Affective Statements

+ Sometimes called I-messages

  "I feel _____ when you _____ because_____.
  "I would like _____."

+ Central to all other Restorative Practices

+ Respectful and genuine expressions of feelings

+ Precise feedback on the impact of behaviors

+ Helpful when accompanied by a specific request

+ For acknowledging positive behavior, as well as redirecting behavior

Restorative Questions
Also called Affective Questions

1. What happened?

2. What were you thinking and feeling at the time?

3. Who has been affected by what happened and how?

4. What are your thoughts and feelings about the incident now?

5. What has been the hardest part for you?

6. What do you think needs to be done to make things right?

Circle Guidelines

+ Respect the Talking Piece: everyone listens; everyone has a turn

+ Speak from the heart: your truth, your perspective, your experience

+ Listen from the heart: let go of stories that make it hard to hear each other

+ Trust that you will know what to say; no need to rehearse

+ Say just enough; be concise and considerate of the time and of others

Defining Restorative

by Ted Wachtel, IIRP Founder

International Institute
for Restorative Practices

1. Purpose

The International Institute for Restorative Practices (IIRP) has a particular way of defining restorative and related terms that is consistent throughout our courses, events, videos and publications. We have developed our definitions to facilitate communication and discussion within the framework of our own graduate school and for those who are part of our restorative community.

For example, at one of our symposia, a young man insisted that his school already held conferences with students and their families, not realizing that most of the other participants at the event were not referring to a generic conference, but to a restorative conference. A restorative confer-ence is a specific process, with defined protocols, that brings together those who have caused harm through their wrongdoing with those they have directly or indirectly harmed.

Others have defined teen courts, youth aid panels or reparative boards as restorative justice, while the IIRP defines those processes as community justice, not restorative justice. Such community justice processes do not include an encounter between victims and offenders, which provides an opportunity to talk about what happened and how it has affected them (Van Ness & Strong, 2015). Rather, these courts, panels and boards are comprised of appointed community members who have no real emotional stake in the incident. These bodies meet with offenders, but victims, their families and friends are not generally invited. Restorative justice, in contrast, offers victims and their supporters an opportunity to talk directly with offenders.

Our purpose is not to label other processes or terms as positive or negative, effective or ineffective. We respect the fact that others may define terms differently and, of course, have every right to do so. Rather, we simply want to define and share a consistent terminology to create a unified framework of understanding.

2. Overview

Restorative practices is a social science that studies how to build social capital and achieve social discipline through participatory learning and decision-making.

The use of restorative practices helps to:
- reduce crime, violence and bullying
- improve human behavior
- strengthen civil society
- provide effective leadership
- restore relationships
- repair harm

The IIRP distinguishes between the terms restorative practices and restorative justice. We view restorative justice as a subset of restorative practices. Restorative justice is reactive, consisting of formal or informal responses to crime and other wrongdoing after it occurs. The IIRP's definition of restorative practices also includes the use of informal and formal processes that precede wrongdoing, those that proactively build relationships and a sense of community to prevent conflict and wrongdoing.

Where social capital—a network of relationships—is already well established, it is easier to respond effectively to wrongdoing and restore social order—as well as to create a healthy and positive organizational environment. Social capital is defined as the connections among individuals (Putnam, 2001), and the trust, mutual understanding, shared values and behaviors that bind us together and make cooperative action possible (Cohen & Prusak, 2001).

In public health terms, restorative justice provides tertiary prevention, introduced after the problem has occurred, with the intention of avoiding reoccurrence. Restorative practices ex-

pands that effort with primary prevention, introduced before the problem has occurred.

The social science of restorative practices offers a common thread to tie together theory, research and practice in diverse fields such as education, counseling, criminal justice, social work and organizational management. Individuals and organizations in many fields are developing models and methodology and performing empirical research that share the same implicit premise, but are often unaware of the commonality of each other's efforts.

For example, in criminal justice, restorative circles and restorative conferences allow victims, offenders and their respective family members and friends to come together to explore how everyone has been affected by an offense and, when possible, to decide how to repair the harm and meet their own needs (McCold, 2003). In social work, family group decision-making (FGDM) or family group conferencing (FGC) processes empower extended families to meet privately, without professionals in the room, to make a plan to protect children in their own families from further violence and neglect or to avoid residential placement outside their own homes (American Humane Association, 2003). In education, circles and groups provide opportunities for students to share their feelings, build relationships and solve problems, and when there is wrongdoing, to play an active role in addressing the wrong and making things right (Riestenberg, 2002).

These various fields employ different terms, all of which fall under the rubric of restorative practices: In the criminal justice field, the phrase used is "restorative justice" (Zehr, 1990); in social work, the term employed is "empowerment" (Simon, 1994); in education, talk is of "positive discipline" (Nelsen, 1996) or "the responsive classroom" (Charney, 1992); and in organizational leadership, "horizontal management" (Denton, 1998) is referenced. The social science of restorative practices recognizes all of these perspectives and incorporates them into its scope.

3. History

Restorative practices has its roots in restorative justice, a way of looking at criminal justice that emphasizes repairing the harm done to people and relationships rather than only punishing offenders (Zehr, 1990).

In the modern context, restorative justice originated in the 1970s as mediation or reconciliation between victims and offenders. In 1974 Mark Yantzi, a probation officer, arranged for two teenagers to meet directly with their victims following a vandalism spree and agree to restitution. The positive response by the victims led to the first victim-offender reconciliation program, in Kitchener, Ontario, Canada, with the support of the Mennonite Central Committee and collaboration with the local probation department (McCold, 1999; Peachey, 1989). The concept subsequently acquired various names, such as victim-offender mediation and victim-offender dialogue, as it spread through North America and to Europe through the 1980s and 1990s (Umbreit & Greenwood, 2000).

Restorative justice echoes ancient and indigenous practices employed in cultures all over the world, from Native American and First Nation Canadian to African, Asian, Celtic, Hebrew, Arab and many others (Eagle, 2001; Goldstein, 2006; Haarala, 2004; Mbambo & Skelton, 2003; Mirsky, 2004; Roujanavong, 2005; Wong, 2005).

Eventually modern restorative justice broadened to include communities of care as well, with victims' and offenders' families and friends participating in collaborative processes called conferences and circles. Conferencing addresses power imbalances between the victim and offender by including additional supporters (McCold, 1999).

The family group conference (FGC) started in New Zealand in 1989 as a response to native Maori people's concerns with the number of their children being removed from their homes by the courts. It was originally envisioned as a family empowerment process, not as restorative justice (Doolan, 2003). In North America it was renamed family group decision making (FGDM) (Burford & Pennell, 2000).

In 1991 the FGC was adapted by an Australian police officer, Terry O'Connell, as a community policing strategy to divert young people from court. The IIRP now calls that adaptation, which has spread around the world, a restorative conference. It has been called other names, such as a community accountability conference (Braithwaite, 1994) and victim-offender conference (Amstutz & Zehr, 1998). In 1994, Marg Thorsborne, an Australian educator, was the first to use a restorative conference in a school (O'Connell, 1998).

The International Institute for Restorative Practices (IIRP) grew out of the Community Service Foundation and Buxmont Academy, which since 1977 have provided programs for delinquent and at-risk youth in southeastern Pennsylvania, USA. Initially founded in 1994 under the auspices of Buxmont Academy, the Real Justice program, now an

IIRP program, has trained professionals around the world in restorative conferencing. In 1999 the newly created IIRP broadened its training to informal and proactive restorative practices, in addition to formal restorative conferencing (Wachtel, 1999). Since then the IIRP, an accredited graduate school, has developed a comprehensive framework for practice and theory that expands the restorative paradigm far beyond its origins in criminal justice (McCold & Wachtel, 2001, 2003). Use of restorative practices is now spreading worldwide, in education, criminal justice, social work, counseling, youth services, workplace and faith community applications (Wachtel, 2013).
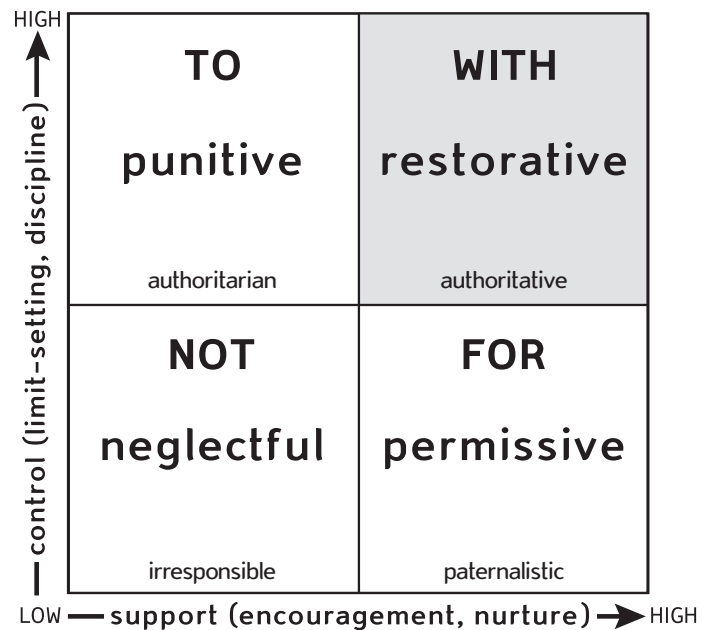
4. Supporting Framework

The IIRP has identified several concepts that it views as most helpful in explaining and understanding restorative practices.

4.1. Social Discipline Window

The social discipline window (Figure 1) is a concept with broad application in many settings. It describes four basic approaches to maintaining social norms and behavioral boundaries. The four are represented as different combinations of high or low control and high or low support. The restorative domain combines both high control and high support and is characterized by doing things *with* people, rather than *to* them or *for* them.

The social discipline window also defines restorative practices as a leadership model for parents in families, teachers in classrooms, administrators and managers in organizations, police and social workers in communities and judges and officials in government. The fundamental unifying hypothesis

Figure 1. Social Discipline Window

of restorative practices is that "human beings are happier, more cooperative and productive, and more likely to make positive changes in their behavior when those in positions of authority do things *with* them, rather than *to* them or *for* them." This hypothesis maintains that the punitive and authoritarian *to* mode and the permissive and paternalistic *for* mode are not as effective as the restorative, participatory, engaging *with* mode (Wachtel, 2005).

The social discipline window, whose dynamics of low versus high support and control were originally modelled by the work of University of Illinois corrections researcher Daniel Glaser, reflects the seminal thinking of renowned Australian criminologist John Braithwaite, who has asserted that reliance on punishment as a social regulator is problematic because it shames and stigmatizes wrongdoers, pushes them into a negative societal subculture and fails to change their behavior (Glaser, 1964; Braithwaite, 1989). The restorative approach, on the other

hand, reintegrates wrongdoers back into their community and reduces the likelihood that they will reoffend.

4.2. Restorative Justice Typology

Restorative justice is a process involving the primary stakeholders in determining how best to repair the harm done by an offense. The three primary stakeholders in restorative justice are victims, offenders and their communities of care, whose needs are, respectively, obtaining reparation, taking responsibility and achieving reconciliation. The degree to which all three are involved in meaningful emotional exchange and decision making is the degree to which any form of social discipline approaches being fully restorative.

The three primary stakeholders are represented in Figure 2 by the three overlapping circles. The very process of interacting is critical to meeting stakeholders' emotional needs. The emotional exchange necessary for meeting the needs of all those directly affected cannot occur with only one
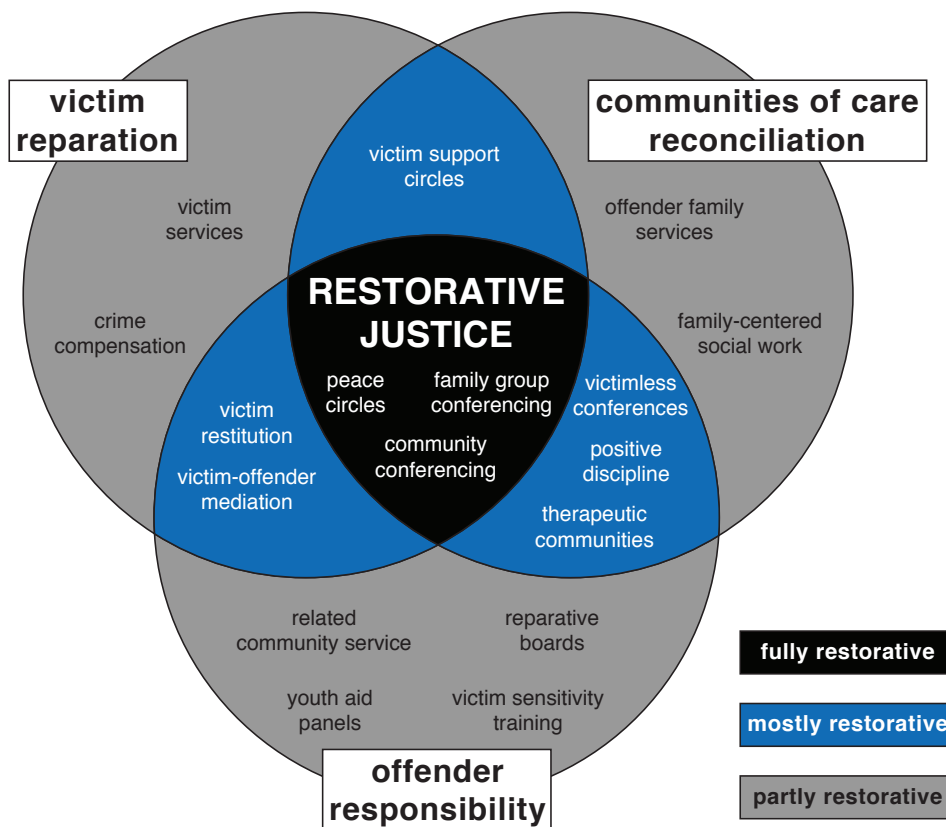
Figure 2. Restorative Justice Typology

ative conferences, groups and circles are somewhat more structured but do not require the elaborate preparation needed for formal conferences. Moving from left to right on the continuum, as restorative practices become more formal, they involve more people, require more planning and time, and are more structured and complete. Although a formal restorative process might have dramatic impact, informal practices have a cumulative impact because they are part of everyday life (McCold & Wachtel, 2001).

The aim of restorative practices is to develop community and to manage conflict and tensions by repairing harm and building relationships. This statement identifies both proactive (building relationships and developing community) and reactive (repairing harm and restoring relationships) approaches. Organizations and services that only use the reactive without building the social capital beforehand are less successful than those that also employ the proactive (Davey, 2007).

4.4. Nine Affects

The most critical function of restorative practices is restoring and building relationships. Because informal and formal restorative processes foster the expression of affect or emotion, they also foster emotional bonds. The late Silvan S. Tomkins's writings about psychology of affect (Tomkins, 1962, 1963,

set of stakeholders participating. The most restorative processes involve the active participation of all three sets of primary stakeholders (McCold & Wachtel, 2003).

When criminal justice practices involve only one group of primary stakeholders, as in the case of governmental financial compensation for victims or meaningful community service work assigned to offenders, the process can only be called partly restorative. When a process such as victim-offender mediation includes two principal stakeholders but excludes their communities of care, the process is mostly restorative. Only when all three sets of primary stakeholders are actively involved, such as in conferences or circles, is a process fully restorative (McCold & Wachtel, 2003).

