Restorative Justice and the Prevention of Youth Reoffending

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Abstract

This thesis is made up of three papers. The first is a systematic literature review investigating the effectiveness of restorative justice interventions on reducing the reoffending rate of young people. The review consists of nine studies, the majority of which (N=8) found that there was no significant difference between the impact of restorative justice interventions, and other interventions targeting young offenders, on the rate of reoffending. One study found that restorative justice interventions had a significant positive effect at a three-year follow-up period. Following this, recommendations were made for future research. This included the exploration of the views of restorative justice Case Managers as to what factors are important in enabling restorative justice interventions to prevent young people reoffending.

The second paper is a bridging document which explains how key decisions throughout the process of completing this piece of work were made, and makes explicit the journey from the Systematic Review to the Research Project. This includes the focus of the research, methodology, method and analysis. The bridging document also explores the areas of ontology, epistemology, reflexivity and ethical issues.

The third paper describes a piece of empirical research. In line with recommendations in the Systematic Review, the views of restorative justice Case Managers from a Youth Justice Service were explored regarding the factors that they considered important in delivering a restorative justice intervention that is successful in reducing reoffending. A group interview was used to elicit the views of the Case

Managers. Through applying a thematic analysis to the data, six themes emerged; learning, community, enabling change, a holistic approach, professional skill and overcoming systemic barriers. A model is proposed to highlight the relationship between dialogic space and the six themes identified through analysis, in supporting the competence, autonomy and relatedness of young people as conceptualised in self-determination theory. It was concluded that Educational Psychologists have an important role to play in supporting services to develop and deliver interventions with positive outcomes for children and young people. The benefits and limitations of using a group interview are discussed. Implications for the practice of Educational Psychologists, and suggestions for further research, are explored.

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Systematic Review: Is restorative justice an effective approach to prevent young people in the youth justice system reoffending?

Abstract

The use of restorative justice practices has been a growing area within the youth justice system, particularly in England and Wales where they have received support from the Youth Justice Board. There is some evidence of positive outcomes relating to the implementation of restorative justice practices. These include victim and offender satisfaction, and offenders perceiving a greater sense of control over their future behaviour. This review looked at the effectiveness of restorative justice programmes in preventing reoffending. The psychological underpinnings of restorative justice were explored, before a comprehensive search of the literature was carried out. Nine studies met the inclusion criteria set for this review. The majority of studies (N=8) found that the effect of restorative justice interventions were not significantly different to interventions against which they were compared. One remaining study found a significant result up until the three-year follow-up period. Limitations of the review were discussed, including the difficulty in comparing restorative justice programmes due to variation between them. Finally recommendations for further research were made.

Introduction

Retributive justice versus restorative justice

Restorative justice is viewed by many as an opposing ethos to retributive justice, which is traditionally seen in the justice system (Johnstone, 2002). It is argued that retributive justice suffers from a series of limitations (Beven, Hall, Froyland, Steels, & Goulding, 2005; Dzur & Olson, 2004). Three key limitations were highlighted by Dzur and Olson (2004):

1. Offenders are charged with breaking laws set by the state, with sentences given as a response to this. Therefore crime is committed against the state, not the victim or community.

2. Sentences are based on punishing the offender; ignoring the victim's needs.

3. Offenders do not play an active role in the process. Therefore they are not given the opportunity to accept responsibility for the consequences of their actions; in turn preventing reintegration into the community.

Support for restorative justice has been led by a desire to find a more effective way of dealing with crime; one which accounts for the failings of a retributive justice system (Johnstone, 2002).

Restorative justice

Latimer, Dowden, and Muise (2005) define restorative justice as "a voluntary, community-based response to criminal behaviour that attempts to bring together the victim, the offender, and the community, in an effort to address the harm caused by the criminal behaviour" (p.131). Punishment is no longer the priority of justice. Focus

instead is placed on needs; those of the victim, offender, and community (Johnstone, 2002). The offender must take responsibility for the consequences of their behaviour, and repair the harm caused. This in turn enables them to be reintegrated back into the community; not to be ostracised through punishment (Dzur & Olson, 2004).

Van Ness (2002) proposed four key values underpinning the approach:

1. *Encounter*; bringing together the offender and those affected by the offending behaviour.

2. *Amends*; the offender makes amends for the harm caused through an apology, changed behaviour, restitution or generosity. These acts must be voluntary, not imposed by a court.

3. *Reintegration*; both the victim and the offender must be helped to overcome stigmatisation and be reintegrated into the community.

4. *Inclusion*; allowing the victim, community and offender to play a fully participatory role; enabling discussions regarding the effects of the offending behaviour, and the necessary outcomes, to be constructed collaboratively between all parties.

Van Ness suggests a justice system underpinned by all four of these values should be considered 'fully restorative'. However he also acknowledges that systems may be 'moderately restorative' and 'minimally restorative' where some, but not all of the values are present (Van Ness, 2002).

The theory of a psychological sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) provides an explanation as to why integration in the community is important.

McMillan and Chavis propose that "sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together" (1986, p.9). Restorative justice aims to reintegrate the offender, therefore supporting them to develop a sense of community. It is important that if an offender is to be successfully reintegrated, attention should be paid to the factors McMillan and Chavis suggest form a sense of community. In particular restorative justice promotes the concept of reparation in which offenders take the necessary steps to repair the harm caused. This theory suggests that personal investment in the community (such as reparation) supports members in feeling that they have earned their place, and therefore their membership is more meaningful and valuable (McMillan, 1996; McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Successful reparation, therefore, could lead to reintegration, and in turn deter reoffending so as not to be ostracised from the community.

Importantly Johnstone (2002) proposes that restorative justice cannot be seen as a new tool; it must instead involve a paradigm shift in which our understanding of crime and justice themselves are changed. In other words, change from a retributive understanding of justice to a restorative understanding.

Restorative justice has been implemented in the justice system and educational settings (Hopkins, 2002; McCluskey, Lloyd, Kane, et al., 2008; McCluskey, Lloyd, Stead, et al., 2008; Tickell & Akester, 2004). Within the justice system it has been used both with adult and young offenders (Bonta, Wallace-Capretta, Rooney, &

McAnoy, 2002; Schwalbe, Gearing, MacKenzie, Brewer, & Ibrahim, 2012). However the area of focus for this review is its use within youth justice.

Educational Psychologists and youth offending

Correlations have been highlighted between young people who engage in offending behaviour and low academic achievement, truancy and exclusion (Adams, Smart, & Greig, 2009; Berridge, Brodie, Pitts, Porteous, & Tarling, 2001; Liddle, 1998). It is also suggested that approximately 25% of young people within the youth justice system are identified as having Special Educational Needs (SEN) (Youth Justice Board, 2006a). Specific areas of SEN experienced by young offenders include speech, language, communication and learning difficulties (Bryan, 2004; Games, Curran, & Porter, 2012; Loucks, 2007; Talbot & Riley, 2007). Given that the SEN Code of Practice highlights the role of Educational Psychologists (EPs) in the identification and assessment of SEN, and the implementation of interventions (Department for Education, 2001), it seems appropriate that EPs should be involved in work with such young people within the youth justice system.

The work of EPs within the area of youth offending has been highlighted in literature. This includes the experiences of EPs working as a member of a Youth Offending Team (YOT) (Ryrie, 2006), identifying young offenders with SEN (Games et al., 2012) and delivering consultation with YOTs (Wyton, 2013). However the relatively small number of such articles suggests perhaps this is an area which needs further exploration.

The origins of restorative justice

Some trace restorative justice principles to traditional processes within the aboriginal community, adopted by the New Zealand youth justice system. Their hope was to make the process more culturally appropriate for the disproportionate number of Maori young people in their justice system (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001; Johnstone, 2002; McCold & Wachtel, 2002; Tickell & Akester, 2004). This led to the implementation of a restorative practice called family group conferencing (FGC) as a statutory response to youth crime (Johnstone, 2002; McCold & Wachtel, 2002; Tickell & Akester, 2004).

Australia, looking to implement a similar system, formed their own restorative approach to youth justice. They incorporated the practices already underway in New Zealand with an understanding of Braithwaite's (1989) emerging theory of reintegrative shaming (Hayes & Daly, 2003; Maxwell & Morris, 2002; Tickell & Akester, 2004). Braithwaite's theory suggests that, depending on how shame is used or experienced, it can lead to either reductions in reoffending or increases. He proposed that it is the shame of the community, or those closest to us, who have the biggest impact; not the shame of the state or court (Braithwaite, 1989).

Maxwell and Morris (2002) suggest that it is disapproval (or shaming) which leads to remorse. The psychological theory of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957) may provide some understanding of why this is the case. By applying this theory we may assume that learning about the harm their act has caused has left the offender in a state of disequilibrium. In other words they begin to feel that the act they committed does not sit comfortably with the feelings it has caused. This discrepancy between

behaviour and feelings may drive the young person to change their behaviour to avoid encountering this situation again (Festinger, 1957); in this case reoffending.

 Crucially, there is a distinction made between 'stigmatic shaming' (condemning the offender) and 'reintegrative shaming' (condemning the act). It is argued that only 'reintegrative shaming' can reduce crime and that 'stigmatic shaming' can have the opposite effect (Braithwaite, 1989; Hayes & Daly, 2003; Maxwell & Morris, 2002). Therefore, if the offender is to be reintegrated into the community it is important that blame is placed on the act, not the person.

Restorative justice practices

There are a number of restorative justice practices used internationally including Australia, New Zealand, North America and the UK (although this is not an exhaustive list). The most commonly used restorative justice practices are family group conferencing (FGC), victim-offender mediation (VOM), restorative conferencing, circle sentencing and reparative boards (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001; Bradshaw & Roseborough, 2005; Dzur & Olson, 2004; Nugent, Williams, & Umbreit, 2004).

In England and Wales specifically, the most common types of restorative justice practice are FGC, VOM, restorative conferencing and youth offender panels (Youth Justice Board, 2008). Although the principles underpinning each restorative justice practice should largely be the same, the structure of each varies. VOM involves mediation between the offender and the victim through a trained facilitator (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001; Bradshaw & Roseborough, 2005; Youth Justice Board,

2008). Restorative conferences are similar in nature to VOMs but extend participation of those affected by the criminal behaviour beyond the immediate victim (Tickell & Akester, 2004; Youth Justice Board, 2008). FGC also brings together the victim and offender, as well as close friends and family of each. These extended support networks are encouraged to collaboratively agree upon an appropriate way for the offender to make amends (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001; McGarrell & Hipple, 2007; Youth Justice Board, 2008). Finally, youth offender panels involve developing a plan or contract, with the participation of the victim and offender, that aims to help the offender make amends (Youth Justice Board, 2008).

At the centre of these practices is a belief that we exist in the world in relation to others. This approach recognises that our actions impact on others, and there is an emphasis on the importance of dialogue in resolving harm caused. I therefore suggest that restorative justice can be seen as being underpinned by a constructionist ontology, where constructing meaning and understanding through the use of language is central to the process (Burr, 2003). Many of the practices described here look beyond the immediate victim to those in the surrounding systems, and explores the impact of the offender's behaviour on those. The importance of involving those around the offender also shows an appreciation of the duality in the relationship between the individual and the systems around them; acknowledging that these systems can also influence the offender (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

The emphasis on dialogue within these practices allows those involved to explore and reconstruct their understanding of the criminal act and the impact that it has had.

This holds strong similarities with the psychological notion of intersubjectivity which highlights the process of a shared focus of attention (Matusov, 2001; Travarthen & Aitken, 2001) and the suggestion that meaning can only be constructed through interaction with the 'other' (Coelho & Figueiredo, 2003). This understanding of interpersonal intersubjectivity helps to highlight why it is fundamental to restorative justice that the offender and those affected by the act are brought together. Without this interaction neither party will be able to create new understanding.

Howevever, intersubjectivity alone is not enough to enable the creation of new knowledge and understanding, or transformation. In terms of restorative justice, intersubjectivity provides a shared focus; on the act that has been committed and the harm that it has caused. However, the transformative power comes not from a fusion of perspectives, as intersubjectivity would suggest, but through the tension of differing perspectives (van der Riet, 2008). Through this tension individuals are able to evaluate and judge the differing perspectives being shared, and set their own position. In this way, the self and other are co-authors, despite retaining individual understandings and perceptions (Marková, 2003).

Restorative justice outcomes

Research into the outcomes of restorative justice within the youth justice system is a growing field, and on the whole has seen largely positive results. There have been a number of outcomes measured including victim satisfaction, offender satisfaction, and the offender's sense of control over future behaviour (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001; Beven et al., 2005; Crawford & Newburn, 2013; Latimer et al., 2005).

Research suggests that both victims and offenders involved in a restorative programme feel greater levels of satisfaction than those in a non-restorative programme (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001; Beven et al., 2005; Latimer et al., 2005). Furthermore, research reports that victims experience greater levels of security (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001; Beven et al., 2005), and a greater understanding of the offender's feelings and reasons for committing the offence, which in turn leads to more positive feelings towards the offender (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001; Beven et al., 2005). Further research suggests that victim satisfaction and the offender's sense of fairness are greater when the community and victims are fully involved in the process (McCold & Wachtel, 2002). It is therefore suggested that the more restorative elements incorporated within a programme, the greater the benefits.

