WILLINGNESS TO ADOPT RESTORATIVE DISCIPLINE IN SCHOOLS:

AN ANALYSIS OF NORTHWEST JUSTICE FORUM

PRE-TRAINING ON RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

AND SCHOOLS SURVEY DATA

by

CORIANNE LENORA ETHEREDGE

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Student: Corianne Lenora Etheredge

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This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Conflict and Dispute Resolution Program by:

Erik Girvan J.D., Ph.D.	Chairperson
Elizabeth Tippett J.D.	Member

and

J. Andrew Berglund	Dean of the Graduate School

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

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THESIS ABSTRACT

Corianne Lenora Etheredge

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Title: Willingness to Adopt Restorative Discipline in Schools: An Analysis of Northwest Justice Forum Pre-Training on Restorative Justice and Schools Survey Data

Concerns over skyrocketing school disciplinary rates have driven the search for alternative methods to address disruptive student behavior. Restorative disciplinary practices are a promising option for our nation's schools. This investigation explores the willingness of educators to adopt restorative discipline by analyzing survey data from the Northwest Justice Forum Pre-Training on Restorative Justice in Schools. Data analysis was conducted using the Theory of Planned Behavior as a model for understanding and predicting future behavior—in this instance, willingness to be contacted for more information or willingness to participate in a future study. A concurrent review of the participant's school disciplinary policies demonstrated how participant views are reflected in practice. The analysis suggested that the respondent's attitude significantly predicted intention, and both attitude and intention predicted behavior. Furthermore, the policy review confirmed that restorative discipline is largely absent and cautioned that there may be misconceptions about its use.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Corianne Lenora Etheredge

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
New College of Florida, Sarasota

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, Conflict and Dispute Resolution, 2014, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, Public Policy, 2010, New College of Florida

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

16-Hour Restorative Justice and Victim Offender Mediation Training, Center for Dialogue & Resolution, 2014

Intern, Gulu Women's Economic and Development Globalization (GWED-G), 2013

Intern, Network Charter School's PeaceOut Classroom, 2013

Intern, Oregon Student Public Interest Research Group, 2013

32-Hour Basic Mediation Training, Appropriate Dispute Resolution Center, 2012

Coordinator, Hwacheon PEACE Forum, 2011

English Teaching Assistant, Fulbright Korea Program, 2010-2012

Resident Advisor, New College of Florida, 2007-2010

Assistant Director, New College Child Center, 2007-2010

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Grant, Parent-Child Book Reading and Parental Reading Beliefs in South Korea, Castleberry Grant Project, 2012

Wohelo Award, Camp Fire USA, 2006

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Traditional school discipline in the United States has mirrored the nation's retributive justice system (Karp & Breslin, 2001; Suvall 2009). Student infractions are primarily handled authoritatively by school officials and centralize around punishment (Suvall 2009), which often takes the form of removing the student from the school environment via suspension or expulsion (Karp & Breslin, 2001). The development of zero-tolerance policies has further increased the number of suspensions and expulsions nationwide (Cregor & Hewitt, 2011). Increased use of formal disciplinary actions has steered a stream of students from the schools and into the juvenile justice system (Fabelo, T., Thompson, M. D., Plotkin, M., Carmichael, D., Marchbanks III, M. P., & Booth, E. A., 2011), a phenomenon referred to as the school-to-prison-pipeline (Cregor & Hewit, 2011). The effectiveness of such practices is being questioned and has school administrators, teachers, and other educational professionals exploring alternative methods.

One such alternative—restorative discipline—is explored in this thesis. I begin with a brief synopsis of recent trends in school discipline. Next, I present the process and impact of both retributive discipline and restorative discipline. While restorative practices may provide a viable alternative to traditional methods, transforming school-wide disciplinary practices relies on effectively implementing such changes. Successful implementation requires coordination from a multitude of actors.

To pinpoint indicators of successful transitions to restorative discipline as well as identify barriers that challenge or hinder the implementation, I conduct a secondary

analysis of a survey that explored these topics. The data was collected in the form of a questionnaire that was available to school administrators, teachers, and staff who attended the 2013 Northwest Justice Forum Pre-training on Restorative Justice and Schools. It was conducted as part of PRIDE: Positive and Restorative Investment in Discipline Reform in Education to gain insight regarding participants' understanding of, views on, and stance towards an intervention aimed at reducing racial and ethnic disproportionality in school disciplinary decisions. Survey questions explore participant knowledge and beliefs about SWPBIS (school-wide positive behavior interventions and supports), ask about common implementation barriers, and present an opportunity for participants to get involved. In an effort to determine how, if at all, participant views and ideas are reflected in practice, I also incorporate an analysis of disciplinary policies from 15 participant schools in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

The data analysis utilizes Icek Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behavior (1991) as a framework for understanding how participant attitudes and beliefs impact behavior—i.e., the participants' willingness to be contacted for more information or the possibility of having their school participate in a future study. In this way, the analysis determined what characteristics indicate greater likelihood taking action—either being interested in more information or participating in the future. Examining these indicators will help to predict which staff members are more or less likely to try implementing restorative discipline practices. Correspondingly, barriers to action—for example, believing implementing a restorative discipline program would be too costly, ineffective, or disruptive—were also identified. Synthesizing the questionnaire and policy data will help future implementation of restorative discipline in schools by identifying connections between beliefs and actual

practice. The information will fortify later implementation efforts by mitigating barriers in addition to identifying and encouraging success indicators.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

First, I present a basic historical synopsis of the way in which school discipline has progressed in the United States. Second, I elaborate on the process and impacts of the retributive discipline system currently employed at many public schools. Next, I provide a similar description of restorative discipline. By describing the theoretical and structural elements of each disciplinary system these sections highlight how foundational components of the two methods come together to impact those involved in fundamentally different ways. I also discuss how retributive and restorative processes can work in concert and give examples of recent efforts to combine them. I conclude by presenting the specific questions pertaining to restorative discipline implementation that this investigation explores.

Historical Synopsis

Just as societal norms fluctuate, so to do school policies. American public schools' disciplinary practices stem from retributive origins. A retributive system is one that operates, and disciplines, based on rules; after establishing which rule has been violated it moves to affix a corresponding punishment. A more in-depth discussion of the retributive discipline model is presented in the next section.

The environment in which the traditional retributive discipline system developed was fundamentally different from the current school climate. Specifically, employing corporal punishment as a form of discipline was common practice; it was not was not until relatively recently that this method came under attack, being formally denounced by the American Psychological Association in 1974 (Greydanus, D. E., Pratt, H. D., Spates,

C. R., Blake-Dreher, A. E., Greydanus-Gearhart, M. A., & Patel, D. R., 2003). Similar patterns occurred in other Westernized countries. Cameron (1999) provides a heartbreaking visual description of this transition in Australian schools: "Suspensions and exclusions simply became the substitute for the more extreme tool of punishment, the cane, and so began the search for new forms of control in the wake of the cane's demise" (pg. 9). As of 2011 there are 19 states that continue to authorize corporal punishment as a disciplinary practice; however the overall corporal punishment has trended downward, declining 18% since the 1980s (Discipline at School, n.d.). Apart from the humanitarian argument against corporal punishment, other changes in the school environment—notably the student population growth that accompanied the Baby Boomer generation—had educational professionals searching for more effective forms of discipline, which led a shift towards exclusionary practices (Adams, 2000). These new methods included detention, suspension, and expulsion. While this shift did afford a speedy and efficient way to address the considerably larger student numbers, it also fueled debate regarding students' due process rights. In the monumental *Goss v. Lopez* case (1975), the U.S. Supreme court voted in favor a group of disgruntled students and affirmed the necessity of due process procedures when administering school suspensions lasting 10 days or less. As a result, the 1970s and 1980s saw many schools, trying to avoid further litigation, transition towards in-school suspension (ISS) programs (Adams, 2000). Regardless of these procedural changes there was no corresponding cultural shift towards less authoritative practices, and additional punitive policies caused new problems.

In the 1980s, societal pressure to increase school safety efforts led to the widespread adaptation of zero tolerance policies (Adams, 2000; Skiba, 2000; Suvall,

2009). A zero tolerance approach removes degrees of delinquency and makes all offenses in a category equally unacceptable. A zero tolerance drug policy, for example, would categorize and punish all drug infractions in an equivalent manner without exception. In theory, the severity of such a policy was intended to establish such a high consequence that the student would be dissuaded from participating in delinquent behavior, alternatively opting to comply with school rules. Critics warn that relying on severe punishment as a decision-making influence fosters a "community [that] is built on fear rather than care" (Karp & Breslin, 2001, p. 253). Nevertheless, such policies have permeated schools across the nation.