4.3. Restorative Practices Continuum

Restorative practices are not limited to formal processes, such as restorative conferences or family group conferences, but range from informal to formal. On a restorative practices continuum (Figure 3), the informal practices include affective statements that communicate people's feelings, as well as affective questions that cause people to reflect on how their behavior has affected others. Impromptu restor-

informal **formal**

affective statements | affective questions | small impromptu conference | group or circle | formal conference

Figure 3. Restorative Practices Continuum

Enjoyment — Joy

Interest — Excitement

Surprise — Startle

Shame — Humiliation

Distress — Anguish

Disgust

Fear — Terror

Anger — Rage

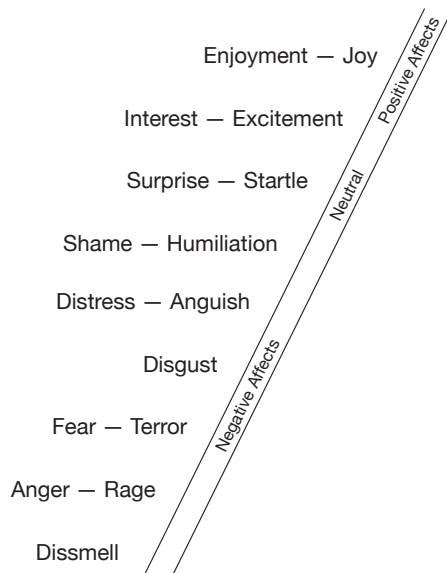Dissmell

Positive Affects

Neutral

Negative Affects

Figure 4. The Nine Affects
(adapted from Nathanson, 1992)

1991) assert that human relationships are best and healthiest when there is free expression of affect or emotion—minimizing the negative, maximizing the positive, but allowing for free expression. Donald Nathanson, former director of the Silvan S. Tomkins Institute, added that it is through the mutual exchange of expressed affect that we build community, creating the emotional bonds that tie us all together (Nathanson, 1998). Restorative practices such as conferences and circles provide a safe environment for people to express and exchange emotion (Nathanson, 1998).

Tomkins identified nine distinct affects (Figure 4) to explain the expression of emotion in all humans. Most of the affects are defined by pairs of words that represent the least and the most intense expression of a particular affect. The six negative affects include anger-rage, fear-terror, distress-anguish, disgust, dissmell (a word Tomkins coined to describe "turning up one's nose" in a rejecting way) and

shame-humiliation. Surprise-startle is the neutral affect, which functions like a reset button. The two positive affects are interest-excitement and enjoyment-joy (Tomkins, 1962, 1963, 1991).

Silvan S. Tomkins (1962) wrote that because we have evolved to experience nine affects—two positive affects that feel pleasant, one (surprise-startle) so brief that it has no feeling of its own, and six that feel dreadful—we are hardwired to conform to an internal blueprint. The human emotional blueprint ensures that we feel best when we 1) maximize positive affect and 2) minimize negative affect; we function best when 3) we express all affect (minimize the inhibition of affect) so we can accomplish these two goals; and, finally, 4) anything that fosters these three goals makes us feel our best, whereas any force that interferes with any one or more of those goals makes us feel

worse (Nathanson, 1997b).

By encouraging people to express their feelings, restorative practices build better relationships. Restorative practices demonstrate the fundamental hypothesis of Tomkins's psychology of affect—that the healthiest environment for human beings is one in which there is free expression of affect, minimizing the negative and maximizing the positive (Nathanson, 1992). From the simple affective statement to the formal conference, that is what restorative practices are designed to do (Wachtel, 1999).

4.5. Compass of Shame

Shame is worthy of special attention. Nathanson explains that shame is a critical regulator of human social behavior. Tomkins defines shame as occurring any time that our experience of the positive affects is interrupted (Tom-

Withdrawal:
• isolating oneself
• running and hiding

Attack Other:
• "turning the tables"
• blaming the victim
• lashing out verbally
  or physically

Attack Self:
• self put-down
• masochism

Avoidance:
• denial
• abusing drugs and alcohol
• distraction through thrill-seeking

Withdrawal

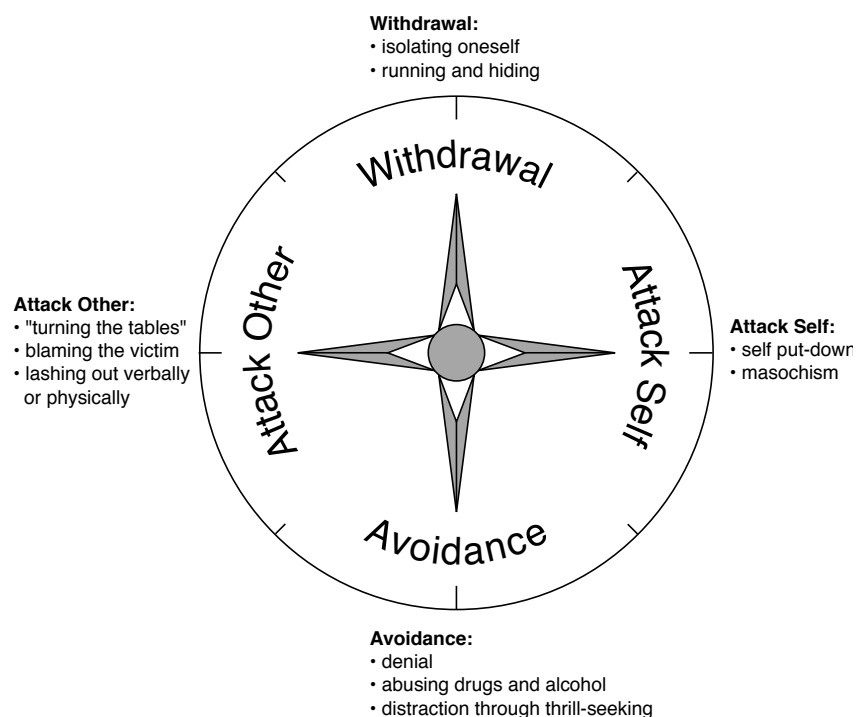Attack Other

Attack Self

Avoidance

Figure 5. The Compass of Shame
(adapted from Nathanson, 1992)

kins, 1987). So an individual does not have to do something wrong to feel shame. The individual just has to experience something that interrupts interest-excitement or enjoyment-joy (Nathanson, 1997a). This understanding of shame provides a critical explanation for why victims of crime often feel a strong sense of shame, even though it was the offender who committed the "shameful" act (Angel, 2005).

Nathanson (1992) has developed the Compass of Shame (Figure 5) to illustrate the various ways that human beings react when they feel shame. The four poles of the compass of shame and behaviors associated with them are:

- Withdrawal—isolating oneself, running and hiding
- Attack self—self put-down, masochism
- Avoidance—denial, abusing drugs, distraction through thrill seeking
- Attack others—turning the tables, lashing out verbally or physically, blaming others

Nathanson says that the attack other response to shame is responsible for the proliferation of violence in modern life. Usually people who have adequate self-esteem readily move beyond their feelings of shame. Nonetheless we all react to shame, in varying degrees, in the ways described by the Compass. Restorative practices, by their very nature, provide an opportunity for us to express our shame, along with other emotions, and in doing so reduce their intensity. In restorative conferences, for example, people routinely move from negative affects through the neutral affect to positive affects (Nathanson, 1998).

4.6. Fair Process

When authorities do things with people, whether reactively—to deal with crisis—or proactively, the results are better. This fundamental thesis was evident in a *Harvard Business Review* article about the concept of fair process producing effective outcomes in business organizations (Kim & Mauborgne, 2003). The central idea of fair process is that "…individuals are most likely to trust and cooperate freely with systems—whether they themselves win or lose by those systems—when fair process is observed" (Kim & Mauborgne, 2003).

The three principles of fair process are:

- Engagement—involving individuals in decisions that affect them by listening to their views and genuinely taking their opinions into account
- Explanation—explaining the reasoning behind a decision to everyone who has been involved or who is affected by it
- Expectation clarity—making sure that everyone clearly understands a decision and what is expected of them in the future (Kim & Mauborgne, 2003)

Fair process demonstrates the restorative with domain of the social discipline window. It relates to how leaders handle their authority in all kinds of professions and roles: from parents and teachers to managers and administrators. The fundamental hypothesis of restorative practices embodies fair process by asserting that "people are happier, more cooperative and productive, and more likely to make positive changes in behavior when those in authority do things with them, rather

than to them or for them."

5. Restorative Processes

The IIRP has identified several restorative processes that it views as most helpful in implementing restorative practices in the widest variety of settings.

5.1. Restorative Conference

A restorative conference is a structured meeting between offenders, victims and both parties' family and friends, in which they deal with the consequences of the crime or wrongdoing and decide how best to repair the harm. Neither a counseling nor a mediation process, conferencing is a victim-sensitive, straightforward problem-solving method that demonstrates how citizens can resolve their own problems when provided with a constructive forum to do so (O'Connell, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 1999).

Conferences provide victims and others with an opportunity to confront the offender, express their feelings, ask questions and have a say in the outcome. Offenders hear firsthand how their behavior has affected people. Offenders may choose to participate in a conference and begin to repair the harm they have caused by apologizing, making amends and agreeing to financial restitution or personal or community service work. Conferences hold offenders accountable while providing them with an opportunity to discard the "offender" label and be reintegrated into their community, school or workplace (Morris & Maxwell, 2001).

Participation in conferences is voluntary. After it is determined that a conference is appropriate and offenders and victims have agreed to attend, the conference facilitator invites others

affected by the incident—the family and friends of victims and offenders (O'Connell, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 1999).

A restorative conference can be used in lieu of traditional disciplinary or justice processes, or where that is not appropriate, as a supplement to those processes (O'Connell, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 1999).

In the Real Justice approach to restorative conferences, developed by Australian police officer Terry O'Connell, the conference facilitator sticks to a simple written script. The facilitator keeps the conference focused but is not an active participant. In the conference the facilitator provides an opportunity to each participant to speak, beginning with asking open-ended and affective restorative questions of the offender. The facilitator then asks victims and their family members and friends questions that provide an opportunity to tell about the incident from their perspective and how it affected them. The offenders' family and friends are asked to do the same (O'Connell, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 1999).

Using the conference script, offenders are asked these restorative questions:

- "What happened?"
- "What were you thinking of at the time?"
- "What have you thought about since?"
- "Who has been affected by what you have done?"
- "What do you think you need to do to make things right?"

Victims are asked these restorative questions:

- "What did you think when you realized what happened?"
- "What impact has this incident had on you and others?"
- "What has been the hardest thing for you?"
- "What do you think needs to happen to make things right?"

Finally, the victim is asked what he or she would like to be the outcome of the conference. The response is discussed with the offender and everyone else at the conference. When agreement is reached, a simple contract is written and signed (O'Connell, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 1999).

Restorative conferencing is an approach to addressing wrongdoing in various settings in a variety of ways (O'Connell, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 1999):

- Conferencing can be employed by schools in response to truancy, disciplinary incidents, including violence, or as a prevention strategy in the form of role-plays of conferences with primary and secondary school students.
- Police can use conferences as a warning or diversion from court, especially with first-time offenders.
- Courts may use conferencing as a diversion, an alternative sentencing process, or a healing event for victims and offenders after the court process is concluded.
- Juvenile and adult probation officers may respond to various probation violations with conferences.
- Correctional and treatment facilities will find that conferences resolve the underlying issues and tensions in conflicts and disciplinary actions.
- Colleges and universities can use conferences with residence hall and campus incidents and disciplinary violations.
- In workplaces, conferences address both wrongdoing and conflict.

Some approaches to restorative conferences, such as in Ulster in Northern Ireland, do not use the Real Justice script approach (Chapman, 2006). Victim-offender conferences do not rely on a script, either. Based on the earlier restorative justice model of victim-offender mediation, but widening the circle of participants, the victim-offender approach to conferences still relies on mediators who more actively manage the process (Amstutz & Zehr, 1998).

The IIRP prefers the Real Justice scripted model of conferencing because we believe it has the greatest potential to meet the needs of the stakeholders described in the Restorative Justice Typology. In addition, research shows that it consistently provides very high levels of satisfaction and sense of fairness for all participants (McCold & Wachtel, 2002). However, we do not mean to quibble with other approaches. As long as people experience a safe opportunity to have a meaningful discussion that helps them address the emotional and other consequences of a conflict or a wrong, the process is beneficial.

5.2. Circles

A circle is a versatile restorative practice that can be used proactively, to develop relationships and build community or reactively, to respond to wrongdoing, conflicts and problems. Circles give people an opportunity to speak and listen to one another in an atmosphere of safety, decorum and equality. The circle process allows peo-

ple to tell their stories and offer their own perspectives (Pranis, 2005).

The circle has a wide variety of purposes: conflict resolution, healing, support, decision making, information exchange and relationship development. Circles offer an alternative to contemporary meeting processes that often rely on hierarchy, win-lose positioning and argument (Roca, Inc., n.d.).

Circles can be used in any organizational, institutional or community setting. Circle time (Mosley, 1993) and morning meetings (Charney, 1992) have been widely used in primary and elementary schools for many years and more recently in secondary schools and higher education (Mirsky, 2007, 2011; Wachtel & Wachtel, 2012). In industry, the quality circle has been employed for decades to engage workers in achieving high manufacturing standards (Nonaka, 1993). In 1992, Yukon Circuit Court Judge Barry Stewart pioneered the sentencing circle, which involved community members in helping to decide how to deal with an offender (Lilles, 2002). In 1994, Mennonite Pastor Harry Nigh befriended a mentally challenged repeat sex offender by forming a support group with some of his parishioners, called a circle of support and accountability, which was effective in preventing re-offending (Rankin, 2007).

Circles may use a sequential format. One person speaks at a time, and the opportunity to speak moves in one direction around the circle. Each person must wait to speak until his or her turn, and no one may interrupt. Optionally, a talking piece—a small object that is easily held and passed from person to person—may be used to facilitate this process. Only the person who is holding the talking piece has the right to speak (Costello, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 2010). Both the circle and the talking piece have roots in ancient and indigenous practices (Mirsky, 2004a, 2004b; Roca, Inc., n.d.)

The sequential circle is typically structured around topics or questions raised by the circle facilitator. Because it strictly forbids back-and-forth argument, it provides a great deal of decorum. The format maximizes the opportunity for the quiet voices, those that are usually inhibited by louder and more assertive people, to speak without interruption. Individuals who want to respond to something that has been said must be patient and wait until it is their turn to speak. The sequential circle encourages people to listen more and talk less (Costello, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 2010).

Although most circle traditions rely on a facilitator or circle keeper who guides but does not control (Pranis, Stuart & Wedge, 2003), a circle does not always need a leader. One approach is simply for participants to speak sequentially, moving around the circle as many times as necessary, until all have said what they want to say. In this case, all of the participants take responsibility for maintaining the integrity and the focus of the circle.

Non-sequential circles are often more freely structured than a sequential circle. Conversation may proceed from one person to another without a fixed order. Problem-solving circles, for example, may simply be focused around an issue that is to be solved but allow anyone to speak. One person in the group may record the group's ideas or decisions.

A Real Justice restorative conference, however, employs a different kind of fixed order. Participants sit in a circle, and the conference facilitator uses the order of speakers defined by the conference script (offender, victim, victim supporter, offender supporter) to ask each person a set of restorative questions (O'Connell, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 1999). In effect, the facilitator serves as the talking piece, determining whose turn it is to speak without interruption. After everyone has responded to restorative questions, the facilitator moves to a more open, back-and-forth, non-ordered discussion of what the victim needs and how those needs might be met.