Research also suggests that involvement in a restorative justice programme can lead to offenders perceiving a greater sense of control over their future behaviour (Beven et al., 2005) and an increased likelihood that they will fulfil the agreed outcomes of the programme (Beven et al., 2005; Latimer et al., 2005). These final two outcomes link closely to the concepts of autonomy and competence, two important areas in self-determination theory (SDT) proposed by psychologists Deci and Ryan (1985). Their theory suggests that there are three key factors in the development of self-motivation, social functioning and personal wellbeing (Ryan & Deci, 2000):

1. *Autonomy*: A person's sense of agency and control over their life.
2. *Competence*: A person's ability to experience mastery in their actions.
3. *Relatedness*: A person's desire to be connected to, and interact with, others.

As noted above, research suggests that restorative justice can promote the autonomy and competence of young offenders. As discussed on page 3, reintegration into the community is a key aim of restorative practices. This highlights SDTs third key factor of relatedness. This theory would suggest therefore that restorative justice interventions which promote the autonomy, competence and relatedness of young people will, as a result, increase their self-motivation, social functioning and personal wellbeing.

Restorative justice in England and Wales

The use of restorative justice in England and Wales has been growing and has received support from the Home Office in both the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 and the Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act 1999 (Crawford & Newburn, 2002, 2013). Through the 1998 act the Youth Justice Board (YJB) was formed to govern youth justice in England and Wales. The YJB has shown support for restorative justice, producing several documents aimed at encouraging its use within YOTs. This includes *Developing Restorative Justice: An Action Plan* (YJB, 2006b) in which they propose to "broaden, develop and extend the practice of restorative justice within the youth justice system" (p.3). More recently the *National Standards for Youth Justice Services* state that YOTs should "ensure that victims of youth crime are involved, as appropriate, in a range of restorative processes that seek to put right the harm they have experienced" (YJB, 2013, p.24).

Given the dominant discourse surrounding youth reoffending (see page 38) it seems that the extent to which restorative justice is effective in reducing youth reoffending would be an interesting area for investigation.

Method

To ensure a systematic approach was used, the seven stages for systematic review, proposed by Petticrew and Roberts (2006), were the framework for this literature review. These stages can be seen in Table 1. The processes undertaken to carry out this review will be described in terms of their appropriate stage.

1. Clearly define the question that the review is setting out to answer, or the hypothesis that the review will test.
2. Determine the types of studies that need to be located in order to answer your question.
3. Carry out a comprehensive literature search to locate those studies.
4. Screen the results of that search (that is, sift through the retrieved studies, deciding which ones look as if they fully meet the inclusion criteria, and thus need more detailed examination, and which do not).
5. Critically appraise the included studies.
6. Synthesise the studies, and assess heterogeneity amongst the study findings.
7. Disseminate the findings of the review.

Table 1: **The systematic review stages taken from Petticrew and Roberts (2006)**

Stage 1: Clearly define the review question

This literature review seeks to answer the question: is restorative justice an effective approach to prevent young people in the youth justice system reoffending?

I chose the outcome measure of reoffending as research indicates correlations between young people who engage in offending behaviour and low academic achievement, truancy and exclusion (Adams et al., 2009; Berridge et al., 2001; Liddle, 1998). This highlights a relationship between offending and education, therefore if we can enhance the success of interventions in preventing reoffending (thus remove young people from the justice system) we may be able to promote greater engagement in education.

Stage 2: Determine the types of studies needed to answer the question

To answer this review question participants in studies were young people within a youth justice system. To investigate the *effectiveness* of restorative justice it was important that studies included at least two participant groups; one in which young people were referred to a restorative justice programme and another in which young people were referred to an alternative programme for young offenders. Studies had to include a measure of reoffending.

Stage 3: Carry out a comprehensive literature search

Search terms were constructed for use on electronic databases to ensure consistency in searching. These terms can be found in Table 2. An online thesaurus was used to obtain all possible variations of each term.

The electronic databases searched were Web of Knowledge, Scopus, ERIC, PsycInfo, and Taylor and Francis. A hand search of the Journal of Youth Justice was conducted, in addition to searches on the Youth Justice Board website and Newcastle University eThesis website. All searches were conducted at the beginning

of 2013. During the searching stage a meta-analysis of diversion programs for juvenile offenders (Schwalbe et al., 2012) was found. A hand search of this paper was conducted to find relevant studies for this review. A map of the searching process can be seen in Figure 1.

Target population terms	youth young* adolescen* teenage* juvenile*
Outcome terms	reoffen* re-offen* recidiv* relaps*
Intervention terms	restor* practice restor* justice

Table 2: Search terms used for the literature review

Hand searches were also conducted in journal articles found during the searching phase which seemed to be of particular relevance. 419 studies were found during the initial searching phase.

Stage 4: Screen the results and apply inclusion criteria

The inclusion criteria are a set of criteria that a study must meet in order to be included in the final review. The inclusion criteria ensured that each study chosen for the final review was appropriate in answering the review question.

Initially the titles, abstracts and key words of the 419 articles found during the searching phase were screened to eliminate studies which were not relevant to the review question. This left a total of 21 papers. I then obtained full copies of these

Initial search

Electronic databases

Other sources

Web of Knowledge
(28)

ERIC
(3)

Journal of
Youth Justice
(1)

Newcastle
University
eThesis
(0)

Scopus
(27)

Taylor and Francis
(348)

Youth Justice
Board website
(1)

Cited in Schwalbe
et al., (2012) meta-
analysis
(2)

PsycInfo
(8)

Cited in Jeong,
McGarrell, and
Hipple (2012)
(1)

Application of inclusion criteria

Bergseth and
Bouffard (2007)

Kim and
Gerber (2012)

Lane, Turner,
Fain, and
Sehgal (2005)

Rodriguez
(2007)

Jeong et al.
(2012)

Stewart (2008)

0 studies

0 studies

0 studies

Wilcox and
Hoyle (2004)

Hayes (2005)

Walker (2002)

Total – 9 studies

Figure 1: Map of studies

15

papers and carried out an in-depth screening which eliminated a further 11 studies.

During the screening phase it became apparent that three articles (Jeong et al., 2012; McGarrell, 2001; McGarrell & Hipple, 2007) were reporting data using the same participants at different follow-up times. It was decided that only the most recent study (Jeong et al., 2012) would be included in the review as including all three would give an unfair weight to the outcomes of one intervention. During the searching phase another meta-analysis was found that investigated the effectiveness of the two most common types of restorative justice practices; FGCand VOM (Bradshaw & Roseborough, 2005). Therefore it was decided that only studies published in the year 2000 onwards would be included in the review as this was the year that the most recent study included in Bradshaw and Roseborough's meta-analysis was published. The full inclusion criteria for this review can be found in Table 3.

Participants	Children and young people aged 10 to 17
Setting	Youth Justice System
Intervention	Any programme which fits this review's definition of restorative justice (described below)
Outcome measure	Reoffending
Study design	Studies examining the effect of restorative justice programmes compared to a control group
Date published	2000 onwards

Table 3: Inclusion criteria

The definition of a restorative justice programme used in this review was taken from Latimer, Dowden and Muise's meta-analysis which investigated a range of outcomes associated with restorative justice (2005, p.131):

> *"Restorative Justice is a voluntary, community-based response to criminal behaviour that attempts to bring together the victim, the offender, and the community, in an effort to address the harm caused by the criminal behaviour."*

At the completion of the screening phase 9 studies remained which were eligible to be included in the review.

Stage 5: Critically appraise the included studies

The EPPI-Centre weight of evidence (WoE) tool (EPPI-Centre, 2007) was used to assess the quality of the studies which met the inclusion criteria. The WoE allows an overall evaluation of four areas of quality for each study. These areas are:

A. Trustworthiness of findings in answering the study question.

B. Appropriateness of research design and analysis for addressing the question, or sub-questions, of this specific systematic review.

C. Relevance of particular focus of the study (including conceptual focus, context, sample, and measures) for addressing the question of this specific systematic review.

D. Overall weight of evidence, taking into account areas A, B and C.

As I was the only person to carry out this assessment I acknowledge the subjectivity of the process. However, it did allow for some degree of quality control in the review process. A synthesis of the weight of evidence for this review is discussed further in the results section.

Stage 6: Synthesise the studies, and assess heterogeneity amongst the study findings

The 9 studies were analysed further according to the number, age and other characteristics of participants, context, study design, type of comparison group, source of data, length of follow-up period, conceptualisation of reoffending, and results. A summary of this information can be found in Table 4.

Stage 7 of the systematic review process (disseminate the findings of the review) follows in the results section.

Results

Characteristics of the studies included in the review

A summary of the characteristics of the nine studies included in the final review can be found in Table 4. Six of the nine studies reviewed were conducted in the USA, two in Australia and one in England and Wales. All studies included a mixed gender sample.

Four of the studies randomly allocated participants into either the treatment or comparison group; five did not. Of the studies which provided information regarding the nature of the comparison group, four used young people processed through a traditional court setting, four used young people referred to a diversion program. Three studies included only first-time offenders while five included both first-time and repeat offenders. One study did not include this information. Four studies based their

Study	Participants			Context	Study design	Comparison Groups	Methods/ Sources of evidence	Follow up	Outcome Measure (reoffending) defined as	Results
	N	Age	Other characteristics							
Bergseth and Bouffard (2007)	330 164 Treatment group 166 Comparison Group 74% Male	Mean 14.7 years	Sample includes young people with prior convictions and convictions of a violent offence	American youth justice system	Quasi-experimental	Young people referred to restorative justice processing (treatment group) Young people referred to traditional court processing (comparison group)	Local juvenile court database	6 months 1 year 2 years 3 years 4 years	Any new officially recorded police contact	Reoffended: <u>3 years:</u> Treatment - 29.6% Comparison – 45.5% X^2=4.49 P=0.025 *Significant* <u>4 years:</u> Treatment – 32.0% Comparison – 44.6% X^2=1.78 P=0.182 *Not significant*

Table 4: Description of the studies' methods and outcomes

Study	Participants			Context	Study design	Comparison Groups	Methods/ Sources of evidence	Follow up	Outcome Measure (reoffending) defined as	Results
	N	Age	Other characteristics							
Hayes (2005)	222 64 Treatment group 158 Comparison group	No data available	First-time offenders Not arrested for a felony crime, a drug or alcohol crime or a sex offence	Australian youth justice system	Randomised field experiment	Young people who received a restorative justice conference intervention (treatment group) Young people who received a court sentence (comparison group)	Re-analysis of previous research data held in university archives	1 year	Re-arrested	Reoffended: Treatment – 23% Comparison – 24% *Not significant*

Table 4: *Continued*

Study	Participants			Context	Study design	Comparison Groups	Methods/ Sources of evidence	Follow up	Outcome Measure (reoffending) defined as	Results
	N	Age	Other characteristics							
Jeong et al. (2012)	782 400 Treatment group 382 Comparison Group	14 years or less	Sample included first time offenders only	American youth justice system	Randomised field experiment	Young people referred to Family Group Conferences (treatment group) Young people referred to other diversion programmes (comparison group)	Court data	12 years	Re-arrested	Reoffended: Treatment – 77.8% Comparison – 78.3% *Not significant*

Table 4: *Continued*

Study	Participants			Context	Study design	Comparison Groups	Methods/ Sources of evidence	Follow up	Outcome Measure (reoffending) defined as	Results
	N	Age	Other characteristics							
Kim and Gerber (2012)	249 (12 excluded from analysis) 50.2% Treatment Group 48% Comparison Group	Mean 16.46 years	Sample included young people with conviction of 3 types of crime; property, shoplifters or violent	Australian youth justice system	Randomised field experiment	Young people who received intervention from Reintegrative Shaming Experiments (treatment group) Young people who received standard court processing (comparison group)	Secondary data, interviews conducted post court or conference proceedings reported in previous research	Immediate	Offender perceptions of whether the treatment they received would prevent future offences	Can prevent future offences: **Pearson chi-square and gamma values:** Treatment – 43.5% Comparison – 38.4% p=0.836 Not significant **t-test:** Treatment mean = 3.92, SD = 1.070 Comparison mean = 4.01, SD = 0.757 *Not significant*

Table 4: *Continued*

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Study	Participants			Context	Study design	Comparison Groups	Methods/ Sources of evidence	Follow up	Outcome Measure (reoffending) defined as	Results
	N	Age	Other characteristics							
Lane et al. (2005)	462 226 Treatment Group 236 Comparison Group	12-18 years	Young people with a citation (arrest) or violation of probation Medium-high risk young people	American youth justice system	Randomised field experiment	Young people randomly assigned to experimental programme (treatment group) Young people assigned to routine probation (comparison group)	Court data	18 months	Referred/ arrested	Reoffended: Treatment – 59.3% Comparison – 58.1% *Not significant*

