, it’s all about relationships (Anyon et al., 2018).

Storytelling and Meaning Making through Multiple Perspectives

Another key theme across the literature addressed collective storytelling. Storytelling is a component of both critical dialogue and circle pedagogy, and therefore is central to teaching with restorative practices (Baldwin & Linnea, 2010; Boyes-Watson & Pranis, 2015). The act of sharing personal narratives is quintessential to relationship building (Hansen & Antsanen, 2014; Riestenberg, 2013; Vaandering, 2014b). Students develop their capacities for critical thinking through hearing others' perspectives in addition to cultivating empathy (Barnett, 2020). Restorative pedagogies are constructivist in nature, recognizing that students make meaning of their learning through their own subjective and relative position to curriculum and to others in the group (Bouchard et al., 2016; Hollweck et al., 2019).

Storytelling, as with critical dialogue, “requires confrontation with social systems of oppression and the facilitation of more inclusive relationships and curricula - multiple histories, experiences, and perspectives among students” (Llewellyn & Parker, 2018, p. 401). As such, a significant portion of the literature drew a connection between restorative pedagogies and culturally responsive pedagogies (Archibold, 2016; Barnett, 2020; Choi & Severson, 2009; de los Ríos et al., 2019; Dungee, 2020; Fine, 2018; O'Reilly, 2019; Revell, 2021; Schmitt, 2019). Culturally responsive pedagogies center cultural difference as a strength in learning and critique Eurocentric paradigms that center whiteness as the norm in education (de los Ríos et al., 2019; Revell, 2021). Restorative pedagogies seek to shift objectivist curriculum, removed from the daily realities of students, to pedagogies that center students' worldviews as essential to learning with a stance that solutions to social problems exist in the local community itself (Choi & Severson, 2009).

Transformation of Self

Wearmouth and Berryman (2012) argued learning is the transformation that a person pursues as they position their own identity in the broader social networks and functions of

privilege and oppression. Transformation is also an outcome of conscientization. Vaandering (2010) returned to Freire (2012), who noted transformation is an outcome of students' collective work to identify limit-situations, or social dynamics that serve to oppress one group of people as means to privilege another. As students identify limit-situations, they will encounter points of conflict in the community. The act of transformation, or the forging of peacebuilding relationships, requires a collective investment in the belief that all needs in the community can be met (Carter, 2013). Therefore, restorative pedagogies emphasize the pursuit of collective well-being, including mental, physical, emotional, and spiritual forms of wellness (Hansen & Antsanen, 2014). Transformation of self is a peacebuilding pedagogy as students collectively forge positive relationships through engaging with emergent conflict in the classroom.

It is also important that students learn how harm occurs in structural and cultural abuses of power (Moore, 2018). According to Fine (2018), it is essential that students learn to “identify, critique, and transform oppressive power structures” (p. 107). Through the transformation of self and the transformation of violent social systems, students engage in mutual empowerment, which is a key condition for peacebuilding (Carter, 2013).

Teacher Preparation

A fourth theme consistent across literature was the importance of teacher preparation. As critical explorations of power are central to restorative pedagogies, teachers need professional development in anti-bias education, examinations of oppression and domination, reflections in Eurocentrism and whiteness, and as well approaches to transformative action (Archibold, 2016; Dungee, 2020). Further, teachers must be prepared to engage students in learning through points of conflict, as opposed to about points of conflict (Bickmore, 2014). Conflict in the classroom should be positioned as a central component of learning. However, even teachers who engage in professional development can struggle to move forward with this practice (Bickmore, 2014).

Vaandering (2014b) made the point that changing paradigms impacts all aspects of life. Therefore, restorative pedagogies are most effective when teachers and students experience a cohesion of values across students, teachers, and the broader school community (Reimer, 2019). In other words, restorative pedagogies are not just a shift in the practices of the teacher, but rather a paradigm shift in how all members of the school approach relationships. Therefore, the well-being and opportunities for transformation that students are provided, must also be provided for all adults in the school community (Morrison et al., 2005).