A sequential restorative circle may be used instead of a formal conference to respond to wrongdoing or a conflict or problem. The restorative circle is less formal because it does not typically specify victims and offenders and does not follow a script. However, it may employ some of the restorative questions from within the conferencing script (Costello, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 2010).

Another circle format is the fishbowl. This consists of an inner circle of active participants who may discuss an issue with a sequential approach or engage in a non-sequential activity such as problem-solving. Outside the inner circle are observers arranged in as many concentric circles as are needed to accommodate the group. The fishbowl format allows others to watch a circle activity that might be impractical with a large number of active participants. A variation of the fishbowl format has an empty chair in the inner circle that allows individual observers to come forward one at a time, sit in the empty chair, say something and then return to the outer circle—permitting a limited amount of participation by the observers (Costello, Wachtel, & Wachtel,

2010).

5.3. Family Group Conference (FGC) or Family Group Decision Making (FGDM)

Originating in New Zealand with the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act in 1989, the legislation created a process called the family group conference (FGC), which soon spread around the world. North Americans call this process family group decision making (FGDM). The most radical feature of this law was its requirement that, after social workers and other professionals brief the family on the government's expectations and the services and resources available to support the family's plan, the professionals must leave the room. During this "family alone time" or "private family time," the extended family and friends of the family have an opportunity to take responsibility for their own loved ones. Never before in the history of the modern interventionist state has a government shown so much respect for the rights and potential strengths of families (Smull, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 2012).

FGC/FGDM brings together family support networks—parents, children, aunts, uncles, grandparents, neighbors and close family friends—to make important decisions that might otherwise be made by professionals. This process of engaging and empowering families to make decisions and plans for their own family members' well-being leads to better outcomes, less conflict with professionals, more informal support and improved family functioning (Merkel-Holguin, Nixon, & Burford, 2003).

Young people, who are usually the focus of these conferences, need the sense of community, identity and stability that only the family, in its various forms, can provide. Families are more likely than professionals to find solutions that actively involve other family members, thus keeping the child within the care of the family, rather than transferring care of the child to the government. Also, when families are empowered to fix their own problems, the very process of empowerment facilitates healing (Rush, 2006).

The key features of the New Zealand FGC/FGDM model are preparation, information giving, private family time, agreeing on the plan and monitoring and review. In an FGC/FGDM, the family is the primary decision maker. An independent coordinator facilitates the conference and refrains from offering preconceived ideas of the outcome. The family, after hearing information about the case, is left alone to arrive at their own plan for the future of the child, youth or adult. Professionals evaluate the plan with respect to safety and legal issues and may procure resources to help implement the plan. Professionals and family members monitor the plan's progress, and often follow-up meetings are held (Morris & Maxwell, 1998).

5.4. Informal Restorative Practices

The restorative paradigm is manifested in many informal ways beyond the formal processes. As described by the restorative practices continuum above, informal restorative practices include affective statements, which communicate people's feelings, as well as affective questions, which cause people to reflect on how their behavior has affected others (McCold & Wachtel, 2001).

A teacher in a classroom might em-ploy an affective statement when a student has misbehaved, letting the student know how he or she has been affected by the student's behavior: "When you disrupt the class, I feel sad" or "disrespected" or "disappointed." Hearing this, the student learns how his or her behavior is affecting others (Harrison, 2007).

Or that teacher may ask an affective question, perhaps adapting one of the restorative questions used in the conference script. "Who do you think has been affected by what you just did?" and then follow-up with "How do you think they've been affected?" In answering such questions, instead of simply being punished, the student has a chance to think about his or her behavior, make amends and change the behavior in the future (Morrison, 2003).

Asking several affective questions of both the wrongdoer and those harmed creates a small impromptu conference. If the circumstance calls for a bit more structure, a circle can quickly be created.

The use of informal restorative practices dramatically reduces the need for more time-consuming formal restorative practices. Systematic use of informal restorative practices has a cumulative impact and creates what might be described as a restorative milieu—an environment that consistently fosters awareness, empathy and responsibility in a way that is likely to prove far more effective in achieving social discipline than our current reliance on punishment and sanctions (Wachtel, 2013).

6. References

Amstutz, L. S., & Zehr, H. (1998). Victim offender conferencing in Pennsylvania's juvenile justice system. Retrieved from https://www.emu.edu/cjp/publications-and-ezines/faculty-staff/rjmanual.pdf

Angel, C. M. (2005). *Crime victims meet their offenders: Testing the impact of restorative justice conferences on victims' post-traumatic stress symptoms* (Doctoral dissertation). University of Pennsylvania. Retrieved from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Database (Accession No. AAI3165634).

American Humane Association (2003). FGDM research and evaluation. *Protecting Children*, *18*(1-2).

Braithwaite, J. (1989). *Crime, shame and reintegration.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Braithwaite, J. (1994). Thinking harder about democratizing social control. In C. Alder & J. Wundersitz (Eds.), *Family conferencing and juvenile justice: The way forward of misplaced optimism?* Canberra, Australia: Australian Institute of Criminology.

Burford, G., & Pennell, J. (2000). Family group decision making and family violence. *In G. Burford & J. Hudson (Eds.), Family group conferencing: New directions in community-centered child and family practice* (pp. 171-183). New York, NY: Aldine DeGruyter.

Chapman, T. (2006, June). *Restorative justice: An agenda for Europe.* Paper presented at the Fourth Conference of the European Forum for Restorative Justice, Barcelona, Spain.

Charney, R. (1992). *Teaching children to care: Management in the responsive classroom.* Greenfield, MA: Northeast Foundation for Children.

Cohen, D., & Prusak, L. (2001). *In good company: How social capital makes organizations work.* Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Costello, B., & O'Connell, T. (2002, August). *Restorative practices in the workplace.* Paper presented at the Third International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and Other Restorative Practices, Minneapolis, MN, USA.

Costello, B., Wachtel, J., & Wachtel, T. (2010). *Restorative circles in schools: Building community and enhancing learning.* Bethlehem, PA: International Institute for Restorative Practices.

Davey, L. (2007, November). *Restorative practices: A vision of hope.* Paper presented at the 10th International Institute for Restorative Practices World Conference, Budapest, Hungary.

Denton, D. (1998). *Horizontal management.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Doolan, M. (1999, August). *The family group conference: Ten years on.* Paper presented at the Building Strong Partnerships for Restorative Practices Conference, Burlington, VT, USA.

Doolan, M. (2003). Restorative practices and family empowerment: Both/and or either/or? *Family Rights Newsletter.* London: Family Rights Group.

Eagle, H. (2001, November). Restorative justice in native cultures. *State of Justice 3: A periodic publication of*
Friends Committee on Restorative Justice.

Glaser, D. (1964). *The effectiveness of a prison and parole system.* Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill.

Goldstein, A. (2006, October). *Restorative practices in Israel: The state of the field.* Paper presented at the Eighth International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and other Restorative Practices, Bethlehem, PA, USA.

Haarala, L. (2004). A community within. In *Restorative Justice Week: Engaging us all in the dialogue.* Ottawa, Canada: Correctional Service of Canada.

Harrison, L. (2007). From authoritarian to restorative schools. *Reclaiming Children and Youth 16*(2), 17-20.

Kim, W. C., & Mauborgne, R. A. (2003, January). Fair process: Managing in the knowledge economy. *Harvard Business Review*, 127-136.

Lilles, H. (2002, August). *Circle sentencing: Part of the restorative justice continuum.* Paper presented at the Third International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and other Restorative Practices, Minneapolis, MN, USA.

Mbambo, B., & Skelton, A. (2003). Preparing the South African community for implementing a new restorative child justice system. In L. Walgrave (Ed.), *Repositioning restorative justice* (pp. 271-283). Devon, UK: Willan.

McCold, P. (1999, August). *Restorative justice practice: The state of the field.* Paper presented at the Building Strong Partnerships for Restorative Practices Conference, Burlington, VT, USA.

McCold, P. (2002, November). *Evaluation of a restorative*

milieu: CSF Buxmont school/ day treatment programs 1999-2001. Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology Conference, Chicago, IL, USA.

McCold, P. (2003). A survey of assessment research on mediation and conferencing. In L. Walgrave (Ed.), *Repositioning restorative justice* (pp. 67-120). Devon, UK: Willan.

McCold, P., & Wachtel, T. (2001). Restorative justice in everyday life. In J. Braithwaite & H. Strang (Eds.), *Restorative justice and civil society* (pp. 114-129). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

McCold, P., & Wachtel, T. (2002). Restorative justice theory validation. In E. G. M. Weitekamp, & H.-J. Kerner (Eds.), *Restorative justice: Theoretical foundations* (pp. 110-142). Devon, UK: Willan.

McCold, P., & Wachtel, T. (2003, August). *In pursuit of paradigm: A theory of restorative justice.* Paper presented at the XIII World Congress of Criminology, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Merkel-Holguin, L., Nixon, P., & Burford, G. (2003). Learning with families: A synopsis of FGDM research and evaluation in child welfare. *Protecting Children, 18*(1&2), 2-11.

Mirsky, L. (2004a). Restorative justice practices of Native American, First Nation and other indigenous people of North America: Part one. Retrieved from http://www.iirp.edu/pdf/natjust1.pdf

Mirsky, L. (2004b). Restorative justice practices of Native American, First Nation and other indigenous people of North America: Part two. Retrieved from http://www.iirp.edu/pdf/natjust2.pdf

Mirsky, L. (2007). SaferSanerSchools: Transforming school culture with restorative practices. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 16*(2), 5-12.

Mirsky, L. (2011, May 26). Restorative practices: Whole-school change to build safer, saner school communities. Retrieved from http://www.iirp.edu/news/1891-restorative-practices-whole-school-change-to-build-safer-saner-school-communities

Morris, A., & Maxwell, G. (1998). Restorative justice in New Zealand: Family group conferences as a case study. *Western Criminology Review 1*(1). Retrieved from http://www.westerncriminology.org/documents/WCR/v01n1/Morris/Morris.html

Morris, A., & Maxwell, G. (2001). Restorative conferencing. In G. Bazemore & M. Schiff (Eds.), *Restorative community justice: Repairing harm and transforming communities* (pp. 173-197). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing.

Morrison, B. (2003). Regulating safe school communities: Being responsive and restorative. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 41(6), 689-704.

Mosley, J. (1998). *Turn your school round: Circle-time approach to the development of self-esteem and positive behaviour in the primary staffroom, classroom and playground.* Wisbech, England: LDA.

Nathanson, D. (1992). *Shame and pride: Affect, sex, and the birth of the self.* New York, NY: Norton.

Nathanson, D. (1997a). Affect theory and the compass of shame. In M. Lansky and A. Morrison (Eds.), *The widening scope of shame*. Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.

Nathanson, D. (1997b). From empathy to community. *Annual of Psychoanalysis, 25*, 125-143.

Nathanson, D. (1998, August). From empathy to community. Paper presented to the First North American Conference on Conferencing, Minneapolis, MN, USA.

Nelsen, J. (2006). *Positive discipline* (Rev. ed.). New York, NY: Ballantine.

Nonaka, I. (1993). The history of the quality circle. *Quality Progress, 26*(9), 81-83.

O'Connell, T. (1998, August). *From Wagga Wagga to Minnesota.* Paper presented at the First International Conference on Conferencing, Minneapolis, MN, USA.

O'Connell, T. (2002, August). *Restorative practices for institutional discipline, complaints and grievance systems.* Paper presented at the Third International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and other Restorative Practices, Minneapolis, MN, USA.

O'Connell, T., Wachtel, B., & Wachtel, T. (1999). *The conferencing handbook.* Pipersville, PA: The Piper's Press.

Peachey, D. (1989). The Kitchener experiment. In M. Wright and B. Galaway (Eds.), Mediation and criminal justice: *Victims, offenders and community*. London, England: Sage.

Pranis, K. (2005). *The little book of circle processes*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Pranis, K., Stuart, B., & Wedge, M. (2003). *Peacemaking circles: From*

crime to community. St. Paul, MN: Living Justice Press.

Putnam, R. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy, 6*(1), 65–78.

Rankin, B. (2007). Circles of support and accountability: What works. *Let's Talk, 31*(3). Ottawa, Canada: Correctional Service Canada. Retrieved from http://www.csc-scc.gc.ca/publications/lt-en/2006/31-3/7-eng.shtml

Riestenberg, N. (2002, August). *Restorative measures in schools: Evaluation results*. Paper presented at the Third International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and other Restorative Practices, Minneapolis, MN, USA.

Roca, Inc. (n.d.). Peacemaking circles: A process for solving problems and building community. Retrieved from http://ocs.archchicago.org/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=YyvmyeF8KDg%3D&tabid=996&language=en-US

Roujanavong, W. (2005, November). *Restorative justice: Family and community group conferencing (FCGC) in Thailand*. Paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and other Restorative Practices, Manchester, UK.

Rush, L. (2006, October). *Family group decision making: My steps in the journey*. Paper presented at the Eighth International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and other Restorative Practices, Bethlehem, PA, USA.

Schnell, P. (2002, August). T*oward a restorative leadership*. Paper presented at the Third International Conference on Conferencing,

Circles and Other Restorative Practices, Minneapolis, MN, USA.

Simon, B. (1994). *The Empowerment Tradition in American Social Work*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Smull, E., Wachtel, J., & Wachtel, T. (2012). *Family power: Engaging and collaborating with families*. Bethlehem, PA: International Institute for Restorative Practices.

Tomkins, S. (1962-1991). *Affect imagery consciousness* (Vols. I – III). New York, NY: Springer.

Tomkins, S. (1987). Shame. In D.L. Nathanson (Ed.). T*he many faces of shame* (pp. 133-161). New York, NY: Norton.

Umbreit, M. S., & Greenwood, J. (2000, April). *Guidelines for victim-sensitive victim-offender mediation: Restorative justice through dialogue*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office for Victims of Crime. Retrieved from https://www.ncjrs.gov/ovc_archives/reports/96517-gdlines_victims-sens/welcome.html

Van Ness, D. W., & Strong, K. H. (2015). *Restoring justice: An introduction to restorative justice* (5th ed.). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier.

Wachtel, J., & Wachtel, T. (2012). *Building campus community: Restorative practices in residential life*. Bethlehem, PA: International Institute for Restorative Practices.

Wachtel, T. (1999, February). *Restorative justice in everyday life: Beyond the formal ritual*. Paper presented at the Reshaping Australian Institutions Conference: Restorative Justice and Civil Society, Australian National University, Canberra.

Wachtel, T. (2005, November). *The next step: Developing restorative communities*. Paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and other Restorative Practices, Manchester, UK.

Wachtel, T. (2013). *Dreaming of a new reality: How restorative practices reduce crime and violence, improve relationships and strengthen civil society*. Bethlehem, PA: The Piper's Press.

Wong, D. (2005) *Restorative justice for juveniles in Hong Kong: Reflections of a practitioner*. Paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and other Restorative Practices, Penrith, NSW, Australia.

Zehr, H. (2015). *Changing lenses: Restorative justice for our times*. Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press.