Table 4: *Continued*

Study	Participants			Context	Study design	Comparison Groups	Methods/ Sources of evidence	Follow up	Outcome Measure (reoffending) defined as	Results
	N	Age	Other characteristics							
Rodriguez (2007)	4,970 1708 Treatment group 3262 Comparison group	Mean treatment group – 14.0 years Mean comparison group – 14.1 years	Sample included first time and repeat offenders Sex and violent felony offenders not included	American youth justice system	Quasi-experimental	Young people who received intervention from CJC (treatment group) Young people eligible for diversion programmes who received intervention through the juvenile court (comparison group)	Official court data	2 years	A new juvenile petition to the juvenile court system following programme completion	Reoffended: Treatment – 34.0% Comparison – 35.9% *Not significant*

Table 4: *Continued*

Study	Participants			Context	Study design	Comparison Groups	Methods/ Sources of evidence	Follow up	Outcome Measure (reoffending) defined as	Results
	N	Age	Other characteristics							
Stewart (2008)	Final sample 533 208 Treatment group 325 Comparison group	Mean 14.66 years	Mainly first time offenders although a small number of repeat offenders are included 2 of 49 diversion programmes in an American state used as the treatment and comparison groups	American Youth Justice System	Quasi-experimental	Young people referred to a reintegrative community diversion programme (treatment group) Young people referred to a typical community diversion programme (comparison group)	Court data	1 year	Officially charged with having committed one or more status or delinquent offence	Reoffended: Treatment – 14.9% Comparison – 15.7% P=0.806 *Not significant*

Table 4: *Continued*

Study	Participants			Context	Study design	Comparison Groups	Methods/ Sources of evidence	Follow up	Outcome Measure (reoffending) defined as	Results
	N	Age	Other characteristics							
Walker (2002)	184 102 Treatment group (first time offenders) 82 Control group	Information not available	Sample included first time offenders only Runaway cases referred to the treatment initially but later stopped Theft cases not included	American youth justice system	Quasi-experimental	Young people who received intervention from a restorative justice conference (treatment group) Young people who received intervention through traditional police diversion programmes (comparison group)	Court data	6 months	Re-arrest rates 6 months after the conference	Reoffended: Treatment – 28.4% Comparison – 29.3% *Not significant*

Table 4: *Continued*

Study	Participants			Context	Study design	Comparison Groups	Methods/ Sources of evidence	Follow up	Outcome Measure (reoffending) defined as	Results
	N	Age	Other characteristics							
Wilcox and Hoyle (2004)	Treatment group - 728 Control group unknown	10 - 18	First time and repeat offenders	English and Welsh youth justice system	Comparison study	Young people who received intervention from one of 34 RJ programmes (treatment group) Home Office sample of young offenders sentenced in July 2000 (comparison group)	Data from the Police National Computer (PNC)	1 year	Re-conviction	Reoffended: Treatment - 46.6% Comparison- 26.4% *Significant (treatment group more likely to reoffend)* <u>Weighted according to criminal history:</u> Treatment – 28.6% Comparison – 26.4% *Not significant*

Table 4: *Continued*

data analysis on young people 'referred to' either the treatment or comparison group; five based it on young people who 'received' each treatment. The follow-up period for the studies ranged from immediate to 12 years. Seven of the studies included a follow-up period of two years or more. Including these, eight of the nine final studies had a follow-up period of less than five years. Only one study had a follow-up period of over five years (Jeong et al., 2012, 12 years). Eight of the nine studies used officially recorded court data to measure reoffending; one used offenders' perceptions of the likelihood of reoffending.

Weight of evidence

The studies were assessed for their overall quality using the WoE tool (EPPI-Centre, 2007) as described in the method section (see page 17) . A synthesis of the findings can be found in Table 5.

Six of the studies were rated as having an overall weight of evidence between medium and high/medium (column D). Three studies were rated as having a low/medium weight of evidence.

Four studies (Hayes, 2005; Jeong et al., 2012; Kim & Gerber, 2012; Lane et al., 2005) employed a field experimental design which randomly allocated participants to groups. This design of study is considered the most valid in answering questions regarding effectiveness as it is argued it removes selection bias. Of the four studies which randomly allocated participants to groups, three were given a medium to high overall weight of evidence (Hayes, 2005; Jeong et al., 2012; Lane et al., 2005).

	A Trustworthiness in terms of own question	B Appropriate design and analysis for this review question	C Relevance of focus to review question	D Overall weight of evidence in relation to this review question
Bergseth and Bouffard (2007)	Medium	Medium	High	Medium/High
Hayes (2005)	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Jeong et al. (2012)	Medium	High	Medium	Medium/High
Kim and Gerber (2012)	Medium	Low	Low	Low/Medium
Lane et al. (2005)	Medium	High	High	High/Medium
Rodriguez (2007)	Medium	Medium	High	Medium/High
Stewart (2008)	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium
Walker (2002)	Low	Medium	Low	Low/Medium
Wilcox and Hoyle (2004)	Low	Low	Medium	Low/Medium

Table 5: Weight of evidence

Four studies (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2007; Rodriguez, 2007; Stewart, 2008; Walker, 2002) employed a quasi-experimental design which did not randomly allocate participants.

Four out of the six studies given a medium to high overall weight of evidence based their analysis on the young people being 'referred to' an intervention, rather than those who 'received' the intervention (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2007; Jeong et al., 2012; Lane et al., 2005; Stewart, 2008). Involvement in a restorative justice intervention is voluntary and requires the young person to accept responsibility for their crimes. Therefore a study design which based its analysis on 'referred' treatment was judged

more reliable as it removed self-selection bias. It is possible that young people who agree to be involved in a restorative justice intervention feel a greater sense of readiness to change than those who do not.

One study (Rodriguez, 2007) had a significantly larger sample size than the others. This was judged to improve its generalisability.

Three of the six studies given a medium to high overall weight of evidence used a comparison group which comprised of young people processed through the court system, rather that young people referred to a diversion programme (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2007; Hayes, 2005; Rodriguez, 2007). This was judged to provide a more methodologically sound approach as many diversion programmes for young offenders include aspects similar to restorative approaches, such as exploring the harm caused. This makes it difficult to attribute any difference in results to the programme itself.

Only one study which randomly allocated participants to groups, did not receive a medium to high overall weight of evidence (Kim & Gerber, 2012). That study used participant perceptions of whether they were likely to reoffend as its outcome measure. This data was gathered immediately after the intervention. Offender perceptions were not judged to be the most valid method of measuring reoffending, due to self-report bias. It was also considered that participants' had not been given adequate time to reflect on the intervention. In addition only three categories of offence were used, therefore restricting generalisability. For this reason, Kim and

Gerber (2012) was one of three studies which received a low/medium overall weight of evidence.

One study, (Walker, 2002), was judged to include a number of methodological weaknesses. This included non-random allocation of participants to groups, analysis based on the intervention 'received' rather that 'referred to', a sample which contained only first-time offenders, and a diversion programme used as the comparison group. For these reasons, this was given a low/medium overall weight of evidence.

 The final study which received a low/medium overall weight of evidence included no direct comparison group and instead used Home Office data of all young offenders sentenced during the same period as the data collection for the treatment group (Wilcox & Hoyle, 2004). The researchers explicitly recognised the limitations of this and concluded that their results could not reliably inform the reader whether restorative justice programmes were effective.

Outcomes and effectiveness

Results of the studies regarding the effectiveness of restorative justice programmes can be seen in Table 4. One study found a statistically significant result (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2007). This study found that a significantly lower percentage of participants in the treatment group reoffended in the three years following the intervention than participants in the comparison group. However, this relationship was no longer significant by the four-year follow-up period.

The remaining eight studies found that there was no significant difference between the effectiveness of the treatment group and comparison group on reoffending at any follow-up period. Overall therefore, the evidence suggests that there is no significant difference between the effect of restorative justice interventions, and other interventions, on youth reoffending.

Trustworthiness of the findings

Through the searching stages of the systematic review only a relatively small number of studies were found with appropriate data to answer the review question. As outlined on page 18, these studies have a number of differing characteristics. These include the country in which the study was conducted, the study design, the follow-up period, the conceptualisation of 'reoffending' used, and the restorative practice used. In addition, conceptualisations of restorative justice are not consistent across countries adding further differences between studies. Ideally, had there been a larger pool of relevant studies, tighter inclusion criteria could have been used to minimise some of the differences in characteristics; for instance including only studies which were carried out in England and Wales, which measured reoffending after the same follow-up period. However, given the limited number of studies found overall, this was not possible. This greatly impacts on the trustworthiness of the systematic review findings as the results of each of the studies are not directly comparable.

Furthermore, restorative justice is an approach which has many differing practices (see page 7). In some countries restorative justice is a statutory response to crime, in others it is an alternative approach (Crawford & Newburn, 2013). Also, some

restorative justice interventions include only first time offenders while others also include repeat offenders. All of these subtle differences within each restorative justice intervention further highlights the difficulties of carrying out a quantitative systematic review in this area. However, given that the review question is concerned with the effectiveness of restorative justice in preventing youth reoffending, the studies which addressed this question were quantitative pieces of research. I argue that given the heterogeneity of the studies used, the systematic review findings do not give a reliable answer to the review question.

Conclusions and recommendations

Conclusions of this review

This review sought to answer the question: is restorative justice an effective approach to prevent young people in the youth justice system reoffending? The evidence gathered through this review seemed to suggest that it is no different to other interventions in this respect. Eight of the nine studies included in this review found that there was no significant difference between restorative justice, and other interventions, on youth reoffending. The remaining study found a significant result only up until the three-year follow-up period.

So does this mean that restorative justice is not an effective approach in the prevention of youth reoffending? As discussed on page 32 the trustworthiness of these findings are questionable given the heterogeneity of the studies used in the systematic review. Furthermore, as discussed in the introduction (see page 10),

research suggests there are many positive outcomes of involvement in a restorative justice programme. These include greater feelings of satisfaction and security for the victim, and a greater sense of control over future offending for the offender (Bazemore & Umbreit, 2001; Beven et al., 2005). Therefore, as participation in restorative justice does not increase the likelihood of reoffending, and research suggests there are a range of positive outcomes, it may be argued that restorative justice should still be the preferred system for youth justice.

McCold and Wachtel (2002) argue that the more restorative a programme is, the greater its benefits. Are the restorative justice programmes in the studies used here, then, not restorative enough? Perhaps an assessment as to whether each of the programmes was 'fully', 'moderately' or 'mildly' restorative would have provided some answers to this.

One of the key principles of restorative justice, discussed in the introduction, is the view that offending should not be seen as an offence against the state. Instead emphasis is placed on those who were harmed by the act (Dzur & Olson, 2004; Johnstone, 2002; Latimer et al., 2005). However, many restorative justice programmes are run by the state, particularly in England and Wales where YOTs lead programmes. Therefore, is it difficult for young people in the youth justice system to differentiate between restorative and retributive justice when both are delivered by the same system?

Johnstone (2002) suggests that the use of restorative justice must involve a paradigm shift in which our understanding of crime and justice themselves are

changed. Given that the results of this review suggest restorative justice does not have a significantly different effect on reoffending, have fundamental changes in the perceptions of crime and justice not occurred? Perhaps restorative justice is being mapped onto traditional retributive systems without the change in assumptions or understanding of crime and justice that is necessary to support it. This may explain why outcomes for areas that are specifically dealt with during the process are positive (such as victim satisfaction), whereas change at a deeper level (reoffending) has not occurred.

Limitations of this review

There are a number of methodological flaws that make the trustworthiness of the studies' results questionable. It is likely that the results of studies which did not randomly allocate offenders to either the treatment or control group suffer from selection bias. However studies that did use random allocation may also be affected as it is argued that random assignment often occurs after cases are screened to assess suitability (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2007; Hayes, 2005; Hayes & Daly, 2003; Rodriguez, 2007).

Studies that based their data analysis on 'received' treatment as opposed to treatment 'referred to' are likely to include self-selection bias. Participation in restorative justice is voluntary, as the offender must be prepared to accept responsibility for the criminal behaviour. It is likely therefore that this sample is more 'amenable' to the intervention (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2007; Hayes, 2005).

It is difficult to carry out comparisons between the studies due to variations in their conceptualisation of 'reoffending', the length of the follow-up period, the type of comparison group used, the criminal history of the young offenders, and the country in which the research was carried out (Bergseth & Bouffard, 2007; Hayes, 2005; Rodriguez, 2007). In particular, only one of the studies was conducted in the UK. As justice systems are specific to the country, or even the geographical area, in which they are based, it is extremely difficult to generalise results.

Furthermore, a problem that all studies investigating restorative justice are likely to encounter is the variation in the restorative justice programmes themselves. Each programme is not only specific to the area but should also be tailored to meet the needs of the individual. Differences between programmes include the length of the programme, the amount of contact the offender received as part of the intervention and the restorative justice practice itself that was used. In addition, each restorative justice programme is bound and influenced by the systems of which it is a part. This means that each restorative justice programme may be serving different agendas. This poses the question; can restorative justice programmes be compared? Or is it better to study them individually with an appreciation of their uniqueness?

