The Theoretical Perspective of Restorative Justice as a Bullying Intervention: Evidence from a UK Population

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Abstract

Bullying is a significant problem faced by all schools in the UK, with a negative impact on all involved. Interventions based on Restorative Justice are currently used by a number of schools in the UK to tackle bullying. The theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention suggests that victims, bullies, bully/victims and nonbullies/nonvictims differ according to how they manage feelings of shame in response to causing harm and according to their feelings about school. In addition, it argues that the use of Restorative Justice interventions can reduce these differences helping those involved to manage their feelings of shame adaptively and feel supported by the school community.

This research aimed to test the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention. A mixed methodology was used, with each strand focusing on a distinct component. In the first strand a questionnaire was completed by 222 pupils (aged between 12 and 14 years), which gathered information on bullying behaviour, shame management and variables associated with feelings about school. This was subjected to statistical analysis to explore differences between the bullying groups on these measures. In the second strand semi-structured interviews were completed with 8 pupils (aged between 12 and 15 years) who had taken part in a Restorative Justice mediation in response to a bullying incident. A thematic analysis was completed on this data to consider the outcomes of the intervention from the

pupils' perspective and whether this was commensurate with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice.

The results of the questionnaire supported the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice, with differences found between the different bullying groups in terms of shame management and feelings about school. Interviews with pupils who had experienced the interviews, however, suggested that the intervention was not working as predicted by the theoretical perspective. Pupils were not experiencing shifts in shame management and feelings as part of the school community as a result of the intervention. Although not working as suggested by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice, interviews with the participants did identify positive outcomes for those involved, with the majority reporting that the bullying stopped after the intervention. It is argued, that if carefully monitored, bullying interventions based on Restorative Justice could offer a different perspective for managing bullying situations in schools.

Declaration and word count

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Signed: ...Alexis Phillips...........................

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the research study. It will begin by describing the research context within which this study was undertaken. It will then consider the main theme of the study, bullying, both nationally and locally, before outlining the relevance of this research area to the profession of Educational Psychology. Finally, it will give an overview of the structure of this thesis, briefly summarising the subject of each of the chapters.

1.2 Research Context

This research has been conducted as part of the 'Professional Doctorate in Educational, Child and Adolescent Psychology' at the Institute of Education, University of London. As part of this qualification, a piece of research must be completed that makes a significant contribution to the profession of Educational Psychology. This research is completed whilst students are employed as Trainee Educational Psychologists in a Local Authority in Years 2 and 3 of the course. The research must be completed within this time period (the equivalent of 1 year and 8 months) and around one day per week throughout this period is available to complete the research. This research study took place in a Local Authority situated in the South East of England.

1.3   Bullying

1.3.1   National Context

Bullying is often described as unprovoked aggressive behaviour or intentional harm, which is carried out repeatedly and over a period of time, in an interpersonal relationship consisting of an imbalance of power. It is widely accepted as a problem faced by children and young people in schools throughout the UK. As a result of this, in 2007, the government identified tackling bullying in our schools as a key priority, with the launch of their "Safe to Learn" guidance materials (DCSF, 2007). This guidance advises schools to implement anti-bullying strategies and interventions in order to both prevent and react to bullying incidents. It suggests that sanctions should be used to hold bullies to account for their behaviour, to recognise the harm they have caused and to learn from this experience. In addition, the Education and Inspections Act (2006) places a legal duty on schools to include measures within their behaviour policy that encourage good behaviour and respect for others and prevent all forms of bullying.

Schools in the UK are therefore faced with a statutory duty to implement anti-bullying interventions, however, there is little clarity over the outcomes of different anti-bullying approaches and how they should be used. Schools are therefore faced with a lack of evidence in order to make informed choices about bullying interventions. There is also a lack of consensus and understanding of the range of factors that underpin bullying behaviour. It is therefore important that research continues to

look at the phenomenon of bullying and to explore the use and effectiveness of anti-bullying interventions.

1.3.2 Local Context

This research took place within a mainstream secondary school in a Local Authority in the South East of England. In line with the wider national agenda, this Local Authority has identified anti-bullying as a local priority, publishing an Anti-Bullying Strategy. This strategy emphasises the importance of schools employing effective anti-bullying interventions and the role of the Local Authority in supporting and advising schools in developing and implementing interventions. Part of the support provided to schools by the Local Authority includes free training and ongoing support in implementing bullying interventions based on Restorative Justice. Restorative Justice is an alternative approach to anti-social behaviour, placing an emphasis on repairing the harm caused rather than causing further harm through blame and punishment. This approach has had some positive evaluations in research studies and embraces some of the key principles identified as essential to delivering effective bullying interventions. As a result this approach is specifically recommended by the Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF, 2007). There are, however, gaps in the evidence base at both a theoretical and practical level in terms of its use as a bullying intervention. As a result of its relevance to the national and local context and the promising signs shown from initial evaluation studies, this anti-bullying intervention was chosen as the focus for this study.

1.4 Bullying and the Role of the Educational Psychologist

Educational Psychologists have a key role to play in supporting schools tackling bullying and individual children who are involved in bullying. This is particularly relevant since the Every Child Matters agenda was introduced in 2003. This agenda focuses education and children's services on helping children to achieve five outcomes: being healthy, staying safe, enjoying and achieving, achieving economic well being, and making a positive contribution. As part of children's services, Educational Psychologists are committed to supporting children to achieve the five outcomes, and given that involvement in bullying has been shown to have a negative impact on mental health, safety and attainment, this will include work supporting children and schools experiencing bullying. This work can take place at a number of levels. A significant proportion of the work of an Educational Psychologist is with individual children with Special Educational Needs. Given the links between having Special Educational Needs and experiencing bullying (DCSF, 2008), it is likely that a number of children who work with Educational Psychologists will also be experiencing bullying. In addition, Educational Psychologists are increasingly working systemically within schools, at the whole class and organisational level. This work can include training and advice in implementing whole-school anti bullying interventions. Indeed, in the anti-bullying strategy within the Local Authority where this research takes place, Educational Psychologists are identified as a key role partner in supporting schools in this area. In addition, a recent textbook on the profession of Educational Psychology

included a whole chapter on bullying (Frederickson, Miller, & Cline, 2008) and there are numerous reports of Educational Psychologists supporting schools to deliver bullying interventions (for example, Elliott & Faupel, 1997; Luiselli, Putnam, Handler, & Feinberg, 2005; Young, 1998; Young & Holdorf, 2003).

It is clear therefore that bullying is a problem at both a national and local level, and is of relevance to the role of the Educational Psychologist. This study aims to make a professional contribution to Educational Psychology by providing additional evidence to increase the understanding of factors associated with bullying behaviour and to evaluate the outcomes of a specific bullying intervention based on Restorative Justice.

1.5   Structure of Thesis

This thesis is divided into five chapters, as follows:

- Chapter 1: Introduction (this chapter). This chapter introduces the study and provides an overview of the key topic area, describing its relevance to the profession of Educational Psychology.
- Chapter 2: Literature Review. This chapter provides a review of the relevant literature and identifies the research questions that are the focus of this study.
- Chapter 3: Methodology. This chapter outlines the methodology employed to answer the research questions posed in light of the literature review in Chapter 2. It includes sections on the

worldview adopted by the study and the methods of data collection and analysis used.

- Chapter 4: Results. This chapter reports the results of the study.

- Chapter 5: Discussion. This chapter discusses the results of the study in light of the research identified in the literature review and other relevant studies. It responds to the research questions and aims of the study and discusses the implications for practice (for both schools and Educational Psychologists), the methodological limitations of the study and makes suggestions for future research.

1.6   Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has presented an introduction to this study, reviewing both the national and local context and the relevance of this research area to the profession of Educational Psychology. It has argued that research into the use of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention is a priority both nationally and within the local context where this study takes place. In addition it has described how increasing the knowledge base in this area is of significance to the profession of Educational Psychology. The next chapter will review the literature of relevance to this study, and provide more detailed evidence of the problem of bullying in the UK and the need for further research in this area.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review will present an evaluation of some of the key research relevant to this study, with the aim of providing a critical review of current knowledge and understanding, and developing a justification for the focus of the study. It will begin by defining school bullying and describing its impact. It will then provide an overview of the proposed causes of bullying and research into school bullying interventions. Finally, consideration will be given specifically to the theoretical background and current use of bullying interventions based on Restorative Justice.

2.2 The Phenomenon of School Bullying

2.2.1 Definition

The definition of bullying is widely accepted in published research as unprovoked aggressive behaviour or intentional harm, which is carried out repeatedly and over a period of time, in an interpersonal relationship consisting of an imbalance of power (Farrington, 1993; Olweus, 1999; P. K. Smith & Sharp, 1994). Following on from this definition bullying therefore does not include a conflict between two or more persons of equal physical or mental strength. Bullying can take a number of forms and researchers make a distinction between direct forms of bullying, such as physical or verbal attacks, and indirect bullying such as aggression through a third person and social exclusion, which includes

damage to someone's peer relationships, self-esteem and social status (Olweus, 1999; Underwood, 2002). Bullying through the medium of technology (e.g. text messages and emails) is now recognised as a distinct form of bullying known as cyber bullying (DCSF, 2007; P. K. Smith et al., 2008). Bullying can take place in a range of contexts. The focus of this research, and therefore this literature review, is bullying between pupils within a school context.

This study will adopt the widely accepted research definition of bullying described in the previous paragraph, focusing on pupil to pupil bullying in a school context. This definition was selected as it is widely accepted and allows this research to sit as part of the wider body of research in this area. In addition it provides a framework for identifying bullying behaviour which can be applied in practice. However, whilst it is widely used and accepted, the research definition of bullying is not without limitations. Firstly, research suggests that there are differences between the research definition of bullying and that held by teachers and in particular pupils. Pupils tend to focus on the more obvious types of bullying, such as direct physical and verbal abuse, and do not include indirect forms of bullying, and the intentional and repetitive aspects of bullying behaviour in their definitions (Madsen, 1997; Naylor, Cowie, Cossin, de Bettencourt, & Lemme, 2006). This has methodological implications when collecting information from pupils on bullying as they may be using a different definition of bullying to the researcher. Secondly, the concepts used within the research definition of bullying (for

example, "intentional" and "repeatedly") are not rigorously defined and are therefore open to interpretation (P. K. Smith, 2004). This brings a degree of subjectivity to the definition when applied in practice.

2.2.2 Incidence

In the early '90s the problem of school bullying first became a key issue on the UK educational agenda, with survey results revealing the prevalence of school bullying (P. K. Smith, 1999). Since then research has continued to confirm the widely accepted view that bullying takes place in all schools in the UK. In the first large-scale survey of bullying in the UK, 27 percent of primary and 10 percent of secondary school pupils reported being bullied 'sometimes' or 'more frequently', and 12 percent of primary and 6 percent of secondary school pupils reported taking part in bullying 'sometimes' or 'more frequently' (Whitney & Smith, 1993). Since this time numerous large and small scale studies have measured the prevalence of bullying in schools in the UK. These studies produce varying prevalence levels, for example analysis of a sample of these studies found victimisation levels ranging from 30% to 51% in primary settings, and from 7% to 28% in secondary settings (Glover, Gough, Johnson, & Cartwright, 2000; Oliver & Candappa, 2003; Wolke, Woods, Bloomfield, & Karstadt, 2000; Woods & Wolke, 2003; YJB, 2004). These differences are not surprising given that the studies use a range of methodologies, samples and definitions of bullying and take place in different settings with varying contexts. Of importance is the fact that these studies show that bullying is a widespread and continuing problem

faced in UK schools. In addition, bullying can be viewed as a *"universal problem"* (Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004, p. 246), with research demonstrating that it takes place in countries throughout the world (see P. K. Smith et al., 1999 for an overview).

2.2.3 Impact

Bullying has been shown to have both a short and long term negative impact on both those who are victims and those who bully. For the victim bullying can lead to truanting, a lack of focus on school work, physical symptoms, difficulties sleeping, low self-esteem and isolation (Boulton, 1995; Boulton & Smith, 1994; Crick & Grotpeter, 1996; Sharp, 1995, 1996; Sharp & Thompson, 1992). In addition, in a meta-analysis of cross sectional studies measuring the association between peer victimisation and psychosocial maladjustment, Hawker and Boulton (2000) found that victims of peer aggression feel more anxious, depressed, lonely and worse about themselves in comparison to non-victims. Being a bully has been shown to be associated with anti-social, aggressive and high risk behaviours, feelings of depression and later criminal activity (Berthold & Hoover, 2000; Erling, 2002; see Stewin & Deveda, 2001 for an overview). It is clear from previous research that negative outcomes are associated with being a victim or a bully, however, it is not clear whether these are antecedents to or consequences of these roles.

2.3 Causes of Bullying

A number of different theories have been put forward to explain bullying behaviour (Frederickson et al., 2008; Rigby, 2004). The main theories will be reviewed in this section.

2.3.1 Theories of Family Influence

Family relationships have been suggested as a factor associated with bullying. Evidence suggests that bullies tend to come from families that are emotionally hostile, discipline through punitive responses and where aggression is used as a means of achieving goals within the family (Bowers, Smith, & Binney, 1994; Olweus, 1994; Rigby, 1994). In addition, children who are categorised as both bullies and victims are more likely to come from families characterised by physical abuse, domestic violence, hostility and harsh discipline (Schwartz, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 1997). On the other hand, evidence suggests that victims tend to come from over-protective families (P. K. Smith, 2004). Frederickson et al. (2008) link these findings to Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977), suggesting that bullying behaviour is learnt through modelling and reinforcement of behaviour within the family. Additional evidence of the link between family relationships and bullying behaviour, comes from research showing an association between Attachment Theory (Bowlby, 1969) and bullying. Attachment Theory highlights the importance of early caregiver-child interactions in developing future relationships. Research suggests that children with insecure attachment profiles are more likely to be bullies and victims (Perry, Hodges, & Egon, 2001). Research to

date has therefore clearly demonstrated a link between family variables and bullying behaviour. What is not clear, however, is whether bullying behaviour develops as a result of family variables or whether family variables change in response to the bullying behaviour.

2.3.2 Group Process Theories

These theories emphasise the role of the peer group and social context in the development and maintenance of bullying behaviour. Individuals are seen as influenced by the wider school ethos and to a greater extent the smaller group of peers with whom they have a closer relationship (Rigby, 2004). Research suggests that bullying often takes place and is witnessed by the wider peer group, with peers actively or passively reinforcing the bullying behaviour (Pepler & Craig, 1995). Classroom norms, that is whether a behaviour is rewarded or sanctioned by peers, has also been shown to influence pupils' bullying behaviours and attitudes (Cranham & Carroll, 2003; Roland & Galloway, 2002; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). In addition, studies have shown that pupils within the same peer group show similar levels of bullying behaviour (Esplage, Holt, & Henkel, 2003; Pelligrini, Bartini, & Brooks, 1999; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). Within this theoretical perspective bullying is viewed as a group phenomenon and there is clearly a wealth of evidence supporting this claim that bullying behaviour is related to wider peer group influences.

2.3.3 Theories of Individual Differences

Research has highlighted a number of individual differences that are related to bullying and victimisation. For example, bullies tend to be physically stronger than average, aggressive, manipulative and low in empathy (Olweus, 1993b; Sutton & Keogh, 2000) and victims tend to be physically weaker than average, introverted and have low self esteem (Maynard & Joseph, 1997; Slee & Rigby, 1993). An area of individual difference that has had considerable attention from the bullying research is social information processing. The Social Information Processing model (Crick & Dodge, 1996) suggests that social competence is associated with being able to encode and interpret social cues, evaluate the costs and benefits of different social responses, and to choose a behaviour that meets an individuals goals in a situation. Evidence suggests that biased or deficient social information processing can lead to aggression and social problems in children (Crick & Dodge, 1996). Specifically aggressive behaviour is linked to an increased attention to hostile cues in the environment, a tendency to make hostile attributions, and the selection of social responses that achieve individual goals over and above relational goals. However, an alternative view is proposed by Sutton, Smith and Swettenham (1999) who argue that bullies may actually possess advanced socio-cognitive skills. Citing evidence that links bullying to the peer group, they suggest that as it is a social aggression often occurring in groups, to be successful a bully would actually require good social skills, particularly in taking another person's perspective. They conclude by noting that bullies have good social-

cognitive skills, but may lack the moral emotions (such as shame, empathy and guilt) needed to choose pro-social behaviours.

Following on from Sutton et al. (1999), research has begun to consider individual differences in emotions and bullying behaviour. It is suggested that the moral values that guide most children's behaviour are not used to make behavioural decisions by those who bully. Studies conducted to date consistently show that aggressive children tend to lack morality and conscience, lack empathy for others, and fail to feel their victims' suffering and subsequently experience remorse (Ahmed, 2006; Arsenio & Lemerise, 2001, 2004; Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 2000). Research has consistently shown a relationship between bullying behaviour and feelings of shame and guilt as a result (Ahmed, 2001c, 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004, 2006; Menesini & Camodeca, 2008; Morrison, 2006b). Prosocial children and those not involved in bullying or victimisation tend to feel high levels of shame and guilt in response to situations where they are asked to imagine causing harm, where as bullies tend to feel significantly less guilty and ashamed in comparison. In an early study, considering the differences between bullies and victims emotional responses, Borg (1998) concludes that *"our understanding of the problem of bullying is incomplete without a consideration of the emotional feelings experienced by bullies and their victims following the bullying incident...it has very important and serious implications for the management of the problem"* (Borg, 1998, p. 442).

Research has therefore highlighted a range of factors that may contribute to the occurrence of bullying behaviour including family factors, influences from the peer group and individual differences, specifically in social-cognitive processing and emotional response. At present there is little agreement on a dominant theory and on the basis of the evidence reviewed previously it seems likely that a model recognising a range of factors will be necessary to understand the complexity of bullying behaviour. This has implications for bullying interventions, as each theoretical perspective can be linked to specific intervention approaches (Rigby, 2004). It is therefore important to continue to advance the theoretical research basis of bullying, in order to develop effective interventions. Indeed, Juvonen and Graham (2004) note that, *"Unless an interventionist has a clear theory about what causes bullying, it is difficult to avoid what has come to be called a 'laundry list' approach...a little bit of everything and not much of anything specific to the targeted behaviour"* (Juvonen & Graham, 2004, p. 249).

2.4 School Bullying Interventions

The suicides of three boys in Norway in 1983 led to the first national bullying intervention by schools, known as the 'First Bergen Project Against Bullying'. This intervention project was highly successful with results indicating that there were significant reductions (by fifty percent or more) in self-reported bully/victim problems at both eight and twenty months after the intervention began (Olweus, 1993b). The successful results of the First Bergen Project Against Bullying, combined with media

attention, raised the profile of bullying as a national issue in the UK. A large scale survey of the extent of bullying in English schools (Whitney & Smith, 1993) led to the first major school bullying intervention in the UK known as the 'Sheffield Project'. Although the dramatic reduction in bullying levels obtained in the First Bergen Project Against Bullying were not found, the results of the Sheffield Project indicated that schools can take effective action against bullying and that interventions in different schools make different impacts (Whitney, Rivers, Smith, & Sharp, 1994).

Since this time, a range of bullying interventions have been developed (reflecting the range of theoretical perspectives outlined in the previous section) and schools in the UK are currently faced with a number of options. These include traditional 'zero tolerance' approaches using sanctions and exclusions as punishment for bullying, the 'No Blame Approach/Peer Support Method' (Robinson & Maines, 1997; P. K. Smith, Howard, & Thompson, 2007), the 'Method of Shared Concern' (Pikas, 1989, 2002), peer mediation (Cowie, Naylor, Talamelli, Chauhan, & Smith, 2002), the use of bully courts (Mahdavi & Smith, 2002), and approaches based on 'Restorative Justice' (Hopkins, 2002, 2004). All of these approaches have some research evidence to support their use as a bullying intervention; however, none have been shown to consistently reduce bullying levels. Meta-evaluations of research interventions have shown relatively small reductions in levels of victimisation and little or no effect in the reduction of children bullying others (Rigby, 2004; J. D. Smith, Schneider, Smith, & Ananiadou, 2004). The significant reduction

in bullying and victimisation levels in the First Bergen Project Against Bullying have also failed to be replicated (Olweus, 2004; Roland, 1993; P. K. Smith & Sharp, 1994). Interventions tend to be evaluated on the basis of their impact on victimisation levels, however, this may not be an appropriate measure. The previous section highlighted the complexity of bullying behaviour with a range of factors proposed to account for its occurrence. In addition, research suggests that bullying roles tend to be stable over time (Ahmed, 2006; Boulton & Smith, 1994). Given the complexity of bullying and its stability over time, dramatic changes in victimisation levels may not be attainable with single interventions over short time periods. Alternatively, changes in victimisation levels may be masked by an initial increase in reported bullying in response to the introduction of a bullying intervention or transient school populations. Finally the methodologies employed to measure victimisation levels may not be reliable or valid. Correlations between the different methods available (for example, self report, peer report, teacher report, and observation) have been shown to be modest (Card, 2003, in P. K. Smith, 2004, p. 99), and given that peers tend to view each other in the same bullying and victimisation roles even when changes have occurred, peer report may be particularly vulnerable when used as a pre and post intervention measure. Attempting to prove the effectiveness of an intervention on the basis of reported victimisation levels, may therefore be an unobtainable goal.

Whilst findings have not consistently found significant reductions in levels of victimisation as a result of interventions, the substantial body of research into interventions have made some conclusions about what constitutes an effective intervention. In order to recognise the complexity of bullying behaviour described by the various causation theories, interventions should work at the individual, group and whole-school level, incorporating both preventative and reactive approaches (Frederickson et al., 2008). It is also recommended that schools take ownership of the anti-bullying work and that mechanisms are in place to ensure a sustained intervention (P. K. Smith, 2004). Finally, there is an increasing emphasis on non-punitive interventions that focus on social problem-solving approaches and involve the wider peer group. This is in recognition of the evidence base (described previously in 2.3) identifying deficits in social information processing and emotional experience, and the influence of the peer group on bullying. This is a controversial approach moving away from traditional approaches of discipline that focus on punishment used in schools and in the criminal justice system, and has been subject to criticism in the UK media (Frederickson et al., 2008). One approach that embraces the current recommendations for bullying interventions are approaches based on Restorative Justice. It is this approach that is the focus of this study and will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

2.5   Restorative Justice

2.5.1 Background and Core Principles

Restorative Justice originates from the criminal justice system, where it has been used as an intervention principally for youth offenders. Put simply, Restorative Justice is a method for dealing with crime that brings together those who have been affected by the crime (typically the offender, victim and their families) to discuss the impact of the crime and to problem-solve together in order to decide on action that will repair the harm caused (Miers, 2004; Roche, 2006). It represents a paradigm shift within the criminal justice system, emphasising restorative as opposed to retributive processes that focus on punishing the offender rather than supporting the victim (Hopkins, 2002; Roche, 2006). It has developed as an approach to criminal justice throughout the last twenty years in America, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and Europe with increasing prominence. This is evidenced in Europe by the publication of guidance around the use of Restorative Justice by the United Nations in 2000 and the commitment towards funding research into its effectiveness by the European Union (Roche, 2006). Whilst there are a range of techniques for implementing Restorative Justice, in Europe 'Conferencing' and 'Mediation' are suggested to be the most prominent (Miers, 2004). Both techniques share the same steps, with those taking part in the intervention being given the opportunity to talk with a trained facilitator about what has happened, how it has affected them, how they are feeling and how best to repair the harm that has been caused (Hopkins, 2002). However, in a conference all parties that have been affected are invited

to take part, for example the victim, offender, their friends and families, and members of the local community; whilst, in a mediation it is typically just the victim and offender (Miers, 2004).

A review of the literature indicates that an accepted definition of Restorative Justice does not exist. However, descriptions of Restorative Justice typically recognise a similar set of basic principles. An agreed fundamental principle is that when one person has harmed another it is more useful to seek to repair the harm done to the victim, than to cause further harm to the offender (Bazemore, 2001; Varnham, 2005; Wright, 1999). In addition Restorative Justice is described as an intervention that provides opportunities for victims, offenders, and community members to participate voluntarily in the justice process as early and as often as possible (Bazemore, 2001; Roche, 2006; Varnham, 2005). Finally, an emphasis is placed on the involvement of the community as a source of guidance to inform the problem-solving process and as a source of support for all parties involved, with the overall aim of successful re-integration of both the offender and the victim within their communities (Bazemore, 2001; Varnham, 2005). Although it has been pointed out that a lack of a precise definition can make evaluative research of Restorative Justice problematic (Miers, 2004), the formulation of a precise definition could undermine the practice of Restorative Justice. That is, by providing a formal framework of how it should be practised, the flexibility in practice in how it is used would be removed, and potentially its relevance to the local community.

2.5.2 Evaluation Studies

Research into the effectiveness of Restorative Justice schemes within the criminal justice system has been broadly positive (Hopkins, 2004). There is some evidence from studies in England and Australia, that Restorative Justice interventions can lead to a reduction in re-offending rates, in comparison to other methods of criminal justice (Miers et al., 2001; Sherman, Strang & Woods, 2000, in Varnham, 2005, p. 94). Post-intervention interviews with victims indicate that they tend to be satisfied with the process, valuing the opportunity to take part, have their views heard and receive an apology from the offender (see evidence reviewed in Braithwaite, 2002; Miers et al., 2001; Strang, 2000; Strang et al., 2006). Offenders have also reported satisfaction with the process (Miers et al., 2001; Strang, 2000) and changes in offender attitudes towards the victim and offending in general have been recorded pre and post intervention (Miers et al., 2001). However, some studies have recorded negative outcomes for victims, with a small proportion feeling worse after participation, finding direct contact with the offender intimidating and unsettling, and feeling that the intervention has been too lenient, expressing scepticism towards the offenders apology and motives for taking part in the intervention (see evidence reviewed in Braithwaite, 2002; Miers et al., 2001; Strang et al., 2006; Maxwell & Morris, 1993, in Varnham, 2005, p. 94). A key factor in the success of a Restorative Justice intervention, appears to be the emotions shown and shared as part of the conference. Studies have shown that it is the expression of emotions that can lead to empathy and have a wider

impact on the other people involved (Sherman, Strang, & Woods, 2000; Van Stokkom, 2002). In general, research has shown positive outcomes for Restorative Justice practice in the criminal justice system, however, researchers have noted the need for longitudinal, empirical research studies to show its long term outcomes and ensure victims are not harmed by the process (Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2006; Strang et al., 2006). In addition, it has been suggested that research exploring the emotional dynamics within a Restorative Justice conference employing a qualitative methodology is required to further understand and evaluate the process (Harris, Walgrave, & Braithwaite, 2004).