Originally, zero tolerance was developed to address severe offenses—primarily weapons and substance violations. In reality, these policies have produced severe punishments for minor infractions. For example, a zero tolerance weapons policy resulted in the suspension of a 7th grade student in Glendale, Arizona after his "homemade rocket made from a potato chip canister" (Skiba, 2000, p. 4) was labeled a weapon by school officials in 1999. A Florida student provides an example regarding substances: The sophomore student "took a sip of sangria at a luncheon with co-workers as part of a school-sponsored internship" (Skiba, 2000, p. 5) and was subsequently suspended after her parents, concerned that minors were being served alcohol, complained to the school. A last example demonstrates how zero tolerance policies have expanded their influence almost comically: In 1999, a Maryland teenager received a 10-day suspension after

> "he announced in the school's morning announcements that his French teacher was not fluent in the language. The student and his parents claimed that the incident was intended as a joke and did not warrant such a punishment. School officials, however, deemed the comments a "verbal attack" against the teacher" (Skiba, 2000, p. 6)

In instances in which zero tolerance policies are enacted for legitimately severe offenses, its effectiveness and side-effects are questionable—this topic is explored in-depth in the next section.

School discipline in the 1990s was also shaped by an increased focus on the behavioral problems of individual students. Rather than searching for a new disciplinary approach, schools began referring students with behavioral difficulties to medical professionals for diagnosis and often medication[1] (Adams, 2000). Zero tolerance remained popular and by 1997 about the majority of the nation's schools used such policies for infractions related to alcohol (87% of schools), drugs (88%), and firearms (94%) and other weapons (91%) (National Center for Education Statistics, 1997). Further, the number of students who receive exclusionary punishment remains high. A 2011 study of school discipline and the juvenile justice system in Texas found that 59.6% of students were suspended or expelled at least once in middle and high school; though most students experienced multiple instances, of those who had been suspended or expelled half had been engaged in a minimum of 4 disciplinary actions (Fabelo et al., 2011). This holds true at the national level as discipline rates have skyrocketed to an all time high and are double the rates of the 1970s (Cregor & Dewit, 2011). To conclude, despite major policy changes over several decades the school discipline system remains retributive and disciplinary practices are dominated by exclusionary punishments.

[1] The implications of this trend are beyond this scope of this investigation. However, misdiagnosis and overdiagnosis, excessive use of prescription medications, and using diagnosis as a justification for ignoring due process rights, are some primary concerns surrounding this movement (Adams, 2000).

Retributive Discipline

This section consists of two components. First, it provides a summary of the retributive process and the core assumptions it is built upon. Second, it puts forth documented impacts of a primarily retributive process and exclusionary practices.

Process. The focus in a retributive justice system is to ascertain whether a rule has been broken, and, if it has been, to establish blame and inflict punishment for the act. For those of us raised within this framework it seems a natural, inevitable process. But what does this really entail in the school setting? Generally, this means a student is given a punishment by a school authority—be it a teacher, school administrator, or other school staff—in an adversarial manner. However, the pervasiveness of zero tolerance policies has limited school officials' discretion in this process, meaning that even students who have committed a minimal offense receive compulsory detention, suspension, or expulsion—as seen in the examples above.

What is concerning about the retributive process is just as much about what it *leaves out*, as it is about what it *includes*. After receiving a punishment, there is little discussion of the event and its aftermath. Potential victims are also left out of the discussion. Not only are those who are negatively impacted by the offender's infraction left voiceless, without the chance to share their experience, but they too often end up on their own without the support necessary to recover. On the community level, the school suffers as well—especially when the punishment leads to increased likelihood of delinquent behavior. And because the punishment occurs in private, only muted, if any, group discussion of community standards can take place (Suvall, 2009). Therefore, not

only is limited progress made on the individual level, for both the offender and the victim(s), but the community itself remains fractured.

Impact. The outcomes of the retributive process on offending students, victims and the school as a community have been well documented in recent years. The impacts are broken down into separate subsections including: the school-to-prison pipeline, the achievement gap, psychological effects on both the offender and the victim, bullying, and the overall community.

School-to-prison pipeline. The development of zero tolerance policies fostered a partnership between schools and law enforcement, which has ushered more students into the juvenile justice system (Fabelo et al., 2011). This phenomenon has been termed the school-to-prison pipeline. The *pipeline* refers to the punitive, exclusionary practices and policies that have developed within the retributive system; methods that divert a steady flow of students from schools and into the juvenile justice system (Suvall, 2009).

A 2011 investigation of 7th to 12th graders found that over one in seven students, around 15% of the participants, were involved with the juvenile system (Fabelo et al., 2011). The study also concluded that "Students who were suspended or expelled had a greater likelihood of contact with the juvenile justice system in their middle or high school years, particularly when they were disciplined multiple times" (Fabelo et al., 2011, p. 61). Friedman (2011) also supported this finding, reporting that students who are expelled or suspended from school face an increased likelihood of future delinquent and violent behavior, and involvement with the juvenile justice system.

Contemporary research reveals another disturbing finding: Influences outside of the school may also be driving students to the juvenile system unjustifiably. For example,

federal grants that allocate resources for schools to employ on-site police officers—like those offered through the Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) by the U.S. Department of Justice—while designed to increase school safety, may actually be exacerbating unnecessary involvement with the law (Cregor & Hewitt, 2011). Fingers have also been pointed at the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) and its overreliance on standardized test scores as an indicator of success, as a key player in incentivizing the removal of problem students (Cregor & Hewitt, 2011). Unfortunately, the negative influence of these policies does not end there.

Recent studies also provide evidence that the pipeline disproportionally penalizes already disenfranchised and marginalized students—specifically, students of color, disabled students, (Fabelo et al., 2011) and gay and lesbian students (Cregor & Hewitt, 2011). For example, Karega, Rausch, and Skiba (2005) found that the out-of-school suspension rate was significantly higher for African American students at the elementary school level and higher for both African American and Hispanic students at the secondary school level, than for other groups. Another study reported a similar pattern, results indicated that males and black students had significantly more referrals, suspensions, and expulsions than did females and white students were underrepresented (Skiba, 2002). Additional research suggests that this pattern is not due to genuine differences in behavior, reporting instead that there are also differences in the type of disciplinary referrals received. For example, White students more commonly receive referrals for observable behavior—specifically *smoking, leaving without permission, vandalism,* and *obscene language*—while their Black peers receive referrals for subjective behavior—including *disrespect, excessive noise, threat,* and *loitering* (Skiba,

Michael, Nardo & Peterson, 2002). So, differential treatment occurs at both at the selection and punishment stages of the disciplinary process.

Achievement gap. Exclusionary sanctions almost always take the student out of the classroom, which can interfere with their learning experience by causing them to miss out on valuable instruction time. One study suggested that achievement is negatively correlated with out-of-school suspension and expulsion, even when controlling for other socio-demographic factors (Karega, Rausch, & Skiba, 2005). The same study also found that out-of-school suspension rates significantly predicted school achievement passing rates, and accounted for 17.1% of the overall variation. The study concluded "it is difficult to argue that removing disruptive students from school improves the learning climate when schools with higher rates of suspension and expulsion evidence less satisfactory achievement outcomes" (Karega, Rausch, & Skiba, 2005, p. 20). These findings are supported by Fabelo et al. (2011) who report that students with one suspension or expulsion were more likely than their peers to be held back—31% compared to 5.2%—or leave school entirely—10% compared to 2%. The percentages increased even more when examining students who had 11 or more disciplinary instances, 56% were held back and 15% left school. Like the school-to-prison pipeline the achievement gap also has a disproportionate impact on racial minorities (Gregory et al., 2010).

Psychological effects. Students can also experience more personal and emotional drawbacks from an exclusionary, punitive system. An overly harsh punishment can actually result in greater reluctance to comply with school rules and norms, foster negative attitudes about school, and result in alienation and psychosocial harm (Suvall,

2009). At the same time, the offender is not the only one who may experience lingering negative consequences. Bullying victims are more likely to have increased stress, anxiety, and depression; ultimately, they also have increased risk of suicide (Morrison, 2002).

Restorative Discipline

Restorative discipline and retributive discipline stem from contrasting underlying principles that result in developing different structures, employing different methods, and ultimately striving for different end-goals. The fundamental contrast is that retributive processes focus on the broken rule as the primary infraction, whereas restorative discipline stresses how the behavior has impacted people and relationships.