Recommendations for further research

There are several directions that future research into the effectiveness of restorative justice could take. Such research could build on McCold and Wachtel's (2002) work which suggests that the more restorative a programme, the greater its benefits. Research may look specifically at whether the extent to which a programme is restorative can predict reoffending.

Further investigation may be appropriate in regards to Johnstone's (2002) suggestion that the use of restorative justice must involve a paradigm shift in the understanding of crime and justice. Research exploring the beliefs and values of the systems in which restorative justice practices are being used may be an important contribution to investigate why restorative justice programmes do not seem to be effective in preventing reoffending. Is there a discrepancy between the practice being used and the underlying assumptions and values of the system?

Finally, research involving those delivering restorative justice interventions is needed to broaden the evidence base in this field. It may be interesting to explore the barriers experienced by those delivering restorative justice programmes in preventing reoffending. For example, are they finding it difficult to help young people understand the difference between punitive and restorative justice? It would also be useful to investigate the factors that they perceive to be important in delivering restorative justice interventions that are successful in preventing youth reoffending. As it has been suggested that EPs are well placed and skilled to evaluate interventions, and carry out research with YOTs, this would be an appropriate piece of educational psychology research.

Bridging Document

Defining a research focus

I have been interested in the area of youth offending since I worked in a special school for children with social, emotional and behavioural difficulties. It became apparent that many of the students were known to the Youth Offending Team (YOT). I gained an awareness of the importance of viewing the whole child, and not the child solely within education. This led me to explore an ecosystemic model of behaviour (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

During the doctoral training programme my belief that people must be viewed in terms of the wider systems in which they operate became stronger. I began to consider it especially important that the Educational Psychologist (EP) role be broader than working only within educational settings if the profession is to enable lasting transformations in the lives of young people. I therefore returned to my interest in youth offending as a potential area for educational psychology research. I also began to recognise that learning occurs in any and all settings (not just educational settings) through social interaction and dialogue (Hermans, 2002; Sampson, 2008; Vygotsky & Cole, 1978).

Within the field of youth offending I wanted to explore the dominant discourse that the youth justice system is not adequate in reducing reoffending. The National Standards for Youth Justice Services (YJSs) set out by the Youth Justice Board for England and Wales state that "the principal aim of the youth justice system is to

prevent offending by children and young people" (Youth Justice Board, 2013, p.5). However The Ministry of Justice (MoJ) describe an "unacceptably high level of reoffending" (2010, p.67). Through further reading I became aware of the growing emphasis on tackling crime through restorative means. In particular, the MoJ proposed that to reduce the rate of offending the youth justice system should seek to increase its use of restorative justice (MoJ, 2010). Therefore I thought it appropriate for my systematic literature review to investigate the dominant discourse of reoffending following young people's participation in restorative justice interventions.

Ontology and epistemology

Approaching this research from a social constructionist perspective I was aware of dominant discourses surrounding youth crime such as reoffending. I therefore thought it appropriate to explore the existing research regarding the effectiveness of restorative justice interventions to explore constructions of this particular discourse further. The findings suggested that restorative justice is no different in reducing youth reoffending than other interventions. From a social constructionist perspective I became interested in the constructions of others regarding the factors that are important in delivering restorative justice interventions that they perceive to be successful in preventing reoffending. My ontological position recognises that there are multiple realities dependant on the perspective through which a person views the world (Burr, 2003). My epistemological belief is that research cannot uncover 'universal truths', and instead the closest we can get to reality is to explore the meaning held by individuals. I recognise that the knowledges and meanings individuals construct about the world are mediated by history, culture and language and are therefore ever evolving and changing (Gergen, 2009). I sought the views of

Case Managers within a YJS. In this context Case Managers are members of staff who deliver interventions for young offenders. This research project is an exploration of the construction of meaning made by this particular group of participants at this particular time. It is concerned with exploring the meaning participants constructed around restorative justice and reoffending rather than establishing 'universal truths' which can be generalised.

As this research followed a social constructionist perspective I thought it appropriate to work with one YJS as the meanings they construct are unique to the social environment in which they are situated.

Methodology

Willig (2008) suggests that the methodology a researcher chooses is dependent on the beliefs they hold about the world, and therefore their beliefs about how to gather the most truthful representation of the area being researched. In keeping with a social constructionist ontology and epistemology I chose a qualitative methodology. This seemed appropriate as such methodology is "concerned with the exploration of lived experience and participant-defined meanings" (Willig, 2008, p.9). It is also argued that using a qualitative methodology allows for a deeper exploration of the research focus and constructed meanings (Attride-Stirling, 2001). My choice of methodology was based on my belief that the YJS Case Managers construct their own meaning regarding restorative justice interventions. The qualitative methodology therefore sought to explore these constructions.

Method – Generating data

I chose a group interview as the method through which to generate data (the reasons for which are discussed below). Within the literature there is much overlap between the terms group interview and focus group; often they are used interchangeably. Robson (2011), for example, suggests that a group interview is just one of many research methods which sit under the broader 'interview' umbrella. He proposes that when an interview is conducted in a group context it is a focus group. However Braun and Clarke (2013) make a distinction between interviews in a broader sense and focus groups. They suggest that interviews are best suited when participants hold a personal stake in the research area, while focus groups are appropriate when they do not. In this research it was evident that the YJS Case Managers did have a personal stake in the delivery of restorative justice interventions. This indicated a group interview would be more appropriate.

Interviews in the broadest sense are a useful method through which to generate rich and detailed data about participants' experiences and perceptions (Braun & Clarke, 2013). This was important when choosing the method as I sought to explore the Case Managers' perceptions of what makes restorative justice interventions successful in preventing reoffending. Adopting a group approach to gathering data allows each participant's responses to be challenged, extended and qualified due to the group's shared knowledge of which I as a researcher am ignorant (Smithson, 2000; Willig, 2008). Frey and Fontana argue that group interviews allow exploration of "realities defined in a group context" (Frey & Fontana, 1991, p.175). This highlights one of the strongest arguments for the use of group interviews, which is that they provide a more natural environment in which to gather data than individual

interviews (Flick, 2009; Willig, 2008). Interactions within individual interviews are incomparable to everyday interactions and therefore conducting a group interview, particularly comprising of an already existing group, can lead to higher ecological validity within the data (Willig, 2008). It is also argued that the group interview can reduce some degree of researcher subjectivity as participants are able to build discussions between themselves allowing the researcher to play a less prominent role (Frey & Fontana, 1991; Smithson, 2000). However, I acknowledge that my presence will have altered the dynamic of the group and impacted on the content of the interview.

Individual interviews can be seen as hierarchical in that it is the researcher who leads and controls the flow of the interview, therefore leading to a perceived power imbalance (Braun & Clarke, 2013). In contrast it has been suggested that a group approach to gathering data can "give a substantially different power dynamic than individual interviews" (Smithson, 2000, p.111) as participants hold a shared knowledge which the researcher does not share. Furthermore I chose to use an unstructured interview process as I hoped this would further reduce power imbalances between the participants and me. My role within this was to pose the research question and facilitate discussion between the participants. Flick (2009) talks about the need of the facilitator to balance their approach between directive and non-directive; steering the group and monitoring it. I emphasised that my role was not to lead the discussion, and encouraged all members of the group to pose their own questions during the course of the interview. I thought that using this approach would allow for discussion of areas which I would not have considered alone. However, the limitation of such a method is that the researcher has limited

control over the direction of the discussion, and there is a risk that the information gathered would not be sufficient in answering the research question. I aimed to reduce this possibility by reflecting back what the participants had shared and checking that they thought this was relevant to answering the research question. I also noted down any new ideas shared by a participant so that we could return to these for further discussion if the interview took a different direction before the area had been discussed further.

A further limitation of the group interview method, and probably the most discussed within the literature, centres on the dynamics of the group (Flick, 2009; Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; McLafferty, 2004; Robson, 2011). Much of the literature in this area suggests that by conducting the interview with a group, as opposed to individual interviews, the data may be skewed by a dominant voice or voices. I acknowledged this limitation and tried to use my role as facilitator to encourage less dominant voices to be shared. I asked participants if they agreed with the comments of other participants, and returned to points they had made if they had not been explored further. However, from a social constructionist perspective, I also acknowledge that these dynamics are present in every day interactions. For example, the dominant voices within the group interview will also be present in the work environment.

I used an opportunity sample to enlist participants as I had a limited population from which to find participants. I chose the population of a YJS within only one local authority as my epistemological belief is that what is 'known' is a construction of a unique set of social cultural interactions and for this reason experiences of Case Managers from different local authorities are not comparable. Participant information

and consent forms were given to all Case Managers in the YJS who carried out restorative justice interventions. Four Case Managers gave written consent to participate.

There is some debate as to the ideal number of participants for group methods of data collection, ranging between 3 and 15 (Kitzinger & Barbour, 1999; McLafferty, 2004; Morgan, 1996; Robson, 2011). It is suggested that a small sample size may limit the diversity of information gathered (Braun & Clarke, 2013) and that a larger sample provides a more reliable reflection of the whole population (Kitzinger, 1994). This is of greatest concern when conducting research which aims to generalise its results to the greater population. Within this research, I acknowledge that the results are not generalisable. In contrast, some suggest a group size of more than 6 can inhibit group members from participating during the interview (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Willig, 2008). Braun and Clarke (2013) suggest a group size of 3 to 8 is best in generating rich discussion.

Method – Analysis

Willig (2008) suggests that data generated through interview can be analysed in a number of different ways. I chose Thematic Analysis (TA) as the method of data analysis for this research (Braun & Clarke, 2013).

In choosing a method of analysis I also considered Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and Discourse Analysis (DA). Upon further reading, I discounted IPA as it sits within a phenomenological paradigm which did not fit with my social constructionist epistemology (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). I also discounted DA

as its primary focus is on *how* meaning and perceptions are formed, and not on *what* meaning and perceptions are formed (Willig, 2008). To answer my research question it was important to focus on the 'what' rather than the 'how'.

Given this I considered TA to be most suitable. TA provides a framework which allows researchers to identify, analyse and report themes and patterns across the dataset (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). TA does not prescribe the method of data collection, theoretical underpinnings or epistemological paradigms, and is therefore applicable to a wide range of research projects (Braun & Clarke, 2013). Its flexibility meant it could be effectively applied within the social constructionist paradigm in which this research sits.

Braun and Clarke (2006) developed six phases for researchers to follow which provides some structure and system to analysis. The six phases can be seen in Table 6 (page 62) in the Research Project. An inductive approach to TA was used. This means that codes and themes were data-driven; data was coded without trying to fit it into an existing theoretical framework. It can be argued therefore that the identified themes are more closely tied to the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). However it is important to acknowledge that the process of analysis in qualitative research is subjective, where codes and themes identified in the data will be influenced by my theoretical and epistemological beliefs and interests.

The data was also analysed at a latent level. This means that the content of the data was interpreted rather than being analysed only at a surface level. In doing this a

researcher is seeking to examine the underlying ideas and values behind the surface level content (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that latent TA is most commonly undertaken within a constructionist research paradigm.

Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to an awareness of the subjective role of the researcher and its impact on the construction of meaning within the research (Willig, 2008). It is suggested that subjectivity within qualitative research is not a limitation, but that critical reflection on the possible implications of this are essential (Braun & Clarke, 2013). I acknowledge that my personal values, experience and epistemological beliefs have shaped both the decisions I have made about how to conduct this research, and the meaning and knowledge I have constructed.

There are many alternate ways in which this research could have been carried out; I am aware that my personal beliefs have led me to carry out the research in the way that I did. My belief that behaviour is shaped by the systems around a young person (as discussed on page 38), and that transformation occurs through interaction between people, is reflected in my decision to carry out the research with restorative justice Case Managers, and not the young people themselves. My ontological and epistemological beliefs are also reflected in my decision to gather data using a group interview as it acknowledges meaning as being constructed socially.

However I also acknowledge that the individual participants will have different life experiences that have impacted on the constructions and meanings they hold about the world. Although the group interview method allows participants to share ideas

which can be extended and qualified by the group, it is still the case that Case Managers do not necessarily hold the same ideas and knowledge given their different experiences. I recognise that this impacts on the reliability of the findings.

The data gathered is likely to have been influenced by my particular interests and knowledge of the area. Had the interview been conducted by another researcher, different data would have been gathered. I tried to minimise this to some degree by noting ideas shared by participants during the interview so that all points could be explored further and not just those which caught my interest most, although it is likely that these notes were still influenced by my personal beliefs as to what is important.

I also recognise that my analysis of the data was a subjective process. Codes and themes are based on my knowledge and understanding of the topic, and interpretation of the data. This is especially true as I carried out the TA at a latent level. This requires the researcher to go beyond surface level analysis and interpret meaning within the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013). Different researchers would have identified different codes and themes. To try and be as reflexive as possible in the analysis I first read through the data and jotted down my immediate thoughts. I hoped this would make more explicit my assumptions and points of interests in the data. I also used a reflexive research diary, again to make more explicit my thoughts and assumptions.