2.6 Restorative Justice and School Bullying

2.6.1 Interventions

The practice of Restorative Justice has been extended and applied in a number of settings outside the criminal justice system (Roche, 2006). An area of growing interest has been its application in school settings, where it is often used as a tool for managing bullying incidents (Hopkins, 2002; McCluskey et al., 2008; YJB, 2004). There is considerable flexibility in the methods that can be used to apply the principles of Restorative Justice within a school setting, however, in line with previous research it is recommended to be implemented as part of a whole-school approach to bullying with both preventative and reactive components (Hopkins, 2002, 2004). At a preventative level approaches include teaching problem solving, listening and communication and anger management skills through the PSHE and Citizenship curriculum, and training staff to

use restorative practices in the classroom. Restorative interventions can range from circle time and peer mediation for less serious offences, through to mediation with a staff member and formal restorative conferences for more serious offences. As in the criminal justice system, mediations involve the bully and the victim meeting with a trained facilitator, in order for both to have the chance to tell their side of the story and describe their feelings around the incident. From this, an agreement is typically made by both parties which include mechanisms in order to repair the harm caused. Restorative conferences tend to follow a similar framework, however, all parties involved in the incident are asked to attend. Evaluations of Restorative Justice interventions within school settings clearly illustrate the range of approaches taken by different schools (McCluskey et al., 2008; YJB, 2004). Whilst a range of approaches are taken by different schools, research (YJB, 2004) has identified common factors that are associated with successful Restorative Justice interventions (see Appendix 3 for a description of these).

Typically in schools, mediation has been used to deliver Restorative Justice bullying interventions. However, mediation has a broader definition and application in schools and other settings. Mediation is defined as an intervention by a third person at the invitation of the disputants to help participants reach a mutually satisfactory outcome (Rigby, 2004). Peer mediation programmes where pupils are trained to mediate disagreements between peers are often used by schools as part

of their interventions to tackle bullying (Johnson & Johnson, 1994; Houlton, Smith & Jessel, 2009; Pikas, 2002). Whilst there is some overlap between Restorative Justice mediations and mediations in general, namely that it involves the victim and offender meeting with a trained facilitator, there is an emphasis on problem solving to agree a shared solution, and that the process is voluntary; Restorative Justice mediations are based on specific principles that are not necessarily applied in broader mediations. These are the emphasis placed on repairing the harm done to the victim as part of the agreed actions of the mediation and seeking to use channels of support from the school community where possible. These principles may be applied in broader mediations however it is not a fundamental part of the intervention, whereas by definition these principles are always applied in Restorative Justice mediations.

2.6.2 Theoretical Perspective

Morrison (2006b) has proposed a model for understanding the relevance of Restorative Justice to addressing bullying behaviour in schools. This brings together, the theoretical perspectives outlined earlier in this literature review (Section 2.3) that emphasise individual differences in the experience of moral emotions and the influence of the wider peer group and school community as factors associated with bullying behaviour.

In terms of moral emotions, Morrison's (2006b) model identifies the experience and management of shame as a key variable associated with bullying behaviour. Shame can be defined as *"a painful emotion*

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characterized by the concern about the other's judgement on the self, the awareness of appearing in front of an audience in an undesired or not approved way...and is typically accompanied by a sense of shrinking or of being small, of worthlessness or powerlessness" (Menesini & Camodeca, 2008, p. 184). The hypothesised relationship of shame with bullying behaviour stems not only from the research on moral emotions and bullying described previously, but from work considering the relationship between shame and criminal behaviour (Braithwaite, 1989). This work suggests that in response to a situation where they have caused harm, most people will experience feelings of shame. Through the acknowledgement of these feelings, they will then take responsibility for their actions and seek to make amends for the harm they have caused. This is described as shame acknowledgement and is considered an adaptive way of managing feelings of shame (Ahmed, Harris, Braithwaite, & Braithwaite, 2001). In contrast, other people (often those involved in criminal behaviour) do not experience feelings of shame in response to causing harm. As a result blame is externalised and anger is directed towards others, and the perpetrator does not attempt to repair the harm caused. This is described as shame displacement and is considered a maladaptive strategy for managing feelings of shame (Ahmed et al., 2001). Morrison (2006b) applies this to bullying behaviour, arguing that bullies and bully/victims are more likely to use shame displacement strategies, whilst nonbullies/nonvictims and victims are more likely to use shame acknowledgment strategies. In other words, in the absence of feelings of shame bullies and bully/victims

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are able to engage in bullying, where as nonbullies/nonvictims and victims abstain from this behaviour or manage situations where they have caused harm more effectively because they experience feelings of shame as a result.

In addition to individual differences in experiences of shame in relation to harmful behaviour, Morrison (2006b) argues that aspects of group processes and social status are important in understanding bullying behaviour. This is supported by previous research and theoretical perspectives (Salmivalli, Lagerspetz, Bjorkqvist, Osterman, & Kaukiainen, 1996; Schuster, 1999; Tyler & Blader, 2000). In particular, Morrison (2006b) identifies three variables as measures of cooperative behaviour and social status within a community. The first is respect, which is defined as the feelings one has about their status within their group. The second is pride, which is defined as the feelings one has about the status of their own group. Finally, the third is emotional value, which represents the significance of group membership at an emotional level for an individual. Morrison (2006b) hypothesises that on the basis of variations in co-operative behaviour and social status, bullying behaviour will be associated with differences on each of these key variables.

To test this theoretical perspective of bullying, Morrison (2006b) measured bullying behaviour, shame management, respect, pride and emotional value, using a self-report questionnaire completed by 343

pupils (mean age 13.5 years) in Australia. Comparisons were made across each of the measures by bullying behaviour; that is, whether a pupil is categorised as a bully, victim, bully/victim or nonbully/nonvictim. Results indicated that nonbullies/nonvictims and victims reported higher levels of shame acknowledgement strategies, in comparison to bullies and bully/victims. Conversely, bullies and bully/victims reported higher levels of shame displacement strategies, in comparison to nonbullies/nonvictims and victims. This is in line with the results of a number of other research studies in Australia and India, which have employed similar methodologies and found the same relationship between bullying behaviour and shame management (Ahmed, 2001b, 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004, 2006). On the respect and emotional value measures, victims and bully/victims both reported significantly lower levels in comparison to the other groups. Finally, bully/victims showed significantly lower levels of pride as part of the school community. On the basis of these results, Morrison (2006b) concluded that *"the group dynamics of social status and connection to the school community, along with the management of shame following harmful behaviour to others is important to understanding and addressing the problem of bullying in schools"* (Morrison, 2006b, p. 385). The differences between bullying groups found by Morrison (2006b) indicate that interventions should incorporate mechanisms to support bullies and bully/victims to use shame acknowledgement strategies (i.e. acknowledging feelings, taking responsibility, and repairing harm), and to support victims and bully/victims to feel connected to and respected as

part of the school community. This is in line with the practice of Restorative Justice, which focuses on sharing perspectives, actively seeking to repair harm rather than attribute blame by taking responsibility for behaviour, and using wider social groups as sources of support for those involved. The theoretical perspective outlined by Morrison (2006b) has been linked to the practice of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention by a number of authors (Ahmed et al., 2001; McCluskey et al., 2008; Morrison, 2006a; Rigby, 2004). In this study therefore, Morrison's (2006b) model will be referred to as the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice, with specific reference to the context of school bullying. The use of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention, within this theoretical perspective, suggests a number of specific outcomes for those involved in the interventions, namely:

- Acknowledgement of feelings around the bullying incident;
- Taking responsibility for behaviour;
- Making amends for any harm caused;
- Feeling supported as part of the school community.

Proponents of this perspective and its relevance to bullying interventions, suggest that these outcomes are achieved in the intervention through increased understanding of the other person's perspective and the development of empathy.

The theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice is not without its critics. In an evaluation of the use of Restorative Justice in schools in Scotland, McCluskey et al. (2008) question the relevance of the theoretical

perspective of Restorative Justice. Firstly, they argue that the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice places too much emphasis on one variable (shame) as the key factor in understanding bullying and as such focuses on individual differences rather than wider systemic factors, such as school culture or wider peer group influences. However, whilst an emphasis is placed on shame management at an individual level, proponents of this theoretical perspective consider this factor within the context of other factors associated with bullying. For example, as detailed previously Morrison (2006b) has included an analysis of feelings as part of the school community within this perspective and Ahmed (2001c) has considered shame as a mediating variable linked to a wide range of other factors, clearly stating that *"bullying is a complex phenomenon and cannot be explained by only one or two constructs or measures"* (Ahmed, 2001c, p. 227). This criticism therefore seems unfounded. The second criticism made by McCluskey et al. (2008) is that some vulnerable pupils (e.g. victims) may be susceptible to feelings of shame and be more likely to take responsibility for harmful behaviour that they have not caused. Although not clearly stipulated in the article, it seems that the suggestion is that intervening using Restorative Justice principles may encourage these pupils to acknowledge shame for the harmful behaviour, rather than the other person involved (e.g. the bully) taking responsibility for the harm caused. This argument is, however, central to the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice. This perspective recognises that victims tend to acknowledge shame in response to harmful behaviour and therefore intervention aims to support

these pupils in managing these feelings and taking appropriate levels of responsibility. However, given that research suggests bullies and bully/victims tend to displace shame and blame others, McCluskey et al. (2008) are right to raise concern that victims may take on too much responsibility for the harm they have experienced within this intervention. However, rather than discount the relevance of the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice, this argument reinforces why it is important to be aware of the potential differences between bullies and victims in terms of how they respond emotionally to harmful behaviour, so that these can be taken into consideration when intervening.

The theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice offers a different way of understanding and intervening in school bullying incidents. Whilst there is some promising research identifying significant differences between the different bullying groups and their shame management styles, which lends support for this theoretical perspective, more evidence is required to draw definitive conclusions. Specifically, further replication of the findings are required using measures with different samples (e.g. ages and cultures), in order to generalise the links between shame management and bullying (Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004). In addition, whilst differences in shame management have been considered across different bullying behaviours, studies have not considered an analysis of differences within each bullying group. That is, whilst victims, for example, may use increased levels of shame acknowledgement strategies in comparison to bullies, there is no

evidence that this means they use increased levels of shame acknowledgement in comparison to levels of shame displacement. According to Morrison's (2006b) model it would be expected that nonbullies/nonvictims and victims would use higher levels of shame acknowledgement in comparison to shame displacement; bullies would show the converse pattern; and in their roles as bullies and victims, bully/victims would employ both strategies and therefore a difference would not be expected between their shame acknowledgement and shame displacement levels.

2.6.3 Evaluation Studies

The growth in the use of Restorative Justice as an intervention in school for bullying and other anti-social behaviour has naturally resulted in studies to evaluate these interventions in practice. The largest of these to date was undertaken by the UK's National Youth Justice Board in 2004. This evaluation included 26 schools (20 secondary and 6 primary) across 9 different local authorities, and was conducted over a three year period with a substantial sample. In each of the local authorities an additional school was selected that was not employing a Restorative Justice intervention to act as a comparison. Questionnaires designed to measure school bullying levels were completed prior to the intervention and again two years later. Questionnaires that measured staff perceptions of in school behaviour were also completed pre and post intervention. In addition, interviews were completed with pupils who had taken part in a restorative conference, with facilitators and supporters

who had attended the conferences and with key stakeholders. Pupil evaluations of the conferences were largely positive, with 92% resulting in a successful agreement between parties, 89% of pupils satisfied with the conference outcome and 93% feeling that the process had been fair and just. In addition, staff perceptions of behaviour improved significantly post-intervention, when considered against results from the comparison school. However, there were no significant differences in terms of bullying levels pre and post intervention, between the programme and comparison schools. Although as argued previously this measure may lack reliability and validity for a number of reasons.

Other smaller evaluation studies have generally supported the positive findings of the National Youth Justice Board study. Interviews with participants (both pupils and facilitators) of Restorative Justice conferences reported in a number of studies suggest that the majority of respondents view the intervention as positive, reporting high satisfaction levels with the process and the outcomes (Burssens & Vettenburg, 2006; Cameron & Thorsborne, 1999; Morrison, 2006a; Shaw, 2007; Varnham, 2005). In addition, victims report feeling safer after a Restorative Justice conference, with all involved feeling supported and respected throughout the intervention (Burssens & Vettenburg, 2006; Cameron & Thorsborne, 1999; Morrison, 2006a; Varnham, 2005). Finally, on the basis of interviews with participants, a number of studies have reported that pupils tend to maintain the agreements made as part of the conference and re-offending rates are low (Burssens & Vettenburg, 2006; Cameron

& Thorsborne, 1999; Morrison, 2006a; Varnham, 2005). The importance of a whole-school approach when implementing a Restorative Justice intervention has also been highlighted as a success factor in these studies. On the whole, therefore evaluations of Restorative Justice interventions have been positive. In a review of a pilot project in Scotland, McCluskey et al. (2008), however, identify a number of complications when implementing a Restorative Justice approach in schools. These include the investment in time required from school staff; the length of time required to embed the intervention and create a wider shift in the school ethos (between 3 and 10 years); and difficulties applying an intervention from the criminal justice system to a school community. Specifically, McCluskey et al. (2008) point out that the language of 'victim' and 'offender' used traditionally in the intervention can criminalise individual pupils. In addition, the use of an intervention that is based on a contrasting set of values to traditional notions of punishment that exist in society and in schools in the UK, can lead to conflicting systems and resistance. Further to this, unlike victims and offenders in the criminal justice system, pupils have a previous and ongoing relationship as part of the school community, which can make it difficult to identify a clear victim and bully and poses greater challenges for facilitators when intervening and for pupils when maintaining agreements after the intervention (Morrison, Blood, & Thorsborne, 2005). Evaluation studies of Restorative Justice bullying interventions conducted to date, have a number of limitations. Firstly they have tended to focus on the more observable, reactive elements of

Restorative Justice interventions, mainly Restorative Justice conferences. In addition, they have also focused on their effectiveness for all anti-social behaviour, rather than looking specifically at bullying. The methodology employed in these studies is not always clearly stated, however, it appears that structured interviews are often used across large samples, using rating scales. These rating scales are fairly one dimensional and could lead participants to overly positive evaluations, particularly younger pupils who are susceptible to trying to 'please' the person giving the interview (Robson, 2002). They also do not provide pupils with the flexibility of inductively expressing their views without pre-defined responses or constraints on their answers. There do not appear to be any studies that have captured pupils' views and experiences of the intervention using a qualitative methodology and detailed qualitative analysis. As with many bullying intervention evaluation studies, larger studies have tended to focus on quantitative outcomes, such as bullying levels. However, as argued previously in this literature review, this may not be a realistic outcome and specifically for Restorative Justice it ignores the other outcomes suggested as part of its theoretical perspective (i.e. acknowledging feelings, taking responsibility, developing empathy, and repairing the harm caused). These outcomes are particularly relevant to individual pupils' views as they focus on internal shifts in perspectives and feelings. Indeed, a number of authors have recommended that research focus on the processes involved in Restorative Justice interventions, employing qualitative methodologies to explore the psychological changes and individual outcomes of those

taking part in the intervention (Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004; Beven, Hall, Froyland, Steels, & Goulding, 2005; Harris et al., 2004; Presser & Van Voorhis, 2002).

2.7 Conclusions from Literature Review and Research Questions

Reviewing the literature related to bullying and the use of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention leads to a number of key conclusions, namely:

- Bullying is a universal problem that is prevalent in schools throughout the UK. Research suggests that involvement in bullying (as a victim or bully) has both a short and long term negative impact. It is therefore a significant issue in our schools;

- Research has identified a number of factors that are associated with the occurrence of bullying. Theories about the causation of bullying are important in order to design and implement effective bullying interventions;

- Schools are faced with a range of bullying interventions, however research has not demonstrated that interventions are effective in significantly reducing bullying levels. However, it has been argued in this literature review that significant changes in victimisation levels may be unobtainable within a research context due to a range of factors;

- Morrison (2006b) has proposed a model of bullying that supports the use of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention. This theory impacts on the practice of Restorative Justice in schools,

however, whilst there is some evidence to support this perspective, this needs to be generalised to other cultures and populations before wider conclusions can be generated;

- Evaluations of Restorative Justice interventions are broadly positive. These interventions tend to focus on restorative conferences and are used for a range of anti-social behaviours, rather than just considering bullying. Evaluations tend to use quantitative pre and post victimisation levels and structured interviews with large numbers of participants, resulting in a quantitative analysis using rating scales. There is a lack of understanding about the actual processes occurring and outcomes as a result from pupils' perspectives. Specifically, there is a lack of evidence for the outcomes of the intervention suggested by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice (i.e. that it will help those involved acknowledge feelings, take responsibility, repair harm caused, develop understanding and empathy for the other person, and feel supported by the wider school community).

On the basis of these conclusions, the research questions for this study were generated. The main research question for this study is as follows:

Is there evidence to support the theoretical perspective of restorative justice as a bullying intervention?

This question was posed as there is a lack of evidence for the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice in the UK population. Firstly, the differences observed between nonbullies/nonvictims, victims, bullies and bully/victims, in terms of shame management and feelings about the school community have not been generalised to the UK population. Secondly, there is a lack of research considering the outcomes predicted by the Restorative Justice theoretical perspective, when used in practice as a bullying intervention. Evaluation studies have focused on quantitative measures and rating scales, rather than considering the outcomes described by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice. Given interventions based on Restorative Justice are used in the UK, it seems important to establish whether the theoretical perspective on which it is based has relevance to the UK population. Evidence from the UK population is required from both theoretical and practical perspectives. The main research question will therefore be addressed by two research questions which consider both the theoretical and practical aspects of this intervention:

1) Does bullying behaviour relate to shame management and feelings about the school community?

2) What are the outcomes of the intervention and are these outcomes commensurate with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice?

It should be noted that when conducting this literature review, it was clear that for both Restorative Justice bullying interventions, and other bullying interventions, there is a lack of longitudinal research considering their impact using a range of controlled pre and post measures with comparison groups. This is a clear gap in the research that needs to be addressed. However, it was beyond the scope of this research, given the timescales involved. This was particularly relevant to Restorative Justice interventions given that research suggests the intervention needs between 3-10 years to become embedded as part of whole-school practice (McCluskey et al., 2008).

Connected to the research questions posed as a result of this literature review are specific research aims. For sub-research question 1, the aim of the research is to test whether evidence found in support of the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice can be generalised to the UK population. For sub-research question 2, the aim of the research is to identify the outcomes of a bullying intervention based on Restorative Justice and to evaluate whether these outcomes support the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice. The over-arching aim of the study is to identify the value of the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice in terms of understanding and intervening in bullying situations, with a specific focus on its relevance to the profession of Educational Psychology.

2.8   Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has provided a literature review of key research in the field of bullying, with a particular focus on Restorative Justice approaches, the theory that underpins this and its application in practice within a school context as a bullying intervention. Through discussion of this literature, it has become clear that research is needed to test whether the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice applies to the UK population and to evaluate whether the link between the theoretical perspective and the outcomes of the intervention in practice are justifiable. This has wider implications for the application of effective bullying interventions in our schools. In light of these conclusions, research questions and their associated aims have been posed at the end of this chapter, in order to address the gap in evidence, from both a theoretical and practical perspective, for the use of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention in UK schools. The next chapter will outline the methodology used to answer these research questions and to meet the aims of the study.

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a review of the literature, leading to the formation of two research questions posed to address a wider research issue. This chapter will outline the methodology used to answer these research questions. It will begin by outlining the philosophical framework and assumptions underpinning the research, before describing the research design and methods of data collection. It will then provide an overview of the participants and procedure used in the study. Finally, it will outline the methods of analysis, including information on the construction of measures used in the study.

3.2 Preliminary Considerations

3.2.1 Philosophical Framework and Assumptions

The research world view describes the underlying philosophical assumptions that guide the researcher. It is important that these assumptions are made explicit as they have implications for the research design and the methods used to collect data, providing a foundation for the inquiry (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007, p. 82). Traditionally research has been viewed within two distinct worldviews, the quantitative and qualitative research paradigms. The quantitative paradigm is based on positivism, arguing that there is an objective reality that exists independent of human perception, that can be investigated independently by the researcher through the measurement and analysis

of specific variables (Sale, Lohfeld, & Brazil, 2002). Contrastingly, the qualitative paradigm is based on interpretivism and constructivism, arguing that there are multiple socially constructed realities that can be investigated interactively by the researcher through the measurement and analysis of processes and meanings (Sale et al., 2002). Some researchers now argue for a third paradigm incorporating mixed methods, where both qualitative and quantitative methods are combined within a single study (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). The use of mixed methods has been linked to pragmatism, which argues that there are multiple realities that research can explore, with the primary focus placed on the research question and what methods will best answer the question (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007).

Before formulating the design of the study, the philosophical assumptions underpinning the research were considered. Creswell (2003) notes that the researcher's own experiences and training will impact on choices made about the research worldview. As a Trainee Educational Psychologist, problems are typically assessed and explored through the use of multiple sources of data (both qualitative and quantitative), in order to produce a best-fit view of the problem at a particular point of time and to integrate multiple perspectives (Powell, Mihalas, Onwuegbuzie, Suldo, & Daley, 2008). Training and practice draws from a range of worldviews, with psychologists using consultation approaches that emphasise the social construction of problems within an

interactionist framework, alongside standardised assessments which suggest that specific aspects of the world can be objectively measured. This background, and therefore this study, aligns with the worldview of pragmatism. Within this worldview, the research design is led by the problem being investigated and the identified purpose of the research (Creswell, 2003). The design that best answers the research question is chosen, opening up the possibilities for scientific enquiry through the use of both qualitative and quantitative methods.

3.2.2 Practical and Ethical Considerations

The previous section noted that design decisions would be led by identifying methods to best understand the research problem and fulfil the purpose of the research. These design decisions, however, need to take into account practical and ethical considerations that can impact on the research options available.

In terms of practical considerations, as described previously the study was subject to time constraints. This timescale was taken into consideration when designing the research, specifically when making choices about data collection methods.

The guidelines provided for ethical approval by the British Psychological Society (BPS, 2004) were used to identify any ethical issues raised by

the research[1]. The majority of ethical issues were easily incorporated into the research design: including, gaining informed consent from participants to take part; informing participants of their right to withdraw; maintaining the anonymity and confidentiality of participants; debriefing participants; and informing participants of channels of in school support for bullying issues. In contrast, the requirement to collect parental consent for children to participate in the research had a significant impact on the research design (see section 3.3.1 for further discussion of this). An additional ethical consideration of this research was the potential for pupils to disclose that they were victims of or causing harm to others through bullying throughout the research process. To ensure the protection of these pupils, the research design incorporated opportunities to inform pupils that any disclosures of harm experienced by them or caused by them would be shared with a teacher and that they would be informed if this was felt necessary by the researcher.

3.3 Design

The previous section outlined the preliminary considerations that were taken into account when designing the study, namely:

- Using the research question and purpose of the research to lead design decisions within the worldview of pragmatism;

- Evaluating the potential use of both quantitative and qualitative methods within this framework;

- Meeting ethical standards within the research design; and

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[1] Ethical approval for the research was granted by the Psychology and Human Development Department, Institute of Education, University of London.

- Producing a design that could be implemented in practice.

The following section will review the research problem and purposes of the research and show how these are linked to the research methodology chosen, before outlining the overall design.

3.3.1 Research Problem and Research Methodology

The research problem identified, through the literature review in Chapter 2, is that there is a lack of evidence for the theoretical perspective supporting the use of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention, despite the use of this intervention in schools. The evidence that does exist is for populations outside of the UK and research has not explored the effectiveness of the interventions, in light of the outcomes suggested by this theoretical framework. This research problem led to the formation of a main research question: Is there evidence to support the theoretical perspective of restorative justice as a bullying intervention? This main research question was broken down into two sub-research questions to address the need to not only test the findings in support of this theoretical perspective on a UK population, but to explore the outcomes proposed by this perspective in practice: these questions are 1) Does bullying behaviour relate to shame management and feelings about the school community?, and 2) What are the outcomes of the intervention and are these outcomes commensurate with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice? These research questions will now be considered in turn, to describe the purpose of the question and how this linked to the methodology chosen.

Research Question 1: Does bullying behaviour relate to shame management and feelings about the school community?

The purpose of this part of the study is to test the theory of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention on a UK population. This theory relates bullying behaviour to shame management and feelings about the school community. This research question is theory driven, concerned with testing the relationship between pre-specified variables to see whether this could be extended to the UK population. The method chosen therefore needed to measure these variables at a specific point in time, across a sample large enough to say something about the wider UK population, and be in line with methodologies employed by similar studies to allow for comparison of findings. Theory driven research, focusing on relationships between variables with the aim of saying something about a wider population is linked to the quantitative paradigm (Creswell, 2003; Robson, 2002). In line with this, previous research in the area (Ahmed, 2001b, 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2006; Morrison, 2006b), has used quantitative methods to address this research question. To best address the research question and purpose, a quantitative approach was therefore employed.

Research Question 2: What are the outcomes of the intervention and are these outcomes commensurate with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice?

This part of the research study was concerned with exploring the outcomes of the Restorative Justice bullying intervention and considering whether they were in line with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice. The outcomes identified by this perspective focus on changes to the individuals involved in the intervention such as acknowledging their own feelings, taking responsibility for their own behaviour, and making amends. These changes are proposed to occur through the process of the intervention, supporting pupils to gain a greater understanding of the other person's perspective, empathise with the other person and feel supported by the wider school community. The outcomes are therefore centred on the processes within the intervention and the viewpoints of the individuals involved. The purpose of this aspect of the study was to explore the intervention within a local context, in order to consider the theoretical perspective in practice. Its aim was to provide a richer interpretation of this perspective, through exploration of the proposed outcomes with individuals involved in the intervention. A focus on the local context, and on views and processes are key features of the qualitative paradigm (Creswell, 2003; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007), and therefore a qualitative approach to this research question was used.