Process. To highlight its focus on relationships, restorative discipline is structured to include a variety of stakeholders— offenders, victims, and the families of both, for example—each of whom gets to tell their story and participate in problem-solving discussion. Usually, a collaborative agreement emerges and the process concludes with all members signing a written reparation contract based on the event's proceedings. However, there are many methods for making use of restorative practices; several major examples of which are discussed in more detail below. But first, Hopkins (2002) presents nine differentiating characteristics that provide a more in-depth examination of variations between retributive and restorative practices—a visual representation is available in Table 1 (Hopkins, 2002, p. 145)

Table 1

Retributive and Restorative Justice in Schools

OLD PARADIGM - RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE		NEW PARADIGM - RESTORATIVE JUSTICE
Misbehaviour defined as breaking school rules or letting the school down	1	Misbehaviour defined as harm (emotional/mental/physical) done to one person/group by another
Focus on establishing blame or guilt, on the past (what happened? did he/she do it?)	2	Focus on problem-solving by expressing feelings and needs and exploring how to meet them in the future
Adversarial relationship and process – an authority figure, with the power to decide on penalty, in conflict with wrongdoer	3	Dialogue and negotiation - everyone involved in communicating and cooperating with each other
Imposition of pain or unpleasantness to punish and deter/prevent	4	Restitution as a means of restoring both parties, the goal being reconciliation and acknowledging responsibility for choices
Attention to rules, and adherence to due process – 'we must be consistent and observe the rules'	5	Attention to relationships and achievement of the mutually desired outcome
Conflict/wrongdoing represented as impersonal and abstract: individual versus school	6	Conflict/wrongdoing recognised as interpersonal conflicts with opportunity for learning
One social injury replaced by another	7	Focus on repair of social injury/damage
School community as spectators, represented by member of staff dealing with the situation; those affected not involved and feeling powerless	8	School community involved in facilitating restoration; those affected taken into consideration; empowerment
Accountability defined in terms of receiving punishment	9	Accountability defined as understanding impact of actions, taking responsibility for choices and suggesting ways to repair harm

First, retributive discipline relies on the breaking of school rules to indicate misbehavior, whereas restorative discipline focuses on harm—emotional, mental, or physical—inflicted by the student on another or on the community as a whole. While the broken rule is important, restorative discipline's focus on harm also recognizes the people and relationships involved. Using tardiness as an example, retributive discipline would focus on the student being late whereas restorative discipline would also incorporate the impact of being late—it disrupted the lesson, it signaled disrespect to the teacher and classmates, and so on.

Second, retributive justice focuses on affixing blame and guilt, whereas restorative justice emphasizes sharing feelings and needs to problem-solve for the future. While retributive processes focus solely on the past and relying upon punishment to discourage bad behavior, restorative processes take a different approach (McCluskey et al., 2008). Restorative justice focuses not only on the past, by discussing what occurred, but also incorporates the present by including the opportunity to share current feelings, and considers how to make amends and move forward in the future. Essentially, restorative discipline reframes the event as a social harm and puts it into a community context instead of exclusively focusing on the individual's wrong doing.

Third, retributive justice is adversarial and relies on an authority figure to decide the punishment, while restorative justice incorporates many stakeholders to participate in cooperative dialogue and create a negotiated agreement. Not only does this require the offending student to be accountable for his or her actions and take ownership over the consequences, it also gives a voice to the victim(s) and other impacted community members.

Fourth, restitution is generally painful or unpleasant in retributive justice cases, but in restorative justice it is utilized to restore the individuals, recognize responsibility on behalf of the offender, and reconcile stakeholder differences. It is important to remember that, just like retributive systems, restorative processes can and do incorporate punishment. The fundamental departure from the retributive process is that any punishment or other future expectations are the product of a collaborative discussion that incorporates multiple stakeholders in order to both repair the past harm as well as prepare

for the future, rather than a solely punitive decision made unilaterally by an administrator.

Fifth, the focus on rules in retributive process can lead to rigidity, whereas restorative justice's focus on relationships and a mutually discussed agreement allows for flexibility and personalization. A good example of the manifestation of this rigidity is the development of zero tolerance policies. The dialogue and problem-solving that occurs in restorative discipline could lead to new information—using tardiness as an example, perhaps the student has been late because they take longer routes to class to avoid hallway bullies. A retributive process that relies upon a zero tolerance for tardiness policy would most likely present a punishment without discovering the underlying problem. Enabling this communication helps to construct a more holistic view of the situation and to adjust the plan of action accordingly. Further, in situations like the example above, a school-wide issue may be uncovered, something that a retributive process may miss. This is an important step, as McCluskey et al. (2008, p. 206) stress that "by focusing on the individual pathology of a wrongdoer and without questioning how a person comes to be identified as 'having wronged' or 'being wronged', restorative justice cannot fully respond to essential questions of power, class and gender." Without this crucial element, both punishment and problem-solving can only do so much to facilitate substantial, long-lasting change.

Sixth, retributive justice remains impersonal and abstract, while restorative justice highlights the interpersonal nature of the incident and creates a learning opportunity. This learning occurs in three distinct areas: "learning about the harm of the offense, learning about the responsibilities of community membership, and learning about democratic

decision making and participation" (Karp & Breslin, 2001, pp. 208-209). Additionally, participation in the process is voluntary and punishments or consequences have a self-enforced compliance component. However, offenders are motivated to participate and meet agreed upon terms as non-cooperation generally means referral to the harsh whim of the courts. Proponents of restorative discipline stress that schools are, above all else, institutions of learning and growth—to miss such an opportunity for learning runs counter to schools' educational missions.

Seventh, retributive justice, as the name suggests, combats harm by the offender with sanctioned harm from the authority, instead of repairing the damage the harm has done, as restorative justice aims to do. Belinda Hopkins (2002) sums up the difference, describing retributive discipline as "one social injury replaced by another" while restorative discipline works on "repair[ing] of social injury/damage" (p. 145). With punishment as the main goal, retributive discipline does not help to repair the community. Restorative discipline recognizes the harm that has been done, works to address it, and in so doing allows for community healing and reintegration of the offending student.

Eighth, the community members are more voiceless spectators than active participants, while restorative justice involves community members and empowers them to engage in the process. As mentioned in characteristics above, this empowers victims to tell their stories, empowers offenders to take responsibility, and empowers the community in the decision-making process.

Finally, ninth, accountability stems from receiving punishment in retributive processes, but in restorative processes from understanding the impact of and taking responsibility for one's actions and then working to repair the harm that has been done.

Cameron and Thorsborn (1999) add that this collaboration ensures that "schools are also made accountable for those aspects of structure, policy, organization, curriculum and pedagogy which have contributed to the harm and inquiry" (p. 4). Accountability coupled with repairing harm allows offending students to reintegrate into the community.

The practical differences between retributive and restorative discipline stem from contrasting theoretical concepts. Restorative discipline draws upon two important theories—the family model of crime control and reintegrative shaming—which provide a foundation for school disciplinary change. The family model (Karp, 2001) posits that school discipline processes should mimic those that occur at home. For example, children who misbehave at home are not expelled or suspended from the family as they often are from school. Creating policies that reflect the more familiar processes that occur at home, the theory suggests, can help students transition to the school environment and better results overall. Critics argue that it is the responsibility of the schools to introduce students to a more formal system and prepare them for the processes that are utilized for adults. Another critique is not all children experience the same disciplinary processes in their home lives, and some practices—like yelling or spanking—may not be appropriate, or replicable, in the school environment.

The second theory is called reintegrative shaming (McCluskey et al., 2008; Suvall, 2009; & McGarrell, 2001). It suggests that misbehavior is deterred by fear of being shamed or disapproved by others and by one's own conscience. In theory, restorative practices would be more effective than retributive ones because they enable multiple parties to participate—such as friends, family members, and teachers. By incorporating others into the discussion, the offender is faced with the following:

> [She is] confronted with the full extent of the harm caused by her actions and the disapproval of her supporters and community members, [and] will feel shamed by the harm she has caused and her violation of the community's rules. The offender receives an opportunity to express shame and remorse. The community can accept the remorse as an affirmation of the legitimacy of social norms while also accepting the offender back into the community. (Suvall, 2009, p. 558)

The community is able to hold the offender accountable and deter future infractions via their potential ability to shame, while simultaneously being supportive and accepting of the offender.

Reintegrative shaming is not without criticism, however. McCluskey et al. (2008) caution readers to avoid an overreliance on shame as the essential element in deterrence. It is also important to consider the impact of other factors such as poverty, drug and alcohol abuse, and mental health concerns, which can drive student behavior and outweigh or negate the influence of shame. Additionally, McCluskey et al. claim that the theory is too simplistic—youth have varying abilities to manage shame and can also misconstrue or shift shame to others. Despite these criticisms, the family model and reintegrative shaming help to understand the forces at play.

While restorative justice practices have similar roots and common themes, their implementation techniques and structure vary widely. There is even discussion in the academic community about how to refer to such practices. The utilization of the word *justice* is not universal, and many programs find they are better described by other terms including restorative discipline (used in this thesis), restorative practices (Wearmouth, McKinney, & Glynn, 2007), and restorative approaches (McCluskey et al., 2008).