A final key element in teacher preparation is related to the integration of Indigenous practices into colonial and Eurocentric institutions (Hansen & Antsanen, 2014; Harrison, 2010; Llewellyn & Parker, 2018). Reimer (2019) found that students recognized the hypocrisy in applications of restorative pedagogies that failed to acknowledge the harm of colonization to the well-being of Indigenous groups. However, students responded positively when this historical harm was openly grappled with in circle practices. The result was more meaningful experiences of learning for both students and teachers. Teachers who have been successful in implementing restorative pedagogies have developed a sense of efficacy, (a forward-facing self-reflection), that enhances their ability to engage conflict with a willingness to organize the practice and the capacity to envision transformative outcomes (Revell, 2020).

Critiques and Limitations

Although applications of restorative justice in education began decades ago, the bulk of the literature regarding restorative pedagogies spans less than 10 years. Therefore, there is still much to learn about restorative pedagogies. Several critiques and limitations became apparent across the body of literature. These include (a) an absence of student voice, (b) a lack of case studies that tease out the challenges of whole-school implementation, and (c) few

recommendations for stakeholders outside of teachers and school leaders. These critiques and limitations are discussed below.

An Absence of Student Voice

Of particular interest is how restorative pedagogies shape students' experiences of schooling (Selby & Kagawa, 2018). Across the literature, there were few studies that spoke to restorative pedagogies from the perspective of student experience. Therefore, the perceptions held by teachers and researchers that restorative pedagogies lead to transformative outcomes for students remains largely unproven. A significant pursuit of study would be to explore students' experiences with restorative pedagogies to determine if teachers' perceptions of effectiveness are reflected in the experiences of students. There were several studies in which researchers explored classroom pedagogies from the perspectives of the teacher, framing instructional delivery as occurring TO or FOR students (Bickmore, 2014; Ogilvie & Fuller, 2016). However, as highlighted in the social discipline window, researchers exploring restorative pedagogies must engage in research regarding restorative pedagogies as occurring WITH students (Vaandering, 2014b). As it stands, students' voices are largely excluded from the body of literature (but see Parker & Bickmore, 2020b). Without this insight on student experience, at most, researchers can state restorative pedagogies anecdotally become a powerful catalyst for positive transformative experiences.

With that being said, the importance of centering student voice as a key practice in restorative pedagogies is recognized among scholars in the field (Moore, 2018; O'Reilly, 2019; Parker & Bickmore, 2020b; Riestenberg, 2013; Schmitt, 2019). To that aim, there is an emerging body of research recognizing restorative practices as emancipatory and empowering in cultivating youth-led restorative programs, spaces, and communities. One branch of this discourse integrates restorative practices with youth participatory action research (YPAR), often as applied in formal

school settings (Garnett et al., 2019; Harden et al., 2015; Kervick et al., 2019; Thorsborne & Blood, 2013). A second branch of this research investigates youth-led restorative practices in both formal and informal settings as a necessary component of altering the power dynamics that silence the voices of youth, thereby leaving communities better able to meet young people's needs (Davis, 2019; Gavrielides, 2015; Gavrielides & Noriega, 2019; González et al., 2019). With recognition of this body of literature, there are additional opportunities to explore YPAR and youth-led pedagogies in the primary and secondary classrooms.