A Shift in Mindset

From Punitive	**To Restorative**
+ What rule has been broken?	+ Who has been harmed and how?
+ Establish guilt or innocence	+ Identify needs and obligations
+ Accountability = Punishment	+ Deeper Accountability = Understanding the impacts, taking responsibility and making amends
+ Suppress misbehavior and conflict	+ Recognizes misbehavior and conflict as a natural learning opportunity
+ Authority driven disciplinary actions	+ Those impacted have a chance to weigh in on resolution needed
+ Uses fear of punishment and exclusion to motivate positive behavior	+ Positive behavior results from the opportunity to make amends and honorably reintegrate
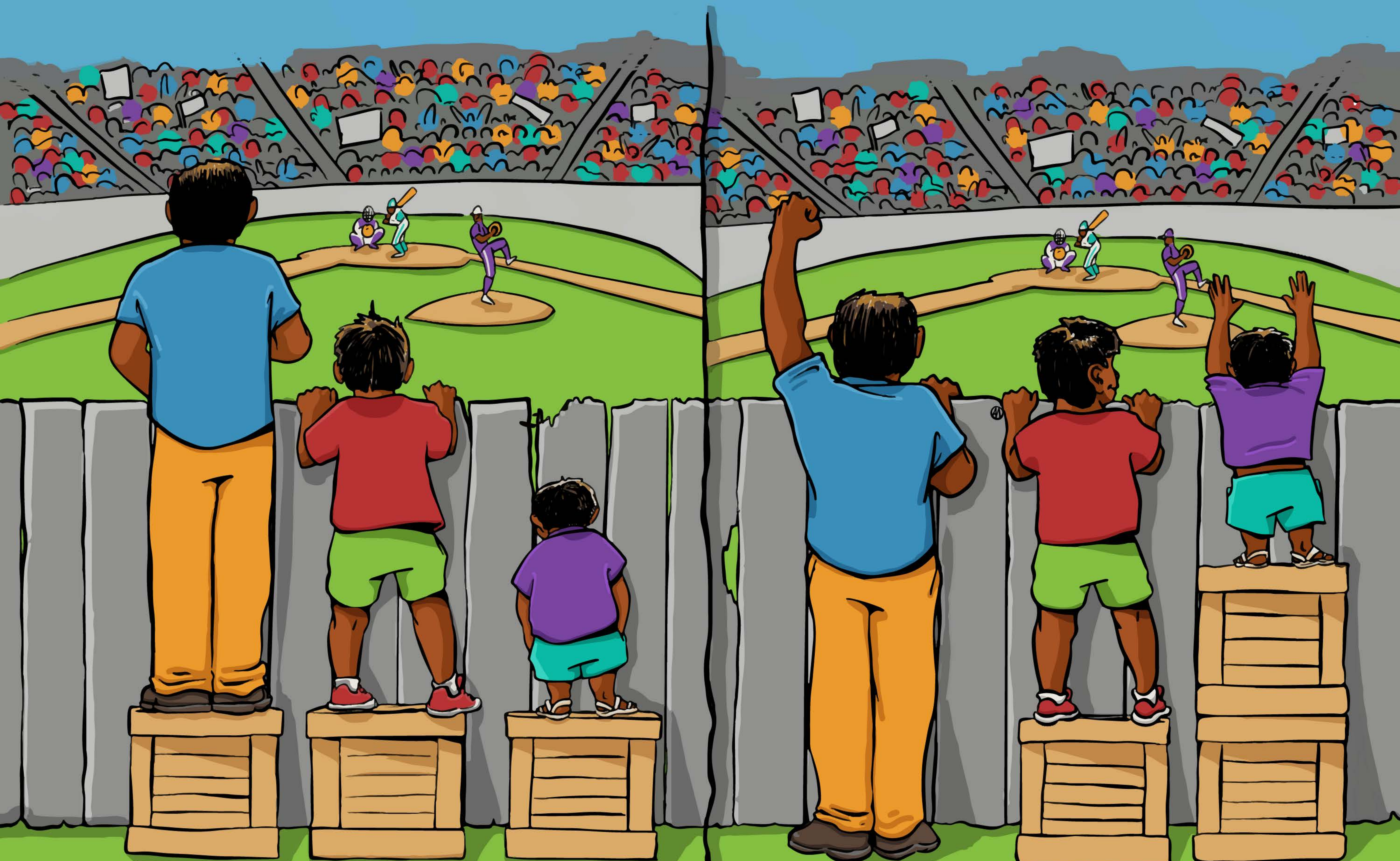
EQUALITY **EQUITY**

The Promise of Restorative Practices to Transform Teacher-Student Relationships and Achieve Equity in School Discipline

ANNE GREGORY, KATHLEEN CLAWSON, ALYCIA DAVIS, and
JENNIFER GEREWITZ

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

Restorative approaches to school discipline are increasingly being implemented throughout the United States in an attempt to reduce reliance on suspension and eradicate the racial discipline gap. Yet, little is known about the experience of students in classrooms utilizing restorative practices (RP). This study draws on student surveys (N = 412) in 29 high school classrooms. Hierarchical linear modeling and regression analyses show that high RP-implementing teachers had more positive relationships with their diverse students. Students perceived them as more respectful and they issued fewer exclusionary discipline referrals compared with low RP implementers. In addition, the findings demonstrate some initial promise of well-implemented RP for narrowing the racial discipline gap. The study found that higher RP implementers issued fewer discipline referrals to Latino and African American students compared with lower RP implementers. The study findings have implications for equity-focused consultation in schools that honor student experience of new programming.

Suspensions remain a widely utilized approach to school discipline despite a lack of evidence that they prevent future misbehavior or make schools safer (American Psychological Association Task Force, 2008). The American Academy of Pediatrics (2013) recently issued a statement describing the effectiveness of exclusionary discipline as "increasingly questionable." Their statement reflects a growing body of evidence demonstrating the harmful effects of suspension (e.g., Hemphill, Toumbourou, Herrenkohl, McMorris, & Catalano, 2006). For instance, after accounting for demographics, attendance,

Correspondence should be sent to Anne Gregory, Rutgers Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology, 152 Frelinghuysen Road, Piscataway, NJ 08854. E-mail: anne greg@rutgers.edu

and course performance, each additional suspension further decreases a student's odds of graduating high school by 20% (Balfanz, Byrnes, & Fox, 2014). Outcry over the negative correlates of suspension also reflects concern about the racial discipline gap (e.g., Losen & Gillespie, 2012). African Americans and, in many regions, Latino and American Indians are disproportionally overrepresented in school discipline (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010; Wallace, Goodkind, Wallace, & Bachman, 2008). A recent longitudinal study followed students in the Texas public school system (Fabelo et al., 2011). African American students (26.2%) were more likely to receive out-of-school suspension in response to a first infraction compared with Latinos (18%) and Whites (9.9%). This disparity held when accounting for other risk factors. For instance, African American ninth graders were 31% more likely to receive a discretionary discipline referral compared with White students when student characteristics were taken into account (e.g., socioeconomic status, academic test scores, and number of days absent). Discipline encounters were also not uncommon for Latino students. Over the 6 years they were followed, almost 65% of Latino students encountered some type of disciplinary action.

This suggests that high schools need to rethink their approach to preventing conflict, handling rule infractions, and re-engaging students after an infraction has occurred. As a result, policymakers are seeking alternatives to current discipline practices that (a) reduce the reliance on school exclusion and (b) reduce the overrepresentation of ethnic minorities in the discipline system. Yet, teachers and policymakers at the high school level have few empirically based, developmentally appropriate school discipline interventions at their disposal.

Review of the classroom management literature shows that promising interventions are not likely to be stand-alone curricula but, rather, are integrated into daily instructional practices (Osher, Bear, Sprague, & Doyle, 2010). One such promising intervention, restorative practices (RP), needs further systematic examination to understand its full potential at the high school level. Trainers from the International Institute for Restorative Practices (IIRP) implement RP as a 2-year whole-school change program (SaferSanerSchools). With a prevention and intervention focus, RP aims to transform how students and adults interact with one another thereby creating a more positive school climate.

The 3-year RP program has been implemented in a diverse range of U.S. schools. School record data in RP high schools have shown a promising drop in the use of punitive school discipline (Lewis, 2009). For example, in an urban largely African American high school, violent acts and serious incidents were reduced by 52% compared with the year before. In a rural high school, there was a 50% reduction in suspensions. Finally, in a large suburban high school, the number of incidents of "disrespect to teacher" and "classroom disruption" reduced by 70% after 1 year of the intervention. Other models that primarily focus on restoring relationships after a negative incident has

occurred (i.e., restorative justice [RJ]) have been implemented widely in states such as Minnesota, California, Colorado, and Florida and internationally in countries such as Australia, Scotland, Wales, England, Canada, and Hong Kong (González, 2011; McCluskey et al., 2008a; for a summary see Schiff, 2013). Many schools using RJ report reduced use of out-of-school suspension (Karp & Breslin, 2001; Schiff, 2013; Stinchcomb, Bazemore, & Riestenberg, 2006). For example, González (2014) recently showed that in a district implementing restorative approaches the percentage of students issued one or more suspensions dropped by 7% for African Americans, 5% for Latinos, and close to 4% for White students. Recently, Simson (2012) conducted one of the few comparison studies of RJ and non-RJ schools. In schools across two states, he found that RJ schools had a slightly greater decrease in suspension rates and a slightly smaller African American-White gap in suspension rates compared with non-RJ schools (significant at the $p < .10$ level). It is important to note that the study accounted for school size, poverty, and grade level (e.g., elementary, high school), which increases the confidence that sociodemographic differences in the schools did not account for the change.

Despite the existing case studies and emerging comparison studies, the research on the RP whole-school change approach is in its nascent stages. Specifically, as of yet, no studies have examined the link between RP and diverse students' relationships with their teachers. This is important given positive teacher-student relationships among all racial groups are key to creating a supportive and equitable school climate that does not rely on punitive approaches to behavior (Gregory, Cornell, & Fan, 2011). Moreover, few studies have considered the link between quality of RP implementation in classrooms and student outcomes (McCluskey et al., 2008a).

The current study addresses this need for additional research with its examination of teacher and student reports of RP implementation in two high schools. Namely, we identify whether higher RP implementation in high school classrooms is associated with positive teacher relationships for students of all racial and ethnic groups as seen through (a) student experience of their teachers as respectful and (b) infrequent use of teacher-issued referrals for misconduct/defiance across racial and ethnic groups (a discipline referral category accounting for large racial discipline gaps; Gregory & Weinstein, 2008). The focus on implementation of RP (a new innovation in the schools) also provides broader implications for the value of school consultants focusing on the initial uptake of RP to improve students' experience in the classroom and school.

DEFINING RESTORATIVE PRACTICES

In restorative justice (RJ), those affected by an infraction or crime come together to identify how people were affected by the incident (Coates, Um-

breit, & Vos, 2003; Gal & Moyal, 2011; McGarrell & Hipple, 2007; Rodriquez, 2007). Together, they decide how to repair the harm *after* an infraction has occurred. RJ embodies a philosophical approach to wrongdoing. Namely, it arises from a humanist tradition in which the victim and the disputant's subjective experiences of the wrongdoing are highlighted along with a belief in the need for collaborative problem solving. A focus on mending relationships is central. Zehr and Toews (2004) contend that, fundamentally, RJ's core underlying value is respect. Zehr (2002) has traced RJ's roots back to a range of diverse cultures (e.g., American Indian, Maori) and religious traditions (e.g., Judaism).

For many years, RJ has been operationalized in school settings outside of the United States through an expanded set of practices that include methods for *preventing* infractions in the first place (e.g., Blood & Thorsborne, 2005; McCluskey et al., 2008a). In the U.S. context, Amstutz and Mullet (2005) describe restorative school environments as prevention oriented when they emphasize an ethos of care and social and emotional learning. Thus, the notion of "restorative" encompasses more than a set of procedures that occur after a rule infraction. Wachtel, Costello, and Wachtel (2009) at the IIRP, and other interventionists implementing a range of RJ programming in schools, have helped to spread this encompassing approach in the U.S. school setting. Grounded in the same philosophical traditions of earlier RJ methods (Zehr, 2002), RP—as it is called by IIRP—includes strategies to both *prevent* rule infractions before they occur and to *intervene* after an infraction has occurred. RP trainers teach school staff what they call "11 essential elements" (See Program Overview at http://www.safersanerschools.org/). Many of the RP elements can serve prevention or intervention functions, yet several are specifically focused on reducing the likelihood of student rule breaking (e.g., proactive circles) and others on intervening after rule breaking has occurred (e.g., restorative conferences; see Table 1).

Many RP elements provide community-building opportunities. For instance, one of the essential RP elements is the "Proactive Circle" in which teachers use structured group discussion and meaningful exchanges while sitting in a circle (Costello, Wachtel, & Wachtel, 2010). Facing one another, they have frank and open discussions about academic topics (e.g., their academic goals for the day or the semester), emotional topics (e.g., their experiences being the target of teasing), and classroom-specific topics (e.g., what norms of respect they would like to establish in the classroom). The types of topics and specific content are limitless, yet the goal is similar: provide an opportunity for students and teachers to learn about one another (and thus respond more appropriately to one another).

RP attempts to strengthen social connection and responsibility for one another by increasing opportunities for affective communication—one technique used is called "Affective Statements" in which both teachers and students express their emotional reactions to both positive and negative

TABLE 1 Elements of Restorative Practices

Domain	Elements	Description
Prevention (building relationships and developing community)	1. Affective Statements	Use in response to negative or positive events in the classroom and school
	2. Proactive Circles	Run on daily or weekly basis (e.g., students sit in a circle and discuss a topic that helps build community)
	3. Fair Process	Engage students in decisions, explain the rationale
	4–5. Restorative Staff Community/ Restorative Approach with Families	Model and use restorative practices among school staff and with student families
	6. Fundamental Hypothesis Understandings	Provides a framework to guide daily interactions with the appropriate mix of control and support
Intervention (repairing harm and restoring community)	7. Restorative Questions	Address negative behaviors using questions (e.g., "Who has been affected by what you have done?"; "What do you think you need to do to make it right?")
	8. Responsive Circles	After a moderately serious incident, students sit in a circle and address who has been harmed and what needs to be done to make things right
	9. Small Impromptu Circles	Address negative behaviors by asking the wrongdoer and those harmed to answer restorative questions in front of each other.
	10. Restorative Conference Circles	Respond to a serious incident using a scripted approach to facilitate accountability and repair harm
	11. Reintegrative Management of Shame	Acknowledge the emotions of the wrongdoers and those impacted by the wrongdoing

events (Wachtel, Costello, & Wachtel, 2009). A teacher may also use "Affective Questions" to encourage students to reflect on how their behavior has affected others (Mirsky, 2011). Theorists argue that relationships are made more supportive when people engage in free and appropriate expression of emotion (Tomkins, 1991; Wachtel, 2012).

As students and teachers learn about one another in proactive circles, they can also develop a sense of shared authority/ownership over the classroom climate to increase accountability. Teachers may use the circles to have students jointly develop behavioral expectations for behavior, classroom rules, and consequences for breaking those rules (Costello et al., 2010). In response to a breach of trust, teachers implement "Responsive Circles" in which the classroom as a whole discusses an incident with the hopes of

restoring community. Responsive circles engage students in the management of conflict that is affecting many students or adults in the classroom. Students discuss feelings, identify who has been affected, and develop a plan to repair the harm and prevent future conflict. All people involved in the wrongdoing are expected to participate. This process aims to hold students accountable for breaching trust in the community.