My perceptions of the role of the EP have evolved during the research process. Initially I had chosen to conduct the research with restorative justice Case Managers as I recognised the key role they play in the success of such interventions. However,

through this research I have begun to consider the role that EPs can take in supporting other professionals. At the end of the group interview the participants told me that they had found the process useful, and reported that it was "like peer supervision". The purpose of the interview was to gather data which could be analysed to support further development of restorative justice interventions within that YJS. However it seemed that the process itself had helped the Case Managers to conceptualise their interventions differently. I became interested in the ways that EPs can work with different professionals to support their professional development, and as a result have begun to focus on this within my own professional practice.

Ethical considerations

Before beginning the research project, approval was gained from Newcastle University's Ethics Board. Throughout the planning and conducting of the research the British Psychological Society's (BPS) Code of Ethics and Conduct (2009) was adhered to. Below I describe how I met each of the four ethical principles:

Respect: Throughout the research my intention was to understand and explore the participants' ideas and not to challenge them. Written consent was gathered from participants to take part and to allow audio recording of the interview. Participants were informed that this would be transcribed by a professional transcription service. Transcripts were anonymised for both participants' personal details, and young people and places discussed during the interview. The research has been written up ensuring that participants and young people known to the YJS cannot be identified. The research did not involve any element of deception and participants were informed that they had the right to withdraw at any time during the research process.

Competence: I consulted the Code of Ethics and Conduct (BPS, 2009) prior to, during and after data collection. I recognised that ethics involves ongoing ethical considerations rather than a set of principles to adhere to. I used reflexivity and discussions with my research supervisor to reflect on ethical issues. In this thesis I acknowledge the limitations of my chosen method and make explicit my ontological and epistemological assumptions to ensure transparency.

Responsibility: Potential participants were given information sheets and consent forms two weeks prior to the group interview to allow time to consider whether they wished to take part. Contact details were included to allow participants to seek further information. When briefing the participants I emphasised the importance of confidentiality within the group, and that discussions which took place within the interview should not be shared after its conclusion. They were informed that they could withdraw their participation at any time and that data gathered through the interview would be written into a thesis and shared with others including the YJS managers. They were also told that they would be able to receive a copy of the completed thesis if they wished, and that I would share the results of the research with the YJS. The participants were given an oral and written debrief following the group interview. This again included contact details.

Integrity: I explained the purpose of the research to the participants and was transparent in my explanation of the method and aims. I acknowledged that power imbalances were likely to be present in the group interview process. I aimed to reduce this somewhat by facilitating rather than leading the interview through the use of an unstructured interview process. I also emphasised the collaborative nature of

the interview and encouraged participants to ask each other questions and direct

responses to the group rather than just to me.

Research Project: What factors are important in enabling restorative justice interventions to prevent young people reoffending? A Case Manager perspective

Abstract

This study sought to explore the constructs restorative justice Case Managers perceive to be important in delivering restorative justice interventions that are successful in preventing youth reoffending. A group interview was used to gather data. A thematic analysis of the data suggested that six key areas impacted on the success of restorative justice interventions; enabling change, learning (dialogic learning and experiential learning), community (psychological sense of community, community values and community participation), overcoming systemic barriers, professional skill (building relationships, Case Manager qualities, and professional development), and a holistic approach. A model is proposed to highlight the relationship between dialogic space and the six themes identified through analysis, in supporting the competence, autonomy and relatedness of young people as conceptualised in self-determination theory. Limitations of the research were discussed, including the small sample size and method used. Implications for Educational Psychologists and ideas for future research are explored.

Introduction

Restorative justice

Restorative justice is an approach to crime resolution which places importance on offenders repairing the harm caused through a criminal act. It is seen by many to oppose a more traditional, retributive style of justice (Johnstone, 2002, see page 1). Reintegrating the offender into their community is a core value of this approach. In this study the definition of restorative justice is taken from Latimer, Dowden and Muise's meta-analysis (2005, p.131), which is:

> *"Restorative justice is a voluntary, community-based response to criminal behaviour that attempts to bring together the victim, the offender, and the community, in an effort to address the harm caused by the criminal behaviour."*

Restorative Justice has been implemented within adult and youth justice systems as well as educational provisions (Hopkins, 2002; McCluskey, Lloyd, Kane, et al., 2008; Tickell & Akester, 2004). The focus of this study is restorative justice within the youth justice system. See pages 2 to 11 of the Systematic Review for further discussion of restorative justice.

The role of Educational Psychologists in the youth justice system

As discussed on page 5, research has indicated correlations between young people who engage in offending behaviour and poor educational outcomes, as well as a

high prevalence of Special Educational Needs (Adams et al., 2009; Berridge et al., 2001; Games et al., 2012; Liddle, 1998; Youth Justice Board, 2006a) This highlights youth offending as an appropriate area in which Educational Psychologists (EPs) should work.

Furthermore, a number of studies have highlighted the desire of various professionals for EPs to be involved in work with young offenders. One study found that 62% of Principal Educational Psychologists (PEPs) thought the Educational Psychology Service should be involved in work with YOTs (Farrell et al., 2006). It also found that 39% reported that their service already held some established links with a YOT. In another study 34% of YOT staff noted that they currently had access to an EP. However 23% said that this access was only available through schools or other services (Talbot & Riley, 2007).

Findings of the Farrell et al. (2006) study indicate that Local Authority Officers and PEPs believe EPs can make a valuable contribution when working with YOTs due to the skills they are able to apply. Specific skills highlighted include training, understanding complex needs and contexts, their ability to supervise other professionals as well as managerial skills in working across agencies (Farrell et al., 2006). Further literature suggests that EPs are skilled in supporting the planning, implementation and evaluation of interventions (Games et al., 2012). Wyton (2013) discussed her role as an EP supporting the professional development of a YOT through consultation , while Ryrie (2006) wrote a paper exploring his role as an EP working within a YOT. Ryrie suggested that the use of problem solving approaches

and research were two further areas in which EPs could have a positive impact. This range of skills, and the EPs unique contribution of applying psychology with the aim of supporting better outcomes for young people (Ashton & Roberts, 2006), make them well placed to work within the area of youth offending.

Collectivist understandings of psychology

Psychology has traditionally focussed on the individual with little emphasis placed on the role of others (Hermans, 2003; Sampson, 2008). However in the postmodern era there have been a number of influential constructivist and constructionist theories that have emphasised the impact social existence plays on human development.

Sampson (2000) highlights the importance of individualism and collectivism on the behaviour of people. He proposed that those who apply an individualistic understanding to the world, view others as serving a function 'to' a person. In contrast a collectivist understanding views others as playing an important role in forming the person (Sampson, 2000). The importance of social relationships can be seen in Vygotsky's Social Development Theory (Vygotsky & Cole, 1978). Vygotsky suggests that knowledge is *acquired* through social interaction; learning first occurs between the child and a more knowledgeable other, before the child is able to internalise this learning. Vygotsky placed great importance upon the sociocultural context in which the child exists (Vygotsky & Cole, 1978). Mediation is proposed as the means through which learning occurs between child and other. Language is placed at the centre of this process (Vygotsky & Cole, 1978).

However, within Vygotsky's theory it is proposed that the child learns and progresses through the zone of proximal development by reaching a mutual understanding with the adult (Matusov, 2011). As discussed on page 9, it is argued that for transformation and learning to occur, reaching a shared understanding is not enough (Marková, 2003). Dialogic theory shares some principles with Vygotskian ideas, notably that learning occurs through social interaction (Matusov, 2011). However crucially in dialogic theory it is argued that tension between differing perspectives is the source of learning and transformation. In this way it is not necessary for learning to result in a shared understanding (Marková, 2003).

Hicks explains that "learning occurs as the co-construction (or reconstruction) of social meanings from within the parameters of emergent, socially negotiated, and discursive activity" (Hicks, 1996, p. 136). Dialogic theories, sitting within a constructionist paradigm, describe an ongoing relationship between self and other through which meaning, knowledge and identity are formed and evolve (Bakhtin, 1981; Hermans, 2001). This conceptualisation of the social nature of human development and learning is important when considering restorative justice interventions.

A constructionist understanding of restorative justice

We can presume that, since restorative justice interventions seek to prevent further offending, transformation is central to its ideology. Therefore it is important to consider how this transformation occurs. Sampson offers a helpful explanation of how dialogical relationships lead to change in a person's understanding of the world and themselves; "the dialogic process that occurs between specific people in specific

settings who are engaged in specific activities is the originating and ongoing source of mind, of self and of society" (Sampson, 2008, p.98). Within restorative justice interventions many dialogical relationships will exist; between offender and victim, family, community and Case Manager. As already discussed (see pages 9 and 55), central to dialogic theory is the idea that learning and transformation occur through the tension created by differing perspectives. This tension allows a person to judge and evaluate the position of others, and to set their own position. Thus creating new or adapted understandings to be formed, therefore enabling transformation (Marková, 2003).

This highlights two important aspects of restorative justice when viewing it through a constructionist framework; relationships and learning. Schweigert (1999) argues that moral education is a primary goal of restorative justice and highlights the interacting nature of relationships and learning. He suggests that through improving the quality of interactions in relationships, restorative justice can lead to change in the way the young person relates to others and the systems around them.

Research with restorative justice Case Managers

In 1998 the Crime and Disorder Act was published and led to the creation of Youth Offending Teams (YOTs); a multi-agency approach to youth offending (Crawford & Newburn, 2013) which, in some local authorities, included EPs (Ryrie, 2006). These teams deliver rehabilitation programmes to young people who commit crime, or are perceived to be at risk of committing crime. This means that, in the UK, YOT staff are the primary deliverer of restorative justice interventions and therefore play a key role

in their transformative power. However, despite their importance, little research has been conducted with restorative justice Case Managers.

None of the studies in the systematic literature review sought information from those delivering the intervention. They were instead largely concerned with official court statistics recording reoffending (see page 28). A wider search of the literature in this area found only one study in which the views of YOT staff were sought (Crawford & Newburn, 2013). The results of this study suggested that the majority of YOT staff held positive feelings towards restorative approaches to resolving youth crime (Crawford & Newburn, 2013). However, due to the quantitative methodology used, the study was unable to explore these views at a deeper level.

It therefore seems that research with those responsible for delivering restorative interventions is an area that needs further exploration. Given the literature regarding the valuable contribution that EPs can make to YOTs (see page 53), they may be well place to carry out such exploration.

The current study

Findings from the systematic literature review found no significant long-term difference in the effectiveness of restorative justice and other interventions targeted at preventing youth reoffending (see page 32). However, given the variation across the studies' characteristics it was concluded that the trustworthiness of this result was limited. Furthermore, many other benefits of a restorative justice approach were noted (see page 10). Therefore it can be argued that restorative justice has an important role to play within the youth justice system.

As restorative justice Case Managers have been identified above as playing a key role in the implementation of interventions (see page 56) I considered it appropriate to work with them for this research project. During an initial meeting with a manager of the Youth Justice Service (YJS) it was agreed that the outcome of the research should be useful to the service to support further development in their practice, and in that sense, be a piece of practice-based research (Biggs & Büchler, 2007; Furlong & Oancea, 2005; Oancea & Furlong, 2007). Wallace and Wray (2011) propose that research is able to contribute knowledge through the use of many different approaches, including "an intervention study where researchers work in partnership with those they study to help them improve their practice" (p.93). In particular the YJS highlighted that they would find it useful if the research focussed on the elements which should be present in a restorative justive intervention if it is to be successful in preventing youth reoffending.

Practice-based research

As noted above, the purpose for the research was to support practitioners to think about their practice in regards to the restorative justive interventions they deliver. Yardley (2000) highlights that there are many potential purposes of qualitative research and its value should be judged on the extent to which it meets its intended purpose. Yardly (2000) also notes that qualitative research must impact on the beliefs and actions of others, however few those others are, if it is to be purposeful. This piece of research sought to support the YJS in their initial steps towards changing their practice by providing an opportunity for reflection on a particular aspect of their practice; the delivery of restorative justive interventions.

Within the literature, involving practionioners in reflection on their practice is widely refered to as practice-based research (Biggs & Büchler, 2007; Furlong & Oancea, 2005; Oancea & Furlong, 2007) although others use the term practice-led research (Candy, 2006). There is no one agreed definition of the term practice-based research, and Oancea and Furlong (2007) propose that the term should be used to refer to a broad range of research approaches which aim to support reflection, and in turn enable change in professional practice; such types of research include action research and reflective practice. It is argued that practice-based research should be seen as one type of academic research and should be as concerned with the concepts of rigour and quality assurance as other research methodologies are (Biggs & Büchler, 2007).

The support for practice-based research comes from the argument that published research findings are often difficult to apply in practice. This approach instead recognises that professionals have a unique understanding of the area being researched and the factors impacting on their practice (Green, 2008; Mold & Peterson, 2005). The purpose of this research was to provide a structure in which the Case Managers could reflect on their delivery of restorative justice interventions which could be analysed to provide an artefact to support the YJS in further thinking around their interventions.

Method

Participants and sampling

I carried out this study with a YJS (formerly a YOT) in the North East of England. I provided an information sheet (Appendix A) and consent form (Appendix B) to all members of the service whose role included restorative justice casework. An opportunity sample was used to recruit participants. Those who wished to participate were asked to complete a consent form. Four YJS Case Managers gave written consent; two males and two females.