The Complexity of the Whole-School Approach

Another key point important to highlight is that some research points to a whole-school approach to implementation as the only method that can be successful. The whole-school approach is an important consideration, as restorative justice has been recognized as a culture shift (Armour, 2016; Hollweck et al., 2019). Morrison et al. (2005) stated,

the central point for school communities to recognize is that, with literally centuries of investment in the traditional culture of discipline, cultural change will not happen quickly, a long-term strategic approach must be taken as school communities work their way through the [necessary] stages. (p. 345)

Further, the authors made clear that school culture is determined by school leadership. Therefore, from their perspective, restorative pedagogies employed only in the classroom have little promise of transforming school culture. However, both school leadership and teachers are intimately linked, as “restorative approaches, curriculum, and pedagogical practices are not mutually exclusive” (González et al., 2019, p. 218). Yet, Carter (2013) observed in 2012, most restorative practices in schools framed disruptive behavior in the classroom as caused by the student as opposed to the harmful processes of schooling. Therefore, many schools that are pursuing

restorative practices are failing to do so with the critical analysis of power necessary to address structural and institutional violence (Vaandering, 2010).

The whole-school approach to restorative justice runs counter to the researchers who positioned such practices as insurgent acts of resistance, thereby disrupting harmful power dynamics and the work of oppressive school leadership (Davis, 2019; de los Ríos et al., 2019; Schmitt, 2019). Therefore, a gap in the literature is as to whether restorative pedagogies support positive academic outcomes for students across time. What remains unaddressed is whether classroom pedagogies can lead to significant impacts on student outcomes, even if school leadership is resistant to such interventions. For example, researchers assert that top-down directives can be most successful in effective implementation, however, these studies also treat restorative practices as falling outside of the direct instruction in general education (González et al., 2019; Morrison et al., 2005). It is possible that teachers who implement restorative practices as a function of teaching and learning in general education may be more effective at delivering transformative outcomes for individual students over whole-school models of implementation that position restorative justice as an intervention occurring outside of daily practices of teaching and learning.

Recommendations for Stakeholders Beyond Teachers and School Leaders

The preparation that teachers require to facilitate restorative pedagogies is a point of tension in the literature. Restorative pedagogies are a set of concrete practices, yet there are philosophical foundations that shape an entire way of being (Rerucha, 2021). Teachers need to be “challenged explicitly to reflect on their core values and the messages being sent by their own and the school system’s practices in terms of what it is to be human” (Vaandering, 2014b, p. 517). It is not only students who need to develop conscientization, rather teachers and school leaders as well (Vaandering, 2014a). However, schools do not produce the necessary conditions

to support teachers and school leaders in the pursuit of conscientization (Bouchard et al., 2016; Hollweck et al., 2019). Revell (2020) made the point that teacher mastery is still largely determined by the efficiency with which a student can internalize the lessons of direct instruction. Conversely, Revell stated restorative practices slow the delivery of direct instruction and are therefore often perceived as counter to teacher mastery.

Therefore, a key gap in the literature has to do with the broader educational contexts that can support the growth and implementation of restorative pedagogies. Two articles addressed restorative pedagogies as a key element of teacher preparation programs (Bouchard et al., 2016; Hollweck et al., 2019). However, no article positioned any additional stakeholders as accountable to creating the conditions to support the implementation of restorative pedagogies. Therefore, across the literature, only teachers, school leaders and administrators, as well as instructors of teacher preparation programs were provided guidance in strategies to support teachers with regard to restorative pedagogies. However, broader systems do influence school culture and teacher effectiveness including state and federal administrators and policy makers, curriculum and textbook developers, criminal justice systems, local communities, and college and universities (particularly as related to criteria for admission). Examination and recommendations for these stakeholders remain unaddressed in the literature. Essentially, teachers and school administrators are identified as fully responsible for transforming the paradigms that shape the modern-day classroom.