More serious incidents are addressed in ''Restorative Conferences'' with the goal of developing joint solutions to repair the harm (Braithwaite, 2001). Administrators or teachers use a structured and scripted meeting protocol (Wachtel, O'Connell, & Wachtel, 2010). Accountability for wrongdoing is central to the conferences. Yet, it is important to note that there is also a focus on reintegrating the wrongdoer into the community rather than stigmatizing him or her (Braithwaite, 1989). Students are able to bring a supportive person with them to the conference, which is part of the process of restoring their sense of community. Also noteworthy is the focus on the emotions of all involved, including a process to help the wrongdoer resolve shame by making amends (Nathanson, 1997; Wachtel et al., 2010).

Throughout all RP elements, student opinion and emotional reaction are mindfully integrated into all procedures. RP emphasizes fair process and its three guiding principles: engagement (involve students in decision making), explanation (provide rationale for decisions), and expectation clarity (widespread understanding of behavioral expectations and consequences for infractions; Wachtel, 2012). A restorative classroom should evidence this participatory form of decision making whenever possible.

RESTORATIVE PRACTICES AND POSITIVE TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS

RP elements, as a whole, may be effective at eliciting teacher-student cooperation, fostering constructive conflict resolution, and working toward equitable disciplinary practices given three broad underlying processes. Specifically, the elements may (a) promote interpersonal support and connection, (b) uphold structure and fair process, and (c) integrate student voice. This is in keeping with an authoritative style to socializing adolescents (Baumrind, 1968, 1991). Theory and research on adolescents suggests that adolescents may be most responsive to authority when schools have an authoritative disciplinary climate (Gregory, Cornell et al., 2010; Gregory et al., 2011). In such a climate, student voice is honored and adults express care yet remain firm in shared expectations for behavior. This is particularly important for adolescents as they seek greater control in decision making (Smetana & Gaines, 1999) and expect fair and legitimate adult authority (Turiel, 2005). An authoritative approach to African American, Latino, and American Indian students may nurture trusting and positive teacher-student interactions. In

other words, support, structure, and student voice may be key ingredients that have the potential to "humanize" teacher interactions with historically stigmatized groups. With a focus on becoming sensitive to the individual needs of students and fostering genuine interest in students, individualizing student support may disrupt negative stereotyping or implicit bias about stigmatized groups of students of color (Devine, Forscher, Austin, & Cox, 2012; Simson, 2012). Increasing structure and accountability in the context of respect for student input and fair implementation of rules may legitimize teacher and administrator authority. Past research has shown that African American students who feel fairly treated by their teachers tend to be perceived as less defiant and more cooperative by their teachers (Gregory & Thompson, 2010).

SUMMARY

Taken together, the "11 Essential Elements" of RP aim to increase support, structure, and student voice in the classroom. Theory on authoritative approaches to adolescents suggests that teachers who implement RP well will in fact have more positive relationships with their students and ultimately will less frequently draw upon punitive approaches to school discipline (e.g., Gregory et al., 2011). This assertion, however, has yet to be tested. Given the nascent stage of empirical research on restorative approaches to school discipline, this is the first study to examine whether teachers with higher (compared to lower) implementation of RP, as reported by teachers and students, tend to have more positive relationships with their students. Positive relationships were measured from two sources and in two ways: (a) student perceptions of teachers as respectful and (b) teachers' low use of exclusionary discipline for perceived misconduct and defiance. Given the racial discipline gap that has been well documented for African American students for decades (e.g., Fabelo et al., 2011) and is of increasing concern for Latino and American Indian students (Krezmien, Leone, & Achilles, 2006; U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 2003), the study focuses on whether the link between RP implementation and positive teacher relationships are experienced similarly by students of varying racial and ethnic groups. Given its examination of RP implementation, the study also offers implications for best practices in teacher consultation during the adoption of new programming. Namely, the study sheds light on the utility of collecting teacher and student reports of program implementation. Two central research questions guide the study:

> Research Question 1: Is greater implementation of RP, as perceived by students and teachers, associated with higher student-reported teacher respect? Does this association hold across student racial/ethnic groups?

Research Question 2: Is greater implementation of RP, as perceived by students and teachers, associated with teachers issuing fewer misconduct/defiance discipline referrals to Latino/African American and Asian/White students?

It was anticipated that teachers with higher implementation of RP would have more positive relationships with their students from all racial and ethnic groups. Specifically higher RP teachers would be perceived as more respectful than teachers with lower implementation of RP. RP's association with teacher respect, we believed, would be similar for Asian, White, Latino, African American, and American Indian students. It is important to note that, according to the school records, no American Indian students were issued misconduct/defiance discipline referrals by the teachers in our study. Thus, we did not include them in the analyses for the second research question. Accordingly, we hypothesized that high RP teachers would issue fewer exclusionary discipline referrals for perceived misbehavior—their reduced rates of referral would be similar across Asian, White, Latino, and African American students.

METHOD

Participants

High schools. Two large and diverse high schools in a small city on the East Coast of the United States participated in the research during their first year of implementing RP (2011–2012). Based on school records, enrollment across both high schools at the time of the research consisted of 9 American Indian students (<1%), 149 Asian students (3%), 2,444 White students (54%), 1,428 Latino students (31%), and 522 African American students (11%).

The year before the RP program was brought into the schools (2010–2011), referrals related to misconduct/defiance comprised almost 30.3% of all discipline incidents. This was the second most common reason students received a discipline referral, following reasons related to missing class time (e.g., truancy, tardiness). In the 2010–2011 school year, greater percentages of Latino and African American students were issued misconduct/defiance referrals than Asian and White students. Specifically, close to a third of Latino and African American students (34% and 38%, respectively) compared with 5% and 11% of Asian and White students (respectively) were issued referrals for misconduct/defiance.

Implementation of RP. RP trainers led two full-day workshops with teachers, administrators, and staff at the start of the school year. IIRP trainers also provided two full days of consultation in each school. The days included

the following: (a) Observation: RP trainers spent a majority of each consultation day observing teachers in their classrooms and providing feedback on RP implementation. Teachers also had opportunities to seek out consultants during "drop-in" hours. (b) Modeling: RP trainers also modeled practices by engaging with youth, conducting classroom circles, and participating in meetings with youth and families. (c) Targeted Planning: RP trainers asked school leadership to identify key areas in need of immediate or intensive focus. Topics included restorative leadership skills, developing a restorative staff community, and supporting ongoing growth and learning.

Survey respondents. Thirty-one teachers agreed to participate in taking the surveys during the 2011–2012 school year, the first year in which RP was implemented in both high schools. We used a random number generator to select a single classroom from each teacher's daily course schedule (e.g., class Periods 1–5). From each of the teachers' course schedules, one classroom was randomly selected (herein called the focal classroom). Two teachers returned surveys that were significantly incomplete, thus the final teacher sample was slightly reduced ($N = 29$). The teachers had a wide range of experience (Min: 3 years; Max: 32 years) with an average of 13 years ($SD = 9$). Almost three quarters of the teachers were women. With the exception of one self-identified Puerto Rican teacher, all teachers identified as White.

Within the 29 classrooms, 412 students had consent to participate and completed surveys. Students without parent/guardian consent did not fill out the surveys. On average, 60% of students in each class participated. Participation across the two schools was uneven given the sample was comprised of 55 students from one school (3% of the total enrollment) and 357 students from the other school (13% of the total enrollment).

The student sample was comprised of slightly more male (53%) than female students (47%). Thirty-eight percent of the students reported that one or both of their caregivers (e.g., parents or guardians) had a high school diploma or less, whereas 62% of students reported that one or both of their caregivers had completed some higher education (community college or beyond). The diverse level of caregivers' education suggests the students came from families with a range of economic resources.

The sample was racially and ethnically diverse with students self-reporting the following: 44% White, 21% Latino, 3% American Indian, 2% Asian, 5% African American, and 25% Mixed Race. Of the 106 Mixed Race students, 45% reported they were partially of African American descent and 73% reported they were partially of Latino descent. The survey sample was significantly different from the racial composition of the enrolled students ($\chi^2(5) = 35.7$, $p < .001$) with proportionally fewer White, Latino, and African American students and more students identifying as Mixed Race. The differences may be a measurement artifact—unlike on our surveys, it appears that parents were unable to select "Mixed Race" on the school records.

Research Procedures

Members of the research team introduced the study aims during the initial RP school staff training and subsequent faculty meetings. Once a teacher consented to participate, members of the team randomly selected a classroom from each teacher's weekly schedule. During late fall and early winter of the first year of RP implementation, the team members then presented the study to students in the randomly selected classrooms and provided student assent and parent/caregiver consent forms. Consented students and teachers completed 30- to 40-min surveys once during the school year. Teachers turned in their completed surveys the same day members of the research team collected the student surveys. Thus, teachers did not have access to the confidential student surveys. Classrooms and teachers received a small monetary gift as a thank-you for their participation.

Measures

Student self-reported race/ethnicity. Given the small sample size of teachers and the parsimony required in our data analysis, we made a number of theoretically grounded decisions to reduce the number of racial and ethnic categories. Given the research that Latino, African American, and American Indian students can be overrepresented in discipline referrals depending on the geographic region (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010), we decided to compare the experience of these three groups with the experience of Asian and White students—two groups typically underrepresented in discipline referrals, as was confirmed in the enrollment and discipline referral data in the participating schools. Thus, when using the student self-reported race/ethnicity for the first research question, we coded Latino, African American, and American Indian as 1 and Asian and White as 0. It is noteworthy that 25% of the student sample self-reported they were of mixed descent. Some of the disparities in discipline referrals may relate to how teachers "read" their students based on phenotype (Simson, 2012). Thus, we included multiracial students in the Latino, African American, and American Indian group if they reported they were members of any of these three groups. We recognize this oversimplifies the complexity of racial and ethnic experience given the range of racial/ethnic phenotypic expression (Monroe, 2013). Yet, we believe important insights can be gained provided we recognize the limits of this approach. In sum, for Research Question 1, the sample of Latino, African American, and American Indian students includes students who were of mixed descent. In total they comprised 54% of the sample. The Asian/White category comprised 46% of the sample.

For the second research question using school records of discipline referrals, we coded Latino and African American as 1 and Asian and White as 0. No American Indians were indicated in the school discipline records and

thus, analyses using the records did not shed light on this group. In the 2010–2011 school year, compared with White students, the relative risk ratios for receiving a misconduct/defiance referral were similar for Latino and African American students—Latinos were 3.07 times and African Americans were 3.43 times as likely to receive a referral for misconduct/defiance compared with White students. This similar degree of disproportionally Latino and African American students in discipline referrals provides further rationale for combining them into a single group in the analyses.

Implementation of restorative practices. IIRP developed the teacher and student RP implementation survey scales as part of their training materials. They were designed for teachers to use as self-assessment on their quality of implementation. From a face validity perspective, they aimed to link the behaviors described in the scale items with the behaviors and proficiency standards identified in the 11 essential elements. (See Whole School Change program overview: http://www.iirp.edu/pdf/WSC-Overview.pdf). Given some underutilization of survey results over the past 3 years of use, IIRP consultants are now developing ways to better automate the data collection so that timely feedback reports can be provided to staff (J. Bailie, personal communication, July 30, 2013). As of yet, no research has tested their reliability and concurrent/predictive validity.

For this study, students answered all items on a 5-point scale, rating the degree to which the teacher engaged in the particular RP element (i.e., *not at all, rarely, sometimes, often*, and *always*). The Affective Statements Scale (3 items, alpha = .59) included, "My teacher is respectful when talking about feelings." The Restorative Questions Scale (4 items, alpha = .81) included, "When someone misbehaves, my teacher responds to negative behaviors by asking students questions about what happened, who has been harmed and how the harm can be repaired." The Proactive Circles Scale (4 items, alpha = .75) included, "My teacher uses circles to provide opportunities for students to share feelings, ideas and experiences." The Fair Process Scale (4 items, alpha = .73) included, "Asks students for their thoughts and ideas when decisions need to be made that affect the class." The Responsive Circles Scale (6 items, alpha = .72) included, "My teacher uses circles to respond to behavior problems and repair harm caused by misbehavior." The Management of Shame Scale (4 items, alpha = .71) included, "My teacher acknowledges the feelings of students when they have misbehaved." We calculated Cronbach's alpha for each scale to assess internal consistency of the items. The alphas ranged from fair (.59) to good (.81).

We found no statistical differences across racial and ethnic groups on RP implementation scales. This suggests that Latino/African American and White/Asian students experienced similar levels of RP implementation. Given the similarities across racial/ethnic group ratings, we decided it was appropriate to average student scales for each teacher to obtain an overall classroom average.

Teachers completed RP implementation scales that were parallel to the student RP implementation scales. Teachers rated the degree to which they implemented a range of RP elements including the Affective Statements Scale, (8 items, alpha = .80), Restorative Questions Scale (7 items, alpha = .90), Proactive Circles Scale (8 items, alpha = .59), Fair Process Scale (6 items, alpha = .93), Responsive Circles Scale (10 items, alpha = .76), and the Management of Shame Scale (7 items, alpha = .93). The alphas suggest adequate internal consistency.

For data reduction purposes given the small number of teachers in our sample, we conducted principal components analysis with the student-completed RP scales and the teacher-completed RP scales. In the factor analyses, we used four of the six scales (Affective Statements, Restorative Questions, Proactive Circles, and Fair Process). This decision was based on the desirability of extracting a student-reported and teacher-reported RP factor that was comprised of the same scales across informants. Given that 2 teachers had not completed any of the items on the Responsive Circles scale and 3 teachers had not completed any items on the Management of Shame scale, we decided to exclude those scales. When we factor analyzed the four *student-reported* RP scales, all the scales loaded onto one factor (factor loading greater than .654) and accounted for 69% of the variance. Given the loading onto one factor, we extracted a single factor score for each teacher, and together the scores were normally distributed. As with the student scales, we conducted a principal component factor analysis with the four *teacher-reported* RP scales. The scales fell on one factor (factor loading greater than .707) and accounted for 62% of the variance. The teacher-perceived RP factor scores were normally distributed (see Table 2). It is important to note that there were no significant differences on the RP implementation factor scores for teacher and student surveys collected in the late fall versus early winter, $t(29) = .31$, $p > .05$, and $t(29) = .66$, $p > .05$, respectively.

Quality of teacher-student relationship. The quality of teacher-student relationships was measured using two different sources—student surveys and school discipline records. Specifically, students completed four items on the Teacher Respect scale using a 4-point Likert scale (*not at all true, somewhat*

TABLE 2 Component Loadings From Principal Component Analysis

	Teacher survey	Student survey
Affective Statements	.843	.867
Restorative Questions	.877	.882
Proactive Circles	.709	.654
Fair Process	.707	.929
Eigenvalues	2.48	2.77
% of total variance	62.07	69.27

true, true, and *very true*). They indicated whether the teacher "liked them," "interrupted them when they had something to say" (reverse scored), "did not enjoy having them in class" (reverse scored), and "never listened to their side" (reverse scored). The scale uses items from Belmont, Skinner, Wellborn, and Connell's (1992) teacher care and respect scales, which had good reliability in a previous sample (alpha = .71, .77, respectively). The Teacher Respect scale in this study had adequate reliability with the current sample (alpha = .67). In terms of validity, Skinner, Furrer, Marchand, and Kindermann (2008) used the items as part of their teacher support measure, which predicted improvements in emotional and behavioral engagement and declines in behavioral and emotional disaffection in the classroom over time.