As mentioned previously, to meet ethical standards it was important for parental consent to be gained for pupils to take part in the research. This was problematic with the sample required for the second sub-research question. The most obvious way to explore any changes in pupils' views as a result of the intervention would be to capture their views before and after the intervention. However, as this population is not predictable (we do not know who will take part in the intervention in advance) parental consent would need to be captured between the bullying incident and the intervention. In practice, there is typically a short time frame between the incident and the intervention (as little as one day), therefore it would be unlikely that parental consent would be gained within this time frame, particularly given the time limitations associated with this research. An alternative approach would have been to obtain blanket consent from parents in a particular year group, in the hope that there would be an overlap between those children for whom consent was given and those who would subsequently take part in the intervention. However, it was felt that this would significantly limit the sample size involved. In addition, there were concerns that pre and post interviews may interfere with the process of the intervention itself, potentially contaminating the effects of the intervention positively or negatively. It was therefore decided, in light of the practical and ethical constraints, that the children's view of the intervention would be collected post-intervention only, as this provided sufficient time and a target population for which to gain parental consent. However, it should be noted that this is a less effective design, relying on

the children's retrospective recall of their experience and any changes as a result.

3.3.2 Mixed Methods

Consideration of the two research sub-questions indicated that both quantitative and qualitative methods should be combined within one study, in order to best answer each sub-question and meet the purposes of the research. The use of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies within one study is referred to as a mixed methods research design (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). The rationale behind using a mixed methods design is that it provides a better understanding of research problems than either a quantitative or qualitative approach alone. In addition, mixed methods designs are increasingly being employed in school based psychological research studies, including bullying research (Powell et al., 2008). A comparison of quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods studies in the field of bullying, concluded that *"mixed methods techniques can greatly improve the quality of inferences made in school psychological research, compared to monomethod studies"* (Powell et al., 2008, p. 305).

In this study, the purpose behind the design can be described as expansion (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989), using a mixed methodology to expand the breadth and range of the study by using different methods for distinct but related research components. This allows both sub-research questions to be addressed and the results from

both to be combined to address the main research question, considering both patterns within a general population and processes within a local context. Thus giving a richer answer to the main research question. Leech and Onwuegbuzie's (2009) three-dimensional typology, consisting of level of mixing, time orientation and emphasis of approaches, provides a framework for formulating a mixed methods design (described in Powell et al., 2008, p. 295). In terms of level of mixing, in this study the quantitative and qualitative strands will be partially mixed, with mixing occurring at the final interpretation stage in order to address the main research question. As each sub-research question has a distinct focus, the results of each did not need to be mixed at points throughout the research process. However, mixing of the results at the interpretation stage allows the two distinct strands to come together to address the main research question. In terms of time orientation, the quantitative and qualitative strands will be concurrent occurring at approximately the same time. As they are focusing on distinct research questions and the results from one will not inform the information collected in the other, the strands do not need to be sequential. Finally, in terms of the emphasis of approaches both strands are viewed as equal in status. The results from the quantitative strand, for example, are not viewed as more important in answering the main research question. Both qualitative and quantitative strands provide answers to distinct but related research components, and the design and tools used assumes that both strands are of equal validity and power in terms of the research questions they are addressing.

3.3.3 Design overview

In summary, this study examines the evidence supporting the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention. It consists of two distinct parts. The first part uses a quantitative approach as it aims to examine the relationship between bullying behaviour, and shame management and feelings as part of the school community, across a sample large enough to test findings found in previous studies. The second part uses a qualitative approach as it aims to explore the views of pupils post-intervention and to evaluate their concurrence with the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice at a local level. The two strands are related but represent distinct parts of the research. As such they were collected concurrently, with the results mixed at the interpretation stage in order to address the main research question at a broader theoretical level and in practice.

3.4 Methods of Data Collection

As the quantitative and qualitative strands of the research each focus on distinct concepts, the methods used to collect the data in order to answer each research question were designed independently.

3.4.1 Research Question 1: Does bullying behaviour relate to shame management and feelings about the school community?

This question aimed to explore whether bullying groups (bullies, victims, nonbullies/nonvictims and bully/victims) differ across five variables (respect, pride, emotional value, shame acknowledgement and shame

displacement). It was concerned with testing the results found in previous studies (Ahmed, 2001b, 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2006; Morrison, 2006b) with a UK population. It was therefore important to use similar methods of data collection in order to replicate the previous studies. All of these studies have used self-report questionnaires as a means of collecting data across these different variables. This was evaluated as a suitable data collection method as it allows data to be collected using standardised questions across a large sample, in a relatively short time frame (Robson, 2002). In addition anonymous self report questionnaires are commonly used as the preferred method to gather information on the nature and extent of school bullying (Olweus, 1993a; Rigby, Smith, & Pepler, 2004; P. K. Smith, 1999) and are viewed as producing the most reliable data on bullying behaviour in large surveys (Ahmad, Whitney, & Smith, 1991).

The final design of the questionnaire was informed by a pilot study. In the pilot study, 30 pupils from a population comparable to that used in the main study completed a draft questionnaire (17 female, 15 male, mean age 12.5 years), with 10 of the pupils taking part in a post-completion discussion in order to review the questionnaire in more detail. Where changes were made to the final survey as a result of the pilot study, this will be referred to in the following overview of the questionnaire with the reasons for these changes. In general, the pilot study indicated that the questionnaire was straight forward to complete

and interpreted by respondents as anticipated. A copy of the final questionnaire is in Appendix 1.

To determine the respondents' bullying group, items from the Peer Relations Questionnaire (Rigby & Slee, 1993) were used. Bullying was measured using two questions: (1) 'How often have you been part of a group that bullied someone during the last year?', and (2) 'How often have you on your own bullied someone during the last year?' Victimisation was measured using one question: (1) 'How often have you been bullied by another student or group of students during the last year?' For both the bullying and victimisation questions response options included 'never', 'once or twice', 'sometimes', 'about once a week', and 'several times a week'. A definition of bullying was included prior to these questions in order to make it clear what types of behaviour were viewed as bullying within this study. This is particularly important given the evidence that pupils often have different definitions of bullying (Madsen, 1997; Naylor et al., 2006). The definition provided was based on the definition used in the first major UK survey of bullying (Whitney & Smith, 1993). In addition, behaviours that would be considered as cyberbullying were included in the definition, in response to research studies showing its prevalence in the UK (P. K. Smith et al., 2008).It includes aspects of the commonly accepted research definition, including that it is an aggressive behaviour, that can be carried out frequently, and that it involves an imbalance of power. However, in order for the wording to be appropriate for children it does not use the explicit terminology

used in the research definition, instead providing examples of bullying behaviour. This means that some aspects of the research definition are not as clearly emphasised, namely that it is intentional harm and that it occurs over a period of time. The results of the pilot study indicated that the pupils read the definition of bullying provided in the questionnaire, and used this definition when answering the questions on bullying behaviours.

In accordance with other research in this area (Ahmed, 2001b, 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2006; Morrison, 2006b) shame acknowledgement and shame displacement were measured using items from the Management of Shame State – Shame Acknowledgement Shame Displacement questionnaire (MOSS-SASD, Ahmed, 2001a). This questionnaire is designed to assess strategies for dealing with shame particularly in the context of bullying. The MOSS-SASD scales ask respondents to give their views about how they would feel and what they would do in response to eight different bullying scenarios. Ten questions, each related to a relevant theoretical construct, are posed after each scenario, with the respondent asked to imagine how they would feel and what they would do if faced with the scenario. Five of the questions assess factors related to shame acknowledgement; namely, feeling shame, hiding self, taking responsibility, internalising others' rejection and making amends. The other five questions assess factors related to shame displacement; namely, externalising blame, blame perseveration, feeling anger, retaliatory anger and displaced anger. The

MOSS-SASD scales have been shown to have test-retest reliability, internal consistency and construct validity (Ahmed, 2001a). Four of the eight scenarios were chosen to be included in the questionnaire, in order to make it a practical length for completion in school. This adaptation to the MOSS-SASD was also used in the study by Morrison (2006b). Scenarios representative of the spectrum of bullying behaviours were chosen, including verbal, physical and indirect bullying. The pilot study indicated that pupils were able to understand how to answer these questions in relation to the scenarios provided.

Finally, items used by Morrison (2006b) were included in the questionnaire to measure respect, pride and emotional value as part of the school community. Respect was measured by three items 'At school I am listened to when I have something to say', 'I feel good about how I am treated at school' and 'I feel respected as a pupil at my school'. The final item for Respect was adapted from the original item used by Morrison (2006b), 'I feel valued and respected as a pupil at my school'. This item was changed as the original item asked participants to make a judgement on two different constructs within one response. Pride was measured by three items, two of which were taken from Morrision (2006b) 'I feel proud of being a student at my school' and 'I often speak proudly about being a student at my school'. Morrison (2006b) included a third item 'What my school expects from me is clear to me'. However, this was excluded from the questionnaire, as through discussion with research supervisors and peer researchers it was felt that this statement

did not reflect the underlying construct of pride. This was replaced with the item 'I think my school is the best in the area' as this was felt to reflect the construct of pride by both research supervisors and peer researchers, and pupils who had completed the questionnaire as part of the pilot study. Finally, four items were included in the questionnaire to measure Emotional Value 'I like being a student at my school', 'I feel satisfied going to school each day', and 'Going to school makes me happy'. An additional item 'I feel comfortable at school' was included in the study by Morrison (2006b) and in the original pilot questionnaire. However, in the pilot study responses on this item reduced the internal consistency of the Emotional Value scale. In addition, discussions with pupils in the pilot study suggested that there was some confusion over what this item referred to (for example, some pupils related it to physical comfort and others social comfort). As a result this item was excluded from the final questionnaire. In line with Morrison (2006b), for each of the items measuring Respect, Pride and Emotional Value participants were provided with four response options, 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree'.

Full details of how the measures were constructed statistically are provided later in this chapter (see Section 3.7).

3.4.2 Research Question 2: What are the outcomes of the intervention and are these outcomes commensurate with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice?

As described previously this research question required a qualitative methodology, in order to capture the views of pupils who had taken part in a Restorative Justice bullying intervention. Semi-structured interviews were selected as the data collection method for this research question. Semi-structured interviews consist of a list of key topic areas and questions relevant to the research question, however, the researcher has considerable flexibility in terms of the sequencing of questions, the exact wording of questions and the amount of time and attention given to the different topics (Robson, 2002). They provide participants with the opportunity to talk about a particular experience and allow the researcher a structure to maintain focus on the research question with flexibility to capture other novel insights (Willig, 2001). Interviews have been used in a number of studies to capture the views of participants who have been involved in Restorative Justice bullying interventions (Strang et al., 2006; YJB, 2004). The agenda for the interview was designed with the research question in mind, with open ended questions that did not lead the participant. Key question areas included in the interview agenda were the feelings and behaviour of the participants, perceptions of responsibility, and perceptions of success (see Appendix 2 for the interview agenda). These topic areas were presented with reference to the time frames of the intervention (pre, during and post). The interview was piloted with two pupils from a comparable population to that used in

the main study. On the whole, the questions enabled the pupils to give their views about the intervention flexibly and to explore the different outcomes of the intervention from their perspective. At times the pilot study participants found it difficult to think about the different aspects of the intervention (i.e. pre, during and post mediation). As a result, a visual cue was introduced to the interview process. The visual cue consisted of a time line indicating the different stages of the intervention (before, during and after the mediation) and was used as a prompt to indicate what aspect of the mediation the questions in the interview were targeting.

3.5   Participants

3.5.1 Background

Participants were drawn from the same mainstream secondary school, located in an urban area in a Local Authority in the South-East of England. The rationale for selecting this school was that it is fairly representative of the wider UK population on key measures and that it has an established Restorative Justice bullying intervention. The school is a non-selective, mixed school of average size, with 942 pupils on role. In line with national averages, the majority of the school population are White British (89%[2]), with the rest of the school population from a range of other ethnic backgrounds (11%[2]). Attainment levels at the end of Key Stage 4 are in line with national averages (48% achieve 5 A-C grades[2]), as are the proportion of pupils who receive free school meals (13%[2]).

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[2] Data provided by school

On key measures therefore the school is representative of the wider UK population. The school has been using Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention for over five years. It was selected as providing an example of good practice in terms of the intervention, both through consideration of a checklist of factors associated with successful Restorative Justice bullying interventions (see Appendix 3) and through discussion with an experienced trainer in Restorative Justice who provides ongoing support to the school. It was important to select a school identified as providing a quality intervention in order to rule out limitations in the application of the intervention when considering the impact on participants. Alongside incorporating whole-school approaches to Restorative Justice (e.g. circle time), the school uses restorative conferences for more serious incidences and regularly uses restorative mediations to address conflicts between pupils, including bullying incidents. These restorative mediations are conducted by a core group of three staff members, who have specific roles in the school in managing behavioural incidents and providing pastoral support. This means the restorative mediations can be used flexibly and there is sufficient time allocated to run and monitor the intervention. In order to meet with the principles of restorative justice, in this school taking part in the mediation is voluntary for all parties. In addition, those that have been involved are invited to sit down with one of the staff members and a structured discussion takes place where both pupils are given the opportunity to tell their side of the story, discuss their feelings about the incident and problem solve together in order to agree on steps to make amends and improve their relationship. An emphasis

is placed on repairing the harm caused to the victim, rather than seeking to blame and punish the offender. Whilst other members of the school community are not invited to take part in the mediation, pupils are encouraged in their solutions to access wider support networks and the teaching community involved in the mediation actively offer further support to the pupils. The school therefore applies the core principles of Restorative Justice outlined in chapter 2 in their approach. This was supported by observations by an experienced practitioner of Restorative Justice who works closely with the school and by informal discussions with the facilitators where they demonstrated a clear knowledge of the principles of Restorative Justice. In addition, a structured discussion outline is used in each mediation to provide a framework for using the principles of Restorative Justice and ensuring consistency across mediations.

Restorative mediations were chosen as the focus from which to evaluate the outcomes of the intervention for pupils in Research Question 2. This decision was made on the basis that previous research has focused on restorative conferences and mediations occur more frequently and therefore would be more likely to generate a potential sample within this time-limited research study.

3.5.2 Research Question 1: Does bullying behaviour relate to shame management and feelings about the school community?

The initial aim was that all pupils in Years 8 and 9 in the school would be given the opportunity to complete the questionnaire, a target sample of 350 pupils. This would allow a sample appropriate for statistical analysis, which was comparable in terms of age and number to samples used in previous studies whose results the study was aiming to test. In practice the questionnaire was actually distributed to 240 pupils as four form teachers did not have the opportunity to provide their class with the questionnaires because of staff absences and other incidents of greater priority that needed to be addressed in the time allocated to the questionnaire. The impact of this reduced sample size on the statistical analysis conducted will be discussed in Chapter 5. Of the returned questionnaires, 5 pupils chose not to complete the questionnaire and 13 were removed from the sample as they had not been fully completed. These questionnaires were examined to see if there was a relationship between not completing the questionnaire and bullying behaviour. The majority of incomplete questionnaires met the criteria for nonbully/nonvictim (9 respondents). Of the rest, 2 were categorised as victims, 1 as a bully and 1 as a bully/victim. As all of the respondents answered the earlier questions on bullying behaviour and had answered all questions up until the point at which they stopped completing the questionnaire, it was hypothesised that they had run out of time. This suggests that respondents did not choose to only partly complete the questionnaire as a result of their bullying status.

222 participants completed the questionnaire. Of these 117 are in Year 8 (53%) and 105 are in Year 9 (47%). 116 are male (52%) and 106 are female (48%). Of the 117 participants in Year 8, 59 are male (50%) and 58 are female (50%), and of the 105 pupils in Year 9, 57 are male (54%) and 48 are female (46%). The age range of participants is 12-14 (mean age 12.7).

3.5.3 Research Question 2: What are the outcomes of the intervention and are these outcomes commensurate with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice?

A purposive sample was used, that is a sample was built up in order to answer the research question. A list of pupils was provided by the school who had taken part in a restorative mediation. Discussion with the staff members who had delivered the restorative mediation identified those pupils who had been involved in a bullying incident. This decision was made in relation to the definition of bullying provided in the questionnaire. Staff members were asked to identify pupils who they felt would engage in the interview process and those where they felt the outcome of the mediation had been successful and those where it had been less successful. This enabled a sample to be selected representative of a range of experiences with the intervention.

In total eight interviews were completed. This provided a sufficient volume and quality of information in order to analyse the responses to answer the research question posed. As this research question did not

aim to produce generalisable results but to explore restorative mediations, in practice within a specific context, a larger sample size was not considered important or appropriate. 4 of the participants were in Year 8, 3 were in Year 9 and 1 was in Year 11 (age range of 12 to 15, mean age 13.3). Whilst this sample is weighted towards Years 8 and 9, this is commensurate with the fact that bullying tends to be more frequent in the lower years of secondary school (P. K. Smith & Madsen, 1999) and that pupils in the lower years of secondary school tend to be more likely to access bullying interventions (YJB, 2004). In addition, a higher proportion of males than females were interviewed (6 males and 2 females). However, again this is in line with gender differences in reports of bullying behaviour (Warden & Mackinnon, 2003). Table 1 gives a description of each participant, including a judgement made by a staff member about whether the participant was viewed as a "bully" or "victim" within the context of the Mediation, as this information was relevant to later analysis. It should be noted that some participants (those interviewed who were in Years 8 and 9) may have taken part in both strands of the research. This was not viewed as a problem as each strand of the research looked at distinct areas.

Table 1: Characteristics of interview participants (*Participants 5 & 7 took part in the same mediation)

Participant	Year Group	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Bully Status	Bullying Event that led to Mediation
1	8	12	Male	White British	Bully	Verbal and physical bullying to a number of pupils (but one pupil in particular). Incidents occurred daily for about a year.
2	8	12	Male	White British	Bully	Verbal bullying to another pupil who had hit his sister. Incidents have occurred a few times over a two week period.
3	8	13	Male	Dual Heritage	Victim	Verbal and physical bullying from a large number of pupils, with one pupil identified as the catalyst. Incidents occurred regularly for over a year.
4	8	13	Female	White British	Victim	Verbal bullying from a number of pupils, with one pupil identified as the catalyst for the bullying. Incidents have occurred a few times over 2 weeks.
5*	9	13	Male	White British	Bully	Verbal and physical bullying to a pupil. Incidents occurred daily for 6 mos.
6	9	14	Male	White British	Victim	Verbal and physical bullying from a pupil, including spreading rumours in the wider peer group. Incidents have occurred regularly for a year.
7*	9	14	Male	White British	Victim	Verbal and physical bullying from a pupil. Incidents occurred daily for 6 mos.
8	11	15	Female	White British	Bully	Verbal and physical bullying to a pupil who had hit her brother. Incidents occurred a few times over a 4 week period.

3.6   Procedure

3.6.1 Research Question 1: Does bullying behaviour relate to shame management and feelings about the school community?

A consent letter was sent to the parents of all pupils in Years 8 and 9 (see Appendix 4). This letter provided information about the research and asked parents to contact the school if they did not want their children to take part. Whilst this method is not as rigorous as asking parents to actively choose to take part in the research, it was felt that asking parents to opt in would limit the sample size. In addition, the school felt comfortable that the questionnaire was something they would administer without parental consent as part of normal school practice. None of the parents contacted removed their children from the research.

The questionnaire was administered as part of the schools 'Anti Bullying Week'. This helped to reinforce the definition of bullying provided in the questionnaire as this had been referred to in activities throughout the week. Pupils were given the questionnaire during their registration period. The questionnaire was administered by teachers in the school. The teachers were provided with instructions for completing the questionnaire (see Appendix 5). These instructions highlighted the definition of bullying, the voluntary nature of the research and the fact that responses would be anonymous and confidential. Pupils were instructed to answer truthfully and not to copy answers or discuss answers with their peers. Teachers were asked to debrief the pupils after completing the questionnaires, describing again how their

questionnaires would be used and informing them of the support systems in place in school if they had any concerns about bullying.

3.6.2 Research Question 2: What are the outcomes of the intervention and are these outcomes commensurate with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice?

A consent letter was sent to the parents of pupils identified as potential interview participants (see Appendix 6). This letter provided information about the research and asked parents to contact the school if they were happy for their child to take part in the research. Prior to the interview, pupils were told about the research, what would happen in the interview and informed that their responses would be anonymous and confidential. They were then given the option of withdrawing from the research if they did not want to take part. All of the pupils interviewed felt happy to take part.

In order to encourage genuine responses from the pupils it was made clear that the researcher was not a part of school staff and that they did not have any expectations about whether the mediation had been a positive or negative experience. It was stressed that the researcher was interested in both positive and negative feedback and that the most important thing was to be honest. When explaining this, the researcher illustrated the principles of anonymity and confidentiality by explaining that if, for example, the participant said something negative about the mediation, the researcher would be the only person to know that they

were the person who said it and this would not be shared with anyone else. In addition, to put pupils at ease and build rapport general questions about school were asked at the beginning of the interview that would be easy for the participants to answer. Whilst, these methods help to encourage genuine responses, it is impossible to know whether participants' responses are completely accurate. The interviews were recorded using a digital recorder. After the interviews the pupils were debriefed by the researcher. They were reminded of how the information would be used and were told where they could go if they had any concerns about bullying. The interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher.

3.7 Analysis

3.7.1 Research Question 1: Does bullying behaviour relate to shame management and feelings about the school community?

SPSS was used to analyse the data. The first step of the analysis was to construct the different variables; namely 'bullying status', 'shame acknowledgement', 'shame displacement', 'respect', 'pride', and 'emotional value'.

Bullying Status involved categorising respondents as either bullies, victims, bully/victims or nonbullies/nonvictims. Pupils who responded 'sometimes' or more frequently to either 'How often have you been part of a group that bullied someone during the last year?' and/or 'How often have you on your own bullied someone during the last year?' were

categorised as 'Bullies'. Pupils who responded 'sometimes' or more frequently to, 'How often have you been bullied by another student or group of students in the last year?', were categorised as 'Victims'. Pupils who satisfied the criteria for both 'Bullies' and 'Victims' were categorised as 'Bully/Victims'. Pupils who did not satisfy the criteria for both 'Bullies' and 'Victims' were categorised as 'Nonbullies/Nonvictims'. 'Sometimes' was considered an appropriate frequency to be categorised as either a bully or a victim (or both) as it meets the criteria included in the research definition of bullying that it should be a behaviour that is repetitive.

The variables Respect, Pride and Emotional Value were each measured by three items and participants responded on a four point scale: 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree', and 'strongly disagree'. Each response was given a quantitative value for analysis purposes (4 for 'strongly agree', 3 for 'agree', 2 for 'disagree' and 1 for 'strongly disagree'). To check the reliability of each of the scales Cronbach Alpha Coeffiecients were calculated. For each of the scales the Cronbach Alpha Coefficients were above .7 indicating internal consistency (see Table 2 below). Scores on each of the three items were therefore averaged for each measure.

Table 2: Cronbach Alpha Coefficients for Respect, Pride and Emotional Value scales

Measure	Cronbach alpha coefficient
Respect	.764
Pride	.800
Emotional Value	.827

For Shame Acknowledgement and Shame Displacement, the same ten questions from the MOSS-SASD (Ahmed, 2001a) were used in response to four bullying scenarios, with five of the questions identified by the instrument as capturing shame acknowledgement and five capturing shame displacement. Participants were able to respond either 'yes' or 'no' to each of the shame acknowledgement/displacement questions, with each response given a quantitative value for analysis purposes ('yes' was coded as 2 and 'no' was coded as 1). To check the reliability for each of the shame acknowledgement and shame displacement concepts across the four scenarios Cronbach Alpha Coefficients were calculated. The Cronbach Alpha Coefficients were above .7 indicating internal consistency (see Table 3). Scores for each of the shame acknowledgement and shame displacement concepts were therefore averaged across the four scenarios.

Table 3: Cronbach Alpha Coefficients for items from the MOSS-SASD

	Concept	Cronbach alpha coefficient
Shame Acknowledgement	Feeling Shame	.861
	Hiding Self	.848
	Rejection	.860
	Make Amends	.857
	Take Responsibility	.861
Shame Displacement	Feeling Anger	.870
	Retaliating	.804
	Externalising Blame	.775
	Blame Uncertainty	.850
	Displacing Anger	.922

In order to see whether the concepts in the MOSS SASD could be reduced into individual shame acknowledgement and shame displacement factors, a principal components analysis (PCA) was conducted[3]. Prior to performing the PCA the suitability of the data for factor analysis was assessed. Inspection of the correlation matrix revealed the presence of many coefficients of .3 and above. The Kaiser-Meyer-Oklin value was .765, which is higher than the recommended minimum value of .6 and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity reached statistical significance, supporting the factorability of the correlation matrix.

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[3] PCA was used to see whether the 10 variables collected by the MOSS-SASD loaded onto two common factors (shame acknowledgement and shame displacement). It was not used for the individual scales measuring 'Pride', 'Respect' and 'Emotional Value'. This was because the items on the MOSS-SASD address opposing concepts (shame acknowledgement and shame displacement) where you would expect participants to give contrasting responses, whereas for the individual scales of 'Pride', 'Respect' and 'Emotional Value' it is likely that the majority of respondents would have given responses in the same direction (for example, positive across all scales). Therefore, using a PCA across all of the scales as a whole would have been unlikely to differentiate between such highly related concepts.

PCA revealed the presence of two components with eigenvalues exceeding 1, explaining 31.6% and 19.2% of the variance respectively. An inspection of the screeplot revealed a clear break after the second component, and therefore it was decided to retain two components for further investigation. To aid in the interpretation of these components, Varimax rotation was performed. The two component solution explained a total of 50.8% of the variance with component 1 contributing 26.9% and component 2 contributing 23.9%. The interpretation of the two components was fairly consistent with previous research on the MOSS-SASD scale, with shame acknowledgement items loading strongly with Factor 1 and shame displacement items loading strongly on Factor 2 (see Table 4). The exception to this is "Feeling Anger" which loaded equally on both Factor 1 and Factor 2. This concept was therefore removed from the analysis, and the Principal Components Analysis was conducted again. In this second solution, the two component solution explained a total of 53.3% of the variance with component 1 contributing 28.1% and component 2 contributing 25.2%. Component 1 included all five items measuring Shame Acknowledgement and component 2 included four of the five items measuring Shame Displacement (with Feeling Anger removed from the analysis). On the basis of this analysis, scores on the items composing each of the components were averaged to construct the shame acknowledgement and shame displacement factors.