Further, it is easy to think of restorative and retributive practices as mutually exclusive and completely incompatible, but this does not have to be the case. The two systems can combine in different ways; the examples below help demonstrate what this

cooperation can look like. It begins with programs that incorporate restorative discipline as a limited, secondary method and advances along the spectrum to more purely restorative models. The examples are presented with the language used by the researchers and implementers. Also, many real-world instances involve multiple offenders and multiple victims, but for the sake of simplicity the singular for both victim and offender will be used in the examples, unless otherwise noted.

Individual restorative practices. The following programs incorporate restorative practices within the retributive system that occur either in a school or in the juvenile system. The first two discuss different processes for facilitating restorative processes for youth who have entered the juvenile system. The third example demonstrates what this could look like within a school. All three stipulate situations that are appropriate for the process—generally those which are less serious and nonviolent—while continuing to use traditional retributive methods for more severe offenses.

Peacemaking circles. These circles (Bradshaw & Roseborough, 2005) allow community members to come together and participate in the conflict resolution process. Sometimes referred to as *sentencing circles*, these meetings may also include punitive measures. But the structure allows the group to acknowledge "concerns for larger community safety and… [creation of] voluntary settlements" (p.16). So, community values can be reinforced while addressing individual infractions.

Victim offender mediation. In this process, also shortened to VOM, offenders and victims, and often their parents, meet face-to-face for mediation of minor assaults and property offenses (Bradshaw & Roseborough, 2005). Youth have already entered the juvenile justice system for the offenses, and are voluntarily participating in VOM as an

additional means of addressing the crime. The VOM creates a safe dialogue space in which the stakeholders can express their feelings and needs, and work together towards an appropriate reparation arrangement.

Restorative justice conferencing. Also called family group conferencing (FGC; Suvall, 2009), these types of programs also bring multiple stakeholders together to address delinquent or disruptive behavior. Conferencing shares many similarities with VOM, aiming "to help offenders understand the impact of the offense on the victims and take responsibility for their actions…[and presents] victims with the opportunity to move toward forgiveness" (McGarrell, 2001, p. 16). The key difference between the two processes is that conferencing focuses on empowering those involved to create meaningful, personalized solutions for their specific community.

To provide a specific example of restorative justice conferencing, McGarrell describes a program for very young (under 14 years old) first-time offenders organized by the Hudson Institute as part of the Indianapolis Restorative Justice Experiment. The offenses had to be nonserious and nonviolent, and the offenders had to accept responsibility for the offense before participating. Participants were randomly allocated to the traditional process, used as the control, or the conference condition. The conferences were led by trained facilitators and attended by offenders and victims, as well as supporters from both parties. An agreement was constructed which put forth how the offender can atone for the harm that the victim incurred and the document was signed. Generally, the process would include an apology as well as formal restitution—this could be in the form of community service hours, a pledge to maintain regular school

attendance, or some kind of home or schoolwork, for example. Conferences lasted, on average, 43 minutes.

Suvall (2009) describes a family group conferencing model that was implemented in Queensland, Australia. In these conferences, trained facilitators would lead offending students, along with other stakeholders, through a restorative process. Unlike the study above, conferences were not randomly allocated—the schools reported specifically not utilizing conferences in certain situations, opting for traditional exclusion methods instead. This is an example of how restorative practices can be used to support an overall retributive system within the same school.

Bridge programs. While the programs above provide examples of how restorative processes can supplement the retributive system, the following example demonstrates how restorative discipline can act as a connecting force.

Buxmont Academy. This model was implemented at a school for troubled and at-risk students, the majority of which had already been involved with the juvenile justice system (Mirksy & Wachtel, 2007*).* Some of the students were concurrently on probation. The school was also considered somewhat of a hybrid institution; its first priority was education, but equally important was its role as a recovery treatment center. Its hybrid function allowed it to serve as a bridge for students who had been in contact with the juvenile system and needed assistance transitioning back to, and hopefully completely reintegrating into, school life.

Though the students had been through the retributive system, the school itself implemented restorative discipline. Unlike the examples above, Buxmont implemented a broadened use of restorative discipline. Rather than reserving restorative practices for less

serious infractions, the school would lead restorative conferences for serious matters, including drug and alcohol offenses. While administrators were also legally obligated to notify officials about illegal activity, they stressed the importance of bringing the student to face the community. This occurred in conferencing as well as informal talking circles.

Comprehensive restorative discipline programs. A comprehensive approach incorporates restorative methods at multiple levels within the school. Because of the comprehensive approach, many of these models shifted the community norm from retributive practices towards restorative discipline.

Restorative justice project. This project, conducted in Minnesota, combined multiple restorative methods and provided schools with resources for addressing conflicts and disciplinary problems, in addition to the traditional retributive system (Karp & Breslin, 2001; Suvall 2009). Schools used circles very similar to the conferences described above; these circles were exclusively facilitated by those trained in leading restorative conferences.

Colorado school mediation project. This Denver-based project incorporated restorative measures into various aspects of the disciplinary system (Karp & Breslin, 2001; Stuval 2009). This occurred in the classroom in informal meetings where a teacher calls a circle to talk about a student's behavior and its impact. More formal meetings utilized victim impact panels—where representatives serve as proxy victims—to handle more serious matters. The schools also used conferences similar to other programs. Interestingly, this project also facilitated restorative practices *after* a student returned from a punitive experience. These efforts both reintegrated the student and provided support for avoiding recidivism.

Farragut High School. This school-wide initiative incorporated several influential aspects (Klasovsky, 2013). First, peer juries were established within the school to aid accountability, increase community safety, and help students develop social and emotional competency. The juries ask open-ended questions, but do not judge or pass down punishments. Teachers also use talking circles to encourage sharing and provide students with the opportunity to develop communication skills both by listening and sharing. Uniquely, the school also created The Care Room—a restorative justice center that provides services such as facilitating mediation and developing the peer juries, but also provides individual counseling and helps with skill development. In addition to two full-time staff members, teachers can also serve as Volunteer Care Room Advocates. Volunteers meet with students to ask restorative questions—for example, *Who was harmed?*—discuss behavior expectations, and discern what actions the student can take to address the harm. The actions are documented in a Care Room Contract and must be addressed within one week. For example: "[Student] and I came up with a solution for how to ensure that she will be in class on time. I will be checking in with her next Friday to make sure she is following it" (J. Klasovsky, personal communication, August 25, 2014).

Restorative justice for Oakland youth .This program aimed to instill a cultural shift towards restorative values and practices. It utilizes restorative circles to encourage students to see and take responsibility for harm they have caused, apologize, and problem-solve solutions for making things right (Friedman, 2011).

Maori-based practices. Varnham (2005*)* discusses the restorative conferences utilized in New Zealand schools and modeled after traditional, indigenous processes.

These combine the use of Maori hui (meetings) and restorative justice conferencing. While substantial satisfaction with the project was reported, efforts were also hindered by limited resources. Wearmouth et al. (2007) stress the importance of schools relinquishing some control to the community and allowing for local context to influence the proceedings.

Impact. Though restorative discipline does not have the same historical popularity that retributive discipline does, studies that explore the outcomes of restorative programs are on the rise. Since restorative discipline emphasizes people and relationships, its impacts are presented in subsections for different stakeholders: offenders, victims, and the community—for example, the administrators and the school overall.

Offender. The restorative impacts the offender's experience of the discipline process. Bradshaw & Roseborough (2005) noted that participants who went through VOM reported higher levels of satisfaction with the process as well as feelings of fairness. Another study found similar results regarding restorative justice conferences (McGarrell, 2001). Parents of offenders, and offenders themselves, who had participated in restorative justice conferencing were slightly more likely to report feeling satisfied with the process than those in a control group. Offenders were also more likely to say they were involved in the conferencing process—84%--than in the control group—47%. This was true for their parents as well; with 80% in the conferences compared to 40% of parents in the control group. Data collected from family group conferences indicated that offenders felt more accepted and were also much more likely to comply with the agreements (Suvall, 2009).

Individual attitude changes, specifically increases in prosocial values, have also been documented. Students at Buxmont Academy demonstrated increased willingness to take responsibility and correspondingly were less apt to blame others for their delinquent actions (Mirsky & Wachtel, 2007). They were also more likely to have positive regard for law enforcement officers and high self-esteem scores. Further, these measures were even more positively developed in students who continued into a second year of the program.