The second way we measured the quality of the teacher-student relationship was through teachers' use of discipline referrals (as found in the school records). The school had over 120 reasons for discipline referral. We were interested in examining reasons that likely reflect some degree of adult-student conflict given research indicates this may be a substantial driver of the racial discipline gap (Gregory & Weinstein, 2008; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). Similar to previous research (Gregory & Weinstein, 2008), we grouped the following reasons into a "misconduct/defiance" category: disrespect, insubordination, profanity/obscenity, misconduct, and disorderly conduct. The issuing of a referral for any of these reasons typically reflects the culmination of a series of negative interactions between teachers and students—suggesting the disputants were not able to diffuse the conflict with a constructive resolution (Vavrus & Cole, 2002). Typically, when a teacher issues a discipline referral, the student leaves the classroom and meets with an administrator who determines the consequence (e.g., out-of-school suspension). Numerous research studies have used teachers' office discipline referrals as reliable indicators of the classroom and school climate (for a summary see Irvin, Tobin, Sprague, Sugai, & Vincent, 2004). Irvin and colleagues (2004) synthesized empirical studies and found that higher levels of schoolwide use of office discipline referrals were associated with classroom disorderliness and with student and teacher perceptions of unsafe school conditions. They concluded that reductions in the use of such classroom discipline are a valid indicator of intervention success.

We obtained all referral records on participating teachers for the school year 2011–2012, the same year the student and teacher RP surveys were collected. The discipline referrals were extracted from a schoolwide database and, thus, included referrals issued to any students the participating teachers encountered during the school year (not just the students in the focal classroom in which the surveys were collected). In addition, we were unable to link the discipline referral data with the identities of the student survey respondents given our parent/guardian consent forms did not explicitly request permission to do so. As mentioned previously, none of the students to

whom our participating teachers issued discipline referrals were identified as "American Indian" students. Thus, analyses using the school discipline records included four of the five racial/ethnic groups.

Covariate when predicting teacher respect. Whether a student perceives respect from his or her teacher may in fact be confounded by his or her own behavior. In other words, some students who are unmotivated, aggressive with peers, or oppositional to the teacher might perceive minimal respect from adults in general (regardless of the adult's approach to discipline in the classroom). This assertion is supported by research on hostile attribution. Students who tend to attribute more hostility to others in ambiguous situations also tend to exhibit more aggressive behavior (e.g., Dodge, 2006). Thus, we included a scale of teacher-reported student cooperation as a covariate to help isolate the effect of RP implementation on teacher respect. Teachers rated every participating student in their focal classroom on the degree to which the student "pays attention," "tries hard," "defies or refuses" teacher requests (reverse scored), and "has trouble" working with peers (reverse scored). The 4-point Cooperation Scale ranged from *not at all* to *very much.* The items were selected from previously used scales measuring student engaged and disruptive behavior (Swanson, 1992; Wellborn, 1991). In the current sample, it demonstrated good internal consistency (alpha = .80).

Data-Analytic Plan

The varying structure of our dependent variables required two different data-analytic plans. For the first research question, the dependent variable was at the student level (student-perceived teacher respect). In addition, the student survey respondents were "nested" in teacher classrooms. Thus, we conducted multilevel analyses using HLM 7.0 to account for the student groupings within classrooms (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). We examined the unconditional model, which had no predictors, and found that the intraclass correlation (ICC = .14) indicated 14% of the variance in teacher respect was between teachers. This significant variation between teachers justified our comparison of RP implementation across classrooms. In our first model using HLM, we entered two Level 1 predictors, whether a student was Asian/White (0) or Latino/African American (1), and student cooperative behavior, as reported by the teacher. In the next model, we entered factor scores of student- and teacher-reported RP implementation at Level 2. Finally, we tested two cross-level interactions—the Level 2 RP implementation variables were entered to help explain the random slope variance of race/ethnicity at Level 1 (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). This addition to the model ascertained whether the link between RP implementation and teacher respect was similar no matter the student race/ethnicity. Given the nonsignificant cross-level interactions, our final hierarchical linear model (HLM) equation was as follows:

Level 1 Model:

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}(\text{Race/Ethnicity}_{ij}) + \beta_{2j}(\text{Student Cooperation}_{ij}) + e_{ij}$$

Level 2 Model:

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}(\text{Student-reported RP Implementation}_j)$$

$$+ \gamma_{02}(\text{Teacher-reported RP Implementation}_j) + u_{0j},$$

where *i* refers to student level, *j* refers to teacher level, *e* refers to residual at the student level, and *u* refers to residual at the teacher level.

For the second research question, all of our data were at the teacher level given the school discipline data were not linked to individual student identifiers. We were, thus, unable to conduct multilevel analyses and instead used multiple linear regression in SPSS 20. In two separate blocks, we entered RP implementation as reported by the teachers, followed by RP implementation as reported by the students.

RESULTS

Descriptives

Student-reported, but not teacher-reported, RP implementation was related to the two indicators of teacher-student relationships (teacher respect and discipline referrals; see Table 3). Specifically, higher student-reported RP was associated with greater teacher respect ($r = .58$, $p < .01$) and fewer misconduct/defiance referrals issued to Latino/African American students ($r = -.45, p < .05$). It was also associated with fewer Asian/White referrals yet the correlation approached significance ($r = -.36$, $p < .10$). The correlations also show that student-reported and teacher-reported implementation were

TABLE 3 Descriptive Statistics and Correlations Among Restorative Practices (RP) Implementation, Teacher Respect, and Referrals

	M	SD	2	3	4	5	6
1. TR RP implementation[a]	0	1	.23	.08	−.07	−.14	−.18
2. SR RP implementation	0	1	—	.34†	.58**	−.45*	−.36†
3. Student cooperation	3.5	0.27		—	.35†	−.54**	−.44*
4. Teacher respect	3.6	0.27			—	−.07	−.05
5. Referrals to African American/Latino[b]	6.3	9.3				—	.89***
6. Referrals to Asian/White	1.3	2.0					—

[a]TR (teacher-reported) RP and SR (student-reported) RP implementation. [b]Referrals = discipline referrals for reasons related to misconduct/defiance.
†$p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

not significantly related to one another. This was unexpected given that the teachers and students rated the degree to which RP elements were present in the same classroom around the same time.

RP Implementation Predicting Teacher Respect

In our HLM analyses, Model 1 shows that teacher reports of behavior were associated with student-perceived teacher respect (see Table 4). More specifically, when a teacher reported a student was more cooperative, then the student tended to see the teacher as more respectful ($\beta = .20$, $p < .01$). Noteworthy is that racial group membership was not associated with teacher respect. In other words, the degree to which the student found the teacher respectful was not related to whether the student was in the Latino/African American/American Indian or Asian/White group.

Model 2 shows that, after accounting for student race/ethnicity and cooperative behavior, student-reported RP implementation ($\beta = .12$, $p < .01$), but not teacher-reported RP implementation ($\beta = -.05$, *ns*), was associated with teacher respect. Students reporting greater implementation of the RP elements tended to perceive those teachers as more respectful. The addition of the RP implementation factors explained 17% of the between-teacher variance in teacher respect, yet the variation between teachers remained significant. The cross-level interactions with student- and teacher-reported RP implementation did not significantly explain the random slope variance of race/ethnicity. This suggests the link between RP implementation and teacher respect did not vary by student race/ethnicity.

TABLE 4 HLM Analysis With Student-Reported Teacher Respect as Level 1 Outcome

Measure	Model 1 estimate (*SE*)	Model 2 estimate (*SE*)
Level 1 Student-level predictors		
Race (1: Latino/Black; 0: Asian/White) β_{1j}	$-.02$ (.05)	$-.02$ (.05)
Student cooperation$_{ij}$ β_{2j}	.20** (.06)	.19** (.06)
Level 2 Teacher-level predictors		
Student report_RP_Implement$_j$ γ_{01}		.12** (.04)
Teacher report_RP_Implement$_j$ γ_{02}		$-.05$ (.03)
Random effects		
Student level σ^2	.18	.18
Teacher level σ^2	.58*	.48*
Reduced variance between students[a]		0%
Reduced variance between teachers[a]		17%

HLM = hierarchical linear modeling; RP = restorative practices.
[a]Proportion of unexplained variance reduced from Model 1.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

RP Implementation Predicting Teacher Use of Discipline Referrals

We found that teachers issued Asian and White students fewer ($M = 1.28$) misconduct/defiance referrals than they issued to Latino and African American students ($M = 6.34$), as tested in a paired sample t test ($t(29) = 3.63$, $p = .001$). The regression analyses show that student-reported, but not teacher-reported, RP implementation was a significant predictor of misconduct/defiance referrals issued to Latino and African American students ($\beta = -.44$, $p < .05$) and approached significance for referrals issued to Asian and White students ($\beta = -.34$, $p < .10$; see Table 5). Higher implementation of RP, as perceived by students, was associated with lower use of misconduct/defiance referrals. In terms of effect size, the student-reported RP implementation measure explained 11% of the variance in Asian/White referrals and 18% of the variance in Latino/African American referrals.

To illustrate the student-reported RP implementation finding, we split the teachers into those who scored above the mean (High RP) on the student-perceived RP factor and below the mean on the factor (Low RP). Please note that the decision to split the teachers at the mean of RP implementation was based on the conventional use of splitting at the mean to reflect high or low given there has been no prior research establishing an empirically and theoretically derived cut point. Figure 1 shows that the gap in misconduct/defiance referrals between Asian/White ($M = 1.69$ referrals) and Latino/African American ($M = 9.13$ referrals) was wide for those teachers perceived by students as having low RP implementation, as demonstrated by a paired-sample t test ($t(15) = 3.21$, $p = .006$). The gap was smaller when teachers were perceived by their students as having high RP implementation. Yet, a paired sample t test showed a significant difference in referrals remained for this group as well: Asian/White ($M = .77$ referrals) versus Latino/African American ($M = 2.92$ referrals; $t(12) = 2.69$, $p = .02$). This suggests higher RP implementers (above the mean) narrowed the racial discipline gap but did not eradicate it in their referral patterns.

TABLE 5 Regression Models for Number of Defiance Referrals

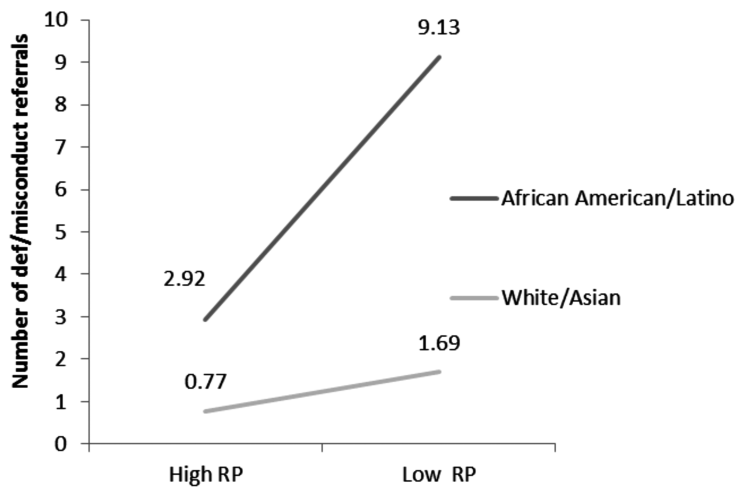|	White/Asian referrals	African American/Latino referrals
R^2	.11	.18*
Standardized betas		
Teacher-reported RP implementation	−.01	−.04
Student-reported RP implementation	−.34†	−.44*

†$p < .10$. *$p < .05$.

FIGURE 1 Teachers above (n = 13) and below (n = 16) the mean on student-perceived restorative practices (RP) implementation and number of misconduct/defiance referrals by race/ethnicity.

DISCUSSION

The results suggest that greater RP implementation levels were associated with better teacher-student relationships as measured by student-perceived teacher respect and teacher use of exclusionary discipline. The strength of the findings is the corroboration across source (student survey and school records). The variability of RP implementation across classrooms coupled with the salience of student reports of implementation for positive outcomes suggest there are key functions teacher consultants can play in assessing and improving teachers' uptake of RP in their classrooms.

In addition, the findings offer some initial promise that high-quality RP implementation may be associated with more equitable disciplinary practices. Namely, higher RP implementation predicted greater teacher respect—a relationship that held for students across varying racial and ethnic groups. In addition, teachers who were perceived as implementing more RP elements by their students tended to have fewer differences in the number of misconduct/defiance referrals issued to Asian/White and Latino/African American student groups compared with the large discipline gap for teachers perceived as low on RP elements.

The Need for High-Quality Implementation

This study found a wide range of RP implementation in the participating teachers' classrooms. This corroborates research on RP implementation at the school level. In a study of 18 schools in Scotland, McCluskey et al.

(2008a) documented that RP implementation across schools varied substantially, which they argued may have been somewhat due to fundamental ideological differences between RP programming and more traditional beliefs and practices about how to manage student behavior. The authors suggest that many school administrators and teachers in their study held a more authoritarian perspective of adult power, in which "getting tough" through the use of exclusionary discipline practices was seen as the most effective response to student misbehavior (McCluskey et al., 2008b). This contrasts to the underlying assumptions of RP about the need to reintegrate the wrong-doer into the community. Stinchcomb and colleagues (2006) also noted that RP implementation can falter given the conflict of values underlying a zero tolerance approach versus RP's flexible negotiation and problem-solving approach. Another potential obstacle to implementation includes teacher perceptions that RP is too time intensive and will interfere with instruction. Given the current climate around teacher evaluation, many teachers may consider any time taken away from conveying course content a serious threat to student academic progress. Given the potential for clashing values and fear of lost instructional time, RP consultation may need to include additional techniques to effectively engage teachers in RP. For instance, motivational interviewing (MI) techniques may be needed with some school staff to develop authentic willingness to change from a more punitive to a more restorative approach—in fact, MI techniques have been used to help facilitate change through school-based consultation (Blom-Hoffman & Rose, 2007; Gueldner & Merrell, 2013; Reinke, Lewis-Palmer, & Merrell, 2008). Consultants may also need to demonstrate to teachers that RP approaches can be integrated into everyday interactions and instruction with their students. This would show how lost instructional time can be minimized and potentially increase teachers' adoption of the program.

This study found that degree of RP implementation was linked to the quality of teacher-student relationships, which confirms the well-established relationship between fidelity of implementation and student outcomes (Durlak & Dupre, 2008). Our findings also add to the growing recognition that a systematic focus on how to implement programs well is crucial to the dissemination of school-based programming (for a review, see Forman et al., 2013). Scholars of implementation science emphasize that single training workshops are not enough (Forman et al., 2013). Forman, Olin, Hoagwood, Crowe, and Saka (2009) noted that staff need ongoing support and iterative feedback to improve their implementation—a need that could be filled by teacher consultants. Research has confirmed that performance feedback effectively increases teachers' use of novel programs or approaches (e.g., Noell, 2008). In the current study, we are unable to explain why some teachers implemented RP more than other teachers. Explanatory factors to consider in future research include conflict or correspondence between the underlying values of RP and teachers' approach to discipline as well as

the degree to which teachers perceive RP impedes or facilitates instruction. Future research needs to examine the link between teachers' utilization of on-site consultation with RP trainers (i.e., observation, modeling, assistance, and problem solving) and the quality of RP implementation in their classrooms.