Ethics

Participants were informed that participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any point in the research. Participants had to opt-in if they wished to take part by completing a consent form. Written consent was received for each of the participants and all were debriefed following the group interview. The participants were informed that the audio recording of the interview would be transcribed by a professional transcription service. The audio recording and transcript of the interview is stored on a password protected network and will be held for five years. A proposal for this research was submitted through an ethics committee. As the participants were colleagues it was particularly important to emphasise the need for confidentiality.

Procedure

The research method was based within a social constructionist epistemology in which the importance of exploring the meaning that participants had constructed socially through language is emphasised (Burr, 2003). A group interview was thought to be an appropriate method of data collection as it meant rich and detailed data could be generated (Braun & Clarke, 2013) while allowing each participant's responses to be challenged, extended and qualified due to the group's shared knowledge (Smithson, 2000; Willig, 2008).

The interview was held in the YJS offices and lasted one and a half hours. Audio from the interview was recorded.

Analysis

Audio material from the group interview was professionally transcribed. An inductive, latent thematic analysis was then carried out on the transcribed data following procedures described by Braun and Clarke (2013) which can be seen in Table 6. The latent approach is designed to interpret the content of the data rather than analysing it only at a surface level. In doing this a researcher is seeking to examine the underlying ideas and values behind the surface level content (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As part of this analysis process I listened to the audio material and read the transcript a number of times to check for accuracy and to farmiliarise myself with the data. I then made a record of my initial noticings from the data to make more explicit my assumptions and personal interests. Next I coded and re-coded each line of transcripted data to record concepts and ideas within the data. An example of coding can be seen in Appendix C. Initial themes were then developed using the

codes generated through the analysis. Themes were revised twice; once by checking that the themes matched each example of the coded data, and again by re-reading the themes in relation to the whole transcript to check that they reflected the content of the transcript (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The themes and corresponding codes can be seen in Appendix D.

Thematic Analysis	
Phase 1	Familiarising yourself with your data
Phase 2	Generating initial codes
Phase 3	Searching for themes
Phase 4	Reviewing themes
Phase 5	Defining and naming themes
Phase 6	Producing the report

Table 6: Thematic Analysis process (Braun and Clarke, 2006)

Findings and Discussion

The thematic analysis provided a rich description of the perspectives and constructions of the Case Managers. Six overarching themes were found; three containing subthemes (see Figure 2). The six overarching themes are learning, community, enabling change, a holistic approach, overcoming systemic barriers and professional skill. Each of these will be discussed further now to explore their relationship to the research question.
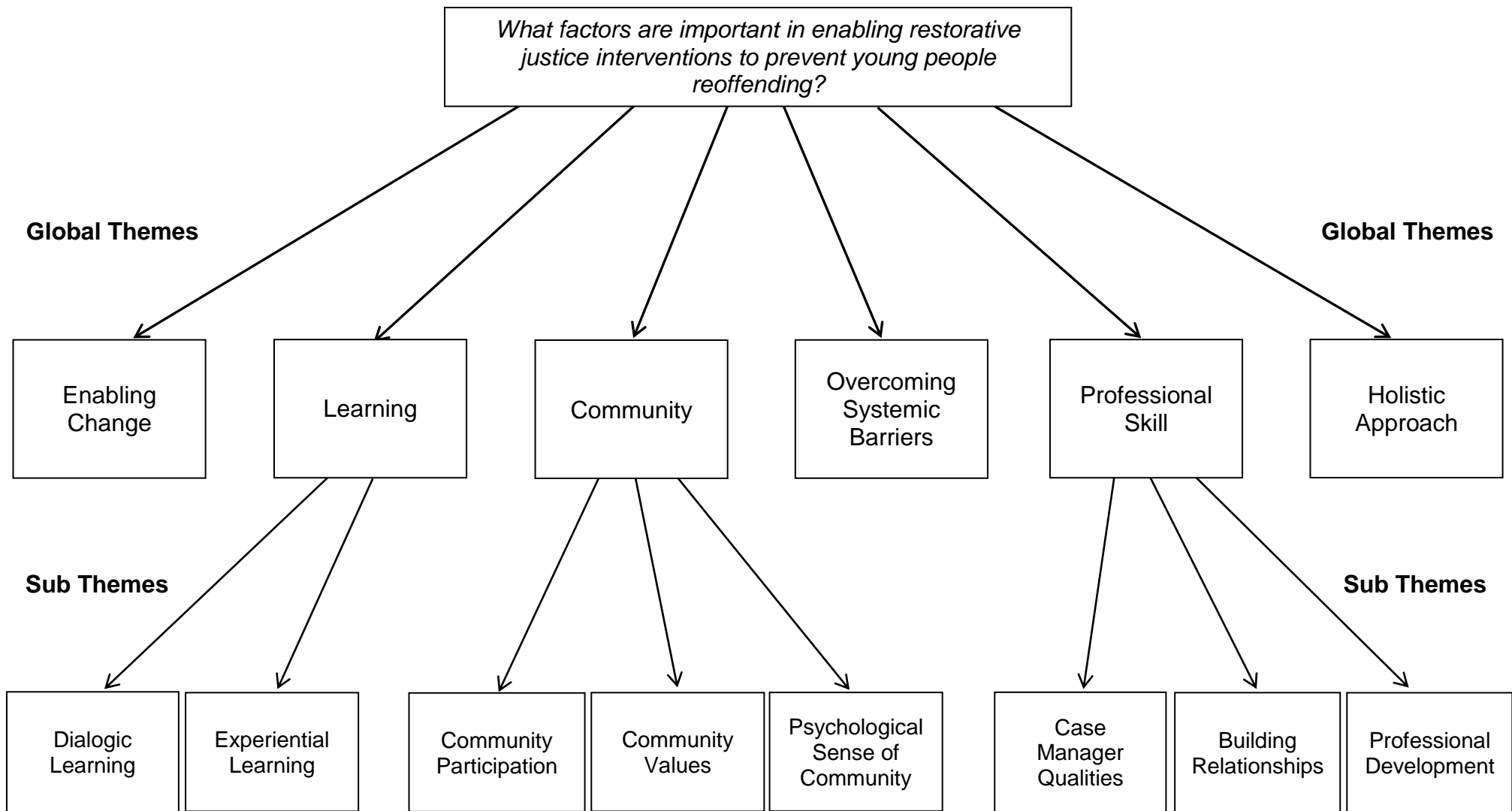
What factors are important in enabling restorative justice interventions to prevent young people reoffending?

Global Themes

Enabling Change

Learning

Community

Overcoming Systemic Barriers

Professional Skill

Holistic Approach

Global Themes

Sub Themes

Dialogic Learning

Experiential Learning

Community Participation

Community Values

Psychological Sense of Community

Case Manager Qualities

Building Relationships

Professional Development

Sub Themes

Figure 2: Map of themes

Enabling change

The 'readiness' of young people to change was the subject of some discussion. The five stages of the transtheoretical model of change (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982) could be seen in many aspects highlighted by the Case Managers; precontemplation, contemplation, preparation, action and relapse. Codes relating to the young person's desire to participate and their 'readiness' to change link closely with the precontemplation and contemplation stages which suggest a person needs to move from having no intention of change, to considering change without fully committing (Prochaska & Norcross, 2001).

They also referred to the need to prepare the offender and thus support them in moving through the precontemplation, contemplation and preparation stages.

> **CM2** *"Planting the seed in his head at first, and getting resistance, and then, right okay, I just left it, and the next time I saw him, planted the seed again [. . .] but it was like, maybe five or six weeks, I just kept, like, drip, drip, dripping…"*

The Case Managers talked about empowering the young offenders and developing their strength to manage change, which would enable them to progress through the preparation and action stages of the model, and eventually to maintenance.

It was apparent that the Case Managers saw a role for themselves in supporting change and that their relationship was central to this. Although the transtheoretical model of change is most commonly applied to health-related behaviour change, such as addictions, some researchers have noted its applicability to the rehabilitation of offenders (Birgden, 2004; Ward, Day, Howells, & Birgden, 2004). EPs could be well

placed to share their knowledge of models of change to support Case Managers in implementing these with young people.

Learning

Enabling learning was a key area discussed during the interview. Clearly this in an area in which EPs could have a great impact, using their knowledge and experience regarding learning, to provide advice and support to Case Managers. Two styles of learning in particular were identified; dialogic and experiential.

Dialogic learning

The Case Managers highlighted the relationship they perceived between dialogue and learning:

> **CM1** *"We talked about what we were experiencing there and then, we talked about what we'd experience when we went to the soup kitchen, we talked about all of that [. . .] they're learning about different communities and different services and different things that are going on."*

They suggested that through dialogue they could support the young person to reflect on their actions, explore their relationship to others, and unpick the story of the harm caused through their actions:

> **CM1** *"If we just do a session and complete an intervention or an element of something then don't discuss it, reflect, look at why we did it in more detail and build on it."*
>
> **CM2** *"It's how we learn isn't it?"*

Experiential Learning

Experiential learning theory suggests that "knowledge is continuously derived from and tested out in the experiences of the learner" (Kolb, 1984, p. 27). In other words learning occurs through engagement in experiences. The Case Managers discussed barriers to providing opportunities for young people to experience positive outcomes of reparation activities. They suggested that restorative interventions have the biggest impact when young people are able to experience the outcomes of their actions:

> **CM2** *"If you're kind of doing that classroom situation, again, like, "Now what we're going to do, you're going to go home and I'm going to take this to this place", it's just, again, it's just like a text book thing where, right, you're just reading to them from a text book instead of having that experience."*

They emphasised learning that occurs through what experiential learning theory calls 'concrete experience'; being immersed in the experience (Kolb, Boyatzis, & Mainemelis, 2001). However they also recognised a place for 'abstract conceptualisation'; thinking about, and reflecting on events (Kolb et al., 2001).

They also highlighted the need for restorative conferences to be emotive to ensure the young person experiences the emotions that occur as a result of their actions. Overall the Case Managers thought that experiencing both negative outcomes of the criminal actions, and positive outcomes of their restorative intervention, would help to reduce reoffending as it would enable opportunities for learning.

Community

The Case Mangers talked about the role and importance of community in interventions. Three subthemes were found; community participation, community values and a psychological sense of community. Restorative justice sees the community as central in preventing reoffending (Dzur & Olson, 2004; Johnstone, 2002; Latimer et al., 2005).

Community Participation

The Case Managers talked about the need for community participation in restorative interventions and suggested that, currently, community involvement is lacking. When the community is involved it can sometime be for individualistic purposes:

> **CM2** *"It's part of their experience rather than the restorative justice experience. I'm not saying that's a bad thing, because at least you're getting someone's community involvement, but it's like how a lot of society is, isn't it, everybody's out to get what they can from whatever situation."*

They also discussed the importance of the community in interventions where they are unable to include the victim of the crime:

> **CM1** *"We'd look at the indirect victims and we'd look at the community and using, you know, community venues to become involved, and giving back. I know that we used to have a really strong link with the older persons' community."*

The visibility of the YJS and restorative interventions in the community were discussed. The Case Managers suggested that greater visibility could increase community participation and build stronger links between the service and the community. Wider literature suggests that youth justice interventions are most

successful when they incorporate participation of the community (Brazemore & Umbreit, 1999).

Community values

The Case Managers' discussions indicated that there were often differences between the cultural values of the communities they work in, and the values needed to embed restorative approaches successfully. They highlighted the individualistic nature that many communities seemed to hold at their core:

> **CM1** *"You've got people who are very individualistic and think that there's no such thing as society, it's every man for himself, they're not going to subscribe to something like that, they'd rather subscribe to "tag em, lock em up and beat em with a stick [. . .]" Where this, it goes against all that, you know, this is something else."*

As discussed on page 54, Psychologists have argued that people who apply an individualistic understanding to the world, view others as serving a function 'to' a person. Whereas, a collectivist understanding views others as playing an important role in forming the person (Sampson, 2000). Communities in which people hold an individualistic understanding may not value the role that they play in supporting the young person to form a new identity and enable them to stop committing crime.

The Case Managers also emphasised the need for inclusion to be central to society and education. This is also central to the theory of a psychological sense of community (McMillan & Chavis, 1986) through the concept of 'membership' or a feeling of belonging and relatedness.

Psychological Sense of Community

Through the analysis several aspects of the theory of psychological sense of community (McMillan, 1996; McMillan & Chavis, 1986) were apparent (see page 4 for further discussion of this theory):

> **CM3** *"A lot of them are really, really grateful, coming up and thanking the kids and saying, "Eeh, the little bairns, fancy doing this [. . .] do you want a drink and, you know, a can of juice?" Or, you know, what have you, a cuppa."*

> **CM4** *"Which epitomised, you know, restorative justice, didn't it? Because these kids who were excluded from the, well, their self-perception of exclusion from their own society, was undone because the elderly, the absolute epitome of peers, were coming out and saying "You've done such a good job, well done son", pat on the back, you're now back in the circle."*

The Case Managers suggested that through a restorative intervention the young person could develop a greater sense of connectedness to their community and learn about their role within that community.