Table 4: Rotated (Varimax) Factor Loadings for the MOSS-SASD Scales after Principal Component Analysis (n=222)

	Factor 1 (Shame Acknowledgement)	Factor 2 (Shame Displacement)
Feeling Shame	.765	
Hiding Self	.690	
Taking Responsibility	.690	-.373
Make Amends	.658	
Rejection	.594	
Externalising Blame		.761
Retaliating	-.344	.688
Displacing Anger		.664
Blame Uncertainty		.850

The data was therefore reduced to represent each of the variables, bully status, shame acknowledgement, shame displacement, respect, pride and emotional value. To answer the research question the different bullying groups needed to be compared across each of the variables. In addition, there were higher proportions of male respondents in the 'bully' and 'victim' groups, so it was important to consider what impact gender might be having on the different variables as research suggests that males and females differ in their emotional responses to bullying (Borg, 1998). A Two-Way Between Subjects ANOVA was therefore selected as the method of analysis. This analysis measures the individual and joint effect of two independent variables (in this case bullying status and gender) on one dependent variable (for example, shame

acknowledgement). In other words, this analysis would identify any significant differences between the different bullying groups in terms of levels of pride, respect, emotional value, shame acknowledgement and shame displacement, whilst also addressing the possible confounding impact of gender on any differences identified. If the results of the Two-Way Between Subjects ANOVAs indicated significant differences between the different bullying status or gender groups on a particular measure, post-hoc comparisons were calculated to identify how the different bullying status or gender groups differed from each other. The Games-Howell test was selected as the best method to calculate these comparisons, as it is considered the preferred method when comparing samples of unequal size (Howell, 2007).

In addition to the Two-Way Between Subjects ANOVAs, paired samples t-tests were calculated for each of the bullying groups to identify whether there were any significant differences between their scores on the measures of shame acknowledgement and shame displacement. This extends the analyses used in previous studies to explore not only the differences between the bullying groups in terms of their shame management strategy, but differences within the groups in terms of their levels of shame acknowledgement and shame displacement as predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice.

3.7.2 Research Question 2: What are the outcomes of the intervention and are these outcomes commensurate with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice?

The semi-structured interviews were analysed using thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data in rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It involves searching across a data set to find repeated patterns of meaning. Thematic analysis is felt suitable for this data as it offers a way of summarising key aspects from a large amount of data and it allows a rich description of parts of the data set. It is also a flexible method and recommended for researchers with little experience of qualitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In particular it provides a method that allows data to be analysed in response to specific research questions, but also allows additional themes to emerge from the data. This is in contrast to other methods (e.g. grounded theory, interpretative phenomological analysis, discourse analysis) which focus on allowing themes to emerge from the data only. As this part of the study was testing specific outcomes of the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice, a method was required that allowed the data to be analysed in response to an identified framework. However, it was also important that themes of relevance to the research questions that emerged 'organically' from the interview process were also captured. Thematic analysis was therefore chosen as the method of analysis over other possibilities, as it provides the researcher with this flexibility.

Braun and Clarke (2006) outline a framework for conducting high quality thematic analysis, including pre-analysis considerations and a structured sequence for conducting the analysis. In terms of pre-analysis considerations, a theme in this analysis was defined as *"[capturing] something important about the data in relation to the research question, and [representing] some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set"* (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). The relevance of a theme was not decided on quantifiable measures (i.e. frequency), but rather on its importance in relation to the research question. However, for richness, prevalence was counted at the level of the data item; that is, whether a theme occurred in a single interview transcript. Rather than attempting to provide a thematic description of the entire data set, this analysis focused on a detailed account of themes related to the research questions. As such, it was a 'theoretical' thematic analysis, driven by the theoretical and practical research questions raised by the literature review. The analysis was at the semantic level (Boyatzis, 1998) describing and interpreting the explicit content, rather than exploring underlying ideas and assumptions.

A five step process (see Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to conduct the thematic analysis for each data set:

- Step 1: Familiarity with the data. The data set was transcribed verbatim into written form in order to conduct the thematic analysis. The transcription process is noted as a good way to begin to

understand the data (Reissman, 1993). The entire data set was read through twice.

- Step 2: Generating initial codes. The data set was worked through in a systematic way, with initial codes applied to identify interesting aspects of the data of relevance to the research questions.

- Step 3: Searching for themes. The different codes were sorted into potential themes, bringing together the coded extracts within each potential theme. The relationships between codes and themes were explored.

- Step 4: Reviewing themes. In this step the themes were reviewed at the level of the coded data extracts and the level of the entire data set. At the level of the coded data extract, all the collated extracts from each theme were read and analysed to see if they formed a coherent pattern. If there were any inconsistencies, consideration was given to whether the theme needed to be changed or whether some of the data extracts did not fit within the theme. At the level of the data set, the validity of individual themes was considered in relation to the data set; that is, whether the themes accurately reflected the meanings evident in the data set as a whole. This was completed in collaboration with peer researchers.

- Step 5: Defining and naming themes. Each theme was defined to show what aspect of the data the theme represents.

The use of a rigorous method, as identified above, for thematic analysis improves the validity of the interpretations made by the researcher. In addition, interpretations made be the researcher were critically reviewed with peer researchers. This occurred once the researcher had identified the initial themes. An entire transcript with coding was read by a peer researcher, to critique the interpretations and codes linked to the information provided in the interview. These critiques were used to help the researcher reflect critically on the interpretations made. In addition, each of the themes were discussed with two other peer researchers with examples of the data extracts included in each theme. This was to explore whether the data extracts fitted coherently within a theme and whether the theme was distinct to other themes identified within the data. It was expected by the researcher, that there would be different opinions presented by the peer researchers given different levels of knowledge about the subject under study, the information provided by participants and previous experiences, which all influence interpretations made. Differences in opinion were used to highlight areas where the researcher needed to revisit the data and reflect on decisions made. They were not viewed as something that would necessarily lead to changes or need to be resolved, but as a tool for encouraging critical reflection.

It should be noted that whilst the researcher was clearly interested in the use of Restorative Justice bullying interventions, as they were not directly linked with implementing the intervention in practice, they had no

particular biases about outcome that may influence the interpretations made.

3.8   Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the methodological considerations impacting on the research design and has outlined the actualisation of the method, with reference to the methods used for the analysis. Where appropriate, it has sought to justify the decisions made when designing the methodology. All methodologies have their limitations and when conducting research in the real world there are practical and ethical considerations which constrain methodological choices. The limitations of the methodology will be discussed later in Chapter 5. The following chapter, reports the results of the data analysis outlined in this chapter.

4.1   **Introduction**

The previous chapter outlined the methodology used to answer the research questions. This chapter will present the results obtained through this methodology and link these results to the research questions posed. It will begin by describing the quantitative analysis of the questionnaire linked to sub-research question 1, before describing the thematic analysis that is linked to sub-research question 2.

4.2   **Research Question 1: Does bullying behaviour relate to shame management and feelings about the school community?**

To address this research question the results of the 222 completed questionnaires were analysed to see whether there were differences between each of the bullying groups in terms of levels of respect, pride, emotional value, shame acknowledgement and shame displacement.

140 respondents were categorised as Nonbullies/Nonvictims (63.1%), 52 as Victims (23.4%), 16 as Bully/Victims (7.2%) and 14 as Bullies (6.3%). Therefore the sample sizes in each of the groups are uneven, with the Bully/Victim and Bully groups consisting of a small number of respondents. Small group sizes (i.e. less than 20) increase the chances of a Type 2 error; that is, when differences between groups are not identified due to insufficient power (Stevens, 1996). The impact of this on the results will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Analysis by Year group indicated that there was an even split between Year 8 and Year 9 for each of the different bullying groups. Analysis by gender indicated that the Victim and Bully groups comprised higher proportions of male respondents (see Table 5). It was therefore important to consider within the analysis the impact gender had on any differences between the bullying groups, particularly as research suggests males and females differ in their emotional responses to bullying incidents (Borg, 1998).

Table 5: Number of Respondents in each Bullying Group by Gender

	Victim	Bully	Nonbully/ Nonvictim	Bully/Victim	Total
Male	32 (61.5%)	11 (78.6%)	66 (47.1%)	7 (43.8%)	116 (52.3%)
Female	20 (38.5%)	3 (21.4%)	74 (52.9%)	9 (56.3%)	106 (47.7%)
Total	52 (100%)	14 (100%)	140 (100%)	16 (100%)	222 (100%)

For each of the variables, the data was checked for outliers. Whilst some extreme scores were identified, comparisons of the mean and the 5% trimmed mean for each of the variables, across the four bullying groups, indicated that these scores were not having a large impact on the various means (see Tables 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 for the mean and 5% trimmed mean for each of the variables). In light of this, none of the outliers were removed from the analysis across the entire data set.

4.2.1 Respect

Previous research suggests that on a measure of respect as part of the school community Nonbully/Nonvictims and Bullies will have higher scores and Victims and Bully/Victims will have lower scores. This pattern of results was found with Nonbully/Nonvictims having the highest mean score for respect (M=2.87), followed by Bullies (M=2.78), Victims (M=2.60) and Bully/Victims (M=2.47). A two-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of bullying group and gender on levels of respect. There was a statistically significant main effect for bullying group ($F(3, 207)=5.58, p=.001$) and the effect size was moderate[4] (partial eta squared=.08). Post-hoc comparisons using the Games-Howell[5] test indicated that the mean score for the Nonbully/Nonvictim group (*M*=2.87, *SD*=0.61) was significantly different from the Victim group (*M*=2.60, *SD*=0.45). The main effect for gender ($F(1, 207)=.14, p=.71$) did not reach statistical significance. The interaction effect between gender and bullying group was not statistically significant ($F(3, 207)=.98, p=.40$). Table 6 gives the M, SD, 5% Trimmed Mean and Mean Difference (Games-Howell test) for levels of respect by bully group.

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[4] Using the guidelines provided by Cohen (1988)
[5] The Games-Howell test was chosen as this is the preferred method when comparing samples of unequal size (Howell, 2007)

Table 6: M, SD, 5% Trimmed Mean and Mean Difference (Games-Howell test) for levels

of respect by bully group

	N[6]	M	SD	5% Trimmed M	Mean Difference (Games-Howell test)			
					Nonbully/Nonvictim	Bully	Victim	Bully/Victim
Nonbully/ Nonvictim	137	2.87	0.61	2.88				
Bully	12	2.78	0.43	2.81	-.09			
Victim	51	2.60	0.45	2.58	-.26*	-.17		
Bully/Victim	15	2.47	0.69	2.50	-.40	-.31	-.13	

* The mean difference is significant at the $p<.05$ level

4.2.2 Pride

Previous research suggests that on a measure of pride as part of the school community Bully/Victims will have lower scores in comparison to the other bullying groups. According to the means, Nonbully/Nonvictims and Victims had the highest scores for pride (2.82 and 2.80 respectively), whilst Bullies (2.50) and Bully/Victims (2.40) had lower scores. A two-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of bullying group and gender on levels of pride. The main effect for bullying group ($F(3, 206)=2.69$, $p=.05$) did not reach statistical significance, however, it did approach significance ($p<0.1$). The main effect for gender ($F(1, 206)=.002$, $p=.97$) did not reach statistical significance. The interaction effect between gender and bullying group

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[6] n=215 for respect as 7 respondents did not complete all items on the respect scale (1 Victim, 2 Bullies, 3 Nonbully/Nonvictims, and 1 Bully/Victim).

was not statistically significant ($F(3, 206)=.53$, $p=.66$). Table 7 gives the M, SD, and 5% Trimmed Mean for levels of pride by bully group.

Table 7: M, SD, 5% Trimmed Mean for Levels of Pride by Bully Group

	N[7]	M	SD	5% Trimmed M
Nonbully/Nonvictim	135	2.80	0.58	2.82
Bully	13	2.51	0.64	2.50
Victim	52	2.77	0.53	2.80
Bully/Victim	14	2.38	0.81	2.40

4.2.3 Emotional Value

Previous research suggests that on a measure of emotional value as part of the school community Victims and Bully/Victims will have lower scores in comparison to the other bullying groups. A two-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of bullying group and gender on levels of emotional value. There was a statistically significant main effect for bullying group ($F(3, 208)=2.78$, $p=.04$); however the effect size was small[8] (partial eta squared=.04). Post-hoc comparisons using the Games-Howell did not find any significant differences between the means of the different bullying groups. According to the means, Nonbully/Nonvictims had the highest score for emotional value (2.83), followed by Bullies (2.6), Victims (2.62) and

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[7] n=214 for pride as 8 respondents did not complete all items on the respect scale (1 Bully, 5 Nonbully/Nonvictims, and 2 Bully/Victims).
[8] Using the guidelines provided by Cohen (1988)

Bully/Victims (2.41). The main effect for gender ($F(1, 208)=.12$, $p=.70$) did not reach statistical significance. The interaction effect between gender and bullying group was not statistically significant ($F(3, 208)=.47$, $p=.70$). Table 8 gives the M, SD, 5% Trimmed Mean and Mean Difference (Games-Howell test) for levels of emotional value by bully group

Table 8: M, SD, 5% Trimmed Mean and Mean Difference (Games-Howell test) for Levels of Emotional Value by Bully Group

	N[9]	M	SD	5% Trimmed M	Mean Difference (Games-Howell test)			
					Nonbully/Nonvictim	Bully	Victim	Bully/Victim
Nonbully/ Nonvictim	137	2.80	0.52	2.83				
Bully	13	2.64	0.50	2.66	-.16			
Victim	51	2.62	0.59	2.62	-.18	-.02		
Bully/Victim	15	2.40	0.86	2.41	-.40	-.24	-.22	

* The mean difference is significant at the $p<.05$ level

4.2.4 Shame Acknowledgement

Previous research suggests that on a measure of shame acknowledgement Nonbullies/Nonvictims and Victims will have higher scores in comparison to the other bullying groups.

[9] n=216 for emotional value as 6 respondents did not complete all items on the respect scale (1 Victim, 1 Bully, 3 Nonbully/Nonvictims, and 1 Bully/Victim).

A two-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of bullying group and gender on levels of shame acknowledgement. There was a statistically significant main effect for bullying group ($F(3, 193)=6.54$, $p=.000$) and the effect size was moderate to large[10] (partial eta squared=.09). Post-hoc comparisons using the Games-Howell test indicated that the mean score for the Bully group ($M=1.43$, $SD=0.24$) was significantly different from the Victim group ($M=1.71$, $SD=0.23$) and the Nonbully/Nonvictim group ($M=1.70$, $SD=0.24$). The main effect for gender ($F(1, 193)=.00$, $p=.99$) did not reach statistical significance. The interaction effect between gender and bullying group was not statistically significant ($F(3, 193)=1.76$, $p=.16$). Table 9 gives the M, SD, 5% Trimmed Mean and Mean Difference (Games-Howell test) for levels of shame acknowledgement by bully group.

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[10] Using the guidelines provided by Cohen (1988)

Table 9: M, SD, 5% Trimmed Mean and Mean Difference (Games-Howell test) for Levels

of Shame Acknowledgement by Bully Group

	N[11]	M	SD	5% Trimmed M	Mean Difference (Games-Howell test)			
					Nonbully/Nonvictim	Bully	Victim	Bully/Victim
Nonbully/ Nonvictim	125	1.70	0.24	1.71				
Bully	13	1.43	0.24	1.43	-.26*			
Victim	48	1.71	0.23	1.73	-.02	.28*		
Bully/Victim	15	1.55	0.32	1.55	-.14	-.12	-.16	

* The mean difference is significant at the $p<.05$ level

4.2.5 Shame Displacement

Previous research suggests that on a measure of shame displacement Bullies and Bully/Victims will have higher scores, compared to Victims and Nonbully/Nonvictims. A two-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of bullying group and gender on shame displacement. There was a statistically significant main effect for bullying group ($F(3, 200)=4.87$, $p=.003$) and the effect size was moderate[12] (partial eta squared=.07). Post-hoc comparisons using the Games-Howell test indicated that the mean score for the Bully/Victim group ($M=1.38$, $SD=0.32$) was significantly different from the Nonbully/Nonvictim group ($M=1.15$, $SD=0.22$). The main effect for

[11] n=201 for respect as 21 respondents did not complete all items on the shame acknowledgement scale (4 Victims, 1 Bully, 15 Nonbully/Nonvictims, and 1 Bully/Victim).
[12] Using the guidelines provided by Cohen (1988)

gender ($F(1, 200)=2.33$, $p=.13$) did not reach statistical significance. The interaction effect between gender and bullying group was not statistically significant ($F(3, 200)=2.10$, $p=.10$). Table 10 gives the M, SD, 5% Trimmed Mean and Mean Difference (Games-Howell test) for levels of shame displacement by bully group.

Table 10: M, SD, 5% Trimmed Mean and Mean Difference (Games-Howell test) for Levels of Shame Displacement by Bully Group

| | N[13] | M | SD | 5% Trimmed M | Mean Difference (Games-Howell test) | | | |
					Nonbully/Nonvictim	Bully	Victim	Bully/Victim
Nonbully/ Nonvictim	129	1.18	0.22	1.15				
Bully	13	1.35	0.27	1.33	.17			
Victim	50	1.23	0.22	1.20	.05	-.12		
Bully/Victim	16	1.38	0.32	1.38	.20	.04	.15*	

* The mean difference is significant at the $p<.05$ level

4.2.6 Within Group Comparisons of Shame Management

The shame management perspective of Restorative Justice predicts that the different bullying groups will use different levels of shame acknowledgement and shame displacement strategies when faced with a bullying situation. Specifically, Nonbullies/Nonvictims and Victims will make greater use of shame acknowledgement strategies; Bullies will

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[13] n=210 for shame displacement as 14 respondents did not complete all items on the shame displacement scale (2 Victims, 1 Bully, and 11 Nonbully/Nonvictims).

make greater use of shame displacement strategies; and Bully/Victims will use similar levels of both strategies. In order to explore the differences in shame management strategy used by each bullying group, a paired-samples t-test was conducted.

For the Nonbully/Nonvictim group there was a statistically significant difference between their scores on the shame acknowledgement scale (M=1.69, SD=0.24) and their scores on the shame displacement scale (M=1.19, SD=0.23, t(121)=15.79, p<0.0005). The eta squared statistic (0.67) indicated a large effect size[14].

For the Bully group the difference between their scores on the shame acknowledgement scale (M=1.43, SD=0.24) and their scores on the shame displacement scale (M=1.35, SD=0.27) was not statistically significant.

For the Victim group there was a statistically significant difference between their scores on the shame acknowledgement scale (M=1.72, SD=0.22) and their scores on the shame displacement scale (M=1.22, SD=0.22, t(45)=9.54, p<0.0005). The eta squared statistic (0.67) indicated a large effect size[15].

For the Bully/Victim group the difference between their scores on the shame acknowledgement scale (M=1.55, SD=0.32) and their scores on

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[14] Using the guidelines provided by Cohen (1988)
[15] Using the guidelines provided by Cohen (1988)

the shame displacement scale (*M*=1.41, *SD*=0.32) was not statistically significant.

Table 11 gives the results of the paired samples t-test for all bully groups.

Table 11: Results of the Paired Samples t-test for All Bully Groups

	N[16]	Shame Acknowledgement M (SD)	Shame Displacement M (SD)	t
Nonbully/ Nonvictim	122	1.69 (0.24)	1.19 (0.23)	15.79*
Bully	13	1.43 (0.24)	1.35 (0.27)	0.71
Victim	46	1.72 (0.22)	1.22 (0.22)	9.54*
Bully/Victim	15	1.55 (0.32)	1.41 (0.32)	.96

* The t-value is significant at the p<.0005 level

4.3 Research Question 2: What are the outcomes of the intervention and are these outcomes commensurate with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice?

To address this research question, a thematic analysis was completed on the 8 interview transcripts from pupils who had taken part in a mediation for a bullying incident (see Appendix 7 for an example

[16] 18 Nonbullies/Nonvictims, 1 Bully, and 6 Victims were excluded from the analysis as they did not complete all items on the shame acknowledgement and shame displacement scale

transcript).   As outlined in Chapter 2, the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice predicts that interventions will support pupils in dealing more effectively with feelings of shame by acknowledging their feelings, taking responsibility for their behaviour and making amends. These outcomes are achieved through the processes in the mediation which allow those taking part to gain a greater understanding of the other's perspective and empathise with their situation, whilst feeling a sense of support from the school community.   These factors were therefore considered when analysing the transcripts. In addition, other themes were allowed to emerge from the data and were considered in terms of their relevance to the research question.   Themes that suggested the intervention was not working or that it was working in a different way to that outlined by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice were included in the analysis to provide a balanced evaluation of the intervention in practice.

This section of the chapter will present the results of the thematic analysis. It will begin by considering the 'success' of the mediations, before outlining themes related to the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice. It will then present the themes that suggest the mediations are working in a different way to that suggested by the theoretical perspective or that they are not working. Finally themes that emerged from the data relating to the complexity of bullying in the school context will be presented. Table 12 summarises these themes grouped into sections to aid analysis in terms of the research question (see

Appendix 8 for a more detailed table of the themes which includes the codes grouped within each theme).

Table 12: Themes grouped by section

Section	Theme	Pupils Represented in Theme
Theoretical Perspective of Restorative Justice Themes	1. Taking Responsibility	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
	2. Making Amends	1, 8
	3. Empathy and Understanding	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
	4. Victim Empowerment	3, 4, 6
Successful Mediation Themes (Outside of Theoretical Perspective)	5. Agreeing Future Behaviour	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
	6. Separation from the Peer Group	3, 4, 7
Themes Suggesting Mediation is Not Working	7. Lack of Appropriate Action	3, 7, 6, 8
	8. Vulnerability of Victim	3, 6
	9. Creating Further Animosity	1, 2, 6
Themes Relating to the Complexity of Bullying	10. Complexity of Social Relationships	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
	11. Impact of Bullying Experience	3, 4, 6, 7

4.3.1 Success of the Mediations

Whilst analysing the interview data it was important to also consider the success of the mediation being discussed. For this study, the criteria used to determine success is whether the pupils reported that the bullying behaviour (either as a bully or a victim) had stopped since the mediation. This criteria is chosen as it provides an objective measure clearly identifiable within the pupils' responses and is viewed as the

primary goal of any bullying intervention. The success reported here, therefore, does not necessarily mean the mediation was successful in terms of other outcomes, such as those outlined by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice. However, it allows other outcomes of the mediation to be linked to its wider success in reducing bullying.

Using this criteria, the majority of mediations were reported to be successful (see Table 13 below).

Table 13: Success of Mediation by Participant

Participant	Year Group	Sex	Bullying Status	Success of Mediation
1	8	M	Bully	Unsuccessful
2	8	M	Bully	Successful
3	8	M	Victim	Successful
4	8	F	Victim	Successful
5	9	M	Bully	Successful
6	9	M	Victim	Unsuccessful
7	9	M	Victim	Successful
8	11	F	Bully	Successful

4.3.2 Theoretical Perspective of Restorative Justice Themes

Taking Responsibility

All of the pupils in this study were asked about how responsible they felt for the bullying before and after the mediation. The majority did not feel

they were responsible for the bullying prior to the mediation, attributing responsibility to the other person (3 pupils) or to another person in their peer group (3 pupils). Two pupils felt that they shared the responsibility for the bullying with the other person prior to the mediation. There was no correlation between the status of the pupil as a bully or victim and decisions made about responsibility prior to the mediation.

After the mediation, the majority of pupils noted that they had begun to take some responsibility for the bullying themselves. This represented a continuation for two pupils who had felt shared responsibility prior to the mediation and a shift for four of the pupils who had previously felt someone other than themselves was responsible:

"And so I do feel that she's kind of responsible for it and maybe I am kind of responsible for it myself for what I've done" (3: 370-372)

"I guess I was kind of in a way wrong and partly to blame...cos I do admit to having wound him up and then in the situation of the fight I took things a bit too far...but I think that's cos I felt defensive" (5: 169-171)

Of the two remaining pupils, one (a bully) maintained their position prior to the mediation that the other person was still responsible and the other (a victim) after initially feeling that someone else was responsible, now expressed uncertainty over who was responsible. These respondents both noted that they felt the other person was lying in the mediation and

trying to blame them, which may have placed them in a position of defending their behaviour, rather than being able to take some responsibility for the bullying:

"Cos D and the other people who I've had a mediation with always make it sound as though it is just me…and when its fifty-fifty…and they make it sound as though I'm doing the lot" (1:160-162)

"Um it was hard because he was most of the time he was lying cos he's been…I talked to other people and they said he was trying to blame it on us not him so it was kind of hard to take stuff that I know is right and he knows is wrong but he's still saying it" (6: 101-104)

These two respondents both had unsuccessful mediations using the criteria outlined previously, whilst the six who took a shared responsibility for the bullying had successful mediations.

Making Amends

Pupils were not directly asked about apologising or repairing the harm caused, however, they were given opportunities to describe what happened in the mediation and what had helped to make it a successful or unsuccessful experience for them. The majority of pupils did not mention making amends for the bullying as an important aspect of the mediation. Two pupils made reference to making amends through an apology. This was a useful part of the mediation for one respondent (a

bully) who valued having the opportunity to apologise to the other person and who was categorised as having a successful mediation. This pupil expressed a shared responsibility after the mediation, which may have led to them wanting to make amends:

"Its good cos if you don't apologise to someone there's always going to be something there in between you...there's always going to be like something so I still don't necessarily like him now but its given me that chance to just say what I've got to say to him and like hope that he accepts that" (8: 120-123)

The other pupil (a bully) who made reference to the opportunity to apologise, felt that this was a forced part of the intervention and did not think this would mend the relationship. This pupil felt that the other person was responsible for the incident and therefore was unlikely to be in a position where they could make a genuine apology:

"[The mediation is unhelpful] cos we have to shake hands apologise and try to make it up...I don't think that ever works" (1: 166-167)

Empathy and Understanding

All pupils were asked general questions about their feelings towards the other person and their feelings about their own behaviour. In addition they were asked questions to ascertain their understanding of the other person's perspective before and after the mediation.