Honoring Student Voice in Consultation

Student report, but not teacher report, of RP implementation was associated with teacher respect and teacher use of discipline referrals. This suggests we need to seriously consider student perspective on implementation integrity—a perspective that can often be overlooked when consulting with teachers. Pearrow and Pollack (2012) suggested youth should be engaged in a critical examination of their school conditions and offered collaborative roles in affecting change. The findings in the current study echo the need to take the voices of youth seriously in schoolwide implementation of RP. Including youth in the implementation process is in direct alignment with the RP principle of authentically integrating student emotions, opinions, and suggestions when solving disputes. According to McClusky et al. (2008a), a marker of higher fidelity of RP implementation in their sample of 18 Scottish schools included students indicating that they "felt heard." In other words, on a schoolwide basis, the well-implemented RP schools tended to integrate student voice. A similar process of including student voice could occur when implementing a new RP initiative. This might entail providing feedback to teachers based on a regular collection of student surveys on RP implementation.

Race, Ethnicity, and RP Implementation

This was the first study to examine RP implementation in relation to equity in school discipline as measured by teachers' differential use of office disciplinary referrals for disruption and defiance with students in varying racial and ethnic groups. This line of research is needed given the enduring nature of the racial discipline gap and the dearth of documented interventions that narrow or eradicate the gap. Few studies, as far as authors are aware, have examined whether changing from a more punitive approach to discipline to a more restorative approach helped reduce the racial discipline gap. Simson (2012) found that the disparity in percentage of African American versus White student suspensions was slightly lower (approaching significance at $p < .10$) in RJ schools ($n = 13$) compared with a matched set of non-RJ schools ($n = 45$) in Denver and Santa Fe. The findings are somewhat limited given there was no systematic assessment of the quality of RP implementation in the RJ schools.

Our study findings indicate that students of varying race/ethnicity experienced RP implementation similarly. For instance, within the same class-

room, when White and Asian students reported the teacher frequently employed RP elements, African American, Latino, and American Indian students tended to concur. In addition, with higher implementing RP teachers, both Asian/White and Latino/African American/American Indian groups reported feeling respected by the teacher. That the relationship between RP implementation and respect held across racial and ethnic groups suggests that RP may be culturally appropriate or culturally congruent with varying groups. This is promising given interventions need to address what may be called ''a relationship gap'' between some student groups and their teachers— for example, as a group, African American students report less fairness and support compared with White students in schools (Wald & Kurlaender, 2003). Interventions that can equally improve the quality of teacher-student relationships across racial and ethnic groups may have potential to reduce the racial discipline gap (Gregory, Allen, Mikami, Hafen, & Pianta, 2014).

With improved relationships, distrust, implicit bias, and cultural misunderstanding may be reduced between teachers and students historically overrepresented in school discipline (Gregory et al., 2011; Simson, 2012). RP's focus on developing an authoritative climate in the classroom through a range of practices (e.g., Proactive Circles, Affective Statements, Restorative Questions) may elicit trusting teacher-student interactions in which students feel supported and treated fairly. A sensitivity to individual student perspectives and the collective voice of students accompanied by consistent and fair accountability for jointly developed classroom rules may reduce the likelihood that students in stigmatized groups will be excluded from the classroom for discipline reasons. In fact, this study showed that high-implementing RP teachers rarely used exclusionary discipline for misconduct/defiance, and they had a narrower gap in referrals between White/Asian and African American/Latino students compared with low-implementing RP teachers. Future research should explore possible mediating processes that can help explain why well-implemented RP was associated with reduced reliance on exclusionary discipline, especially among African American and Latino students. In addition, the racial discipline gap was not totally eradicated in classrooms with high RP implementation, which raises many questions about whether future consultants can further boost these teachers' RP implementation or whether they need to offer other approaches to improving teacher-student relationships (Gregory et al., 2014).

Limitations and Future Directions

Some limitations should be noted when drawing conclusions from the research. The study examined student and teacher surveys and discipline referrals during the first-year of RP implementation in the school. We did not have outsider observers verify quality of RP implementation, which

many consider the "gold standard" for measuring fidelity of implementation (Forman et al., 2013). Also, given that IIRP implements its RP programs across 2 years, this study may not have captured the full effect of RP implementation on student outcomes. Schoolwide interventions typically require a minimum of 2 years to take hold, thus follow-up studies are warranted.

Shared method variance is a limitation of the methodology used to examine the link between RP implementation and teacher respect (Research Question 1). Students reported on RP implementation (independent variable) and teacher respect (dependent variable). Thus, rater bias likely inflated the relationship between the two variables. That said, by including teacher ratings of student behavior as a covariate we provide additional rigor to the findings—we likely accounted for some of the rater bias. Another limitation to consider is that despite having explained a substantial amount of variance in teacher respect across the classrooms (17%), variance between teachers remained significant suggesting systematic differences were left unexplained. Thus, additional research is needed to understand why some teachers were experienced as more respectful than others. Future research may include an examination of teachers' instructional practices—some of which may be experienced as more or less respectful (e.g., differential treatment of higher and lower achievers with the classroom; Weinstein, 2002). Other student explanatory characteristics might be related to perceptions of teacher respect as well. For instance, students' past experience managing conflict with teachers and receiving discipline referrals may relate to the degree to which they read hostility into current teachers' ambiguous behaviors (Dodge, 2006).

By randomly selecting *one* of the classrooms of our participating teachers at a single point in time, we took a "snapshot" of RP implementation. That snapshot was linked to teachers' use of exclusionary discipline with all the students they encountered in the school year. The analyses were thus based on an assumption that our snapshot is reflective of RP implementation across the teachers' instructional schedule. This assumption needs to be tested in future research. Namely, it is unknown whether teachers implement RP differently as they encounter different constellations of students in their classrooms. That we explained 11% to 18% of the variance in use of exclusionary discipline for disruption and defiance, however, suggests that our snapshot tapped into ways the teachers differ in their approach to school discipline. That said, future research should link teachers' RP use in specific classrooms with referrals in those same classrooms. With such a link, future multilevel research would address the limits inherent in our use of multiple regression when predicting teachers' use of discipline referrals (Research Question 2). A multilevel model could differentiate the degree to which the teacher level (e.g., high-quality RP implementation) and student level (e.g., observed student behavior) explain variance in student disciplinary referral rates. This would provide more precise information for consultants

to educate teachers about the relative contribution of teacher versus student characteristics to referral patterns. Learning about the teacher contribution to such patterns could help teachers understand the degree to which they have agency in reducing the racial discipline gap.

In addition, future research should systematically track RP consultants' activities throughout the implementation process and measure the quality of RP implementation at multiple time points in the school year. Our single snapshot did not capture the possible improvements (or decrements) in implementation across the school year. Identifying patterns in implementation over time, such as typical "fade-out" points, would provide specific times in the school year when consultants might do check-ins with teachers to prevent predictable declines in implementation.

We believe our collection of student perceptions of RP implementation is a strength of the study. Yet, student surveys are not without limitations. Student responses on the RP implementation surveys may have related to overall perceptions of their teachers and not specifically to what they observed as new disciplinary practices in the classroom (e.g., students may be inclined to report their teachers are doing more RP simply because they want to be positive about teachers with whom they feel connected). Following this logic, teachers with high RP implementation, according to students, may simply be better at providing social, emotional, and academic support to students. This might suggest that even without RP these teachers would tend to rely less on exclusionary discipline and be adept at preventing or diffusing conflict. As such our student-report RP implementation factor would need to be corroborated by systematic observations of RP in classrooms. Observations would also help us understand the lack of correspondence between teacher-reported and student-reported RP implementation. Further scale development would also ascertain whether this study's teacher-reported scale did not correspond with student report simply because it lacked validity—which means it might not have measured what it claimed to measure. In other words, further research on reliable and valid ways to capture teacher-reported RP implementation is needed.

This study examined RP implementation in a single RP factor score, which combined reports of four of the RP elements: Affective Statements, Restorative Questions, Proactive Circles, and Fair Process. Future research might examine the quality of implementation and associated outcomes of other RP elements, which were not included in this factor score (e.g., Management of Shame). Another important line of future research might compare the effectiveness of the prevention-oriented elements (e.g., proactive circles) and the intervention-oriented elements (e.g., restorative conferences) in terms of building community, deterring future rule breaking, and reducing the racial discipline gap.

A specific focus on the prevention-oriented RP elements would also enable a comparison study with other prevention-oriented programming such

as School-Wide Positive Behavior Intervention Supports (SWPBIS). This kind of comparison study would help discern whether or not a humanist/systems approach inherent to RP or a more behavioral approach inherent to programs such as SWPBIS would be the most developmentally sensitive and culturally sensitive approach to working with adolescents. Noteworthy is that despite being well disseminated, SWPBIS, as of yet, has not shown a reduction in the racial discipline gap (despite an overall reduction in use of exclusionary discipline sanctions; Kaufman et al., 2010; Vincent et al., 2013; Vincent & Tobin, 2011).

In terms of the racial discipline gap, the current findings need to be replicated given this is a correlational and nonexperimental study that cannot support causal conclusions (i.e., RP caused the gap to reduce). Moreover, student-reported RP implementation was significantly related to Latino and African American referrals for disruption/defiance but was only a trend for Asian and White referrals. This discrepancy may be due to the low occurrence of referrals for Asian and White students, which would make the finding a measurement artifact. Keeping that caveat in mind, however, it would be informative to ascertain whether RP has a more robust effect on interactions between teachers and their Latino and African American students. If this is found in future research, RP would have tremendous potential to reduce disparate use of exclusionary discipline with these groups.

Conclusion

The study contributes to a growing body of research that demonstrates the potential of RP for improving schools. It found that teachers who were perceived by their students as frequently implementing many of the RP elements tended to have better relationships with their students compared with infrequent implementers of RP. This was seen in the degree to which students felt respected by their teachers and teachers' use of disruption/defiance disciplinary referrals. The findings also have implications for the potential of RP in terms of reducing the racial discipline gap. Higher RP implementation was associated with lower use of disruption/defiance disciplinary referrals with Latino and African American students. Finally, the study also confirms the need for consultation that integrates student perspectives on implementation and systematically addresses implementation challenges for novel practices in schools.

FUNDING

REFERENCES

American Academy of Pediatrics. (2013). Policy statement: Out-of-school suspension and expulsion. *Pediatrics, 131*, 1000–1007.

American Psychological Association Task Force. (2008). Are zero tolerance policies effective in schools? An evidentiary review and recommendations. *American Psychologist, 63*, 852–863.

Amstutz, L., & Mullet, J. H. (2005). *The little book of restorative discipline for schools.* Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Balfanz, R., Byrnes, V., & Fox, J. (2014). Sent home and put off-track: The antecedents, disproportionalities, and consequences of being suspended in the ninth grade. In D. Losen (Ed.), *Closing the school discipline gap.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Baumrind, D. (1968). Authoritarian vs. authoritative parental control. *Adolescence, 3*, 255–272.

Baumrind, D. (1991). Parenting styles and adolescent development. In R. Lerner, A. C. Petersen, & J. Brooks-Gunn (Eds.), *The encyclopedia of adolescence* (pp. 746–758). New York, NY: Garland.

Belmont, M., Skinner, E., Wellborn, J., & Connell, J. (1992). *Teacher as social context (TASC): Two measures of teacher provision of involvement, structure, and autonomy support* (Tech. Rep.). Rochester, NY: University of Rochester.

Blom-Hoffman, J., & Rose, G. S. (2007). Applying motivational interviewing to school based consultation: A commentary on "Has consultation achieved its primary prevention potential?" *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation, 17*, 151–156.

Blood, P., & Thorsborne, M. (2005). *The challenges of culture change: Embedding restorative practice in schools.* Paper presented at the Sixth International Conference on Conferencing, Circles and other Restorative Practices: Building a Global Alliance for Restorative Practices and Family Empowerment, Sydney, Australia.

Braithwaite, J. (1989). *Crime, shame and reintegration.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Braithwaite, J. (2001). Restorative justice and a new criminal law of substance abuse. *Youth and Society, 33*, 227–248.

Coates, R. B., Umbreit, M., & Vos, B. (2003). Restorative justice circles: An exploratory study. *Contemporary Justice Review, 6*, 265–278.

Costello, B., Wachtel, J., & Wachtel, T. (2010). *Restorative circles in schools: Building community and enhancing learning.* Bethlehem, PA: International Institute for Restorative Practices.

Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Austin, A. J., & Cox, W. T. L. (2012). Long-term reduction in implicit race bias: A prejudice habit-breaking intervention. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48*, 1–12.

Dodge, K. (2006). Translational science in action: Hostile attributional style and the development of aggressive behavior problems. *Development and Psychopathology, 18*, 791–814.

Durlak, J. A., & Dupre, E. P. (2008). Implementation matters: A review of research on the influence of implementation on program outcomes and the factors affecting implementation. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 41*, 327–350.

Fabelo, T., Thompson, M. D., Plotkin, M., Carmichael, D., Marchbanks, M. P., III, & Booth, E. A. (2011). *Breaking schools' rules: A statewide study of how school discipline relates to students' success and juvenile justice involvement*. New York, NY: Council of State Governments. Retrieved from http://justicecenter.csg.org/resources/juveniles

Forman, S. G., Olin, S., Hoagwood, K., Crowe, M., & Saka, N. (2009). Evidence-based intervention in schools: Developers' views of implementation barriers and facilitators. *School Mental Health, 1*, 26–36.

Forman, S. G., Shapiro, E. S., Codding, R. S., Gonzales, J. E., Reddy, L. A., Rosenfield, S. A., . . . Stoiber, K. C. (2013). Implementation science and school psychology. *School Psychology Quarterly, 28*, 77–100.

Gal, T., & Moyal, S. (2011). Juvenile victims in restorative justice findings from the reintegrative shaming experiments. *British Journal of Criminology, 51*, 1014–1034.

González, T. (2011). Restoring justice: Community organizing to transform school discipline policies. *U.C. Davis Journal of Juvenile Law & Policy, 15*(1), 9–10.

González, T. (2014). Addressing racial disparities in school discipline: Restorative alternatives to exclusionary practices in schools. In D. Losen (Ed.), *Closing the school discipline gap*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Gregory, A., Allen, J., Mikami, A., Hafen, C., & Pianta, R. (2014). The promise of a teacher professional development program in reducing the racial disparity in classroom exclusionary discipline. In D. Losen (Ed.), *Closing the school discipline gap*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Gregory, A., & Cornell, D. (2009). "Tolerating" adolescent needs: Moving beyond zero tolerance policies in high school. *Theory into Practice, 48*, 106–113.

Gregory, A., Cornell, D., & Fan, X. (2011). The relationship of school structure and support to suspension rates for black and white high school students. *American Educational Research Journal, 48*, 904–934.

Gregory, A., Cornell, D., Fan, X., Sheras, P. L., Shih, T., & Huang, F. (2010). Authoritative school discipline: High school practices associated with lower student bullying and victimization. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 102*, 483–496.

Gregory, A., Skiba, R. J., & Noguera, P. A. (2010). The achievement gap and the discipline gap: Two sides of the same coin? *Educational Researcher, 39*, 59–68.

Gregory, A., & Thompson, A. R. (2010). African American high school students and variability in behavior across classrooms. *Journal of Community Psychology, 38*, 386–402.

Gregory, A., & Weinstein, S. R. (2008). The discipline gap and African Americans: Defiance or cooperation in the high school classroom. *Journal of School Psychology, 46*, 455–475.