A 2005 study on VOM indicated that restorative processes contributed to a 26% decrease in recidivism (Bradshaw & Roseborough). Data collected from students at Buxmont Academy solidified this claim; students who participated in the program for at least 3 months were less likely to recidivate, with each additional week in the program adding an additional decrease. The largest decrease occurred between 4 and 6 months, and ultimately rates of re-offending reduced by two-thirds over six months (Mirsky & Wachtel, 2007) . This suggests that participating in a restorative process may also affect the offender's behavior in the long-run.

Victim. Victims who partook in restorative processes also experienced positive results. One study found that 90% of victims agreed or strongly agreed that they were satisfied with the results of the restorative justice conferencing process, compared to 68% in the traditional setting (McGarrell, 2001) Further, the same study found that 98% compared to 24%, reported that they would suggest the process to a friend. And none of the victims, compared to 20% of the control, recommended the process be terminated. In data from family group conferences victims reported feeling safer and better able to handle comparable circumstances (Suvall, 2009).

Community. Schools also reported a number of positive impacts. After restorative discipline was implemented in Minnesota schools, the elementary schools noted diminished numbers of disciplinary actions and decreases in violent behavior (*Karp & Breslin, 2001).* In the first year of the project, Seward Montessori Elementary School reported a 27% decrease in suspensions and expulsions. Lincoln Center Elementary Schools saw more than a 50% decrease in violent behavior referrals, and after two years reports of violence behavior decreased to less than two a day—prior to implementation it was approximately seven a day.

The participating high schools also experienced significant declines in the number of detentions and out-of-school suspensions. One high school had 110 out-of-school suspension days the first year, and just 65 the next. Similar results were found in Colorado after the initiation of a conflict management and restorative discipline program; these practices resulted in noticeable declines in violent acts and disruptive behavior.

Further, the use of exclusionary disciplinary actions also dropped (Karp & Breslin, 2001). In Queensland, Australia, administrators noted that implementing the restorative process helped to reinforce school values, and virtually all schools mentioned a shift in thinking from punitive to restorative practices. Lastly, in California 70% of students incarcerated in Alameda County, and 90% incarcerated at the state-level, reoffend. That statistic drops to only 15% reoffend after restorative diversion (Friedman, 2011). Further, the project requires approximately $5,000 to run per youth, where as a typical incarceration stay costs around $55,000.

The above examples of restorative discipline processes range in structure, level of formality, and relationship with traditional disciplinary systems. Nevertheless they all

share foundational themes—primarily the focus on restoring relationships, offender accountability, and collaboration on negotiated restitution agreements. These objectives help to account for any wrongdoing while simultaneously up holding community standards— restoring both the victim and the offender, allowing for successful reintegration into the community. Some of the above examples demonstrate how the retributive and restorative practices can work in tandem. But with promising results emerging from pilot programs in schools, and the various drawbacks of current practices, many schools are searching for ways to successfully implement and integrate restorative practices.

Successfully introducing a new project or program is always difficult, but in schools, which face overworked faculty and staff, limited time and resources, as well as pressure to satisfy multiple stakeholders, the implementation process is an especially daunting task. To fortify future programs, this investigation analyzes survey responses as a way of examining the barriers to and indicators of being receptive to restorative programs and willingness to participate. Further, it incorporates a review of school discipline policies to consider the relationship between belief and practice. Combining these two elements facilitates a better understanding of implementation difficulties and provides future implementation efforts with a roadmap for success.

This investigation focused on two research objectives. First, using survey data, it aimed to identify predictive indicators for which individuals are likely—or unlikely—to volunteer to be contacted for participation or more information regarding future restorative discipline programming. Analysis of this information is in Study 1. Second, a policy review examines the relationship between the survey data responses, particularly

the willingness to participate, and school disciplinary policies. The policy analysis is discussed in Study 2.

CHAPTER III

STUDY 1: QUESTIONNAIRE DATA ANALYSIS

Research Question

Based on survey data collected from school administrators, teachers and staff, what indicators suggest individuals will be likely to adopt and use restorative discipline practices? Further, what barriers to implementation exist?

Methods

Participants. Participants included administrators, teachers, and staff from schools in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, who attended the 2013 Northwest Justice Forum Pre-training on Restorative Justice and Schools. Of 140 collected surveys, 132 were fully completed. The participants constituted a convenience sample of professional educators interested in utilizing restorative practices in the school setting. Informed consent was obtained from all participants.

Materials. The secondary analysis utilizes data collected through an electronic questionnaire conducted as part of PRIDE: Positive and Restorative Investment in Discipline reform in Education. Questions were designed to gain insight regarding participants' understanding of, views on, and stance towards an intervention aimed at reducing racial and ethnic disproportionality in school disciplinary decisions. Survey questions explore participant knowledge and beliefs about SWPBS (school-wide positive behavior interventions and supports), ask about common implementation barriers, and present an opportunity for participants to get involved. It took approximately 10 minutes for participants to complete the survey questions. Relevant survey questions are attached as Appendix A.

Analytic procedure. The survey data analysis utilizes Icek Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behavior (1991; for a visual representation see Appendix B) as a framework for understanding how participant attitudes and beliefs impact behavior. Ajzen's model postulates that behavior is the result of a combination of determinants. An individual's *attitude toward the behavior*, the *subjective norm*, and *perceived behavioral control* all influence his or her *intention*, which in turn can lead to the *behavior*. One's relevant past behavior, or *habit*, can also play a part in predicting future behavior. In this analysis, questionnaire responses were used to determine each component.

The *attitude toward the behavior* indicates how much of a favorable or unfavorable opinion an individual has of the behavior in question. In this analysis, *attitude* was represented by one question: "Overall, how *positive* do you think the advantages would be of having a program that integrates RD and PBIS in your school?"

Next, the *subjective norm* denotes the individual's idea of what is socially acceptable; basically the social expectation to engage in the behavior, or not. In the present analysis, subjective norm was represented by combining an average of the responses from 3 separate questions (a = .771):

1.) "The staff, faculty, and administrators would be very accepting of RD based practices."
2.) "The students would be very accepting of RD based practices."
3.) "The parents would be very accepting of the implementation of RD based practices."

The third component, *perceived behavioral control (PBC)*, represents "the perceived ease or difficulty of performing the behavior and it is assumed to reflect past

experience as well as anticipated impediments and obstacles" (Ajzen, 1991, pg 188). In this case, PBC was determined by three similar questions (emphasis added; a = .817):

1.) "Implementing such a program would be seen as extremely *time consuming*."
2.) "Implementing such a program would be seen as extremely *costly*."
3.) "Implementing such a program would be seen as extremely *disruptive*."

These three determinants—attitude, norm and PBC—coalesce to influence the individual's *intention* to act. Here, intention was also represented by responses to 8 survey statements (a = .947):

1.) "I would like my school to be involved in developing such a program."
2.) "I would volunteer to help coordinate the involvement of my school in developing such a program."
3.) "I would like my school to be involved in testing the effectiveness of such a program."
4.) "I would volunteer to help coordinate the testing of the effectiveness of such a program in my school."
5.) "I would support including my school in a multi-year pilot test of such a program."
6.) "I would volunteer to help coordinate the participation of my school in a multi-year pilot test of such a program."
7.) "I would support the implementation of such a program in my school if it were available."
8.) "I would volunteer to help coordinate the implementation of such a program in my school if it were already developed, tested, and available."

Relevant past behavior, or *habit*, was measured by responses to two questions (a = .658): "During my career, I have been involved with the development or testing of a new educational program." and "While in my current position, my school has been involved with the development or testing of a new educational program."

Participant's *behavior* was ascertained through their willingness to be contacted about future pilot programs. Participants could indicate moderate interest by checking "Please contact me with more information about the study" or deeper interest by checking "Please contact me about the possibility of having my school participate in the study."

Results

Using the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991) analysis of the questionnaire data tested the following variables: *attitude, norm, perceived behavioral control (PBC), habit, intent(ion),* and *behavior.* The means and standard deviations of the participant survey responses are presented in Table 2. A regression analysis was performed to identify predictive factors.

Regression analysis. This analysis suggested that *attitude* significantly predicted *intention,* β = -.46, *t*(-5.56), p < .001, such that a positive attitude increased the likelihood of asking to be contacted for further information. However, neither *subjective norm* nor *Perceived Behavioral Control* significantly predicted *intention*; β = -.07, *t(-.86), p<.389* and β =-.05, *t*(-.59), p < .555, respectively. *Attitude,*β = .214, *t*(2.41), p<.05, *PBC,* β =.179, *t*(1.98), p<.05), and *intention,* β = .414, *t*(4.69), p<.001 significantly predicted interest in being contacted for more information. However, only *intention* significantly predicted interest in being contacted for future participation, β =.27, *t*(2.82), p<.006.