As would be expected all of the pupils expressed negative attitudes towards the other person prior to the mediation. Most of the pupils stated that they "didn't really like" the other person and that they were feeling "a bit" annoyed and angry. Three pupils expressed stronger negative emotions:

"Well I felt like killing him" (1: 44)

"I didn't care…I just wanted to well…I could have killed him if I wanted to" (7: 98)

After the mediation, the majority of pupils noted a change in how they were feeling about the other person. Three pupils now expressed indifference towards the other person, saying that they no longer really felt anything. This was accompanied by the fact that they no longer had a relationship with each other:

"[I don't really think anything now] cos I don't really see him around school cos he's like two years younger than me so I don't really talk to him or see him…I'm with my friends and he's with his and we're normally at different sides of the school anyway" (8: 160-163)

A further two pupils, whilst still expressing negative feelings towards the other person, noted that these feelings were now less strong:

"Well I don't hate him anymore but I don't like him...and so long as he doesn't go anywhere near me I'm fine...and I'm ready to leave him alone" (7: 188-189)

"It's just not like bitter rivalry or tension when we see each other its just like we don't want anything else to do with each other" (5: 146-148)

Finally, one pupil expressed feeling more positive about the other person. This was largely because they had begun to empathise with the other person's position and because they saw the intervention as allowing them to have a "fresh start":

"[Our relationship is] better I think cos we've like come clean and stuff and we're not like being bitchy sort of thing......we've got less on our minds about things and its sort of a better fresh start about our personalities" (4: 151-155)

For the two pupils whose mediation was categorised as unsuccessful, their feelings towards the other person remained the same pre and post mediation. For one (a victim) they still felt that they "didn't really like" the other person. For the other (a bully) they continued to express strong negative feelings towards the other person:

"Well considering everything that was going on I thought [my behaviour before the mediation] was very good cos anyone could have just got up and hit him and today I actually wanted to bang his head up against a wall but I didn't" (1: 48-50)

The majority of respondents expressed continuing uncertainty about the other person's thoughts and feelings, despite the intervention. These pupils tended to base their judgements about the other person's thoughts and feelings on their own assumptions rather than information that had been shared as part of the mediation:

"Um well...I knew he didn't...I think he kind of...I think he felt like really angry for like coming out of the fight and everything" (5:122-123)

"Um I don't know really [what he was thinking]...he probably didn't like me" (6:46-48)

However, four of the pupils made reference to the benefits of listening to the other person's side of the story, which helped them to understand the

other person's actions.   In addition, of particular benefit was the opportunity to clear up rumours within the peer group which had led to misunderstandings:

"She was like getting all annoyed with me cos they'd make up stuff to make me hate her even more and then people come up to me and make me fall out with her even more" (3:296-298)

"Well he felt that…from what I remember he said that he felt annoyed about…cos I used to be his best friend…things like that and I used to go round his house…like…hang around together all the time…and um well W said that he felt really annoyed about that…that he'd spent so much time and effort on me and I'd done the same to him…and its just all gone to waste" (7:161-165)

"Um it was sort of weird cos it was like a completely different and stuff and you actually find out…like one of my best mates at the time was actually saying stuff about me behind their back" (4:90-92)

These four respondents were also the only respondents to talk about reflecting on their own behaviour as a result of the mediation:

"Its like if somebody tells you you do it to yourself all the time you get pushed about…you just wake up and think what am I doing what am I

saying to people to be treated like this and all that so it just made me open my eyes a little bit" (3: 533-536)

"I didn't really think nothing [of my behaviour]...I just thought was there really any reason for me doing that...its like yeah I wanna protect my brother but there might be other ways...but I can't help it when I get that angry I just feel I have to do something" (8: 139-142)

Only two of the pupils expressed negative feelings about their own behaviour after hearing the other person's perspective:

"Well he was saying what I'd done which was...which made me feel guilty" (5:107)

"That's how I felt when I like heard all that...like oh my god I sound a bit selfish!" (4: 133-134)

Only two pupils expressed any empathy towards the other person after the mediation, noting that they were sharing similar experiences:

"He was trying to make himself out to be the victim...but so was I so...I suppose we were both victims really" (7: 144-145)

"I felt sorry for them because like some people who don't like her have been saying stuff to her and its been the same for both of us" (4: 112-113)

Within this theme, the two pupils who were categorised as having unsuccessful mediations were only included in codes relating to being uncertain about how the other person was feeling and having the same feelings towards the other person pre and post mediation. Neither made reference to any increased understanding or empathy as a result of the mediation.

Victim Empowerment

Three of the four victims interviewed noted that they felt empowered to make changes after the mediation. These changes included ignoring negative behaviours from other people, not getting involved in rumours in the peer group and focusing on improving their own friendships:

"My life's getting back on track…I'm not friends with A she still does talk about me and she still does a lot of things that really does wind me up but I kind of know a little bit more now…like just to leave it…having all that trouble has made me open my eyes a little bit…how to lose mates and how easy it is to…I just try to ignore everything and keep my life as it is now…I just want to make my friendships better" (3: 485-491)

"I felt that I should actually change the way I think about stuff a bit cos like I had a go at her whatever and I do exaggerate...but like not lying sort of thing...but I think like I should just keep things a bit more quiet" (4: 118-120)

These pupils noted feeling safer around school and less worried about the bullying after the mediation, which may have helped them feel able to change their own behaviour:

"At least you can walk out knowing no one is going to punch you...jump you after school or your home or something like that" (3: 154-155)

"Yeah I really like [school now] to be honest like yeah...and I don't really worry about things anymore" (4: 165-166)

For one pupil the mediation helped them to reflect on their own behaviour and make changes in order to improve their peer relationships and behaviour in school, which resulted in the bullying stopping. For them, the mediation did not help to improve their relationship with the person bullying them but it did help them to make changes that have prevented any future bullying incidents from occurring. In addition, they noted that their family were an important factor in helping them to make changes:

"The mediation its helped but now I've got my mates back...it hasn't helped with A but it's helped me get my mates back...and like getting in

trouble has helped me get my life back on track with my mates and school and that and I try not to be as naughty anymore" (3: 513-516)

"It was actually more my family really [that helped me to change]...cos I was getting...I've been suspended and like you know my family like said you know you need to wake up a little bit you've got exams coming up" (3: 475-477)

4.3.3 Successful Mediation Themes (Outside of Theoretical Perspective)

Agreeing future behaviour

The majority of pupils mentioned making an agreement in the mediation as a key factor in helping them to change their behaviour after the mediation. These agreements were felt to provide clear guidelines about future behaviour. Most pupils noted that they agreed to be civil to the other person and stay out of their way:

"[We agreed] that I wouldn't sit next to her on the bus...that I wouldn't like do nasty things to her" (2: 95-96)

"We just wouldn't be...well we'd just be ignoring each other...just staying out of the way or each other" (5: 160-161)

"[We agreed] just to stay away from each other and not to react to anything that we do and stuff like that" (7: 185-186)

Half of the pupils noted that having direction from an adult in the mediation helped them to agree on future behaviours and to have a calm and controlled conversation with the other person:

"When the teacher's there she's like oh its your turn to speak and its your turn to speak if there was no teacher there there'd be no control and everyone would just be trying to get there word in" (8: 201-204)

"I think it was a bit more strict [which made it better]...it was...it was you will do this not you should do this" (7: 209-210)

"I think it was like them [the adult]...it was the promise of making you stay out of each others way because if it wasn't then we probably would have had another fight" (5: 135-155)

Three pupils felt that they (or the other person) would not break the agreement for fear of getting in to trouble, and this seemed to be the primary motivation for changes in behaviour:

"[The helpful bit was] the agreement mainly cos we had to sign it so if he said anything or done anything than it would have broken the agreement so then he would have to be in isolation again and he would know about it" (6: 173-175)

"[Making the agreement] kind of made me feel that they weren't carrying out an empty threat" (5: 180)

"Well I don't like him but...I think I'd better...I'm agreeing to keep out of his way so as not to get kicked out of school again...or out of school I mean not again...but you know in trouble again" (5: 175-177)

Separation from the Peer Group

Three of the pupils noted that the mediation allowed them to have a conversation away from the influence of the peer group. This was felt to be a positive factor as the other person was considered to be more genuine when they were alone, away from the influence of their friends. However, as will be mentioned later in this chapter, pupils still face the challenge of overcoming wider peer group attitudes when changing their behaviour after the mediation:

"Its your chance when you're out there and you walk up to somebody and go look I'm sorry and they're with their mates and your like you know can I speak to you on your own and their mates will be like round the corner or something...they'll just show off anyway to still get that reputation and you can't really say anything...you can't say look what's going on kind of thing" (3:301-306)

"Not really to be honest [you can't talk in the playground] cos there are just so many people…its really annoying to be honest…they crowd you and stir it up a bit" (4: 105-106)

"Cos you can't when they are in a group they think they are so hard or something but I actually spent time with them on their own and I made up with them a little bit…I've spent time with them on their own and it's much nicer you can actually see who they are and when they are with everybody they are just always like trying to get a reputation" (3: 160-164)

4.3.4   Themes Suggesting Mediation is Not Working

Lack of Appropriate Action

There was some evidence that the systems in place in the school to manage bullying were ineffective. Two of the victims noted that the school had not responded to requests for support in the past, which felt unfair and frustrating for the victims:

"I had trouble with him before and the school didn't really do anything about it…I can see that they are busy and they have things to do but it resulted in me getting beaten up which I think that's not very good" (3: 207-209)

"To be fair I had been for over a year I'd just been walking away and just ignoring it and saying oh the teacher's will deal with it" (7: 117-119)

In addition three pupils (a mixture of bullies and victims) felt that the mediation failed to punish the person who had caused the harm, leading them to view the mediation as ineffective:

"He was just put in isolation and that's with people as well and you can do minimum of work in here...and you get no teachers to like have a go at you if they're like cos they're on their own normally...they can do whatever they want...normally they have to stay at break and lunch so that's the only hard bit about it" (6: 188-192)

"I just sat in isolation and Miss was like I think your just gonna have a mediation and then you'll be able to go and that's it really" (8: 32-35)

Vulnerability of the Victim

Two of the victims expressed concern about how they were treated in the mediation. The victims are potentially in a vulnerable position, being asked to meet with the person who has caused them harm. Both victims expressed feeling punished through the process of having a mediation:

"Like if somebody hits me or punches me they put me in here when I feel like the person who does something to me should be put in here...my Dad's had meetings with the teachers and all of that about it and I don't

think I should be in here if someone like punches me or something" (3: 25-28)

"Um I didn't really want to [have a mediation] because he doesn't like apologising and he likes covering up stuff so if he was in trouble he would try and blame it on someone else...so I thought he would just try and blame it on someone else" (6: 38-40)

These victims also experienced a lack of respect from the other person, describing them as not taking the mediation seriously, not listening to them when they spoke, and not paying attention in the mediation. In addition, when they were away from the teacher they reported being laughed at and fears that the discussions they had in the mediation would not be kept confidential by the other person:

"The teacher left the room so we could sort it out ourselves cos she felt confident enough that we wasn't going to fight or anything and then um she just laughed at me...the teacher would walk out and A would just like point and laugh" (3: 353-356)

"Well I knew it was going to happen [he would take what I said and tell other people] but it was only...it wasn't a lot so it was only one or two things" (6: 96-97)

"If he would…if it was like he would have paid more attention and Miss to like give him a caution to make him concentrate cos it was like a joke to him at first…he didn't care or anything about it" (6: 167-169)

One of the victims noted that it was difficult to trust the other person in the mediation and believe what they were saying because of their experiences in the past. For the other victim this was a salient observation as they experienced continued bullying despite agreements made in the mediation:

"It kind of works but it doesn't…there's always going to be that thing in the back of your head that you can never really trust that person again and when you do it happens again…it's just continuous…so I don't know…mediations alright but it doesn't always go as you think it will" (3: 286-289)

Creating Further Animosity

For three pupils (including the two categorised as having an unsuccessful mediation) the other person was perceived as lying in the mediation. This created feelings of frustration and anger, rather than helping the pupils develop a shared understanding of the situation:

"[I felt] a bit annoyed cos then the teacher's think that I've lied or she's lied" (2: 62)

"I just felt like getting up and beating him up [when the other person was lying]" (1: 80)

For one pupil in particular (a bully), the mediation seemed to stimulate further disagreements:

"Its probably getting worse cos I'm having anger management and I still feel like beating him up and all that...and I'm making life worse for him" (1: 147-148)

"Yeah...we were harder on each other [after the mediation]" (1: 128)

4.3.5   Themes Relating to the Complexity of Bullying

Complexity of Social Relationships

All of the pupils interviewed made reference to the social systems within the school, with the majority having a long-standing relationship with the other person:

"Well we used to be friends in Year 8...we used to be like best friends in Year 8 and then we just sort of fell out and never really...he just sort of changed and I don't like him at all now...and I look at him and hear about him and I just can't think how I was friends with him" (7: 81-84)

"I think I still need to move away…it would have been better if it was just like a one off but it wasn't…he was an idiot to a lot of people like since he came into the school…so it's a bit annoying" (6: 157-159)

Three pupils mentioned protecting their siblings as part of the bullying:

"I am kind of I do kind of feel bad that I done stuff to protect my brother but in a way I don't…I have no problem with how I protect my brother cos for me its how I am towards my brother and that" (8: 53-56)

The majority of pupils mentioned that the bullying took place within the wider peer group, with pressure throughout the school to conform to peer group attitudes and values:

"Basically in this school a lot of people try to get a reputation of being hard and all this…I hate that…I hate that people can't just have a reputation for being like a nice person and not fighting…fighting gets you popular…gets you friends and everybody if your friends with that person then you're hard and you're cool too and everybody gets you to try and do something and you'll do it and get in trouble" (3: 257-262)

"I think it was more the other people who were around him who encouraged him so he did it cos he knew if he did it other people would start laughing and like coaxing him on and making him do more…I think

if they wouldn't have done that he probably wouldn't have done a lot to a lot of people" (6: 60-64)

"Things were took differently and I had people coming up to me saying I'm going to beat you up and stuff like that" (4: 7-9)

"And then the next day A comes into school today and then I wore this hat again and um I went to my first lesson...took off my hat and she just laughed all the time everybody that said it didn't act that bad yesterday just laughed with her...its like what's the point...she's hard so they all do it so they can get a reputation too" (3: 389-393)

For one pupil, the involvement of other peers and the influence of the peer group created a major barrier for change after the mediation. Only through making changes in their own behaviour, were they able to change the level of bullying they were experiencing from the other person:

"The last mediation with her it's like really good it's fine and she was like uh nearly crying and all this then as soon as we walked out the door all her mates were waiting stood outside the gate and as soon as I walked out she just looks at me and goes like...why put on that act when you are in there? Like she acted all innocent and then as soon as she gets out there she just changes...as soon as she's with her mates...I really...that annoyed me the most...same day...two minutes after the

mediation...she just does it again...just like what's the point kind of thing" (3: 338-345)

"Mediation its good but for little things...if I was to have a fall out with a mate it would be a good thing but having the whole school after you and people getting up and wanting to get you outside school a mediation doesn't even put a dent in it you know so I don't know what else you can do...its quite hard to say" (3: 550-554)

In addition to being referred to as a negative influence, peers were also viewed as a positive, protective factor by two victims:

"I wanted to move forms cos he was in my form and um and move to another form where I had a lot more friends cos I had like 15 or 20 people who are in P but in N I only had like 5 people" (6: 53-55)

Impact of Bullying Experience

All of the victims interviewed made reference to the negative experience of being bullied. This was something that they had experienced over a long period of time, which had caused them considerable hurt and that they had been unable to escape from, with one pupil noting that he had been bullied both inside and outside of school:

"You know they are just saying it so you get scared or you assume but part of your head says yeah they are trying to scare you just go away go

away and then the other part of your head is going look this could be serious" (3: 223-226)

"I didn't show it but like in my heart it really did hurt...like people taking the mick out of you especially when it happens all of the time...it really does get to you after a while" (3: 316-318)

"It was ok but I just wanted to either stay away from him or just make him shut up which I couldn't really stay away from him cos he was always sitting next to me...in the seating plan I had to sit next to him in about three different classes and even if I didn't sit next to him I was in most of his classes anyway...and he was always saying like I heard my name and then an insult and then like laughing and they were just looking at me" (7: 106-111).

4.4   Chapter Conclusion

This chapter presented the results from the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data gathered. To address the first research question, questionnaires were analysed to see whether there were any differences between each of the bullying groups in terms of levels of respect, pride, emotional value, shame acknowledgement and shame displacement. Key findings from the analysis include:

- Nonbully/Nonvictims had a significantly higher score than Victims on a measure of respect;

- For shame acknowledgement, Bullies had a significantly lower score than Victims and Nonbully/Nonvictims;

- For shame displacement, Bully/Victims had a significantly higher score than Victims;

- On a measure of pride, no significant differences were found between the different bullying groups;

- For emotional value, although the two-way between subjects ANOVA suggested significant differences between the groups, post-hoc comparisons did not identify any significant differences;

- Finally, Nonbully/Nonvictims and Victims both had significantly higher shame acknowledgement scores in comparison to their shame displacement scores. For Bullies and Bully/Victims there were no significant differences between their shame acknowledgement and shame displacement scores.

To address the second research question, a thematic analysis of pupil interviews was completed to see whether the mediations were successful and whether this success was related to processes identified by the shame management perspective. Key findings from this analysis include:

- Using the criteria that the bullying behaviour had stopped since the mediation, 6 of the 8 pupils had successful mediations;

- The mediation appeared to support pupils in taking a shared responsibility for the bullying and this was related to having a successful mediation;

- Making amends for the harm caused was not viewed as an important part of the mediation by pupils;

- Most pupils changed their feelings towards the other person after the mediation, expressing negative emotions of less strength or of indifference, compared to pre-mediation;

- Half the pupils showed a greater understanding of the other person's perspective and of their own behaviour, however, most pupils were still uncertain about the other person's thoughts and feelings even after the mediation;

- Three of the 4 victims interviewed, described feeling empowered by the mediation process to make changes to their own behaviour;

- Making a clear agreement about future behaviour in the mediation, with support from an adult was identified as a key part of the intervention by the majority of pupils. For some pupils this was linked to fear of getting into trouble if they broke the agreement further;

- For 3 pupils separation from the peer group during the mediation was identified as a key factor in supporting the success of the mediation;

- References by a minority of the pupils to a lack of appropriate action by the school, the vulnerability of the victim in the mediation and the mediation acting as a catalyst for further bullying, indicates that mediation is not always an appropriate or effective intervention;

- Finally, references by all pupils to the complexity of social relationships in school and by victims to the negative impact of bullying, highlighted the complex nature of bullying behaviour in schools.

The following chapter will discuss these key findings and interpret their implications for practice within the context of previous research and the methodological design used.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1   Introduction

The previous chapter presented the results from this study. This chapter will discuss these results within the context of other relevant research findings. It will begin by presenting a brief overview of the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice in order to aid understanding of the discussion of the results. It will then discuss the findings of both the quantitative and qualitative strands of the study, before considering how these strands combine to address the main research question. Following this a section evaluating the limitations and strengths of the methodology will be included. Finally, the implications of the results for future practice and research in this area will be considered, before the researcher's personal reflections on the research process as a whole are presented.

5.2   Theoretical Perspective of Restorative Justice

The theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice is central to the interpretation of the results from this study. A brief overview of this perspective will therefore be given prior to the discussion of the results (a more detailed description of this theoretical perspective was provided in Chapter 1).

Morrison's (2006b) theoretical model linking Restorative Justice and school bullying was explored in this study. This model emphasises the role of shame management and feelings as part of the school community

in differentiating between the four bullying status groups (Nonbully/Nonvictim, Victim, Bully and Bully/Victim). In terms of shame management, the four bullying status groups are proposed to differ in terms of the degree to which they acknowledge or displace feelings of shame as a result of harmful behaviour. Acknowledging shame is viewed as adaptive and involves recognising feelings about one's own behaviour, taking responsibility for this behaviour and making amends for any harm caused as a consequence. Contrastingly, displacing shame is viewed as maladaptive and involves blaming others for one's own behaviour, resulting in anger towards others viewed as responsible, rather than accepting personal responsibility and making amends. There is evidence to suggest that the four bullying status groups differ in terms of their shame management style, with Nonbully/Nonvictims and Victims more likely to use shame acknowledgement strategies and Bullies and Bully/Victims more likely to use shame displacement strategies (Ahmed, 2001c, 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004, 2006; Menesini & Camodeca, 2008; Morrison, 2006b). In terms of feelings about the school community, this model suggests that bullying behaviour patterns are linked to social status within the school, which can be measured by the constructs of pride, respect and emotional value. Specifically, there is evidence to suggest that Victims are more likely to experience low levels of respect and emotional value, and Bully/Victims are more likely to experience low levels of pride, respect and emotional value as part of the school community (Morrison, 2006b).

On the basis of the evidence in support of this theoretical perspective, Morrison (2006b), argues that Restorative Justice interventions can form a basis for supporting Bullies and Bully/Victims in managing feelings of shame in response to harmful behaviour, by helping them to acknowledge their feelings, take responsibility and make amends. This is achieved through understanding the other person's perspective and empathising with their experience. In addition, Restorative Justice interventions are argued to support Victims and Bully/Victims to feel respected and integrated as part of the school community.

5.3   Research Question 1: Does bullying behaviour relate to shame management and feelings about the school community?

The results from the questionnaire, partially support Morrison's (2006b) model of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention. As predicted by Morrison, Victims reported significantly lower scores on a measure of respect as part of the school community in comparison to Nonbully/Nonvictims. This indicates that Victims feel less respected as a member of the school community and is in line with previous research studies that have found a relationship between victimisation and social rejection (Schuster, 1999). In addition, Nonbully/Nonvictims and Victims both had significantly higher shame acknowledgement scores in comparison to Bullies, where as Bully/Victims had significantly higher shame displacement scores when compared to Non-bullies/Non-victims. As found in previous research studies (Ahmed, 2001c, 2006; Ahmed &

Braithwaite, 2004, 2006; Menesini & Camodeca, 2008; Morrison, 2006b), Nonbully/Nonvictims and Victims are more likely to use adaptive shame acknowledgement strategies when responding to situations where their behaviour has caused harm, whilst Bully/Victims are more likely to use shame displacement strategies. In addition, unlike previous studies that considered only between group differences, this study investigated within group differences in terms of shame management style. As predicted, by Morrison's (2006b) model, Nonbully/Nonvictims and Victims both had significantly higher shame acknowledgement scores in comparison to their shame displacement scores, indicating that not only are they more likely than other groups to use shame acknowledgement strategies, they are also more likely to use shame acknowledgement strategies in comparison to shame displacement strategies.

In contrast to previous research studies (Ahmed, 2001c, 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004, 2006; Menesini & Camodeca, 2008; Morrison, 2006b), the four bullying groups were not found to differ significantly on measures of pride and emotional value. These measures of social status were therefore not found to be significant for this sample from the UK population. In addition, Bullies were not found to use higher levels of shame displacement strategies in comparison to Victims and Nonvictim/Nonbullies and for Bullies there were no significant differences between their use of shame displacement strategies in comparison to their use of shame acknowledgement strategies. Under Morrison's (2006b) model it would be expected for Bullies to be more likely to use

shame displacement strategies. The results of this study suggest that whilst bullies are using lower levels of shame acknowledgement strategies they are not using higher levels of shame displacement strategies in comparison to the other bullying groups. They are less likely to acknowledge feelings, take responsibility and make amends, however, this is not associated with blaming others.

This study, has therefore only replicated some of the findings predicted by Morrison (2006b) and found in previous studies (Ahmed, 2001c, 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2004, 2006; Menesini & Camodeca, 2008). Table 14 gives an overview of the predictions supported by the findings of this study. It should be noted however, that the reduction in sample size from that anticipated may have resulted in some differences failing to be identified (this will be discussed further in section 5.6).

Table 14: Predictions according to Morrison's (2006b) model and results obtained

Group	Prediction	Result
Nonbully/	Higher use of shame acknowledgement in comparison to B & B/V	✓ for B
Nonvictim (N)	Higher use of shame acknowledgement in comparison to shame displacement strategies	✓
Victim (V)	Higher use of shame acknowledgement in comparison to B & B/V	✓ for B
	Higher use of shame acknowledgement in comparison to shame displacement strategies	✓
	Lower levels of respect in comparison to N & B	✓ for N
Bully (B)	Higher use of shame displacement in comparison to N & V	
	Higher use of shame displacement in comparison to shame acknowledgement strategies	
Bully/Victim	Higher use of shame displacement in comparison to N & V	✓ for N
(B/V)	Lower levels of pride in comparison to N, V and B	
	Lower levels of emotional value in comparison to N, V and B	
	Lower levels of respect in comparison to N & B	

5.3.1 Conclusion for Research Question 1

The results from this study suggest that there is a relationship between shame acknowledgement strategies and feelings as part of the school community and bullying behaviour. Specifically, Nonbullies/Nonvictims and Victims are more likely to use shame acknowledgement strategies, whilst Bully/Victims are more likely to use shame displacement strategies. In addition, Victims are less likely to feel respected as part of the school community. This study has provided evidence from a UK population, which is in line with the results from previous research. Not all of the expected differences were found, however, it has been noted

that this may be a reflection of the small group sizes obtained in this study. It seems that the different bullying groups differ in terms of their ability to acknowledge their negative feelings about their behaviour, take responsibility for this behaviour and make amends for any harm caused. In addition, the place of victims as part of the school community seems particularly vulnerable. These findings, along with the findings of previous research, suggest that helping pupils to use more effective shame acknowledgement strategies and supporting victims as part of the school community are potential avenues for interventions in response to bullying behaviours in schools in the UK.

5.4 Research Question 2: What are the outcomes of the intervention and are these outcomes commensurate with that predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice?