Overcoming systemic barriers

The Case Managers discussed the need for a specialist role, focussing solely on delivering restorative interventions, and supporting the young person from pre-sentencing through to completion of their intervention. Currently they thought they were unable to focus enough time on restorative interventions and lacked practice in them:

> **CM2** *"Confidence comes with practice and repeating behaviours, so when you're repeating your behaviour you become confident [. . .] we've got so many different hats on that things probably don't get done properly because you're not repeating the things, same things every day."*

Being able to master experiences is an important component of developing self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977) which may highlight why the Case Managers though spending more time delivering restorative interventions would improve their success. They also highlighted the impact that cut backs in funding had had:

> **CM4** *"We had a dedicated reparation team who were, obviously, delivering these restorative interventions in the community, but obviously, cut backs in national and local government, it's down to us as individual case managers now to deliver these interventions, so it sounds like we've stripped it down, because we've had to."*

Further concerns were the so called "red tape" that inhibited how the Case Managers were able to deliver an intervention, which seemed to lead to a decreased sense of autonomy.

Professional skill

The Case Managers identified several factors about themselves that they though had an impact on the success of interventions. These are made up of three sub themes; Case Manager qualities, building relationships and professional development.

Case Manager qualities

The Case Managers highlighted individual qualities they thought had an impact on the success of an intervention. These included their motivation and perseverance. Self-efficacy also appeared to be a factor, particularly in managing a restorative justice conference:

> **CM1** *"I think it's about confidence, and I think it's about confidence in the practitioners being able to do that intervention, and know how to do it and how to do it well, and it's about time and having time to go to the practitioners who have done them before and can do it, because I would be so scared to do a restorative justice conference or something direct."*

This again highlights the importance they placed on what Bandura called 'mastery experiences'. It also highlights the importance of 'social modelling'; another source of self-efficacy proposed in Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1977). The Case Managers suggested that with a greater amount of experience in delivering restorative justice interventions, and opportunities to learn from those more skilled in their delivery, came greater professional skill.

EPs may have a role to play here in supporting the Case Manager's development of skills. Following the group interview the group expressed that they had found the process useful and compared it to peer supervision. Callicott and Leadbetter (2013) suggest that EPs are well placed to supervise other professionals given their experience of the process and their knowledge of underpinning skills of consultation and reflection. They note that through this EPs can support positive outcomes for young people.

Building relationships

The importance of being able to build relationships with the young people with whom they work was discussed. This was viewed in terms of offering support to the offender or victim:

> **CM1** *"Sometimes you need somebody that you're going to see again and have a relationship with and already build a relationship up, to then feel confident about even walking through the door."*

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They also highlighted the importance of understanding the young person well enough to know how to manage the intervention:

> **CM2** *"And in that relationship then it was like a knowing nod that everything was kind of okay and maybe he's ready to meet, so the next time I had the conversation with him, he was, like, "Alright then, aye, aye, I'll do this.""*

As referred to on page 55, relationships are central to a constructionist understanding of restorative justice. This relationship enables interaction through which new meaning, understanding and identities can be formed (Bakhtin, 1981; Hermans, 2001). The Case Managers described how, through this dialogical relationship, they can support the young offender to build new relationships with their community.

Professional development

When discussing their knowledge of restorative approaches one Case Manager stated *"I rely on what my service trains me."* The Case Managers made links between the success of an intervention and the need for the Case Manager delivering it to have an underlying knowledge of restorative justice:

> **CM1** *"We've had excellent programmes [. . .] that have worked really, really well, and I'm not saying that the people who manage them haven't got a clue because they have, because they've taught themselves, and they've had to read up and what have you, but they didn't have the foundations, they didn't have the experience, they didn't have the background knowledge, and around what they've had to teach themselves."*

Having opportunities to share good practice was also highlighted.

Holistic approach

The Case Managers noted the, sometimes, isolated nature of their role:

> **CM1** *"It's working in isolation constantly. We go to the police, we go to the court, we come here, that's it."*

Eco-systemic theory would suggest that the young person and the YJS are parts of wider systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). These wider systems impact on the young person and are part of the influencing factors on that young person's behaviour. Therefore, by working in isolation the impact that the YJS can have on preventing reoffending is limited. Similarly, if EPs work solely within education their impact too is limited. This again emphasises the need for EPs to work with YJSs to promote positive outcomes for young people.

The Case Managers highlighted other areas in which they though it would be beneficial to use restorative approaches. Education and schools were mentioned several times:

> **CM4** *"The main body of our work could be in schools[. . .] getting in and letting our potential service users, and we don't want them, know that going out and pinching a Mars bar from the local corner shop is a crime and you could get this, and start to go at it early on and also talk to them about, well, "if you've done that, did you ever consider going back and saying, "I'm really sorry Mr Smith", you know."*

The Case Managers also highlighted the need for the community, victims and parents all to be involved in restorative interventions.

Moving towards a model

Throughout the group interview the Case Managers highlighted the importance of their relationships with the young people. Notably they suggested relationships play a crucial role in enabling change in the young offender by supporting them through various stages of change (Prochaska & DiClemente, 1982), and preparing the young person for this. This relationship was also viewed as important in providing opportunities for learning. These two areas, enabling change and learning, seem to have a cyclical relationship in that as the young person begins to consider change they are able to engage in restorative activities which promote learning; this in turn allows them to take the next step towards change. I would argue that central to the relationship between a Case Manager and young person is the dialogic space that such relationships allow. By this I mean opportunities for differing perspectives and constructions to be held between people in a way that produces transformation, and new knowledge and learning (Wegerif, 2011).

Many of the personal qualities the Case Managers highlighted as important for the young people with whom they work can be further elaborated through an understanding of self-determination theory's (SDT) three key factors of autonomy, competence and relatedness (see page 10). This theory proposes that these factors are important in the development of self-motivation, social functioning and personal wellbeing (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

The Case Managers placed importance on young people being able to experience positive outcomes through repairing the harm caused, and on the young person's ability to maintain change in their behaviour. These points can be seen to relate to

SDTs notion of competence. In terms of autonomy, the Case Managers thought it important that young people learn about the impact of their actions, and in that sense, to recognise themselves as causal agents. One of the key areas of importance was developing a psychological sense of community and an understanding of their relationship with their community; these factors are closely tied to SDTs notion of relatedness.

With these two theories, dialogic theory and SDT, seeming to provide a helpful insight into the findings of the analysis I propose a model in which these ideas are conceptualised (see Figure 3).

The model proposes that, for dialogic space to be created (which is necessary to promote learning and enable change), the Case Managers should consider four themes identified through analysis when planning a restorative intervention; community, a holistic approach, professional skill and overcoming systemic barriers. In order to create dialogic space it is important that others play a role in the intervention. This study's findings suggest that such 'others' include the community, victim, family and Case Managers themselves. These dialogic relationships enable the exploration of differing perspectives which in turn can support transformation in the ideas that the young person holds (Wegerif, 2011).

It would not be possible to deliver interventions that enable such relationships if Case Managers did not have the appropriate skills and autonomy to be able to deliver these. The Case Managers discussed the need for these qualities within the themes professional skill and overcoming systemic barriers. This highlights that, in
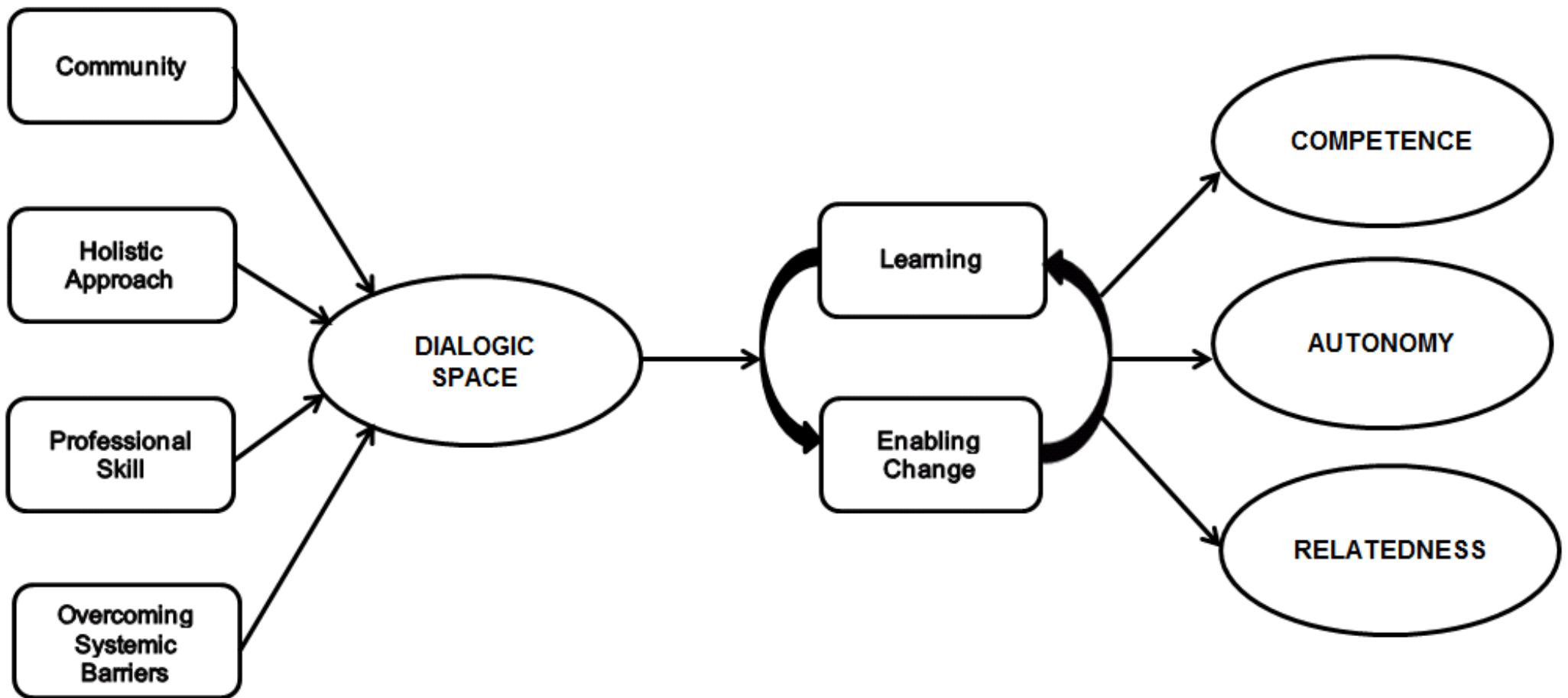
Figure 3: A model of supporting self-determination through dialogic space in restorative justice interventions

order for an intervention to create dialogic space, there must be opportunities for interaction and relationships with others, and the skills and autonomy to deliver this.

Moving forwards with this model, it would seem appropriate that, when the YJS plan restorative justice interventions for young people, attention should be given to the ways that dialogic space can be created. By creating this space, learning and change can be supported, with the ultimate aim of promoting the competence, autonomy and relatedness of the young person. This model proposes that using a holistic approach including the community, and equipping Case Managers with the skill and autonomy to deliver interventions, may be important steps in creating such dialogic space.

Dialogic transformation within the interview

The purpose of the group interview was to provide a method in which the Case Managers could reflect on their practice to provide data, which in turn could be analysed and used as a tool to support further thinking around their restorative justice interventions. However there also seemed to be another outcome of the group interview. At the conclusion of the interview the Case Managers noted that the process itself had been useful and that it had felt like "peer supervision". Although it had not been an explicit intention in the conceptualisation of the research, it seemed that the process of the group reflecting on their professional practice had in itself been an opportunity for transformation and change. On reflection, the group interview had provided an opportunity for dialogic space in which differing perspectives and constructions were held in tension between the Case Managers

(van der Riet, 2008; Wegerif, 2011). As discussed on page 9, it is through this tension that transformation is made possible (Marková, 2003).

Implications for Educational Psychologists

As discussed on page 5, research suggests links between young offenders and educational outcomes such as academic achievement, truancy and exclusion (Adams et al., 2009; Berridge et al., 2001; Liddle, 1998). It has also been highlighted that a high proportion of young people in the youth justice system could be categorised as having SEN. Furthermore, researchers have suggested that EPs can make a valuable contribution to the work of YOTs and YJSs through applying their knowledge of complex needs, delivering training, their ability to supervise other professionals, their application of problem solving approaches, their skills in planning, implementing and evaluating interventions and, of particular relevance to this study, through research (Farrell et al., 2006; Ryrie, 2006) with an overall emphasis on the unique contribution of the EP; applying psychology (Ashton & Roberts, 2006). This clearly demonstrates that there is a role for EPs in working with youth justice settings.

This is of particular importance when you take into account an ecosystemic perspective on behaviour and recognise that it cannot be viewed in isolation within one setting alone (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Furthermore dialogic theory tells us that learning occurs through dialogical relationships in any setting (Hermans, 2002; Sampson, 2008). Therefore it seems appropriate that EPs should work within a variety of settings and not solely within educational settings. If EPs are to support transformation in the lives of young people, they must take a more holistic approach.

This may involve closer work with families, and work in the wider community such as YJSs.