Gueldner, B., & Merrell, K. (2013). Evaluation of a social emotional learning program in conjunction with the exploratory application of performance feedback incorporating motivational interviewing techniques. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation, 21*, 1–27.

Hemphill, S. A., Toumbourou, J. W., Herrenkohl, T. I., McMorris, B. J., & Catalano, R. F. (2006). The effect of school suspensions and arrests on subsequent adolescent antisocial behavior in Australia and the United States. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 39*, 736–744.

Irvin, L. K., Tobin, T. J., Sprague, J. R., Sugai, G., & Vincent, C. G. (2004). Validity of office discipline referral measures as indices of school-wide behavioral status and effects of school-wide behavioral interventions. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions, 6*, 131–147.

Karp, D. R., & Breslin, B. (2001). Restorative justice in school communities. *Youth & Society*, *33*, 249–272.

Kaufman, J. S., Jaser, S. S., Vaughan, E. L., Reynolds, J. S., Di Donato, J., Bernard, S. N., & Hernandez-Brereton, M. (2010). Patterns in office discipline referral data by grade, race/ethnicity, and gender. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions, 12*, 44–54.

Krezmien, M. P., Leone, P. E., & Achilles, G. M. (2006). Suspension, race, and disability: Analysis of statewide practices and reporting. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders, 14*, 217–226.

Lewis, S. (2009). *Improving school climate: Findings from schools implementing restorative practices.* Bethlehem, PA: International Institute of Restorative Practices. Retrieved from http://www.iirp.edu/pdf/IIRP-Improving-School-Climate.pdf

Losen, D. J., & Gillespie, J. (2012). *Opportunities suspended: The disparate impact of disciplinary exclusion from school.* Los Angeles, CA: The Center for Civil Rights Remedies. Retrieved from http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu

McCluskey, G., Lloyd, G., Kane, J., Stead, J., Riddell, S., & Weedon, E. (2008a). Can restorative practices in schools make a difference? *Educational Review, 60*(4), 405–417.

McCluskey, G., Lloyd, G., Stead, J., Kane, J., Riddell, S., & Weedon, E. (2008b). 'I was dead restorative today': From restorative justice to restorative approaches in school. *Cambridge Journal of Education, 38*, 199–216.

McGarrell, E. F., & Hipple, N. K. (2007). Family group conferencing and re-offending among first-time juvenile offenders: The Indianapolis experiment. *Justice Quarterly*, *24*, 221–246.

Mirsky, L. (2011). Building safer, saner schools. *Educational Leadership, 69*, 45–49.

Monroe, C. (2013). Colorizing educational research: African American life and school as an exemplar. *Educational Research, 42*, 9–19.

Nathanson, D. (1997). Affect theory and the compass of shame. In M. Lansky & A. Morrison (Eds.), *The widening scope of shame* (pp. 339–354). Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press.

Noell, G. H. (2008). Research examining the relationships among consultation process, treatment integrity, and outcomes. In W. P. Erchul & S. M. Sheridan (Eds.), *Handbook of research in school consultation: Empirical foundations for the field* (pp. 315–334). New York, NY: Erlbaum.

Osher, D., Bear, G. G., Sprague, J. R., & Doyle, W. (2010). How can we improve school discipline? *Educational Researcher*, *39*, 48–58.

Pearrow, M. M., & Pollack, S. (2012). Youth empowerment in oppressive systems: Opportunities for school consultants. *Journal of Educational and Psychological Consultation, 19*, 45–60.

Raudenbush, S. W., & Bryk, A. S. (2002). *Hierarchical linear models: Applications and data analysis methods* (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Reinke, W. M., Lewis-Palmer, T., & Merrell, K. W. (2008). The classroom check-up: A classwide teacher consultation model for increasing praise and decreasing disruptive behavior. *School Psychology Review, 37*, 315–332.

Rodriguez, N. (2007). Restorative justice at work: Examining the impact of restorative justice resolutions on juvenile recidivism. *Crime and Delinquency*, *53*, 355–379.

Schiff, M. (2013, January). *Dignity, disparity, and desistance: Effective restorative justice strategies to plug the "school-to-prison pipeline."* Paper presented at the Center for Civil Rights Remedies National Conference, Closing the School to Research Gap: Research to Remedies, Washington, DC.

Simson, D. (2012, May). *Restorative justice and its effects on (racially disparate) punitive discipline.* Paper presented at the Seventh Annual Conference on Empirical Legal Studies, Los Angeles, CA. Retrieved from http://ssrn.com/abstract=21072420

Skiba, R. J., Michael, R. S., Nardo, A. C., & Peterson, R. L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *Urban Review, 34*, 317–342.

Skinner, E., Furrer, C., Marchand, G., & Kindermann, T. (2008). Engagement and disaffection in the classroom: Part of a larger motivational dynamic? *Journal of Educational Psychology, 100*, 765–781.

Smetana, J., & Gaines, C. (1999). Adolescent-parent conflict in middle-class African American families. *Child Development, 70*, 1447–1463.

Snijders, T. A., & Bosker, R. L. (1999). *Multilevel analysis: An introduction to basic and advanced multilevel modeling.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stinchcomb, J. B., Bazemore, G., & Riestenberg, N. (2006). Beyond zero tolerance: Restorative justice in secondary schools. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 4*, 123–147.

Swanson, J. M. (1992). *Assessment and treatment of ADD.* Irvine, CA: K.C. Press.

Tomkins, S. S. (1991). *Affect imagery consciousness: Vol. 3. The negative affects: Anger and fear.* New York, NY: Springer.

Turiel, E. (2005). The many faces of parenting. In J. G. Smetana (Ed.), *Changing boundaries of parental authority during adolescence: New directions in child and adolescent development* (pp. 79–88). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2003). *Status and trends in the education of Hispanics* (NCES 2003-008). Washington, DC: Author.

Vavrus, F., & Cole, K. M. (2002). "I Didn't Do Nothin'": The discursive construction of school suspension. *The Urban Review*, *34*, 87–111.

Vincent, C. G., Sprague, J. R., CHiXapkaid (Pavel, M.), Tobin,T. J. & Gau, J. (2014). The Effectiveness of school-wide positive behavior interventions and supports in reducing racially inequitable disciplinary exclusion. In D. Losen (Ed.), *Closing the school discipline gap: Research for policymaker.* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Vincent, C. G., & Tobin, T. J. (2011). An examination of the relationship between implementation of school-wide positive behavior support (SWPBS) and exclusion of students from various ethnic backgrounds with and without disabilities. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders, 19*, 217–232.

Wachtel, T. (2012). *Defining restorative.* Retrieved from http://iirpds.pointinspace.com/pdf/Defining-Restorative.pdf

Wachtel, T., Costello, B., & Wachtel, J. (2009). *The restorative practices handbook for teachers, disciplinarians and administrators.* Bethlehem, PA: International Institute of Restorative Practices.

Wachtel, T., O'Connell, T., & Wachtel, J. (2010). *Restorative justice conferencing: Real justice and the conferencing handbook.* Bethlehem, PA: International Institute for Restorative Practices.

Wald, J., & Kurlaender, M. (2003). Connected in Seattle? An exploratory study of student perceptions of discipline and attachments to teachers. *New Directions for Youth Development, 2003,* 35–54.

Wallace, J. M., Jr., Goodkind, S., Wallace, C. M., & Bachman, J. G. (2008). Racial, ethnic, and gender differences in school discipline among U.S. high school students: 1991–2005. *Negro Educational Review, 59,* 47–62.

Weinstein, R. S. (2002). *Reaching higher: The power of expectations in schooling.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wellborn, J. G. (1991). *Engaged and disaffected action: The conceptualization and measurement of motivation in the academic domain.* Rochester, NY: University of Rochester.

Zehr, H. (2002). *The little book of restorative justice.* Intercourse, PA: Good Books.

Zehr, H., & Toews, B. (2004). *Critical issues in restorative justice.* Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press.

Anne Gregory, PhD, is an Associate Professor in the Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. Her research has focused on the persistent trend that African American adolescents are issued school suspensions and expulsions at higher rates than adolescents from other groups. Her research interests also include teacher professional development and characteristics of restorative communities in schools. Through program development, implementation, and evaluation, she aims to address this trend by strengthening characteristics of teachers, classrooms, and schools associated with the successful schooling of diverse students.

Kathleen Clawson, MSEd, is a doctoral candidate in the School Psychology Program in the Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. Her research addresses students' experience of schooling with a focus on how they experience discipline practices.

Alycia Davis, PsyM, is a doctoral candidate in the Clinical Psychology Program at the Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. Her research addresses preventive interventions for youth at risk for antisocial behaviors, especially in regards to underserved populations.

Jennifer Gerewitz, PsyM, is a doctoral candidate in the School Psychology Program in the Graduate School of Applied and Professional Psychology at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. Her research addresses interventions that effectively decrease discipline referrals and have the potential to narrow the racial discipline gap.

You can't teach children to behave better by making them feel worse. When children feel better, they behave better.

Pam Leo, Connection Parenting

Why Restorative Justice Is About More Than Reducing Suspensions

Daisy Yuhas, The Hechinger Report
Jul 25, 2018

With just two words, a classroom can be thrown into chaos. Anne Gregory, an associate professor of psychology at Rutgers University, recalls just such a scenario when an angry high school student shouted an expletive ("F— off!") at his teacher, bringing class to a halt.

Gregory, who studies school discipline, wasn't present for the outburst itself but she saw its aftermath. At many schools, she explains, the response would be simple: send the student straight to an administrator to mete out punishment, probably a suspension.

Instead, the vice principal came to the classroom. He dismissed most students for their lunch break while inviting anyone who felt personally affected by the incident to remain in the room with the teacher and the outspoken student. Then that smaller group, under the vice principal's guidance, discussed what had just happened.

Gregory was witnessing a restorative circle. It's a practice derived from a movement in education known as restorative justice, an approach to discipline that replaces punishment with repairing harm. And it is sweeping across schools nationwide.

In the classroom Gregory observed, all those gathered shared their perspective. The teacher expressed remorse for reacting to the student's outburst with so much frustration. Another student reflected on her own struggles with anger management. And the young man whose words sparked the incident apologized and described how the stress of a difficult morning had boiled over in his behavior. He then agreed to help his teacher set up her PowerPoint and distribute textbooks at the beginning of each class as a way of compensating his classmates' lost instructional time.

The incident neatly illustrates how the restorative process brings a community together at a moment when, traditionally, conflict might divide the classroom. But is it worth all of that effort? Evidence from the court system, school surveys and controlled experiments suggests restorative justice can indeed do a lot of good. Although more studies are needed to explore its full effects on schools, the research thus far hints that this approach to discipline helps people feel respected and that they, in turn, show greater respect for rules.

To understand restorative justice, it's worth looking at its roots. About forty years ago, criminal justice scholars and reformers in North America and Europe began exploring justice across cultures and studying the perspectives of perpetrators. "Eye for an eye" thinking, they found, may be a longstanding part of Western society, but that's not true everywhere: some communities place reconciliation above retribution. Inspired by this realization, the restorative justice movement was born.

Restorative justice courts in countries including New Zealand, Rwanda and South

Africa, for example, developed restorative practices based on the traditions of indigenous communities to address issues as diverse as genocide and petty theft. Much like the restorative circle Gregory witnessed, these courts bring victims and offenders together in dialogue to discuss each person's perspective. Offenders have to take responsibility for their actions and commit to a plan to mitigate the damage they've caused.

Behavioral science hints at many advantages of this approach. First, although punishment has its uses — for instance, it warns everyone in a community that there are consequences to bad actions, which in turn make us more willing to cooperate with one another — it is also an imperfect deterrent. In criminal justice, after all, experts broadly recognize that people convicted of crimes have a high likelihood of reoffending. Furthermore, research reveals that punishing offenders may not necessarily meet victims' needs. Oriel FeldmanHall, an assistant professor of psychology at Brown University, has discovered — using simple scenarios where a person cheats another out of a payout — that most "victims" would rather receive compensation than see offenders punished. (In fact, it's often third parties who were not personally harmed that are most eager for punishment on the victim's behalf.)

Restorative justice, meanwhile, with its emphasis on community, empathy and perspective-taking, may make up for some of the shortcomings of traditional disciplinary action. In the U.S., for example, juvenile courts that practice restorative justice have significantly reduced recidivism compared with those using traditional approaches. "It's incredibly amazing what can happen in these courts," FeldmanHall says. "They've been very good at keeping young teenagers from going back to jail." The thinking goes that the highly participatory process that characterizes restorative justice requires offenders to engage with and understand how their actions have affected others; in turn, the community has to reckon with what drove a perpetrator's behavior.

Encouraged by such successes, psychologists and educators have attempted to translate this work to school discipline. One such translator is Kathy Evans, an associate professor of education at Eastern Mennonite University, co-author of *The Little Book of Restorative Justice in Education*. She sees three central priorities at the movement's core: relationship-building, repairing harm and creating more equitable environments. "Restorative justice can't just be a set of things that we do," Evans says. "It has to be a framework for how we view teaching and learning." For example, whereas traditional school discipline emphasizes managing bad behaviors, restorative approaches start by encouraging students and teachers to embrace the idea that all members of the school community should be treated with dignity and fairness. The circle process, in which every voice is heard and multiple perspectives considered, is one example. As a result, proponents argue, students take the school's rules more seriously because they feel more invested in that community and their school relationships.

And there's evidence for that effect. In 2016, a study led by Jason Okonofua, a professor of psychology at the University of California Berkeley, found that a brief empathy training program for middle-school teachers not only changed their behavior but shifted student perspectives. Post-intervention, the team found, middle schoolers felt more respected *and* motivated to behave better.

Another study from Anne Gregory and her colleagues surveyed 412 students across 29 classrooms where teachers had received restorative justice training specifically. The researchers found that the more teachers immersed themselves in restorative practices, the better students rated their relationships with these teachers. And the strong relationships in turn linked to a greater sense of respect between teacher and student and fewer disciplinary referrals.

Given these findings, it's perhaps unsurprising that restorative practices are popular with students. In fact, at least some teens and kids adopt the techniques for their own use. A 2016 study from researchers from the University of Maine at Farmington and University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign discovered that many students liked restorative circles so much that they used circles as alternatives to fights in out-of-class disputes.

However, further study is needed to explore all of the possible effects. For example, supporters of restorative justice sometimes tout its potential to reduce racial disparities in discipline. Recently, Gregory and several colleagues studied suspension data from a Colorado school district to explore that question. They found that schools employing restorative responses to disciplinary problems issued fewer out-of-school suspensions than those without such interventions. Yet restorative justice did not, in fact, alter the fact that black students receive disproportionately more suspensions. Additional research will be needed to suss out why.

One factor that co-author Yolanda Anyon, an assistant professor at the University of Denver School of Social Work, flags is that schools implement restorative justice in various ways. "What's happening that's unfortunate is that restorative justice is being seen as just an alternative to suspension," she says.

Instead, because restorative justice is really, fundamentally, meant to entail a shift in mindsets, it's a substantial investment of time and energy. "People at every level of the school community need to be on board and fully immersed in both the practice and philosophy of restorative justice," Gregory says. Or as Evans points out: "We define restorative justice as a shift in culture. We don't change culture quickly."

This story about restorative justice was produced by The Hechinger Report, a nonprofit, independent news organization focused on inequality and innovation in education. Sign up for the Hechinger newsletter.