The pupil interviews identified a range of outcomes of the mediations, both in line with the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice and in contrast to this perspective. In addition, other themes emerged from the data which are of interest to the use of mediations as a bullying intervention and these will be discussed at the end of this section.

5.4.1 Restorative Justice Outcomes

As with any bullying intervention, a central aim of the use of mediation within the Restorative Justice perspective is to reduce the bullying behaviours that led to the intervention. In this study, within the context of

the mediation programme in a particular school, the majority of pupils interviewed stated that the bullying behaviour had stopped after the mediation. This was in the short term as interviews with pupils took place within two weeks of them having the mediation. To date, research has not considered the outcomes for pupils of Restorative Justice mediations specifically so there is little other data to compare this finding to. An appropriate comparison can be made with restorative conferences as these follow a similar process only with additional people present from the school community and pupils' families. Results from previous research into the effectiveness of restorative conferences (used for bullying and other negative behaviours) suggests that high proportions (between 78% and 92%) are evaluated as successful by pupils on account of the fact that no further incidents took place (Morrison, 2006a; Varnham, 2005; YJB, 2004). Therefore, within this school context and considering the small sample of mediations, this study suggests that Restorative Justice mediations are potentially a successful way of preventing further bullying incidents, in line with previous findings for restorative conferences.

A key outcome within the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice is for the pupils involved in the bullying to take responsibility for their own behaviour, with a particular emphasis on the bully taking responsibility for the harm caused. In this study, the majority of pupils interviewed assumed a shared responsibility for the bullying incident after the mediation. For some this represented a shift from before the mediation

where they placed the responsibility with the other person or someone external to the mediation. The process of the Restorative Justice mediation therefore seemed to help these pupils take responsibility for their behaviour. This outcome has not been specifically considered in previous research within the school context, however, research in the criminal justice system suggests that offenders who participated in restorative justice conferences experienced a greater sense of responsibility for their offending behaviour in comparison to offenders who had not had access to this intervention (Beven et al., 2005). Taking responsibility for the bullying behaviour appeared to be linked to the successful outcome of the Restorative Justice mediation, with the only two pupils who did not take responsibility also being categorised as having unsuccessful mediations. Again, previous research has not looked at this issue specifically, however, at a theoretical level individuals who accept personal responsibility over wrongdoing are argued to refrain from further wrongdoing because they have considered the harmful consequences and will therefore avoid them in the future (Ahmed, 2006; Ahmed & Braithwaite, 2006).

The emphasis from the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice is on the bully taking responsibility for their harmful behaviour, and in doing so taking the initial steps in employing shame acknowledgement strategies. This stems from its background in the criminal justice system where there is a clear victim and offender, with the goal of the Restorative Justice intervention to help the offender take responsibility

for the harm they have caused. The results in this study differ in that the outcome of the Restorative Justice mediation tended to be a shared responsibility taken by the victim and the bully, rather than the bully taking full responsibility. This may link to the long standing and complex relationships between victims and bullies as people who have often interacted as part of a social system over a number of years. Indeed, in a review of a pilot Restorative Justice school intervention Edgar (2002, cited in YJB, 2004, p. 12), noted that there was often a lack of a clearly identifiable victim, with each person having been the perpetrator of harm at some stage during an escalating conflict. The nature of this relationship may therefore lend itself to an outcome of shared responsibility. In addition, research indicates that victims can be split into passive and provocative victims (see Mahady Wilton, Craig, & Pepler, 2000, for an overview). Passive victims are withdrawn and avoid conflict, whilst provocative victims actively antagonise bullies and will counter-attack when bullied. A provocative victim may therefore be more likely to accept some responsibility for the bullying behaviour and may make it more difficult for the bully to take full responsibility.

The theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice places an emphasis on making amends as part of the intervention. This is viewed as a key part of the process which helps those who have caused harm use more adaptive shame management strategies and helps those who have been harmed feel respected. The evidence from the pupils in this study indicates that for the majority this was not viewed as an important part of

the Restorative Justice mediation, with only two of the pupils making reference to the positive impact of having the opportunity to apologise. A review of the literature did not identify any studies that had looked at the importance of making amends as part of Restorative Justice interventions both within the school context and within the criminal justice system. The theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice does make links between the initial step of taking responsibility for behaviour and the subsequent step of making amends for this harm. As discussed previously, perhaps the tendency for pupils to assume shared responsibility in this study reduces the obligation for the perceived bully to apologise to the perceived victim. Either way, the evidence from pupils in this study suggests that making amends was not an important part of the Restorative Justice mediation, however, a lack of reparation did not seem to influence the success of the mediation in the short term.

A final outcome of the mediation proposed by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice is for those involved to be able to acknowledge their feelings around the bullying incident. This is again viewed theoretically as part of the process towards accepting responsibility and making amends. There is an expectation within the theoretical perspective that the feelings that will be acknowledged as a result of the Restorative Justice mediation will include notions of shame as a result of the bullying behaviour. Whilst all respondents were able to describe their feelings around the bullying, only two expressed negative feelings about their behaviour as part of the mediation. This included feelings of guilt

and of acting selfishly, not taking into account the other person. However, given the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice argues that bullies are less likely to acknowledge feelings of shame as a result of causing harm, the fact that the majority of bullies did not is perhaps not surprising. This is supported by further research that suggests bullies lack empathy and are guided by egocentric reasoning which makes them indifferent to victims' sufferings (for a review see Menesini & Camodeca, 2008). For victims, a lack of self efficacy and fear of being exposed to other's judgement (particularly someone who has been causing them harm) may limit their motivation to disclose their feelings honestly (Hawker & Boulton, 2000; Olthof, Schouten, Kuiper, Stegge, & Jennekens-Schinkel, 2000). Therefore, although the sample in this study did not report acknowledging feelings of shame as a result of the intervention, this may be a reflection of the characteristics of those involved in the Restorative Justice mediations. In addition, the differing context of the school to the criminal justice system, particularly in the fact that the pupils continue to interact as part of the school system post mediation, means that expressing emotions honestly in the mediation may present a significant risk to the pupils involved.

The outcomes discussed previously in this section, are proposed to occur through the process of listening to the other person's side of the story and feelings as a result, which is suggested to increase empathy and understanding for the other person. Half of the pupils interviewed in this study noted that listening to the other person's story had helped

them to understand the other person's actions. However, only two pupils (both victims) expressed any empathy towards the other person. As noted previously this may link to the characteristics of those involved in the mediations, particularly the bullies who have been shown to have a lack of empathy for other pupils (Arsenio & Lemerise, 2001, 2004; Bjorkqvist et al., 2000). In addition, if those involved in the mediation found it difficult to express their feelings about the bullying behaviour, this may have removed the catalyst for developing empathy for the other person. In a review of the emotional processes that occur in restorative conferences in the criminal justice system, Van Stokkom (2002) notes that it is the elicitation of shame and other hurt revealing emotions that can lead to the development of empathy. In addition, there is evidence that when victims show little emotions in a Restorative Justice conference the offender is less affected by the intervention (Sherman et al., 2000). Indeed, the majority of pupils interviewed expressed continuing uncertainty about the other person's thoughts and feelings post the Restorative Justice mediation so may not have had a clear understanding of the other person's perspective from which to develop feelings of empathy.

A final outcome of the Restorative Justice intervention, within the theoretical perspective explored in this study, is that the process will help the victim to feel respected and supported as part of the school community. In this study victims reported feeling safer and less worried after the Restorative Justice mediation. Previous studies of school

based Restorative Justice interventions have also identified that victims feel safer after the intervention (see Morrison, 2006a; and Sherman & Strang, 2007, for a review). In addition, evaluations of Restorative Justice conferences in the criminal justice system have repeatedly found that victims feel less fearful, more secure, a reduced likelihood of revictimisation and less anxiety after a Restorative Justice conference (Beven et al., 2005; Strang et al., 2006). Victims in this study also reported making changes after the Restorative Justice mediation and this seemed to be linked to gaining an increased understanding of their own role in the bullying behaviour during the mediation. This change may also be linked to the shift towards shared responsibility for the bullying behaviour that the majority of victims made during the mediation. Previous research into Restorative Justice bullying interventions in the school context have not discussed changes in victim behaviour as a result of the intervention. In the criminal justice system, changes in victim behaviour has less relevance as there tends to be a less complex and long standing relationship between the victim and offender in this context and they do not continue to have a relationship after the intervention. Shifts in victim behaviour may therefore be an outcome unique to the application of Restorative Justice in the school context. This study suggests that Restorative Justice mediation may support victims in making changes to their own behaviour, in particular in employing more assertive strategies to avoid and protect themselves from bullying after the mediation, which research suggests victims tend not to use (Hunter & Boyle, 2004). Although, it should be noted that

these findings are from a small sample of four victims and may not be reflective of a wider population.

5.4.2 Additional Outcomes

Although generally included as part of Restorative Justice interventions (Hopkins, 2004; YJB, 2004) making an agreement as part of the intervention is not explicitly listed as one of the key outcomes of the shame management perspective of Restorative Justice. For this reason, making an agreement as part of the intervention has been included as an additional outcome of the Restorative Justice mediations, rather than an outcome predicted by the shame management perspective. In this study, the majority of pupils mentioned making an agreement as a key factor for the success of the mediation. This provided the pupils with clear guidelines about how to behave and a number of pupils noted that this process benefited from having an adult to facilitate the agreement. Explicitly setting out and agreeing on future behaviour appears to have helped pupils reduce bullying behaviours in the short term. The Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1991, in Armitage & Conner, 2001, p. 471) states that beliefs and attitudes will influence behavioural intentions, which in turn influence behaviour. This includes both beliefs about one's ability to control their own behaviour and beliefs about other social pressures to conform to the behaviour (see Armitage & Conner, 2001, for an overview). Within this framework, therefore, stating behavioural intentions explicitly may in turn lead to a change in behaviour. For a number of pupils in this study beliefs about the social outcome of not

complying with the agreement (i.e. getting in trouble at school) provided further motivation to carry out the agreed behavioural intentions in the short term. In addition, evidence suggests that individuals who have taken part in the decision making process are more likely to comply with the outcomes (Roche, 2003, in Beven et al., 2005, p. 195).

Whilst, as noted in the previous section, the Restorative Justice mediation resulted in positive outcomes for the victims, such as feeling safer, less anxious and making assertive decisions to change their own behaviour, negative outcomes were also identified by two of the four victims interviewed. They both expressed feelings of being punished by taking part in the mediation. This was as a result of having to spend time out of lessons away from their peers and feeling blamed in the mediation with the other person not accepting responsibility for the harm caused. In contrast to the goal of Restorative Justice for victims to feel respected as part of the intervention, these pupils both reported being actively disrespected by the other person in the mediation, with confidentiality rules broken. Previous evaluations of Restorative Justice conferences in schools have tended to indicate high levels of satisfaction from victims about the process (Morrison, 2006a; Sherman & Strang, 2007; YJB, 2004). These studies appear to use questionnaires and ratings scales to measure the outcomes of the intervention, which may fail to capture some of the difficulties experienced by those involved (Miers et al., 2001). In their evaluation of Restorative Justice conferences in the criminal justice system employing a qualitative

methodology, Strang et al. (2006) note that for a small minority of victims Restorative Justice is a negative experience that did not improve the situation and may have made it worse, although they do not provide further details of what this constitutes specifically. In addition, to victims expressing some dissatisfaction with the process, one bully in the study noted that the mediation had stimulated further disagreements as they perceived the other person in the mediation as lying. This further highlights the vulnerability of the victim in the Restorative Justice mediation and the potential for further harm to be caused as a result of the intervention.

5.4.3 Other Themes Emerging from Interviews

Half of the pupils interviewed noted that there appeared to be a lack of appropriate action in response to the bullying, with the systems in school viewed as not responding to all bullying incidents and a perception that the mediation failed to punish the person who caused harm. For some pupils, therefore, the Restorative Justice mediation was seen as too lenient and not an appropriate punishment. This may be an inevitable consequence of a Restorative Justice intervention, given the emphasis on repairing the harm caused rather than punishing the bully. Traditionally schools have disciplined pupils for breaking school rules through sanctioning systems, such as detentions and school exclusions (Morrison et al., 2005). This is also the dominant model operating in society in general, with those who break the law set an appropriate punishment. Pupils in this study may therefore be working within two

conflicting cultures. Whilst the overall school culture may be moving towards a restorative approach, there is still an emphasis on punishment in response to wrongdoing in wider society. Pupils may therefore have an expectation that the bully should be appropriately punished which is at odds with the values underpinning the Restorative Justice mediations. In addition, there is a distinct difference between the victim-offender relationship in the criminal justice system and the victim-bully relationship in the school community. Morrison et al. (2005) note that unlike victims and offenders, victims and bullies have a previous relationship and will most likely see each other the next day after the mediation. In addition, as noted previously, it is not always easy to define a clear victim and bully within the school context, as their relationships are often long standing and involve multiple acts of victimisation between the two parties (Edgar 2002, in YJB, 2004, p. 12). This has implications for the interventions which could result in the victim feeling punished themselves for the process. For example, both pupils can be perceived to be treated the same through the process. Without a clear victim and offender both parties share the responsibility and both make agreements about their future behaviour. This is in contrast to the criminal justice system, where the emphasis is on the offender to agree to do certain things (Sherman & Strang, 2007).

The involvement of the peer group in the bullying incident and after the Restorative Justice mediation was a recurrent theme throughout the pupil interviews. The majority of pupils had a long-standing relationship with

the other person and the peer group was cited as a major barrier for change after the mediation. As mentioned previously, the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1991, in Armitage & Conner, 2001, p. 471) suggests that a combination of beliefs and intentions predict future behaviour. This includes beliefs about social outcomes as a result of the behaviour. Whilst, as suggested previously pupils may be motivated to meet the acceptable social beliefs of the adults within the mediation, they may also be motivated by the social beliefs of their peer group and for some negative bullying behaviour may be valued by their peers. There is a wealth of research linking pupil behaviour to the peer group. In a review of the research in this area Nesdale (2007) concludes that group membership appears to be of considerable importance to children. Specifically to bullying, research suggests that classroom norms (whether behaviours are rewarded or sanctioned by peers) have an impact on pupils' bullying attitudes and behaviours (Roland & Galloway, 2002; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004), and that pupils within the same peer group display comparable levels of bullying (Esplage et al., 2003; Pelligrini et al., 1999; Salmivalli & Voeten, 2004). This research is in line with the views of pupils in this study and suggests that the peer group is likely to have an influence on the long term behavioural changes agreed in the mediation.

A final theme emerging from the interviews with pupils is the negative impact bullying had on the victims involved in the study. All of the victims commented on the negative experience of bullying, causing them

considerable hurt over a long period of time. In addition the inescapable aspect of bullying was noted, with pupils tied together within the school environment and affected outside of school. There is strong research evidence for the short and long term negative outcomes of bullying for victims (Boulton, 1995; Boulton & Smith, 1994; Crick & Grotpeter, 1996; Hawker & Boulton, 2000; Sharp, 1995, 1996; Sharp & Thompson, 1992), therefore at face value this is not a particularly novel finding. However, it seems significant that all of the victims in this study made reference to these negative experiences, despite the fact that the questions in the semi-structured interview did not seek to obtain this information. References to the negative experiences of bullying were therefore shared spontaneously by the victims in this study. This finding may help to explain the other negative outcomes found for victims. As discussed previously, some of the victims in this study expressed feeling punished by the mediation process and disrespected by the bully in the mediation. Given the negative outcomes of bullying experienced by these pupils, the Restorative Justice mediation process within this school context may not be providing ways to repair the harm caused.

5.4.4 Conclusion for Research Question 2

Research question 2 focused on the outcomes of the Restorative Justice mediations and whether these outcomes were in line with the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice. The outcomes identified from the pupil interviews in this study are as follows:

- A reduction in the bullying behaviour within the short term two week period post mediation;

- Pupils assuming a shared responsibility for the bullying behaviour post mediation;

- For some pupils there was an increase in understanding of the other person's actions and feelings through the mediation process;

- Pupils made agreements about their future behaviour in the mediation and these were largely adhered to;

- The victims interviewed reported feeling safer, less worried, and made changes to their own behaviour after the mediation;

- On the other hand, some of the victims noted feeling punished by the mediation process and disrespected by the other person in the mediation;

- For the minority of pupils in the study, the bullying continued post mediation and in one instance was noted as getting worse.

The theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice explored in this study suggests that the outcomes for bullies should be to acknowledge their feelings about their behaviour, take responsibility for their behaviour and agree to make amends for the harm caused. For victims, it is suggested that they should feel respected, supported by the school community, and feel that their harm has been acknowledged and repaired as a result of the mediation. These outcomes are argued to occur through the conversations held in the mediation that lead to greater understanding

and empathy between the pupils. On the whole, in this study the outcomes of the Restorative Justice mediation are not in line with that predicted by this theoretical perspective. For the bullies, only a minority noted acknowledging feelings relating to shame about their behaviour and making amends for this behaviour. In addition, rather than taking responsibility for their behaviour, bullies tended to move towards taking shared responsibility for the behaviour. For victims, whilst some reported feeling safer and less worried as part of the school community, others reported feeling punished and disrespected as part of the mediation. In addition, only a minority of pupils noted feeling that the harm caused had been repaired through an apology. For both victims and bullies, there was some increased understanding of the other person's perspective, however, only a minority expressed empathy for the other person through the mediation process.

Although not directly explored in this study, it has been suggested within the discussion of these results that differences between the criminal justice system, where the intervention was originally developed and applied, and the school environment may explain why some of the outcomes predicted by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice were not achieved in this study. Specifically, in contrast to victims and offenders, victims and bullies often have a long and complex relationship that can involve an escalating conflict with mutual harm caused; as a result of this, there is often no clearly identified victim or offender pre-mediation which alters the process of the mediation and expectations of

the parties involved; and finally, victims and bullies continue to have a relationship within the school environment after the mediation. It has been hypothesised in this discussion that these differences are likely to impact on the openness and honesty of both parties within the mediation, which in turn impacts on further outcomes such as developing empathy and making amends which are suggested to derive from an open and honest discussion of the feelings of those involved. In addition, the complexity of the relationship prior to the mediation and lack of a clear victim and bully, may explain the shift towards a shared responsibility within this study, and may lead to the victim feeling punished as both are treated in the same way and asked to agree to make changes. In addition to these differences in the school environment, the influence of the peer group in the existence and maintenance of bullying and the conflicting systems of justice experienced by the pupil in the school (a restorative emphasis) and wider society (a punishment emphasis) may act as further barriers to obtaining the outcomes suggested by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice.

5.5 Main Research Question: Is there evidence to support the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice as a bullying intervention?

The results of this study indicate that there is evidence to support the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice in terms of the differences between the four bullying groups. Bullying behaviour was found to be associated with shame management and levels of respect as part of the

school community, with Nonbullies/Nonvictims and Victims more likely to use shame acknowledgement strategies and Victims less likely to feel respected as part of the school community. This is synonymous with prior research. Whilst not all of the differences predicted by Morrison's (2006b) model were found, this may reflect limitations in the sample size obtained. Logically, from this position, the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice argues that interventions, such as Restorative Justice mediations, that provide opportunities for both parties involved to share their thoughts and feelings, help Bullies and Bully/Victims to make greater use of shame acknowledgment strategies and help Victims to feel respected as part of the school community. Interviews with pupils in this study, suggest that the outcomes predicted by the Restorative Justice theoretical perspective do not occur in practice through the application of Restorative Justice mediations. It has been suggested in this discussion that the difficulties in achieving these outcomes in practice may be linked to a number of factors, including: difficulties transferring an intervention from the criminal justice system to the school context; the involvement of the peer group in the existence and maintenance of bullying behaviour; and barriers to implementing a less traditional approach to justice. In addition, the differences between the bullying groups observed in this study, as well as justifying the use of Restorative Justice bullying interventions may conversely make it difficult for the predicted outcomes to be obtained. In other words, the intervention is focusing on skills that evidence suggests bullies and victims are lacking, which may require more substantial intervention.

Whilst the outcomes of the Restorative Justice mediations in this sample were not found to be commensurate with the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice, it should be noted that in the short term they were reported to be effective in reducing bullying behaviour for the majority of pupils. Making a clear agreement between the pupils appeared to help them manage their relationship within the complex social environment of school. In addition, a positive outcome for victims was that in some instances they felt empowered to make changes to their own behaviour and take control of the bullying situation. In summary therefore, whilst the Restorative Justice mediations in this context do not appear to be working in line with the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice they do appear to be effective in other ways, and in line with previous research appear to be of value within the sample interviewed in tackling bullying, at least in the short term.

5.6 Evaluation of Methodology

The results of a study have to be interpreted within the limitations and strengths of the methodology employed. This section will evaluate the methodology used in this study through a discussion of its limitations and strengths.

5.6.1 Limitations

To address research question 1, a quantitative methodology was used with a self-complete questionnaire distributed to pupils in Years 8 and 9 in a mainstream secondary school in the UK. This questionnaire

included items measuring bullying and victimisation, shame management, and feelings as part of the school community. The main limitation of this aspect of the research design was the smaller than expected sample size obtained. This resulted in uneven sample sizes and particularly small numbers of respondents in the Bully/Victim and Bully categories. This reduced the power of the statistical tests used to compare the groups, which can result in a non-significant result, when differences in fact exist. It is reassuring that a number of the differences suggested by Morrison's (2006b) model were found, however, a failure to find some of the differences may be due to the sample size obtained. In a study like this where the groups cannot be actively targeted (i.e. it is not known who is a bully and who is a victim before they complete the questionnaire) and where the proportion of pupils who would be identified within each of the groups is unknown (due to the differences in bullying and victimisation levels in different schools) it can be difficult to accurately predict how many pupils to sample in order to achieve sufficient numbers in each of the groups. On reflection, asking the school to include an additional year group in the sample would have reduced the impact of pupils not being given the questionnaire for logistical reasons or failing to complete the questionnaire. However, at the time of agreeing the research with the school there were concerns about limiting the demands placed on the school as part of the research, in order to secure their support for the study. A further limitation of the sample used for this research question is that it was drawn from a school that is actively engaged in practising Restorative Justice. This work in

the school could have impacted on how respondents answered the questionnaire, in turn affecting the generalisability of the results to the wider population. However, given that the results achieved are generally in line with previous findings it does not seem that this was the case.

A further limitation of the quantitative methodology is the use of self-report as a measure of bullying and victimisation levels. Bullying and victimisation levels can be measured through self-report, peer nomination procedures, teacher reports and observational methods (P. K. Smith, 2004). Correlations between the various methods have been shown to be modest (Card, 2003, in P. K. Smith, 2004, p. 99) and therefore different methods might produce contrasting findings. On the basis of this, it is increasingly recognised that studies should employ multi-method approaches to measure bullying and victimisation levels (Pelligrini & Bartini, 2000; P. K. Smith, 2004). Whilst a multi-method approach may have provided more accurate constructs of bully and victim in this study, self-report methods were used to protect the pupils' anonymity and it provided a more economical approach to data collection and analysis, which was necessary in light of the timescales involved to complete the research. Most importantly, however, this self-report data was chosen as of the methods described previously, this is seen as the most reliable method for measuring bullying and victimisation in large scale surveys (Ahmad et al., 1991) and it is comparable to the methods used in previous studies that this research was seeking to generalise to the UK.

A final limitation of the quantitative methodology is that the items used in the questionnaire to measure the pride, emotional value and respect constructs were not well-established measures that have been subjected to tests of reliability and validity. To enable comparisons with Morrison's (2006b) findings the same items were used to measure these constructs. Morrison (2006b) had adapted these items from previous studies looking at the same concepts, however, this does not constitute an established measure. In addition, these items tended to focus on feelings about the school community in general, where as items tailored towards the individual's immediate peer group may have been a more valid measure of how a pupil felt about their wider peer relationships. To reduce the limitations of these measures, as part of the pilot study each of the items were discussed with a sample of 10 pupils to gain their interpretation of the meanings of the items and what they were measuring. This issue was also considered with peer researchers and supervisors. With some changes, it was agreed from the basis of these discussions that the measures had face validity. However, these items have not been subjected to tests of reliability which are necessary for the measures to be considered valid. In summary, therefore this study has assumed that the items used in previous studies are effective in measuring the constructs under study in order to allow comparisons across the studies, however, these measures have not been subjected to comprehensive tests of reliability and validity, and it is therefore not certain whether they are measuring the variables claimed.

To address research question 2, a qualitative methodology was used, with semi-structured interviews completed with 8 pupils after they had been involved in the mediation. The aim of these interviews was to gain the pupil's views about their experiences of the intervention, with a particular focus on the outcomes of the intervention from their perspective. A limitation of this design was the use of post-intervention interviews only with pupils asked to give their retrospective views of the mediation process and to recall their thoughts, feelings and behaviours before, during and after the mediation. This limits the validity of the information gathered as it is based on recollections of change rather than observed or pre and post measures of change. However, this approach was unavoidable in this study as it was not feasible to gain parental consent between the bullying incident and the mediation in order to complete a pre-intervention interview. In addition, there were concerns that a pre-intervention interview discussing similar issues to that in the mediation, may contaminate the mediation process. This issue has forced other studies to use a retrospective post-intervention interview approach when evaluating Restorative Justice interventions (Strang et al., 2006). In order to limit the impact of retrospective information, a short time frame was provided in which to complete the interviews (up to 2 weeks after the mediation). In addition, participants were provided with visual prompts to help ground them in the aspect of the mediation process being questioned. During the interviews participants did not appear to have difficulty recalling the information about the mediations. In addition, the consistency of information provided by participants and

the overlap with other research findings, suggests that the information provided in the interviews is valid.

A further limitation of the qualitative methodology employed to consider the outcomes of the mediation, is that a comparison group was not included in the research design. This therefore limits the inferences that can be made from the information provided by pupils, specifically that the outcomes reported by the pupils are attributable to the mediation process. The use of comparison groups in bullying research is potentially contentious; it would be unethical to have a non-treatment group for comparison who do not receive intervention from the school after experiencing bullying. A useful comparison would have been to consider the outcomes for pupils experiencing bullying in a school that employs a traditional "zero tolerance" approach to managing bullying; however, this would not be without difficulties as there would be a number of potentially confounding variables when comparing approaches in two different schools, particularly as the populations involved in the bullying interventions would be unpredictable. Whilst the lack of a comparison group in this study is a limitation, the alternative hypothesis that the outcomes found were not related to the intervention seems unlikely. Research suggests that bullying behaviour is stable over time (Ahmed, 2006; Boulton & Smith, 1994), therefore, the reduction in bullying after the mediations in the short term is unlikely to be a result of maturation effects. In addition, pupils were prompted and given the opportunity to discuss other factors outside of the mediation that may

have impacted on the outcome and asked open ended questions that did not make any inferences about the mediation.