Though there was also a trend for *habit* predicting willingness to be contacted for future study *2*, β = -.146, *t*(-1.66), p<.09, suggesting that past behavior (*habit*) may increase future *behavior*. The results from the regression analysis are presented in Table 3.

Discussion

The indications of the data analysis above can help guide future restorative discipline implementation efforts. Using the Theory of Planned Behavior as a model, the variables for *attitude*, *intention,* and *habit* were of particular importance, while *subjective norm* and *perceived behavioral control* had no significant effects.

Based on the information above, future programs should spend the most time on fostering participant's positive attitude regarding restorative discipline. At the same time, the emphasis on *subjective norm* and *perceived behavioral control* could be shifted towards other factors. For example, participants indicated concern about such programs being ineffective, so more time could be spent presenting the effectiveness and benefits of restorative discipline, as demonstrated in past studies. Further, the trend between *habit* and willingness to participate in a future study may help to identify teachers and administrators who can take on a leading role in administering and facilitating future projects. However, because this connection was limited, it may not be as impactful.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Participant Survey Responses.

Attitude	*M*	*SD*	*N*
Overall, how positive do you think the advantages would be of having a program that integrates RD and PBIS in your school?	87.78	11.89	134
Subjective Norm (Cronbach's Alpha: .771)			
The staff, faculty, and administrators would be very accepting of RD based practices.	3.61	1.44	138
The students would be very accepting of RD based practices.	2.93	1.55	138
The parents would be very accepting of the implementation of RD based practices.	3.15	1.38	138
Perceived Behavioral Control (PBC) (Cronbach's Alpha: .817)			
Implementing such a program would be seen as extremely time consuming.	3.99	1.67	139
Implementing such a program would be seen as extremely costly.	4.71	1.41	139
Implementing such a program would be seen as extremely disruptive.	4.96	1.49	139
Implementing such a program would be seen as extremely ineffective.	5.41	1.48	139
Habit (Cronbach's Alpha: .658; Standardized Item Alpha: .659)			
During my career, I have been involved with the development or testing of a new educational program.	45 (33%)	.472	136
While in my current position, my school has been involved with the development or testing of a new educational program.	56 (41%)	.494	136
Intention (Cronbach's Alpha: .947)			
I would like my school to be involved in developing such a program.	1.45	.79	132
I would volunteer to help coordinate the involvement of my school in developing such a program.	1.74	1.06	132
I would like my school to be involved in testing the effectiveness of such a program.	1.74	.98	132
I would volunteer to help coordinate the testing of the effectiveness of such a program in my school.	2.00	1.1	132
I would support including my school in a multi-year pilot test of such a program.	1.78	.93	132
I would volunteer to help coordinate the participation of my school in a multi-year pilot test of such a program.	2.08	1.14	132

Intention*(Continued)*	*M*	*SD*	*N*
I would support the implementation of such a program in my school if it were already developed, tested, and available.	1.48	.73	132
Behavior			
Please contact me with more information about the study.	55%	.5	140
Please contact me about the possibility of having my school participate in the study.	29%	.46	140

Note: Scales are variable between questions. The *attitude* scale ranged from 0 (Not at all Positive) to100 (Very Positive), in increments of 10. The *subjective norm* and *PBC* scales ranged from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). The *intention* scale ranged from 1 (Definitely yes) to 5 (Definitely not). And both *habit* and *behavior* were yes or no questions.

Table 3

Summary of Regression Analysis

	Model 1: Intention (R^2:.251)			
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Attitude	-.031	.006	-.459	.000*
Perceived Behavioral Control	-.034	.058	-.049	.555
Subjective Norm	-.049	.057	-.070	.389

*****Denotes a significant result.

	Model 2: Contact for Information (R^2: .124; R^2:.252)								**Model 3:** Contact for Participation (R^2:.042; R^2:.098)							
	No Intention				**Intention Included**				**No Intention**				**Intention Included**			
Variable	*B*	*SE*	*Beta*	*Sig.*	*B*	*SE*	*Beta*	*Sig.*	*B*	*SE*	*Beta*	*Sig.*	*B*	*SE*	*Beta*	*Sig.*
Attitude	.009	.004	.214	-.017	.001	.004	.025	.790	.006	.003	.158	.092	.001	.004	.033	.746
Perceived Behavioral Control	.072	.037	.179	.05*	.064	.034	.158	.061	.417	.389	.054	.571	.015	.034	.040	.664
Subjective Norm	.029	.036	.07	.426	.041	.033	.017	.615	.019	.034	.051	.580	.012	.034	.032	.724
Habit					.018	.096	.015	.849	-.158	.095	-.146	.099**	-.158	.095	-.146	.099
Intention					.242	.052	.414	.000*					.146	.052	.273	.006

*****Denotes a significant result.

**Denotes a trend.

CHAPTER IV

STUDY 2: POLICY REVIEW

Research Question

How might participant views and ideas be related to practice, as demonstrated in school disciplinary policies?

Methods

Participants. Participants from the above survey indicated affiliations with 43 public schools and school districts in the Northwest, the majority of which were located in Oregon. Each was numbered 3 to 46 in an excel sheet, and 15 schools were chosen for further policy analysis based on a random number generator. A total of 5 school districts and 10 schools selected for policy review; 10 were located in Oregon, 4 in Washington, and one in Idaho.

Materials. School policies were obtained through school and district websites, including both website information and student handbooks available online. One blog entry was also examined.

Policy review procedure. After being randomly selected, disciplinary policies were collected and coded as using retributive and/or restorative discipline. The coding was conducted blind to the condition—it was unknown whether the respondent from that school had indicated that they wanted to be contacted or not. Policies were coded by searching for relevant section titles in the table of contents and keywords in the overall body of the disciplinary policy documents. In the table of contents, sections such as *discipline*, *code of conduct*, and *behavior* were examined first. Next, specific terms related to retributive and restorative discipline were identified using the computer's *find*

function. The terms used to identify retributive practices were: *detention, suspension, expulsion,* and *consequence*. The terms used to identify restorative practices were: *restorative, conflict* and *resolution, peer, alternative, conference, victim,* and *mediate/mediator/mediation.* Context was considered to ensure that the associated terms were applied in a retributive or restorative manner.

After blind coding was conducted, the responses for whether or not the participant would like to be contacted were collected. This information was tabulated and considered with regard to disciplinary policy review results, relational patterns were identified. As some schools had multiple participants, divergent opinions were also noted.

Results

Policy review. In total, 15 sites were selected and disciplinary policies were located for 13 schools and districts. The results are presented in Table 4. All 13 were coded as having documented retributive practices, 2 were also coded as having restorative practices. Policies were not obtained for the remaining two sites because documents were about retributive discipline and described the school's transition to restorative practices—specifically describing how restorative conferencing was being implemented. This school is not included in the 13 sites above, but was coded as *restorative* with a note recognizing that the official discipline policy was not obtained.

Of the remaining schools for which policies could be obtained, all 13 of them indicated use of retributive discipline and exclusionary punishments—namely detentions, suspensions, and expulsions. Exclusionary punishments were well documented at the school level. For example, one district handbook mentioned detention 11 times, suspension 104 times, and expulsion 186 times. In addition to being referenced

frequently, policies provided the expected exclusionary punishments for specific behaviors, often outlined in great detail. In general, documents presented explicit punishments for extreme behaviors —such as violence and drug infractions. One handbook provided a *Discipline Behavior Matrix* (see Appendix C) which provided the disciplinary action to be taken for certain behavior for first, second, and third infractions. However, less extreme behavior was discussed as well. The same handbook also listed additional, very specific behaviors that would result in a referral for disciplinary action—number 6 on the list was "Throwing of snowballs or any object that may injure" and number 8 was "Use of laser-pointers or other dangerous devices." Another school handbook provided *progressive discipline*—disciplinary actions which increased in severity for each infraction—guidelines designed explicitly for dress code violations:

> **1st Infraction:** Student provided "loan" garment (no discipline).
> **2nd Infraction:** Parent Contact and student provided "loan" garment.
> **3rd Infraction:** Parent Contact, Student assigned to Alternative Learning Center,
> **4th Infraction:** Student assigned to Alternative Learning Center and parent conference.
> **5th Infraction:** Suspension (Only in situations of clear defiance and failure to cooperate. Policy 51.59.3)

An additional school handbook specifically addressed personal property, again addressing the use of lasers. It included a bolded and underlined section which emphasized that "Laser-pens are considered weapons" and cautioned that "Students in possession of laser pens at school will be Emergency Removed and discipline will be imposed." So, the application of exclusionary punishments was well-detailed for both extreme and minor offenses, and exclusionary punishments were prevalent in individual policies, in addition to being common overall.