Future Research

This literature review was designed to explore restorative pedagogies in primary and secondary education as a philosophy and set of practices intended to create spaces of well-being for students. This review revealed restorative pedagogies are proactive, a concrete set of practices, and support the pursuit of conscientization for both students and adults. Some critiques

and limitations were also identified including an absence of student perspectives as well as the tension between restorative pedagogies as a whole-school leadership-directed culture shift or as a student-centered insurgent act of resistance designed to support the dissent from oppressive institutions. Upon review of the literature, several opportunities for future research have become apparent. The literature has demonstrated restorative pedagogies challenge current models of schooling, however, there has been little research to offer supportive strategies in overcoming persistent barriers in schools and the broader educational contexts. Some of these challenges provide opportunities for future research as described below:

- Future studies should investigate the long-term impacts of restorative pedagogies and other restorative practices in the U.S context. González et al. (2019) offered an analysis of a whole-school model of implementation that spanned 7 years. This study included one required and two elective courses for high school students in topics of restorative justice. The researchers found that after 7 years, the school demonstrated higher levels of connectivity, positive relationships, and stronger patterns of democratic decision-making. However, this long-term exploration is unique to other literature and does not address the integration of restorative pedagogies into the processes of teaching and learning across general subject matter, with the exception of a visual arts course. Additionally, although there is evidence restorative practices do have a positive correlation to a reduction of suspensions, there is less evidence restorative pedagogies correlate to improved academic outcomes. This research could be greater enhanced through centering student voice or more thoroughly accounting for positive outcomes for students particularly related to academic performance and overall well-being.
- Further research should investigate the transformation of self that is required of teachers (working in hierarchical institutions) to successfully implement restorative pedagogies.

Teachers' own acts of critical self-reflection toward critical consciousness are essential in developing the skill to facilitate spaces of learning that support the holistic well-being of students (Williams & Gray, 2021). Three articles highlighted restorative pedagogies are effective means for preparing teachers in preservice credential programs (Bouchard et al., 2016; Graham & Musser, 2021; Hollweck et al., 2019). However, teacher preparation programs are insufficient for the long-term support of teachers as well as in preparing those who are already in the classroom. Further, many teachers who receive training fail to integrate these pedagogies into their regular practice of teaching (Bickmore, 2014). It is a question of future research to determine the most effective strategies for supporting teachers in cultivating new pedagogies, across time, and through the regular functions of schooling.

- Most of the studies included in this literature review have been exploratory, theoretical, or qualitative in design. Often, qualitative research methods included a single program, unit of instruction, or small community of students or teachers while spanning just a short length of time. One study examined school transformation across multiple years (González et al., 2019). Morrison et al. (2005) spoke to the importance of a whole-school culture shift as a key element of restorative education. However, there is little literature that offers a robust description or an example of a restorative school culture in practice. More research is needed to support teachers and school leaders in envisioning restorative approaches to schooling that guide the functions of faculty and staff, beyond the discipline practices or pedagogies aimed toward students. Moreover, there was an absence of case studies to further explore the complexity of the whole-school model of implementation. This need is particularly resonant in a context in which restorative

education challenges the status quo of schooling and therefore will inevitably lead to inter-adult conflict.

Conclusion

There is great promise in the potential for restorative education. In the span of three decades, this field of study has emerged, multiple models of implementation have been developed (ranging from narrow to whole-school approach), and a robust collection of restorative pedagogies have been identified and documented. The importance of this field of research cannot be overstated as teachers and school leaders seek to address long-standing forms of educational inequity that have served to marginalize students of color. Restorative pedagogies offer teachers approaches to classroom instruction that (a) challenge the Eurocentric status quo, (b) center student well-being, and (c) empower students to critique systems of oppression and transform harmful relationships.

With restorative pedagogies, teachers can craft communities of accountability where participants actively engage through conflict. However, despite restorative pedagogies potentially being transformative to the students in a single classroom, a single teacher is not likely to transform a school culture, let alone challenge long-standing paradigms that inform the modern-day purpose of education. The challenge facing researchers and practitioners is to determine how to apply restorative pedagogies to the functions of decision-making not just of students, but teachers and leaders as well. Davis (2019) called on practitioners to find their inner warrior/healer. In her eyes, a warrior stands firmly in resistance during moments of oppression as the healer seeks resolution to harm through dialogue and repair to relationships. Teachers must be both warriors and healers to integrate restorative pedagogies, disrupt systems of oppression, and prioritize student well-being.

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