This research demonstrates that through supporting other professionals to think about and reflect on their practice, EPs can play an important role in transformation, perhaps through supporting professional development. In this case, not only did the research process result in ideas which were shared with the YJS to support further thinking around their practice and a step towards changing practice, the process of the group interview itself also seemed to be a space for dialogic transformation. This highlights the impact that EPs can have when working with other professionals.

Limitations of this study

Researching within a social constructionist paradigm, I acknowledge that the findings of this research are not generalisable to other groups. The small sample size further inhibits the study's generalisability. In a further study it would be useful to work with the YJS involved in this research to implement the findings and identify whether positive outcomes are achieved.

I was the only person to carry out the thematic analysis leaving it open to significant subjective interpretation. I recognise that the research findings are my interpretation of the data and cannot directly represent the perceptions of the Case Managers. Furthermore, the use of a group interview may have inhibited some participants from sharing their personal thoughts if they thought these were confidential or in opposition to those of the rest of the group.

Future Research

Ideas for future research can be described at a micro and macro level. In terms of the micro level, further research could be carried out with the YJS that took part in this research, to implement the findings within their interventions. Perhaps the most appropriate research paradigm for this would be action research, in which the intervention could be revisited and changed a number of times to promote the delivery of a restorative intervention which is successful in preventing reoffending.

At a macro level, this research highlights that EPs have many skills which are applicable to working with other professionals, including research skills. Future research could be carried out by EPs with a wide range of services and professionals whose role impacts on the lives of young people, to help improve the services they deliver.

Conclusion

This study sought to explore the constructs restorative justice Case Managers perceive to be important in delivering restorative justice interventions which are successful in preventing youth reoffending. Thematic analysis of the data collected suggests that, within that YJS, there are six key areas which impact on the success of restorative justice interventions; enabling change, learning (dialogic learning and experiential learning), community (psychological sense of community, community values and community participation), overcoming systemic barriers, professional skill (building relationships, Case Manager qualities, and professional development), and

a holistic approach. I have proposed a model of the relationship between the creation of dialogic space and the six themes identified in supporting the competence, autonomy and relatedness of young people as conceptualised in self-determination theory.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Participant information sheet

The experiences of Case Managers within a Youth Justice Service regarding the factors that are important in enabling restorative justice interventions to prevent young people reoffending

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

You are being invited to take part in a research study to explore the experiences of Case Mangers in a Youth Justice Service in relation to what factors are important in enabling restorative justice interventions to prevent young people reoffending. The findings will be used in an empirical research report which will be submitted by Claire Davidson, Trainee Educational Psychologist, as a dissertation for Doctorate in Applied Educational Psychology.

Before you decide whether to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part. Thank you for reading this.

Who will conduct the research?
The research is being carried out by Claire Davidson, Trainee Educational Psychologist, and findings will be submitted as a dissertation for Doctorate in Applied Educational Psychology at Newcastle University.

The research is being supervised by Dave Lumsdon, Course Tutor at Newcastle University.

Title of the Research
What factors are important in enabling restorative justice interventions to prevent young people reoffending; a Case Manager perspective.

What is the aim of the research?
To provide a comprehensive picture of the experiences of Case Managers in a Youth Justice Service in relation to delivering restorative justice interventions with young offenders.

Why have I been chosen?
All Case Managers who deliver restorative justice interventions within the Youth Justice Service are invited to take part.

What would I be asked to do if I took part?
Attend and take part in a group interview, lasting no longer than two hours, alongside colleagues in the Youth Justice Service.

What happens to the data collected?
The group interview will be recorded and this data may be fully transcribed. This data will then be analysed by the researcher. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained.

How is confidentiality maintained?
The group interview will be audio recorded and may be fully transcribed. In the event that the audio recording is transcribed, the transcript will be fully anonymised. Quotes from the audio recording may be used to annotate key areas. Quotes will be anonymous. As soon as the information required from the audio recordings has been gathered, the audio recording of the group interview will be permanently erased.

What happens if I do not want to take part or if I change my mind?
It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason and without detriment to yourself.

Will I be paid for participating in the research?
No.

What is the duration of the research?
The group interview will last for no more than two hours.

Where will the research be conducted?
The group interview will take place at [place] on Friday 27 September 2013 at 1.00pm.

Contact for further information:

Claire Davidson, Trainee Educational Psychologist
Email: c.davidson@ncl.ac.uk

Or, Dave Lumsdon, Course Tutor, Doctorate in Applied Educational Psychology
Email: david.lumsdon@ncl.ac.uk

What if something goes wrong?

Please contact Claire Davidson, Trainee Educational Psychologist
Email: c.davidson@ncl.ac.uk

Or, Dave Lumsdon, Course Tutor, Doctorate in Applied Educational Psychology
Email: david.lumsdon@ncl.ac.uk

Appendix B: Consent form

Newcastle University

The experiences of Case Managers within a Youth Justice Service regarding the factors that are important in enabling restorative justice interventions to prevent young people reoffending

CONSENT FORM

If you are happy to participate please complete and sign the consent form and hand personally to Claire Davidson, Trainee Educational Psychologist on the day of the group interview.

	Please Initial Box
1. I confirm that I have read the participant information sheet.	
2. I understand that my participation in the study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.	
3. I understand that the group interview will be audio recorded and may be transcribed.	
4. I agree to the use of anonymous quotes.	
5. I agree that data collected will be submitted in a dissertation for the Doctorate in Applied Educational Psychology.	
6. I agree to take part in the above project.	

Name of participant: Date: Signature:

		Transcript	Codes
	R	So now there's kind of red tape that's getting in the way of, really, it being how it needs to be?	
	CM1	It is red tape, yeah, it is, its bureaucracy, in many respects, and [Participant 1] pipped us at the post on that one. (Laughs).	- Reduce bureaucracy. - Autonomy of Case Manager.
	CM4	In that, where's the restorative element? Yes, you're in a kitchen, you cook something, but where's the sense of achievement for the child?	- Experience positive outcomes of their actions. - Experience a sense of achievement.
19:291	CM1	That young person doesn't know where it's going.	
	CM4	They don't, we just take them home and we've got a box on the back seat that we're going to take (over talking).	
	CM2	The thing is, the bureaucracy can be overcome.	- Reduce bureaucracy.
	CM4	Easily.	
	CM2	The bureaucracy can be overcome easily. The problem is we haven't got that rep-coordinator any more that his job is to overcome that bureaucracy, so it's much easier for us to fit in to a small, little, "This is what you do, we've got to rake and bake and that's it". It's easier for us to fit into that than have, to employ someone, again, the cuts, about, to be able to do that, bureaucracy.	- Autonomy of Case Manager. - Funding. - Reduce bureaucracy.
	CM4	(Unable to hear 0:18:50).	

19:301	CM2	Bureaucracy's nothing. Bureaucracy's just a hurdle to get through and it's easy get through, but when you've got less and less people to do a certain job…	- Reduce bureaucracy. - Funding. - Manageable caseload.
	CM4	It becomes more and more difficult.	
	CM2	It does, you've got to, you then become trapped by the bureaucracy and everyone blames the bureaucracy.	
	CM1	And they don't know enough about the projects that they're giving produce to, because they don't know where they're going, so you can't tell them about a service or a need or how other people in the community are impacted by X, Y and Z.	- Meaningful participation. - Learning about their community.
	R	So who doesn't know? Who needs to know, the young people?	
20:311	CM1	The young people who are doing it, so they know that they're coming in, they know that, they know, you know, a basic background of why they're doing it and it's going to be going to somebody. And, you know, and yes, I'll turn around and I might say, "Oh, you know, it'll go to a soup kitchen", and they won't know which one, but I could have done a session with them, looking at they find soup kitchens in [place name], and who does what and why they do it, taking them along to the soup kitchen and meeting them, with the people who are then serving their produce. That could be a massive project, a massive session, and getting somebody to do it, we had a homeless event a couple of years ago, that we had, young people become involved with, and they went to the soup kitchens as part of that project, that event. [*Cut to protect anonymity*].	- Meaningful participation. - Learning about their community. - Experience positive outcomes of their actions. - Interventions which benefit the community.

	CM1	[*Cut to protect anonymity*]. Yet when he went to the soup kitchens and he learnt about what was going on, and we had, like an hour talking as part of the event, it was eleven o'clock at night, pitch black, in the freezing cold, we talked about what we were experiencing there and then, we talked about what we'd experience when we went to the soup kitchen, we talked about all of that. Now, the [project name] project could be, mirror that kind of event, that kind of project along the whole, you know, twelve hours of their rep so they're learning about different communities and different services and different things that are going on, like the bike project. Part of the bike project, you learnt about Africa, you learnt about why the bikes were being sent back to Africa, so yes...	- Use of talk. - Learning about their community. - Talking about experiences. - Learning through talk.
21:331	CM3	The kids' faces when they found out the midwives and everybody were using these bikes for to get from A to B and that, they couldn't believe it. They were quite, you know, taking the Mick about it at first, but when it was sinking in during that first part of the programme when they were learning about it, they were like, "Jeez!"	- Experience positive outcomes of their actions. - Receive recognition that they are repairing the harm.
	R	So is it that they need to be involved from the beginning right to the end of it?	
	CM1	I do, I think (over talking).	
	CM2	Yeah, yeah, of course.	
22:341	R	They have to be involved at every step of the way?	
	CM1	I think so.	- Full participation.

	CM4	Because they're a major stakeholder in the whole thing, aren't they.	
	CM2	You get a better result, don't you?	
	CM1	To just make them part of one little bit of that restorative justice...	
	CM4	Pointless.	
22:351	CM1	It's not having, it's not pointless, but it's not as effective as what it could be and I think it would be easy to change a project and make it bigger, wider and become much more effective and have a much greater impact because we've got a lot of young people who at the start of their order wouldn't want to go through a direct restorative justice element and meet victims. However, at least learning about the wider community and the wider consequences of other people's behaviours and how things have impacted and how getting...	- Autonomy of Case Manager. - Learning about their community. - Explore impact of their actions.
	CM4	Indirect, isn't it.	
	CM1	Yeah, how somebody falling out with their family or having a drug and alcohol problem, you know, and they end up like homeless or what have you, and then we're providing soup for that soup kitchen, they don't teach them about any of that.	- Learning about their community.

Appendix D: Themes and Codes

Global Themes	Sub Themes	Codes
Enabling change		- Desire to participate - Preparation for participation - Offender wants to make amends - Motivation to change - Readiness of offender - Break offenders cycle of behaviour - Offender's personal strength to change - Empower offenders - Emotional resilience of participants - Full participation - Autonomy of offender
Learning	*Dialogic learning*	- Reflect on actions with Case Manager - Victim and offender learning about one another - Offenders explore their relationship to others - Use of language - Case Manager talks about RJ with the offender - Unpicking the story - Mediation from Case Manager - Use of talking - Case Manager challenges offender's perceptions - Learning through talk
	Experiential learning	- Experience consequence of their actions - Learn through experiences - Experience positive outcomes of their actions - Cognitive dissonance - Experience emotion as a consequence of their actions - Receive recognition that they are repairing the harm - Experience a sense of achievement - Meaningful participation - Explore impact of their actions

Community	Community participation	- Community participation - Interventions which benefit the community - Interventions which are visible in the community - Community awareness of RJ - Strong links with the community - Community support RJ - Positive role models
	Community values	- Community values of justice - Inclusive society - Inclusive education - Restorative ethos within the community - RJ culturally embedded - A culture that values community - Community educated about RJ
	Psychological sense of community	- Develop feelings of connectedness to the community - Community takes ownership for resolving problems - A culture that values community - Sense of community - Reduce feelings of isolation - Receive praise from the community - Learn about their community - Learn about their role in the community - Learn about their relationship with the community - Build a positive identity - Change offenders relationship with the community
Overcoming systemic barriers		- Reduce bureaucracy - Time for preparation - Restorative ethos within YJS - Consistency in case management - Stability in roles - Manageable caseload - Funding - Time for intervention - Narrow scope of role - Specialist roles - More opportunities for RJ conferences - RJ interventions need to be immediate - Flexibility of interventions - Case Manager autonomy - 'Restorativeness' of intervention

Professional skill	Case Manager qualities	- Experience of Case Manager - Motivation of Case Manager - Professional skill of Case Manger - Self-efficacy of the Case Manager - Perseverance of the Case Manager - Autonomy of Case Manager - Opportunities for Case Manager to reflect
	Building relationships	- Support for the family of the offender - Case Manager builds relationship with the offender - Relationship between offender and Case Manager - Support for offender from Case Manger - Case Manager understands the offender - Case Manager relieves anxieties - Empower victims - Providing feeling of safety - Victim's trust in Case Manger - Supporting victim
	Professional development	-Training for Case Managers -Case Managers knowledge of RJ -Time for developing knowledge of RJ -Professional development opportunities for Case Managers -Sharing good practice -Shared knowledge of RJ within YJS
Holistic approach		- Family support the intervention - Family participation - Victim participation - Community participation - Multi-agency approach - Whole community approach - RJ runs through the community - RJ needs to be used in other contexts - RJ should be used in schools