Policies that prescribed specific provisions for missed assignments or additional academic sanctions provided insight regarding the achievement gap. A total of 4 policies—2 from schools in one district—noted that make-up work was required for suspended students. In this case, a student would be allowed to complete make-up work if it was significant—but only once returning to campus. Conditional policies could hinder academic achievement, either by prohibiting make-up work before returning to school or by completely voiding academic credit. Another strategy was to bar students who had been suspended or expelled from being valedictorian or salutatorian. While this consequence did not strip students of their academic credit, it did so symbolically by not allowing the students to hold such titles. Overall, tying academic sanctions to disciplinary actions may hinder academic progress and be another component of the achievement gap. In the long-run, these methods could negatively impact academic progress and increase the likelihood of behind or receiving lower end of term grades.

Restorative discipline was not explicitly documented within any of the school policies. However, 2 schools were coded as restorative because of the *conferences* outlined in their district handbook: "The plan developed by the conference participants may include: a written behavioral contract, a plan to repair the damage and/or harm, and to restore relationships." This policy also noted use of "Restorative Justice strategies, including school and community service" which suggests that alternatives to exclusionary punishments may be being used, but that this may be confused with an overall restorative process. Though these conferences were not labeled as restorative, the focus on repairing damage and restoring relationships follows restorative principles. Besides this example, *conferencing* was used to refer to *disciplinary conferencing*—a meeting with the student

Table 4
Policy Review Findings and School Participants Response Totals

	Discipline Policy Review		**Information**		**Participation**		
#	**Retributive**	**Restorative**	**Yes**	**No**	**Yes**	**No**	**Additional Comments**
2	X	X	X		X		Policy described conferences similar to restorative conferences, listed Peer Court as resource
3	X		X		X		
4	X		X			X	Policy provides remedies available to victims of sexual harassment
5	X		X			X	
6	X		X		X		Policy lists counseling center as the contact for conflict resolution/mediation
7	X		X	X		X	Policy states that suspended or expelled students cannot be valedictorian/salutatorian
8	X	X	X		X		Policy lists Peer Court as resource, problem-solving consequences, PBIS school
9	X			X		X	Policy example for *progressive discipline* and lasers
10	X			X		X	Policy example for *disciplinary matrix*, Conflict Managers program, for victims to report sexual harassment, suspended students receive 0 credit (elementary only) and may make-up work
11	X		X		X	X	PBIS school, suspended students may make-up work after returning to school
12	X			X		X	Policy lists conflict management meetings as a disciplinary option
13		X*		X		X	Blog described Restorative Justice Conferencing *Official policy not found; not included in total
14			X		X		
15	X		X			X	Policy states that suspended students can receive credit for make-up work, victims should inform parents and report incident to administration
16	X		X			X	Policy provides reporting processes for victims of sexual harassment
Total	**13**	**2**	**11**	**5**	**6**	**10**	

Schools 2 and 8 were in the same district. Schools 6 and 7 were located in the same district as well.

and/or parent to discuss a punishment that has already been decided—or *parent-teacher conferencing*—academic rather than discipline focused, and required for all students. Neither of these types of conferences were coded as restorative.

While there were no other references to restorative processes—such as victim-offender mediation—broader conflict resolution practices were mentioned. The district handbook that applied to two of the schools listed a Youth Peer Court as an external community resource for address delinquent behavior. The Youth Peer Court was run by the local police department and occurred outside of school procedures, independently from any school sanctioned discipline. The same handbook noted conflict resolution and peer mediation as possible conflict management and intervention strategies, without further detail. Two policies listed *conflict management meetings* and *problem solving conferences* as preliminary steps in the disciplinary process, though again, no additional information was provided about the nature of these options.

Two policies also noted that mediation services were available for disagreements, not specifically related to discipline. One described a Conflict Managers program in which peers could help mediate their classmate's informal disagreements, while the other listed the counseling center as the contact for conflict resolution/mediation.

Consistent with the dominant retributive focus, victim resources and options were only four times. All four instances were in reference to victims of sexual harassment. One school listed remedy options available for students experiencing sexual harassment. For example: The other two instances described the process for reporting sexual harassment to school administrators.

Willingness to participate. After blind coding was conducted, the responses for whether or not the participant would like to be contacted were analyzed (results are tabulated in Table 4). The responses for participation do not total to 15 because there were multiple participants affiliated with the same school. When participants from the same school had dissimilar responses, the school was marked as both a yes and a no, counting towards both totals. Of the schools selected, 11 indicated that they would like to be contacted for more information while 5 did not, and 6 indicated they would like to be contacted for participation in a future study, while 10 did not. Two schools had divergent responses: one school had participants that both accepted and declined to be contacted for more information, and one school had the same responses for participation. A total of 4 schools, including the school that referenced restorative practices on its website, had all participants decline both forms of contact. And 5 schools had all participants accept both being contacted for information and for future participation. The remaining 4 schools had participants that accepted contact for information, but not for participation.

Participants from the two schools coded as using retributive and restorative practices indicated a willingness to be contacted for more information as well as for participation in a future program. However, participants from the school that described its use of restorative conferencing on its blog did not. Participants from schools that referenced other conflict resolution resources, but were not coded as restorative, did not seem to be more or less willing to be contacted. For example, participants from a school that listed conflict resolution/mediation through the counseling office indicated a willingness to be contacted in both instances, while participants from a school that listed

conflict management meetings as a disciplinary option declined to be contacted for either information or participation.

Discussion

The policy review provided further information about how ideas and beliefs about discipline are manifested in practice as demonstrated through disciplinary practices. The selected schools confirmed that retributive discipline is common and pervasive (Fabelo et al., 2011; Cregor & Dewit, 2011). Though restorative practices were rare, the fact that they are mentioned is promising. What is concerning is that there may also be some misconceptions about restorative discipline. For example, the district handbook's description noted above— "restorative justice strategies, including school and community service"— suggests that the policymakers may only be recognizing restorative discipline as the application of alternative punishments, such as community service in place of suspension, rather than as a fundamentally different disciplinary process. It could be that this describes one of many ways to combine restorative practices with the retributive process. However, it could also be a misunderstanding about how restorative and retributive discipline diverge on a process level. This distinction may be important to discuss when raising awareness about or implementing restorative discipline programs. While limited restorative options for offending students were present, resources for other stakeholders may also be lacking. For example, only four references to options for victims was recorded in the policy review, and all were exclusively in regards to sexual harassment. This could be the result of retributive discipline's exclusion of the victim.

Combining the policy analysis with participants' willingness to participate provided better picture of each site, and helped formulate questions for future study. On the one hand, the two schools coded as using both retributive and restorative practices were interested in more information and future participation. On the other hand, the school that mentioned restorative practices on its blog declined both options. It could be that the participants from the two schools are looking for opportunities to expand the school's restorative practices, and that the participants from the other school are not interested in additional information or participation because the school's restorative practices are sufficient. Or it could be that the school's restorative discipline efforts are floundering—leading the former to reach out for information and the later to decline participation, rather than pursue additional struggle. Misconception could also be a contributing factor. If restorative discipline is recognized only as alternative punishments, participants may decline to participate believing the school is already implementing these practices or decline thinking that changes would be minimal and ineffective. Future research could investigate this issue further. It would also be advantageous to explore this topic more generally, as similar questions remain about other participants' willingness to be contacted.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Suggestions for Implementation

The information gathered in this investigation creates a better understanding of which barriers to restorative discipline are the most substantial, which ones are not as worrisome, and how to mitigate these barriers to fortify implementation efforts. Based on this information, a handful of suggestions are available for how to structure efforts both prior to and during program implementation. First, the most foreboding barrier is the misconception about restorative discipline as solely alternative punishments. This belief could mean that school faculty and officials think that they are already implementing restorative discipline and could be a hurdle to new implementation programs. To overcome this barrier, the fallacy should be addressed prior to actual implementation. Informational sessions should be sure to highlight the fundamental, process-level differences between restorative and retributive discipline, and distinguish restorative practices from alternative punishments.

Second, results suggested that positive attitude is the greatest predictor of behavior, so efforts should focus on developing these attitudes. This can be done by presenting the positive benefits associated with restorative practices, since participants indicated concern about restorative discipline programs being ineffective. Correspondingly, there can be less emphasis on the time and resources saved from implementing such practices—as participants indicated less concern over these factors.

Third, participants who have positive attitudes were more likely to be willing to participate, so identifying these individuals would be beneficial. Not only can these

individuals help get programs going, they may also be ideal contact people during the implementation. Those with previous experience may also be good "go-to people" who can take on leadership roles for the project duration. Seeking out these essential individuals early on in the process provides a solid foundation from the beginning and ultimately may be the decisive factor in successful implementation. Overall, these suggestions can help to prepare sites for new programs and smoother implementation in the long-run.