A final limitation of the qualitative methodology employed is the small sample size involved and the impact of the researcher in both gathering and interpreting the data. As only a small sample was used this limits the generalisability of the conclusions made and the wider implications of this research to other contexts. In addition, within this methodology the researcher takes an interactive role in the interview process and has an impact on the data gathered and interpretations made. The power imbalance between the researcher and the pupils involved in the study, may have influenced the views expressed by the pupils, given that research suggests that younger people will often aim to give the answers they feel the researcher is hoping to achieve (Robson, 2002). To counteract this the researcher was clear at the beginning of the interview that they were interested to hear both good and bad experiences and emphasised the importance of being honest, with the added protection of anonymity and confidentiality. During the interview process it seemed that pupils were happy to discuss both negative and positive aspects of the mediation. The researcher can also potentially bias results at the interpretation stage, bringing their own experiences and assumptions when coding the interviews. Whilst this bias cannot be completely removed, being open about the researcher's own views and assumptions helps to make this process more transparent (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In contrast to previous research studies evaluating Restorative Justice

interventions that tend to be completed by advocates of Restorative Justice, the researcher in this study had no prior experience of the intervention and did not have any expectations about whether the theoretical perspective would apply to the UK context and in practice. This therefore limits the potential bias when a researcher is evaluating evidence that is intertwined with their own beliefs. In addition, to aid the accuracy of the interpretations made throughout the interviews, the researcher's interpretations were fed back to pupils for clarification and the codes used were reflected on with peer researchers and research supervisors.

5.6.2 Strengths

There are a number of strengths to the research design employed in this study. Most importantly the design used has enabled the research questions and aims described in Chapter 2 to be addressed. Research question 1 considered the relationship between bullying behaviour, shame management and feelings as part of the school community and aimed to test the findings from previous studies on a UK population. If the sample size in the design had been obtained, this question would have been answered more conclusively, however, the data gathered still allowed some of the previous findings to be tested, particularly for the victim and non-victim groups which had larger group sizes. Research question 2 considered the outcomes of the mediation from the pupils' perspective with the aim to evaluate the mediation process within a local context and to consider the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice

in practice. The methodology employed allowed rich information to be gathered from the pupils and for outcomes to be identified both within the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice and external to this. The use of semi-structured interviews employing open-ended questions supported pupils in expressing their views about the mediations organically without the constraints of closed questions and answers used in previous studies. Using a mixed methodology to answer the main research question has provided a richer evaluation of the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice. Previous research has looked specifically at the association between bullying behaviour, shame management and feelings about the school community as a means of understanding bullying behaviour, leading to inferences about the types of intervention (i.e. Restorative Justice) that would be suitable given the differences identified. By using a mixed methodology this research has not only tested the differences between the four bullying groups on a UK population, it has taken the theory a step further by considering its relevance in practice.

Looking specifically at the quantitative methodology a number of strengths can be identified. In particular, the use of pre-established measures for the majority of constructs brings reliability and validity to the data gathered. In addition, employing a questionnaire similar in design to that used by Morrison (2006b) allowed direct comparisons to be made between the results of that study and the current study. The use of appropriate parametric tests allowed the predictions of Morrison's

(2006b) model to be directly tested and the addition of an analysis considering differences between uses of shame acknowledgement and shame displacement strategies within each bully group provided further testing of the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice that had not been considered in previous research. As noted previously, the qualitative methodology employed allowed the processes of the mediation and the views of those involved to be explored. In particular use of a semi-structured interview allowed flexibility in identifying the outcomes of direct interest to the study and additional outcomes that could be flexibly included in the interview schedule. Most importantly the quality of the thematic analysis used in this study is a strength of the methodology used. Within the thematic analysis consideration was given to the impact of the researcher; to providing a transparent analysis with access to an example coded transcript and coding table in the appendices (see Appendix 7 and Appendix 8); to building in structured points within the analysis to reflect on the interpretations made in collaboration with peer researchers and research supervisors; to grounding the analysis and interpretation within theoretical knowledge and current research; and to using an appropriate sample to provide sufficient breadth and depth. These considerations are all viewed as quality markers when using a qualitative methodology (Yardley, 2000).

5.7   Research Implications

This section will first consider the implications of the research for practitioners implementing Restorative Justice bullying interventions,

before outlining the implications for Educational Psychologists. Finally it will describe the implications this research has for future research studies.

For those practitioners implementing bullying interventions that involve Restorative Justice mediations the implications for practice are as follows:

- Ensuring the protection of vulnerable pupils. This research, alongside other research findings, demonstrate the potential for vulnerable pupils to feel harmed by the mediation process and this should be borne in mind when implementing this approach;

- Monitoring behaviour after the mediation. This research demonstrated the varying experiences of pupils post mediation with a minority continuing to experience bullying. Interventions should carefully monitor the behaviour of those involved post mediation and opportunities to report any further harm caused should be made clear to those involved;

- Considering whether the mediation is suitable for those involved. Given the differences identified between the four bullying groups in this research, and the stability of these differences over time, consideration should be given to whether the mediation is suitable (e.g. in terms of readiness to listen, change, take responsibility etc) particularly where the roles of victim and bully are clearly defined.

- Giving thought to the differences between the criminal justice system and the school context when implementing a Restorative Justice approach and how these differences can be addressed.

For Educational Psychologists, the implications of this research are as follows:

- Considering the use of Restorative Justice mediations as a possible intervention for bullying in schools, on the basis of the success identified in this study and previous research;

- Applying the differences between the four bullying groups identified within the UK context in this study, when working with pupils who are engaged in or have experienced bullying;

- Using their research skills to support schools in developing systems for monitoring and evaluating bullying interventions, so that contributions can be made to the growing evidence base of different bullying interventions.

Finally, the results of this study also have implications for future research. Clearly, as identified in the literature review, there is still a need to systematically evaluate different approaches to bullying and this should inform future research. Specifically, leading on from this study future research studies could include:

- Using the results of the qualitative analysis to develop a questionnaire that can be used to evaluate the outcomes of the mediations on a larger sample, and to link these outcomes to bully

and victim characteristics (e.g. levels of shame management, empathy, provocative or passive victims);

- Comparing the outcomes of a Restorative Justice mediation and an intervention focusing on the agreement element of the mediation process (e.g. a solution-focused behavioural intervention, see Young & Holdorf, 2003) in order to evaluate the importance of the agreement aspect of the mediation identified in this study;

- Considering the longitudinal outcomes for pupils involved in Restorative Justice mediations;

- Employing a similar qualitative methodology (extended to include observations of mediations or conferences) to Restorative Justice bullying interventions in other contexts to build up a picture of the different processes and outcomes experienced.

5.8   Personal Reflections

This final section of the chapter will reflect on the research process of this study as a whole.   In particular, it will consider the educational research context that created a number of complications when implementing the study in practice.

Robson (2002) notes that *"one of the challenges inherent in carrying out investigations in the 'real world' lies in seeking to say something sensible about a complex, relatively poorly controlled and generally 'messy' situation"* (Robson, 2002, p. 4).   Completing research as an outside agency within a real world school setting in this study was certainly found

to be a complicated and unpredictable process. In the initial phase of negotiating the research with the school and securing agreement over the proposed responsibilities (both of the researcher and the school) and timescales involved there was considerable enthusiasm for the study and the school did not express significant concerns about 'hosting' the research. However, during the data collection period a number of complications arose that had implications for the study. Firstly, communicating with the person who was managing the research in the school was difficult. As they were often unavailable during the day and experiencing considerable pressures at the time of the data collection, they did not respond to telephone messages and emails from the researcher, which made communication difficult and delayed data collection. It also meant that when a number of the questionnaires were not completed, this was not directly communicated to the researcher but transpired during data entry. In addition, whilst the staff responsible for supporting the researcher by providing contact details for pupils' parents and finding the pupils in the school for interviews were helpful, as they had a number of other work commitments they did not always have the time available to complete these tasks. This extended the data collection period, as fewer interviews were able to be completed in a day. These factors are associated with research in school contexts where there are often considerable barriers to implementing research (McIntyre & McIntyre, 1999).

This research has been challenging and has had to overcome practical barriers within the real world context. However, the commitment by the researcher, staff and pupils involved has allowed the aims of the study to be fulfilled and the research questions to be answered. This has allowed a contribution to be made to the knowledge base and, as described in the previous section, has implications for practice. On reflection, it has therefore been a worthwhile study.

5.9 Chapter Conclusion

This research study aimed to evaluate the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice. Results suggest that differences between the various bullying groups do exist in terms of shame management strategies and feelings of respect. The predicted link between these differences and the outcomes of Restorative Justice mediations, however, were not found. Restorative Justice mediations do not appear to work in the way described by the theoretical perspective of Restorative Justice, however, other benefits of the mediations were identified. As with any research, the findings of this study are constrained by the methodological limitations, however, a number of strengths have also been identified and limitations are unavoidable in real world research. The findings of this research have contributed to the knowledge base of factors associated with bullying and of the use of Restorative Justice mediations. This has relevance to the profession of Educational Psychology and professionals working in Education in general.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire

SCHOOL BULLYING QUESTIONNAIRE

Some research is being completed in our school about bullying and how people respond to different bullying situations. As part of this research we would like you to complete this questionnaire.

It is up to you if you want to complete this questionnaire or not. If there are parts of the questionnaire you would prefer not to complete that is ok too.

You should know that we are **not** asking you to write your name on this questionnaire. This means that we will **not** know what you have written on the questionnaire. Your answers will only be looked at by a researcher who does not work in this school. This means that your answers will **not** be looked at by any school staff.

Please be honest when answering this questionnaire and give the other members of your class space to complete the questionnaire in private. There are no right or wrong answers - we are interested in your point of view.

Thank you.

First some information about you…

What year group are you in? ……………………………..

How old are you?   ……………………………………………

Are you male or female?   ……………………………………………

Now some questions about how you feel at school...

Please circle whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements:

I feel respected as a pupil at my school

Strongly Agree   *Agree*   *Disagree*   *Strongly Disagree*

Going to school makes me happy

Strongly Agree   *Agree*   *Disagree*   *Strongly Disagree*

I feel proud of being a student at my school

Strongly Agree   *Agree*   *Disagree*   *Strongly Disagree*

At school I am listened to when I have something to say

Strongly Agree   *Agree*   *Disagree*   *Strongly Disagree*

I like being a student at my school

Strongly Agree   *Agree*   *Disagree*   *Strongly Disagree*

I feel good about how I am treated at school

Strongly Agree   *Agree*   *Disagree*   *Strongly Disagree*

I speak proudly about being a student at my school

Strongly Agree   *Agree*   *Disagree*   *Strongly Disagree*

I feel satisfied going to school each day

Strongly Agree   *Agree*   *Disagree*   *Strongly Disagree*

I think my school is the best in the area

Strongly Agree   *Agree*   *Disagree*   *Strongly Disagree*

Next some questions about bullying…

Please use this definition of bullying when answering the questions:

"We say a child is being bullied or picked on, when another child or group of children say nasty or unpleasant things to him or her. It is also bullying when a child is hit, kicked, threatened, locked inside a room, sent nasty notes, emails or text messages, or when no one ever talks to them or things like that. These things can happen frequently, and it is difficult for the child being bullied to defend themselves. It is also bullying when a child is teased lots of times in a nasty way. But it is **not** bullying when two children of about the same strength have the odd fight or argument"

How often have you been part of a group that bullied someone during the last year? (please circle)

Never
Once or twice
Sometimes
About once a week
Several times a week

How often have you on your own bullied someone during the last year? (please circle)

Never
Once or twice
Sometimes
About once a week
Several times a week

How often have you been bullied by another student or group of students during the last year? (please circle)

Never
Once or twice
Sometimes
About once a week
Several times a week

Finally, some questions about how you would respond to different situations…

Please read each of the following stories and then answer the questions by circling 'yes' or 'no'.

Story 1:
Imagine that you are walking along the corridor at school and you see another student. You put your foot out and trip the student. Then you realise that the class teacher has just come into the corridor and saw what you did.

Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	Yes	No
Would you feel angry at this situation?	Yes	No
Would you wish you could just hide?	Yes	No
Would you feel like getting back at that student?	Yes	No
Do you think that others would reject you?	Yes	No
Would you feel like blaming others for what happened?	Yes	No
Would you feel like making the situation better?	Yes	No
Would you feel unable to decide if you were to blame?	Yes	No
Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened?	Yes	No
Would you feel like doing something else e.g. throwing or kicking something?	Yes	No

Story 2:

Imagine that you are in the school playground and you get your friends to ignore another student from your class. You then realise that the teacher on duty has been watching you.

Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	Yes	No
Would you feel angry at this situation?	Yes	No
Would you wish you could just hide?	Yes	No
Would you feel like getting back at that student?	Yes	No
Do you think that others would reject you?	Yes	No
Would you feel like blaming others for what happened?	Yes	No
Would you feel like making the situation better?	Yes	No

Would you feel unable to decide if you were to blame?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like doing something else e.g. throwing or kicking something?	*Yes*	*No*

Story 3:

Imagine that it is lunchtime at school and you see a younger student. You grab the sweets from his or her hand. Then you realise the class teacher saw what you did.

Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel angry at this situation?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you wish you could just hide?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like getting back at that student?	*Yes*	*No*
Do you think that others would reject you?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like blaming others for what happened?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like making the situation better?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel unable to decide if you were to blame?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like doing something else e.g. throwing or kicking something?	*Yes*	*No*

Story 4:

Imagine that you are left in the classroom alone with a student. You think that the teacher is gone and so you start teasing the student. Then you realise that the teacher is still in the classroom.

Would you feel ashamed of yourself?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel angry at this situation?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you wish you could just hide?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like getting back at that student?	*Yes*	*No*
Do you think that others would reject you?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like blaming others for what happened?	*Yes*	*No*

Would you feel like making the situation better?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel unable to decide if you were to blame?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like blaming yourself for what happened?	*Yes*	*No*
Would you feel like doing something else e.g. throwing or kicking something?	*Yes*	*No*

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

If you are worried about anything to do with bullying at school please talk to one of your teachers. There are teachers available at the Learning Support Centre who you can talk to.

Appendix 2

Interview Agenda

Introduction

Thank you for agreeing to talk to me today. I'm going to start by telling you what sorts of things we will be talking about and what I will be doing with the information you tell me. I will then check to see if you still want to take part.

I'm doing some research into how to help people involved in bullying. I understand that you had some help from your school, by taking part in a mediation. I want to find out what you thought of this mediation, whether it was helpful or unhelpful, and how it felt to be part of the mediation. This will help schools know how best to help people involved in bullying.

I'm going to tape our conversation. I will be the only one who listens to the tape and I will not tell anyone what you tell me today. I will use your views to write a research report, but your name will not be used. This means that no one else will know what you tell me today. There is one exception to this – if you told me something that made me think you or someone you know was at risk of harm I would have to tell someone else about this. If this happens I will discuss it with you first.

The interview will last for about 30 minutes.

Do you still feel happy to take part in the interview?

Warm-up Topic – School in general

- I don't know much about your school – what is it like?
- Do you like coming here?
- What is good about it?
- What isn't so good about it?

Topic 1: Before the Mediation

So first of all I'm going to talk to you about what happened before the mediation. So I want you to think about what things were like before the mediation (show visual prompt)
- What issue led to you having a mediation?
- What was your relationship like with X?
- What were your feelings about X?
- If I had come to your school, what would I have seen if I saw you and X together?
- How did you feel about your own behaviour?
- What did you think X thought about your relationship at this time?
- How did you think they were feeling?
- How did you feel about school in general?
- Who did you think was responsible for the issue / incident?

Topic 2: The Mediation

- How did you end up having a mediation?
- What happened in the mediation?
- How did you feel about telling your story?

- What was it like to listen to the other person telling their story?
- How did you feel about X during the mediation?
- And how did you feel about your own behaviour?
- What did you think X thought about your relationship?
- How did you think X was feeling?
- Who did you think was responsible for the issue / incident?

Topic 3: After the Mediation

Now I want you to think about what things are like now since you had the mediation.

- What is your relationship with X like now?
- If I came to your school, and saw you and X together what would I see?
- How do you feel about X now?
- How do you feel about your own behaviour?
- How do you feel about school in general?

Topic 4: Perceived success of the intervention

So, from what you've said so far it sounds as though this experience was helpful / not that helpful for you. Is that right?
- What do you think was helpful / unhelpful about it?
- What would you suggest someone in a similar situation to you should do?
- What would you do if you were in a similar situation again?
- Is there anything else you would have liked to have seen happen?

Close:

Thank you for taking part in this interview. Do you have any questions? If you would like to talk to anyone further at school about bullying, you can always speak to a member of staff, someone in the Learning Support Centre or a peer mediator at lunchtime.

Appendix 3

Criteria for Successful Restorative Justice

Bullying Interventions

- Intervention delivered as part of a whole school approach including a range of Restorative Justice approaches (e.g. circle time, curriculum development, conferences, mediations);

- Intervention supported by school management team;

- Intervention included and outlined in the school behaviour policy;

- School staff take ownership for the delivery and maintenance of the intervention (not owned by external providers);

- School staff are trained in Restorative Justice, with sufficient staff members available to deliver and monitor the intervention;

- Specific training is provided for staff running Restorative Justice conferences and mediations:

- Restorative conferences and mediations take place soon after the bullying incident;

- Mechanisms are in place for monitoring the outcomes of any direct Restorative Justice interventions.

Criteria developed from the results of the National Youth Justice Board (2004) Evaluation Project.

Appendix 4

Consent Letter (Questionnaire)

Dear Parents

This term in our school, some research is taking place about bullying and how we respond to bullying in this school. The research is being completed by Alexis Phillips, who is a Trainee Educational Psychologist working for X County Council.

As part of this research Alexis will be asking pupils in Years 8 and 9 to complete a questionnaire. This questionnaire finds out about each child's experiences of bullying and how they would respond to hypothetical bullying situations. The questionnaires are anonymous and confidential, and all children will be given the option of not completing the questionnaire if they prefer. If you would prefer your child **not** to be part of this research, please return the slip at the bottom of this letter to your child's form tutor by the 31st October 2008.

Alexis would also like to interview a small number of pupils to find out more about their experiences of bullying and how staff respond to bullying incidents at school. If your child is selected to take part in this, you will be contacted directly to see if you are happy for your child to take part.

This research is very important to the school in helping us find the best ways to support children involved in bullying incidents.

Appendix 5

Teacher Instructions for Questionnaire

1. Before distributing the questionnaire please:

    -   Ask pupils to sit one to a desk where possible

    -   Explain that a researcher who does not work for the school would like them to complete a questionnaire on bullying, to help people support pupils who experience bullying.

    -   Inform pupils that the questionnaire is anonymous and confidential.

    -   Tell them that it is up to them whether they want to complete the questionnaire – they do not have to do this.

2. Hand out the questionnaires and ask pupils to read the front page, please:

    -   Draw their attention to the fact that it is voluntary, anonymous and confidential.

    -   Ask pupils to be honest and work independently / not look at other pupils' answers.

    -   Draw their attention to the definition of bullying on the third page and ask them to use this when completing the questionnaire (if there are any children who you think will find reading and accessing the questionnaire difficult, please provide support for them as needed).

3. After pupils have completed the questionnaire, please:

    -   Thank them for taking part.

    -   Tell them that their responses will be used to write a report to help people support those involved in bullying.

    -   Inform them where they can go for help in the school if they are concerned about bullying.

    -   Ask them if anyone has any questions about the questionnaire / research / bullying support in school.

Thank you for your help!

Appendix 6

Consent Letter (Interviews)

Dear Parent

We wrote to you earlier this term to let you know that some research is being conducted in our school to find out more about our pupils' experiences of bullying and what we can do to help pupils in this situation.

The research is being completed by Alexis Phillips, who is a Trainee Educational Psychologist working for X County Council. She would like to complete interviews with a small number of pupils in the school to find out more about their individual experiences of bullying and what they think of the way our school responds to bullying incidents.

The interviews will be anonymous and confidential. All children asked to take part will be told about the interview and then given the opportunity to say whether they would like to take part in the research.

If you are happy for your child to be interviewed please can you return the slip at the bottom of this letter to your child's form tutor. This research will help our school respond to bullying incidents and it is important that the views of pupils in our school are gathered and listened to.

Appendix 7

Example Interview Transcript

05.12.08

Male / Yr 8 / Dual Heritage

R: I don't know much about your school what's it like?

P: Um its alright but...its like...dunno I don't feel like people deal with the situation very well.

R: Ok what do you mean by that?

P: Like I asked for a mediation with some boys and that who I had trouble with and the school goes yeah we'll sort it out and then I was in there for the lesson when I asked them to sort it out and then...um...they go yeah we'll sort it out after the break and it never got sorted out after break and so they said we'll sort it out after lunch and then it weren't sorted out after lunch and then I waited for like the whole day in the house when I didn't even need to be in there I only went there for a mediation and um nothing happened I didn't have a mediation and they go oh we'll sort it out by the end of the week and it never happened again and I come in and then asked them again and its never happened...I never had a mediation with the boy who I asked to have a mediation with...and um...and but its all sorted now but like it.

R: Why do you think that happened?

P: What?

R: That you didn't have the mediation with?

P: They were all busy or something.

R: That must have been quite annoying if you wanted something done and it didn't happen.

P: Yeah.

R: And what about just the school in general...do you like coming here?

P: Uh yeah its ok...it's not that...it's not that good school...I don't feel that teachers...like if somebody hits me or punches me they put me in here when I feel like the person who does something to me should be put in here...my Dad's had meetings with the teachers and all of that about it and I don't think I should be in here if someone like punches me or something.

R: It feels like your being punished.

P: Yeah...cos its like a bit nothing...cos you can't go out with your mates you can't do anything...your just enclosed in a place where you are not allowed to go out anywhere.

R: Ok so I want to talk to you about a specific mediation that you had. So you said you had one about a week and a half ago.

P: Yeah.

R: So we'll think about that one…um…so I've got this just as a kind of prompt [researcher shows pupil visual prompt]…first of all I just want to be thinking here before the mediation…so we are here at the moment. So what issue led to you having a mediation?

P: Um I fell out…um…I fell out with an ex-girlfriend we used to be mates and then she was like stuck in…she was like stuck in…do you want me to know the actual story?

R: Yes.

P: Um…um…she's mates with the people that cos I was getting quite bullied and she was friends with the people who were bullying me and I was really close friends with her as well and like cos it's hard for her to be mates with me and them and um they were all following me home and she come out and grabbed my arm and like brought me back into school and then brought me here and like everybody started calling her a traitor and all this…and then she fell out with all of her mates…and then she's…and then her…she come in here because one of the boys bullying me pushed her over and she come in here and I hadn't really spoken to her for quite a while and then she went and told all of her mates that it wasn't just H the person who pushed me…it was me too and um all of her mates come up to me and started going oh after all she's done for you and all of this and I was like I haven't done anything and then uh…and then I had a mediation with her and she was like um I hate it how you like don't speak to me anymore and all of this…and I was like I do speak to you but cos when I was getting bullied my mates didn't really want to get involved in it they didn't really want to jump in you know cos they are quite like hard people and they didn't really like help me…it sounds harsh…and I said to A I just want to get my mates back as well I don't want to fall out with you I just wanna try and get my mates back…and she just goes yeah but you don't even say hello to me and I go well I do…but its cos I used to hang around with her at lunchtime and that but now I hang around with my friends and I'm starting to get back now so its quite…that's why I had a mediation with her just to clear things up like…to know where we stood.

R: So did you feel that um A was bullying you or?

P: No not really…she was in a bit of a hard situation…she like a lot of her mates…like she…the boy who picked on me are like hard people and a lot of people think they are cool cos they are mates with these people…and like when she stuck up for me she took a lot of grief from a lot of people…and um she just like felt that I wasn't like appreciating it from her kind of thing…but I said thanks so much for that and all of that…and then she was…I dunno…she just changes her story like…one time I was walking home from down a hill with a girl and she got a boy who was waiting down the hill from me and then these two girls who I

don't even know they're like twenty year olds and that...they come up to me and go are you the person who's supposed to be getting beaten up and I go I dunno by who and they go that A girl has just got people waiting down the road for you I've just spoken to her...and I was like shocked and she was like well we'll walk you down through the high street if you want and all this and then I was speaking to her and she was going...this girl was going A told us that you were really mean to her...and they were quite nice cos they didn't really get on with A...A was quite like mouthy to them so they came and helped me out which was really good cos I would have got quite badly hurt cos when I walked out of the shop there were a load of boys there...um...what's the likelihood of people helping you...yeah I would have got hit...the girl I was walking home with she was nearly crying cos she was like so scared with people bullying us and all this...so it was quite scarey but like...and then the next day I got a phone call from a boy that was meant to be beating me up...he was like yeah you've said all this...you said I said this...and I haven't even said anything and that's hearsay and he was like oh well I'll break your neck next time...he doesn't go to school he's come up this school and beat up a few boys at lunchtime...he brought up about 50 boys and the police got involved and everything...that was something to do with something else...but um um so I really didn't want that that's the last thing I wanted him and 50 boys coming up to hit me so I just wanted to clear things with A so she would like tell them to back off.

R: So was that actually part of that incident?

P: She'd have got the wrong idea like she would have thought I was blanking her...didn't appreciate what she had done like lost her friends.

R: Ok so before the mediation what was your relationship like with A?

P: Well it was quite...she thought that I was saying things about her and then she would always say things about me to people and people come up to me and start on me and go oh why did you say this to A and like I have said it but I haven't said it the way she's said it...she like makes everything sound like its like something huge when I only said something little like she really does over exaggerate everything she says and she still does it but I just ignore it and um a lot of people come up to me and they go why'd you call her this...why did you do this to her and all that and its just like I never said it and they go don't lie don't lie and I go well I did say it but I never said it like that and they be like don't lie cos they always believe her...cos she's like a pretty girl then all the boys believe her.