Limitations

This study had several limitations that should be taken into account. First, the survey was only given to a specific population of school officials—those already in attendance at a restorative justice conference—so the results may be difficult to generalize. Notably, the interest in restorative discipline reported in the data may be overestimated. Though only approximately a third of respondents were willing to participate in future research, the percentage for the general population could be even lower. Second, the policy review only included school disciplinary policies, leaving out any practices that may occur in the community. Restorative practices may be present within the surrounding community or integrated within the local juvenile justice system, rather than a part of the school's day-to-day discipline. For example, the policy review did find reference to a peer court operated within the community.

Third, findings could be impacted by a policy-practice gap—basically, an incongruence between what is documented in policy and what actual practices are utilized. For example, it was not uncommon for handbooks to note that exclusionary punishments were reserved for extreme circumstances. So, it could be that school policies

document formal procedures for extreme instances, but rarely use the practices for informal disciplinary cases day-to-day. A policy-practice gap could also be occurring at the classroom-level. Some handbooks alluded to individual teachers' use of informal practices without providing any detail. Since the policies did not document informal disciplinary procedures, this investigation provides a limited view of classroom-level practices. It could be that there is a gap between what happens in individual classrooms and what is documented in the overall school or district handbook policy.

Directions for Future Research

This investigation raises additional questions and provides direction for future research. At the individual participant level, the data analysis did not include specific demographic information about the respondents. Further exploration could address how participant attitudes and believes vary with demographic variables—for example age, gender, and years of experience. In the same vein, the questionnaire was given to a select set of participants so additional research may aim to broaden the scope to include the general population. At the behavioral level, incorporating observational data from school and classroom visits would provide a better understanding of informal disciplinary practices as well as help to address the policy-practice gap. Exploring alternative community resources—such as a peer court—would also be beneficial. More specific to this particular investigation, future research could investigate willingness to participate further by identifying reasons for accepting or declining contact—and analyzing the relationship with current school disciplinary practices.

In closing, understanding this particular group's level of knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes regarding what makes them more or less receptive to an intervention, as well as

what implementation barriers and maintenance issues they face, is essential for organizing future projects. While there are benefits to restorative disciplinary practices, the limited interest in participation coupled with almost nonexistent restorative disciplinary policies suggest that the realization of these benefits will take time. The results of the data analysis suggest that programs that wish to enact restorative discipline programs should target the attitudes of school practitioners to encourage successful implementation. With this information, further progress can be made enacting restorative discipline within schools, bringing the benefits that much closer.

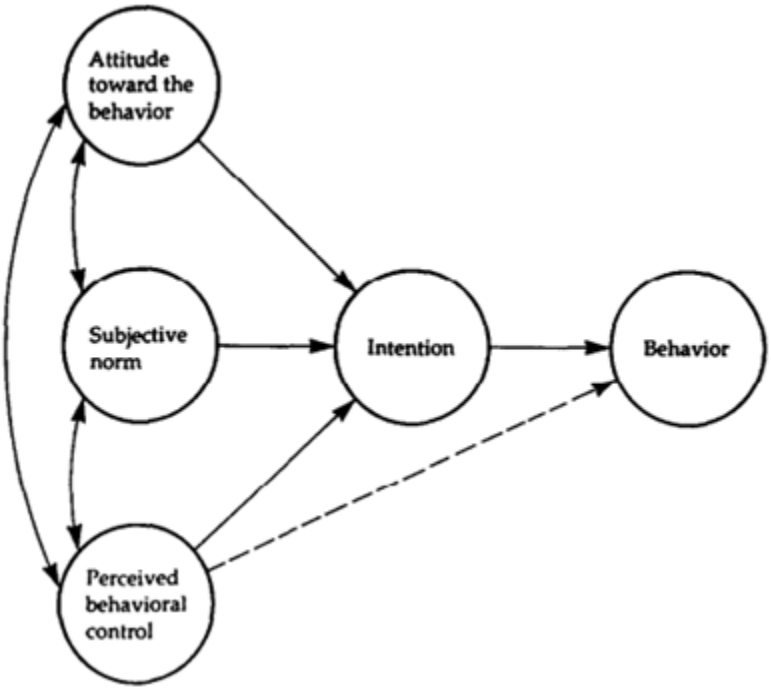
APPENDIX A

SURVEY QUESTIONS

Attitude:
• Overall, how positive do you think the advantages would be of having a program that integrates RD and PBIS in your school? • Overall, how negative do you think the disadvantages would be of having a program that integrates RD and PBIS in your school?
Subjective Norm:
• PBIS has been implemented in my school. • RD has been implemented in my school. • The staff, faculty, and administrators would be very accepting of RD based practices. • The students would be very accepting of RD based practices. • The parents would be very accepting of the implementation of RD based practices.
Perceived Behavioral Control (PBC:
• Implementing such a program would be seen as extremely time consuming. • Implementing such a program would be seen as extremely costly. • Implementing such a program would be seen as extremely disruptive.
Intention
• I would like my school to be involved in developing such a program. • I would volunteer to help coordinate the involvement of my school in developing such a program. • I would like my school to be involved in testing the effectiveness of such a program. • I would volunteer to help coordinate the testing of the effectiveness of such a program in my school. • I would support including my school in a multi-year pilot test of such a program. • I would volunteer to help coordinate the participation of my school in a multi-year pilot test of such a program. • I would support the implementation of such a program in my school if it were available. • I would volunteer to help coordinate the implementation of such a program in my school if it were already developed, tested, and available.
Habit
• During my career, I have been involved with the development or testing of a new educational program. • While in my current position, my school has been involved with the development or testing of a new educational program.
Behavior
• Please contact me with more information about the study. • Please contact me about the possibility of having my school participate in the study.

APPENDIX B

THEORY OF PLANNED BEHAVIOR



Icek Ajzen, 1991, pg. 182

APPENDIX C

DISCIPLINE BEHAVIOR MATRIX

DISCIPLINE BEHAVIOR MATRIX			
DISCIPLINE	**FIRST INFRACTION**	**SECOND INFRACTION**	**THIRD INFRACTION**
Academic Detention	Arranged detention until work is completed	Conference with parents and detention until work is completed.	Saturday school as arranged
BEHAVIOR VIOLATION	**FIRST OFFENSE**	**SECOND OFFENSE**	**THIRD OFFENSE**
Bus behavior violations	Warning with a filed citation	Upon forth citation, removal for 5 days from riding bus	With sixth citation, removal for 10 days from riding bus
Cheating/plagiarism	To be determined by individual staff member	To be determined by individual staff member	To be determined by individual staff member
Disrupting class	Warning to "cease and desist"	30 minutes detention	ISS for that/those class period(s)
Dress code violation	Warning to "adjust and conform to code"	30 minutes detention	60 minutes detention
Drug/alcohol/tobacco	Report to police for possible citation	Report to police for citation; 5 days suspension	Report to police for citation; recommended to expel
Excessive affection	Warning to "cease and desist"	30 minutes detention	60 minutes detention
Fighting with other students	OSS for 2 days with hearing	OSS for 4 days	OSS; recommended to expel

Harassment/Menacing/ Bullying/Sexual Harassment/etc…	To be determined by the nature of the offense; could become part of permanent record	Could lead to report being filed with police; becomes part of permanent record	Range from detention to suspension to expulsion
Hats, electronic devises	Warning to "cease and desist"	Confiscation to be returned at the end of day	Confiscation to be returned at end of year
Inappropriate behavior at events	Removal from event and 2 next events	Removal from event and for all events in semester	Removal from event and for all events for remainder of year
Inappropriate behavior during school hours	To be determined—but no less than 30 minutes detention	To be determined—or 60 minutes detention	To be determined—or ISS
Inappropriate language	30 minutes detention; conference with teacher/principal	60 minutes detention; conference with parents and principal	ISS for a time to be determined by the offense
Insubordination to staff	30 minutes detention	60 minutes detention	To be determined by the nature of the offense
Internet use violations	Loss of internet privileges for 20 school days	Loss of internet privileges for one full semester	No internet privileges permitted
Motor vehicle violations	To be determined by the nature of the offense	To be determined by the nature of the offense	To be determined by the nature of the offense
Other violations not expressed	To be determined	To be determined	To be determined
Physical/Verbal assault	5 days OSS	10 days OSS	Recommendation for expulsion
Theft of property	Report to police		
Truancy	Serve twice time of truancy and make up all missed work.	ISS and make up all missed work.	OSS and make up all missed work.
Vandalism	Repair and pay for destruction	Repair and pay for destruction; 60 minutes detention	OSS number of days to be determined
Weapons	OSS/report to police/expel	Not applicable	Not applicable

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