R: So um if I'd come to your school before the mediation and sat in your class or something and seen the two of you together what sorts of things would I have seen happening?

P: You would have seen her be laughing...me sitting on my own and her sitting with about ten boys or girls on a table or something and then they would just be laughing and then I'd look over and then they'd just go what...so things like that...bit annoying but I just got used to it really...the hardest thing for me was

losing my mates for it cos they were scared but it's alright now…its all clearing up a bit.

R: Ok how did you feel about A before the mediation?

P: I didn't really like her but I wouldn't have said anything cos I knew what she would do…so I could have said a lot of things but if I would have said them it would have made it worse so I asked for a mediation and she asked for a mediation with me when she started losing her friends and some of her girl mates who felt sorry for me…she's always been a girl who's had more boy mates and I've always been a boy who's had more girl mates…so there were girls who were helping me and a lot of the girls are her friends and they kind of disowned her as a friend so she kind of got really annoyed with that so she asked for a mediation and I asked for a mediation cos I didn't want anything to get out of hand.

R: So you both sort of wanted to sort things out?

P: Yeah.

R: um how did you feel about…um…how you were behaving?

P: I dunno…if I said something I wouldn't really think about it like it happens…you get teachers coming in and like you should think about what you are saying before you say it but it like you never do…you just never do…if you swear or something you don't think about it…you don't think about anything before you say it do you really…you like people say you should but you don't and like if I said something probably a day later I'd be like oh I shouldn't have said that…and I'd come into school and get in so much trouble and I'd be like oh what am I doing…so I was up in here most of the time and the house say its for your own protection but I wanted a mediation and its like one everyday when it should be like all of them in one day…it should be like one at least every period…its just so annoying.

R: You felt like you should have had more mediations in a day.

P: Yeah like being in for a day and only having one person sorted out I could have been in there for a day everything could have been sorted out and I'd be out the next day with my mates but having to be in here for like a week…I was like stuck in here for a week with like one mediation every day…you get home and your like oh I've got to do that tomorrow and the next day and the next day and its like you don't want to go to school if you know what I mean…that's why I'd rather get it all sorted out in one day go back into lessons and everything be sorted…its never really like that but it would be a bit better and at least you can walk out knowing that no one is going to punch you…jump you after school or your home or something like that…bit annoying but.

R: Would you say you felt a bit safer afterwards?

P: After the mediation?

R: Yeah.

P: Yeah cos you can't when they are in a group they think they are so hard or something but I actually spent time with them on their own and I made up with them a little bit...I've spent time with them on their own and it's much nicer you can actually see who they are and when they are with everybody they are just like always trying to get a reputation...it's like people in schools...it's probably not just this school it's probably most schools...they just go round to get a reputation...but what they think in their heart I don't know...punching people beating people up it's really annoying really.

R: So put yourself where you were before you had the mediation. At that time how did you think A was feeling?

P: Bit annoyed with me really cos like I like suppose I was quite bad...if I wasn't mates with her then my old mates would really just go off...they wouldn't think about it they wouldn't really think about me and then they would get annoyed with me a little bit and they wouldn't like me as much but then if I was to be with them they'd be all happy they'd be at least he's trying at least he's trying and then A would go off at me oh he's such a user and go round to everybody she would tell everybody I'm a user and then everybody would come up to me and start going oh you used A you used A and then the people I was hanging around with they'd hear it and then they'd get annoyed with me so it's kind of like a circle like whatever I do it always come back at me...it's a bit annoying.

R: So you can't win.

P: No you can't especially with her.

R: And um how did you feel about school in general at that time?

P: Um...didn't really like it especially before the summer holidays on the last day when I was walking home and there were like 30 boys...I was literally like walking home and they pushed this little boy...pushed him into me and they knew I'd hit him cos I'm not like a person who stands there and gets beaten up you know and they pushed him into me and they punched me so I punched him but you would if someone hits you you hit them back its only natural and so I hit them back and then gave them like a cue to hit me so then I had all these boys just jumping in and hitting me and kicking me on the floor and then my Dad was like 100 yards down the road and I got in my car and I drove off in my car cos my Dad was on the phone something to do with work and then we got to the road and I was like crying cos I was a bit upset and uh my Dad went mad and span the car round and went straight to A's house and they like had a conversation not like arguing but like you know I don't know and I had a chat about it like A's causing trouble and as we was driving back we saw them all walking towards A's house loads of them...and then my Dad just stopped and just stared at them and they was like come on then come on then sticking their fingers up and my Dad goes this school is pathetic they don't do nothing about it at all and then I come back into school like in Year 9 like I'm in now and nothing got dealt with they was leaving me alone they didn't do anything but I

just wanted to know why did you do it...you get beaten up one day come back to school and then everything's fine...they don't speak to you they just look at you and laugh they don't come up to you and it's like why do it...I asked X who's like the main person why did you do it in like a mediation and he goes I can't remember I can't remember...so he didn't have no reason to hit me and I hate that...and I had trouble with him before and the school didn't really do anything about it...I can see that they are busy and they have things to do but it resulted in me getting beaten up which I think that's not very good.

R: No...no...I can understand how you'd feel like that. Um...so before the mediation who did you think was responsible for the incident?

P: Um A cos she got them to hate me and then she started coming back to me but they still hated me for the things she had said...and they were like...I'll be getting phone calls like every night in my house going I don't know how they got my house number probably from A and they'll be like why did you say this about her...why did you do this...and then I'll be like going down to Aylesbury and I'll walk through their with some of my mates and um I'd get boys coming up to me like all these *black* boys right and they're like yeah I'm going to knife you knife you...it's always been continuous.

R: Yeah it sounds as though its constant...it's not just in school it almost sounds worse outside of school from what you said...is that right?

P: It is...but you've just got to think about it right you um...you can like I dunno you go out there and you say things...you know that they are just saying it so you get scared or you assume but part of your head says yeah they are trying to scare you just go away go away and then the other part of your head is going look this could be serious and all this and I told my Dad and he goes yeah they are doing it just to scare you but you never know especially when there are a lot of them...there were about ten people and then it was just me and two boys...its like you know that its dangerous man.

R: That must be quite frightening.

P: It was especially I didn't even know these boys they're from different schools but it's like relations to the people I've had troubles with and the person I've had trouble with was with them and like all of his cousins as well...just walking through town its got nothing to do with them just keeping my own business and they come up to me and start saying things like that it really does get to you when you get home and that it's like what is going on...why's this happening to me and all this...it gets quite annoying really.

R: So um you both you and A both asked for a mediation?

P: Yeah

R: That's how it kind of came to happen...and what actually happened in the mediation?

P: Um...well like...do you want me to explain how it was?

R: Yes.

P: Ok like here's the teacher opposite and then A was sitting here…and then we'd have to talk to you [the teacher] and then you'd have to tell like me whatever and A…we wouldn't be able to talk to each other like that..you know like have a three way conversation without us two talking…so it was like…it does work but it doesn't cos they act like they care and everybody's like all happy like yeah I'm sorry I'll do this and then as soon as they're with their mates again its completely the same…it never really changes. Since I've been at this school nothings really…its all sorted itself out but its taken so long to sort itself out…it did work but you know that its never going to be you can never put your 100% trust into that person that they are not going to do it again cos you know that as soon as they're with their mates it will change…its like anybody really if you are on your own you can actually have a genuine conversation with somebody…and then it's the same with all schools I think like when you are with people you always try to get a reputation…basically in this school a lot of people try to get a reputation of being hard and all this…I hate that…I hate that people can't just have a reputation for being like a nice person and not fighting…fighting gets you popular…gets you friends and everybody if your friends with that person then you're hard and you're cool too and everybody gets you to try and do something and you'll do it and get in trouble…I hate how people do that…and then like having a mediation yeah…it like its good but I couldn't say off the top of my head what would sort the situation out and they come up with like I've seen little games like little group games…you like do something together like communication games, team work and all that…I've never tried that but I've seen it done and well I don't know if that works but mediation its ok but it doesn't…you can never…it never really changes anything.

R: Ok and when you were in the mediation what sorts of questions were you asked? What sorts of things did you have to talk about?

P: Um what a teacher would ask me "how do you feel?" "what's happened?" and this and I would just like tell them and like they know the situation a little bit so its kind of easy you don't have to stay there for hours…so you can just tell them how you feel and then the other person would like say, "oh is that how you feel?" and they tell how they feel and they kind of combine the two together and then you try and find out how you can solve it…its like um…its like um…I don't know…but its like…its just questions like at the end "do you want to say anything?" or you can have a few minutes on your own with the teacher outside so that you can talk to each other and just trying to be a bit civil with each other…that's basically what a mediation is…not to be best mates again but you know to be civil…at least you know nothings going to happen…you never really do know that…you just combine the two stories and try solving them out with nothing happening…without people setting up on you…without getting set up on the way home…when you are walking home and that it just solves it all out…it kind of works but it doesn't…there's always going to be that thing in the back of your head that you can never really trust that person again and when

you do it happens again…its just continuous…so I don't know…mediations alright but it doesn't always go as you think it will.

R: What was it like to listen to A saying what she thought?

P: Quite strange because a lot of people had come up to her and told her stuff that I didn't know…told her stuff that apparently I'd said and I never said that and a lot of people had come up to me told me that's what she said…you know people just getting involved when its nothing to do with them and uh you know just to get a reputation and um a lot of people came up to me and told me stuff and she was like getting all annoyed with me cos they'd make up stuff to make me hate her even more and then people come up to me and make me fall out with her even more…I'd just think oh my god what is she doing kind of thing…

R: So was it useful to hear that information?

P: Yeah…well kind of cos you can like I say…it solves it out a little bit more…like…its your chance…when you're out there and you walk up to somebody and go look I'm sorry and they're with their mates and your like you know can I speak to you on your own and their mates will be like round the corner or something…they'll just show off anyway to still get that reputation and you can't really say anything…you can't say look what's going on kind of thing…when you are in the house you've got a teacher there…you can't like…if you've got a mediation its your time to say how you feel you know and sort things out and that…it don't always work but you are just hoping that you can hear her side of the story and she can hear my side of the story and like solve it.

R: And how did you feel about A when you were in the mediation?

P: But annoyed because of the things I had heard…I really did think she was a bit of her…I really didn't like her…and um she probably felt the same with me…I know she did…she used to take the mick out of me which really did upset me…I mean I didn't show it cos I'm not a person like that I don't go round crying I know it sounds like a bit…I didn't show it but like in my heart it really did hurt…like people taking the mick out of you especially when it happens all of the time…it really does get to you after a while and she goes you do it to yourself you're always getting beaten up and I'm like I don't know what I've done to be honest and then it…its quite annoying…but I dunno…I dunno really…its ok hearing it because it solves it out.

R: How did you um you said that you knew she was feeling annoyed with you…how did you know that?

P: Well she used to come up to me and call me…swear and that kind of thing so you kind of know that she don't like you…she would say things and I would say it back but I wouldn't say it how she says it to me…she makes it sound as though I'm the worst boy in the world and I'm not like that I could take the mick out of her so many things but I don't cos it just causes more trouble…its like if this was to happen to her like it has done in the past with a few

people…um…she would go home crying everyday she would go home crying to her mum all the time…and her sister would be up the school…and I'm not like that so she knows how it feels and its like she's just trying to make it worse for me yeah and its just really annoying.

R: And did it help…in the mediation did you feel that you understood more about how she was feeling about it all or?

P: Yeah…she would have understood me and I would have understood her and um you know like we could have solved it out a bit…you go out and like I had a mediation with her…the last mediation with her it's like really good it's fine and she was like uh nearly crying and all this then as soon as we walked out the door all of her mates were waiting stood outside the gate and as soon as I walked out she just looks at me and goes like…why put on that act when you are in there? Like she acted all innocent and then as soon as she gets out there she just changes…as soon as she's with her mates…I really…that annoyed me the most…same day…two minutes after the mediation…she just does it again…just like what's the point kind of thing.

R: Have you ever talked about the mediation the two of you after it?

P: No…cos we're told not to tell anyone our mates or anybody…so we never really talk about them.

R: Do you think that um do you think…do you feel confident that that happens…that what you talk about in the mediation is not repeated to anyone else?

P: You've just got to trust the person a little bit…like what happened a long time ago like six months ago or something we had a mediation and the teacher left the room so we could sort it out ourselves cos she felt confident enough that we wasn't going to fight or anything and then um she just laughed at me…the teacher would walk out and A would just like point and laugh…what is the point? And then you couldn't just tell the teacher cos she'd go no I didn't, no I didn't and its just like why…its like what's the point you're so different when teacher's out and its just us two…you just change and its so annoying.

R: So um when you were in the mediation who did you think was responsible?

P: What for the mediation?

R: For the incident that happened that led to the mediation. When you were in there who did you think was responsible?

P: Well I didn't know what I'd done so I don't know who was responsible for it but like I said to you A she's like…she exaggerates with what she says…she does it with me when she's talking to me and you go oh ok I don't think it was that bad A…she goes yeah it was, yeah it was…and then she like over-exaggerates to people and then it causes trouble with me…and then their like Chinese whispers you know…and then other times they'll change the story a bit so I sound like a really really bad person…and so I do feel that she's kind of

responsible for it and maybe I am kind of responsible for it myself for what I've done…like I dunno…like someone would come up to me and go yeah you're cocky and I'll go yeah and just go along with it…if you're going to hit me just hit me now…I wouldn't say that but in my head I would say it…so I do feel that she was kind of responsible…cos a lot of the boys like her she's got a lot of the boys on her side and um not many of the girls are gonna…like a girl would touch me but a boy wouldn't touch a girl…so she's like very…she's in a very good place…and I dunno…its strange…but I do feel that she is kind of responsible.

R: So now thinking about what things have been like over the last week and a half since you had the mediation…what is your relationship with A like now?

P: It's a bit…dunno…I don't really…I don't really speak to her…she likes to take the micky out of me a lot…like really a lot…like for example this morning the first lesson I was just at…yesterday she wasn't in school and I wore this hat…usually I gel my hair up right…and yesterday I wore this hat and um she wasn't in school and I took my hat off in lessons and my hair was all floppy and everybody had a little laugh kind of thing and I just go along with it and they'll be like oh it's not that bad, it's not that bad…they wouldn't say anything they'd be like it's ok it's not that bad…and then the next day A comes into school today and then I wore this hat again and um I went to my first lesson…took off my hat and she just laughed all the time everybody that said it didn't act that bad yesterday just laughed with her…its like what's the point…she's hard so they all do it so they can get a reputation too…it's like a hat…you know who do I need to impress kind of thing…and there still oh look at your hair…it really did annoy me…I really did feel like hitting a wall or something I felt proper angry like people getting taken the mick out of I hate it…anybody does really but you get some people who go out crying they get so annoyed with it and other people who get really aggressive…if she was a boy and a boy did that to me I dunno what I would have done I would have hit them…like I have done in the past…it got me in trouble and um I hate…I hate people winding me up and she winds me up like still even when we had that mediation…its like little things that add up and you can't hit her or anything and I know I couldn't and wouldn't but you just get so annoyed you feel like screaming kind of thing its so annoying…but its nothings happened…I've cleared with all the boys that were being nasty I've made friends with them now and I tell them whatever happened I'm sorry and all this and they just go along with it just going no I'm sorry and all this and we just talk about football and make up on the internet and all that and just talk to each other and then at school when they're with everybody they're kind of thinking they're hard and all of it but I prefer it at least I'm not getting punched and you know I'm not getting hurt if you know what I mean and at school they're like do you like L and all of this and its alright like if somebody takes the micky out of me…there's a boy and we was in a lesson the other day and somebody got a chewing gum from under the table and chucked it at me and the boy…one of the main boys that was punching me told him to stop it which…I felt really pleased with that cos I kind of knew that he doesn't want to hurt me kind of thing and get me upset kind of thing like so he kind of told them to stop it and

another time somebody was taking the mick out of me and he goes oi just leave it leave it like that...which I like that cos it doesn't show that we're best mates but it shows that he's telling them to stop it and to leave it and then they start becoming like ok lets just leave it now and they start talking to me a little bit more and then that boy talks to me and they all start talking to me a little bit more and I've made up with all my mates now which is good...um...and they've told me how they felt about me...yesterday when I was walking home...no the day before actually...when I was walking home they'd tell me that I was a bit annoying kind of thing and they're a bit...like...they felt a bit sorry for me...well two boys said but like they're not like the hardest boys and unless they're people like that they don't really want to get involved whoever it is you know...and um if its your best mate you think in your head oh I really wish I was stronger so you could do something but you just don't and that's what one of my mates said to me...he said to me like oh I felt really sorry for you...like when you went into lessons and you'd sit on your own on a table and you'd have to work in groups and you'd have to work on your own and it was just like it kind of got to me a little bit and then um...then I'd go...why don't my old best mate like me and one of the boys goes well X told me that um he don't really want to be mates with you cos he thinks he don't know what people will think and um like he thinks you'll change kind of thing and I was just like I spoke to him on the computer and I was like look I won't change...I've changed now and a lot of my old mates say I have changed like I used to go around thinking I was pretty hard when I was in Year 7 and now I've just opened my eyes a little bit like I know that I've got GCSEs now and I need to like wake up a little bit start getting good results...I mean a lot of people have laughed at me for saying that but I'm just trying to open my eyes a little bit I want to get a good job and um my mates have said I've changed and they really did persuade him that I'd changed and I spoke to him on the computer and like I started speaking to him a little bit more and then this was yesterday and I started speaking to him a bit more and he's like...starting to get close again yeah and then I can't...I invited all my mates who I've just made up with within the four days...I've invited them round to sleep at mine tomorrow night and I said to X I'm having a sleep over on Saturday night and you're more than welcome to come and he goes yeah sounds good sounds good but we've been like...you know getting excited really quickly...mates bringing DVDs round, ordering pizzas and things like that...so I've sorted it out with them now...and they trust me enough to you know...not...not...like change again...to not get in trouble I'm more like thinking about what's going to happen in the future more than what's going to happen now...plus a lot of my teachers I'm still like...I'm not on report I'm not on anything like that I'm not as naughty as at all and um which is a good thing really when I get high grades cos I'm trying to get up...top English, top middle maths I'm trying to get higher and better grades you know so its better.

R: That's good. What do you think led to that change?

P: Uh dunno...its kind of a lot of me doing a lot of work...like I had to look a lot I had to wake up a bit...I need to get my mates back now I can't be...I just need to make up with my mates now and get my mates back...I was like helping with

things that they didn't get in work and stuff...I just let them...I just let them say what they had to say about me to me kind of thing cos I hate like...you know like people bitching that kind of thing...I hate that so I like said I just want you to tell me how you feel about me and they go yeah you've changed a lot and that made me a bit happier cos um I wanna change you know and now I've changed and I've got my mates back I feel like my life's starting to get a bit better now...I haven't got any trouble from all these boys...they still might look at me and go what's going on with his hair like they did but it don't really bother me no...at least they're not hitting me you know...I just think about it but I don't do anything about it.

R: Do you think that the mediation had any impact on you deciding to change or do you think that was something you did independently?

P: It was actually more my family really...cos I was getting...I've been suspended and like you know my family like said you know you need to wake up a little bit you've got exams coming up and now I'm in Year 9 and I've started my GCSEs and that..I've really sort of woken up a bit like what is going on I need to get my life on track a bit and then like being put in top English I was like yes, yes I'm good at something kind of thing and like I felt like I'm building my way up again you know before I was naughty I was like proper naughty to teachers and that and like I just want people to know like its not how you dress or something...like I wear tracksuits all the time when its mufty days or something and people think oh you think you're hard but I don't know how people think you're hard by the things you wear you know and its just a bit but its alright now...my life's getting back on track...I'm not friends with A she still does talk about me and she still does do a lot of things that really does wind me up but I kind of know a little bit more now...like just leave it...having all that trouble has made me open my eyes a little bit...how to lose mates and how easy it is to...I just try to ignore everything and keep my life as it is now...I just want to make my friendships better.

R: Ok so did you make any agreements with A about what you were going to do? At the mediation did you agree a way you were going to be with each other?

P: Not really...I told her like on MSN...she just takes the mick out of me and I'm like just leave it...just get out of my life kind of thing and then today I was like alright A and she'd be like oh why you speaking to me you told me to get out your life and all of this...yeah but I still want to be civil with ya I just don't want to be like...like she gets annoyed with me if I walk home with another girl and I'm not going out with her or anything...if I'm walking next to another girl or sitting next to another girl in a lesson or something she gets annoyed with me and tells people and it just gets on my nerves...I just told her look just leave me alone and now I go alright and she won't like speak to me...its just like ok fine...like you know and then she'll like talk about me and it really does get to me but I just ignore it now...now I've got my mates back I can't afford to say something that I definitely will regret as I know it will get round to my mates who I am with now and then they'll be in a mood with me they'll get kind of scared cos the boys will call them traitors for liking me and then they'll go along with the boys.

Sounds like...a lot of people have said they're not true mates if they do that and this but cos they're not the strongest people I know like when I go round their houses they're like oh that's tight what they are doing to you and all of this...but I can't go can't you just help me out hit them for me or something...and they go I would but like what would they do to me cos it would just go round to them as well...but the mediation its helped but now I've got my mates back...it hasn't helped with A but it's helped me get my mates back...and like getting in trouble has helped me get my life back on track with my mates and school and that I try not to be as naughty anymore...I do get wound up and I do say things that I shouldn't um and maybe I do become a little bit cheeky to teacher's and that but I'm not naughty and I don't mean to hurt anybody with what I say but I'm not racist or anything so that's it really...I just wanna...I just want it to stay as it is.

R: So it sounds like the mediation wasn't that useful for you in terms of your relationship with A but you said that it helped you to get your other mates back. So what was it about it that helped you there?

P: Getting all that trouble right and then you get the mediation...then like A would say your mates you've like ditched them and I'd go I haven't you don't even know the story kind of thing and it made me think...you go home and you think she said I've ditched my friends and I'm going to prove that I haven't ditched my friends and try my best to get them back...and so I did that and it kind of liked worked...some of my mates are still a it eeery with me but now I'm mates with my old best mate and he's like on of the...he's like tall and that and he's like mates with these other guys who are quite small and they kind of follow him a little bit like they used to with me... and now I'm mates with him a lot of them are like ok then its X lets be mates with him again...so I'm trying now to get back and I don't know what it was that made me start thinking about it...its like if somebody tells you you do it to yourself all the time you get pushed about you just wake up and think what am I doing what am I saying to people to be treated like this and all that so it just made me open my eyes a little bit.

R: Do you think that you would um use mediation again if you were in a similar situation?

P: If I was in a situation like I have been very bad you know...like I've had a lot of people right one time I was in a classroom and the whole school was running around for me and a teacher had to stand in front of a door and stop everybody getting in and they was an assembly about me they wouldn't say my name but they were saying ganging up on students...two people have already been expelled about it...and some of my mates come up to me and said we just had an assembly about you and all of this and it was a big big big thing and having a mediation is a very little thing...it sorts it out with one person...I don't know what you can do...I don't think the teacher's know what you can do either...I mean what can you do I mean team games and that it's like yeah having fun for 10/15 minutes and it's all good having fun with somebody and you walk out and know nothings going to change...and mediation its good but for little things...if I was to have a little fall out with a mate it would be good but having the whole school after you and people getting up wanting to get you outside school a mediation

doesn't even put a dent in it you know so I don't know cos I don't know what else you can do...its quite hard to say.

R: Ok well thanks for telling me all about your experience with it. Is there anything else you would like to say about the mediation?

P: No

END

Appendix 8

Table of Themes (Including Codes)

Section	Theme	Codes	Participants in Code
A. Working RJ Perspective	Taking Responsibility	Before mediation other person as responsible	1, 3, 5
		After mediation shared responsibility	3, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8
		Before mediation shared responsibility	2, 4
		Feeling blamed	1, 6
		Uncertain who to blame after mediation	6
		Someone else is responsible before mediation	6, 7, 8
		After mediation other person is responsible	1
	Making Amends	Apology perceived as forced	1
		Opportunity to apologise	8
	Empathy and Understanding	Increased understanding of other's point of view	3, 4, 7, 8
		Clearing up rumours	3, 8
		Continued uncertainty about other's thoughts and feelings	1, 2, 5, 6, 8
		Identifying with other person	4, 7
		Negative feelings before mediation towards other person	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
		Positive feelings after the mediation towards other person	7
		Indifferent towards other person after mediation	2, 3, 8
		Negative feelings (but less strong) after mediation	4, 5
		Feelings towards other person stay the same after mediation	1, 6

		Reflecting on own behaviour	3, 4, 7, 8
		Feeling guilty or bad about own behaviour	5, 7
	Victim Empowerment	Victim feeling safer after mediation	3, 7
		Victim changing their behaviour	3, 6, 7
		Victim supported by family	3
B. Working in a different way	**Separation from Peer Group**	Opportunity to repair relationship 1:1	3, 4
		Talking away from peer group	3, 7
	Agreeing future behaviour	Adult to control conversation	7, 8
		Changing behaviour to not get in trouble	5, 6, 8
		Breaking agreement leading to trouble	5, 6
		Being civil to each other	2, 3, 4, 5
		Agreed future behaviour	1, 2, 4, 5, 6
		Adult direction	4, 5
C. Not Working	**Lack of appropriate action**	School not responding to bullying incidents	3, 4
		Lack of punishment for bully	6, 8
	Vulnerability of victim	Victim feels punished or unfairly treated	3, 6
		Other person disrespecting victim	3, 6
		Bullying continues	3, 6
		Difficulty trusting bully	3
	Creating further animosity	Other person seen as lying	2, 3, 6
		Stimulating further disagreements	1
D. Other Factors	**Complexity of social relationships**	Past relationship	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
		Bullying occurring outside of school	3
		Bullying involving siblings	2, 7, 8

		Other person changing when they are with their friends	3
		Pressure to conform to wider peer group attitudes and values	3, 6, 7
		Peers involved in bullying	2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8
		Peers as a positive factor	3, 6
	Impact of bullying experience	Negative feelings as a result of bullying (victim)	3, 4, 6, 7
		Bullying as inescapable	3, 4